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Feminism

Corporeality, Materialism, and Beyond

*Edited by Dennis S. Erasga
and Michael Eduard L. Labayandoy*



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Preface

This book contributes to the study of feminism and zeroes in on the corporeal, the body, or the materiality of the feminist perspective [1, 2] examined under the rubrics of various societal issues and concerns. The book's major arguments are articulated in our chapter where we problematize the nexus of corporeality and embodiment within the optics of new materiality. We contend that mending the broken link between the two requires factoring in the notion of "agency." Agency as a conceptual tool provides a good discursive cover to amplify the fact that the fleshy aspect of the body is a tool in looking at the body as a vehicle of demonstrative impulses sans the halo effects of actions traditionally conceived. We argue that, on the one hand, social actions are but the audiences' interpretation (as in performance) of an individual's motivations. Body movements, on the other hand, are a person's internal inertia to demonstrate what is felt and needed to show to the world [3]. With this conceptualization of agency, we organized the book into meaningful themes or an ensemble of works that reflect the agentic affordance of the embodied flesh of the women's objective, hence, material body.

One agentic theme is the idea of "The Theoretical Body". The two works under this section are valuable because they propose a theoretical or conceptual understanding of the plight of women at home and in counseling research and practice. Here, Robbertze utilizes Jennifer Nedelsky's relational autonomy in making sense of the ideal form of home. She emphasizes that the home is a gendered space, and it is unfortunate that the law did not necessarily have a sufficient understanding of its nature during the pandemic, especially regarding domestic violence. Robbertze's contribution is significant, as she argues that the idea of relational autonomy can be valuable in redefining the home. If home should be redefined, so should counseling psychology research and practice. Suehn et al. utilize the Feminist Standpoint Theory (FST) to redefine counseling psychology politically and to integrate social justice perspectives both in research and practice. Their contribution is of paramount importance because utilizing FST in research can inform practical applications in clinical practice and training and in decolonizing Eurocentric epistemologies.

Literature and popular shows about aging and women's bodies [4, 5] are critical to investigate because they show how stereotypes are further reified and challenged. It is common knowledge in sociology that the media is a socializing agent or the one that teaches and transmits gendered ideas. The media echoes and reinforces the societal stereotypical expectations of society. Hence, another prominent theme in this book is called "The Literary Body". Maryani performs a narrative analysis of two soap operas and explores how women are marginalized in the processes of subjection and objectification. Maryani contributes to the studies on how media echoes and reinforces the societal stereotypical expectations in the context of the biggest soap operas in her country. Sebola, on the other hand, equipped with the postcolonial feminist theory in her analysis of the fictional works of Adichie, focuses her attention on the authoritative roles and loud voices of female characters. In Rabbani's work, the body

is critical, especially in her nomadic/post-transnational analysis of Kamila Shamsie's novel, *Burnt Shadows*. The literary analyses of these three authors point to the ongoing struggles to take charge of their bodies and womanhood in the contexts of soap operas and fictional literary works. This terrain remains relevant to explore because while some forms of art can reify existing stereotypes, many literary fictional works can be liberating.

Under the theme "The Legal Body", Grabowska, in her chapter entitled "The Female Body as Sites of Power" muses about the possibility of the depoliticization of the female body. She elaborates on the links of sex and corporeality to specific legislations and social policies. She evaluates the importance of not exactly depoliticizing sex and body but treating them instead as tools for political struggle. Smith, on the other hand, forwards the value of abolition feminism, which follows the premises of the abolition of democracy. This abolition feminism is premised on the impossibility of ending the carceral systems without systematic gender analysis. Like Smith's work, Muniz examines the interrelationships of sustainable development as a human right and women's economic empowerment. She argues that the right to development and economic empowerment of women is necessary for human rights to be effective. Muniz points out that the existing sexual division of labor can be dismantled by re-signifying social roles and by equitably sharing work activities. From politicizing sex and the body, restructuring the prison carceral system, and achieving transformative justice through abolition feminism and the jumping scale, up to the promotion of women's economic empowerment as a human right and linked to the idea of sustainable development, this theme reveals the heavily legal or political nature of the women's body.

Finally, under the theme "The Body That Performs", Tendenan turns to dance as a mechanism for voicing and combating violence against women. One of her central arguments is anchored on the relational character of dance that is linked to the appreciation of the existence of the female body. This chapter contributes to the discourse on the countless and creative ways women resist violence [6, 7]. Ishida also investigates the bodily performance of women, particularly their marginalization, but this time in the context of seafaring. She utilizes a Marxist feminism perspective in unraveling the links between capitalism and patriarchy in the said industry. She focuses on the economic and bodily domination of men and women and the layers of domination. The vessel is a microcosm of patriarchy showing not only the domination of men over women but also that of men over men (like a captain reigning supreme and ranking higher over his crew). In the context of language teacher education, alternatively, Elmabruk and Etarhuni problematize how teacher educators exercise pro-social or anti-social power and how that very power is influenced by gender. These three studies notably show how women perform in a bodily sense whether through dance, domination in a vessel through "transactional sex," and the disposal of power in an educational setting. The essence of these chapters is to reveal the still heavily heteronormative nature of social spaces where the gendered bodies perform. But more than that, the authors are triumphant in highlighting the possibilities of exercising agency anchored on women's very own bodies.

The bevy of works assembled in this volume testifies to the emerging new optics in feminists' agenda of juxtaposing old perspectives with new realities as far as the objective facticity of the body is concerned. Their works are testimony to the

resurgence of the body regurgitated in a transdisciplinary way. We hope that our work contributes to the expansion of the project of the feminist agenda by aggregating old and new works under unified themes of materiality and agency. With the sensate and thinking body back in the picture, agency via bodily movements may now be used as a legitimate lens in depicting materiality that construed unproblematic notions of corporeality and embodiment.

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Section 1

The Theoretical Body

Chapter 1

Introductory Chapter: Feminism, Corporeality, and Beyond

Michael Eduard L. Labayandoy and Dennis S. Erasga

1. Introduction

A theory or movement ceases to become relevant or exist when it no longer serves a purpose in society. That case is not applicable to feminism which continues to be significant today. It further develops [1], even shifts, and reaches new meanings and articulations—from lifestyle influencers [2], digital/hashtag feminism [3, 4], and even transmedia feminism [5]. One can only hope that feminism becomes less needed which would mean that the society becomes fairer and more inclusive. However, feminism, as a movement and a frame of mind, evolved together with the times. It refuses to turn a blind eye to all the inequalities and systems of marginalization brought about by existing and new forms of social contexts and social relations.

It is obvious that the pandemic has gendered effects, especially on women's lives [6, 7]. During the pandemic, domestic violence was heightened [8–10]. The government-imposed lockdowns forced families to be confined together for longer periods of time. This posed a serious problem with the already existing domestic violence. The said violence was further exacerbated by the pandemic lockdowns. The intimate partner violence amidst the lockdowns victimized mostly women which took significant tolls on their, among many other aspects, psychological, social, mental, and especially physical well-being. Other than the amplified domestic violence, the very bodies, strength, and management of time of women were challenged and were put to the test. For instance, the closure of the schools and the transition to online classes became a burden to many parents or guardians at home [11]. This means additional work for those involved in the child's education at home. But this was even more challenging in places like the Philippines. Because not all students attending the public schools have access to the internet and gadget, the modular approach was used which means parents, especially mothers (stereotyped as “care giver, teacher”), served as the tutor or were practically tasked to accomplish the lessons. This could be taxing, especially when many other things are needed to be done by mothers at home. Notably, violence at home, additional and demanding tasks, and many other concerns tested the physical and bodily dimensions of women. This reveals the significance of going back to the problem of the body as we face extraordinary situations like the pandemic today.

2. Agency and women's body as a continuing and unfinished project

Even beyond the pandemic, the issue of the corporeal continues to permeate the many dimensions of women's lives. The corporeal is even more meaningful today given the many continued struggles of women in various aspects of their lives—from

women and their bodies in anti-mining movements [12, 13], the feminine body in the context of the culture of care [14], body positivity in digital media cultures [15], among many other iterations. It is true that the history of gender theory is almost equivalent to the history of conceptualizations of embodiment and corporeality [16]. While many valuable feminist works advance the interests of women and the greater society, there is a need to considerably add agency into the equation. It is valuable to examine the nexus of corporeality and embodiment. The idea is that to mend the broken link between these two, the notion of “agency” must be accommodated and emphasized in the analysis. Lim [17] effectively countered the ahistorical, monolithic, and disembodied portrayal of women of Saudi Arabia. She heavily problematized the literature on how the role of the body is detached from women’s movements. To highlight the corporeal elements of the movements, she utilized Butler’s performativity. In her analysis of the said campaigns and movements, she successfully revealed various forms of protests (e.g., driving, cycling, silent walking) that reflected performative embodiments. More importantly, she highlighted that some forms of protest like cycling can make the body or the element of corporeality more visible and effective. Our appreciation of this example of important work is that the creative demonstrative capacities of women are clearly seen. As we explained in our other write-up here, corporeality can be regarded as a performance that is geared toward the audience for certain possible reasons or to achieve specific goals. Embodiment, seen as a demonstration, on the other hand, reveals the creative and solidarity-oriented actions and meaning makings of women. Lim’s study revealed that silent walking and tweeting as forms of protest tend to organize women to act in unison. She highlighted that some sites prompt women’s bodies to act together. Here, embodiment is no longer limited to the idea of performing, instead, the element of demonstration clearly reveals a certain form of agency that emanates not from the performance itself but draws power, energy, and strength from the very expression itself and demonstrated along with or in solidarity with the marginalized others.


Feminism is never a settled field. Various debates continue today like seeing sex/body as a stable identity (Nussbaum) versus assuming the body together with many aspects of our social lives as merely constructed and performed (Butler) [18]. Some even propose to see these contending positions to be intractably linked and inseparable [19]. These contradicting and gradating positions serve particular and still relevant purposes. For instance, it is worthwhile to see the body as a stable identity in relation to identity politics. In other words, for women’s political rights to be realized, sex or the body must be drawn in a concrete sense. The value of seeing the body as merely a social construction/performed allows us to see the arbitrariness of corporeality and embodiment, and hence see opportunities to change stereotypes and inequalities. The beauty here is that the interests are alive. One can argue that the concern on the body or the corporeal is an ongoing and unfinished project. The body or the corporeal is truly far-reaching, especially in the lives of women. But we reiterate that it is important to anchor the analysis on women’s agency as we examine corporeality and embodiment. Liimakka [20] correctly proposed to move away from the Cartesian agency and move closer instead to the idea of corporeal agency (or what we call embodied demonstrative agency). We argue that the emphasis on the latter opens the room for the re-reading of the body and unraveling the creative and social ways of actualizing the feminist project toward genuine freedom and equality. Here lies hope, wishing that we continue to examine feminism and corporeality and perhaps go beyond as we actualize the promises and potencies of women’s agentic selves.

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Chapter 2

One Flesh, Many Bodies: Agency and Women's Body

Dennis S. Erasga and Michael Eduard L. Labayandoy

Abstract

This chapter is a sociological rendition of the body-mind issue explored within the context of feminism and agency. Being central to the entire ecology of the feminist claims, bringing the body back into the discursive field allows the appreciation of hitherto emerging insights from the ranks of feminist scholars, notably in the area of new materiality. Problematizing the classical divide between the body and the mind as distinct yet nested spheres of one's social being pegs the discussion in the language of performance and demonstrability, thus highlighting the agency intrinsic to the body and its movements as a material facticity.

Keywords: corporeality, feminism, embodiment, agency, new materiality, body

1. Introduction

Affirmation of the primacy of the body in human consciousness stretches back to the very beginnings of the discipline of psychology and, recently, sociology and the humanities. The perspectival evolution from physical reality to objective facticity to a sensate and thinking body (i.e., self). The body is traditionally seen as the container of the self. But now, it is being seen as the self itself, being the direct receiver, assessor, and meaning-making entity by itself. The meaning-making capacity of the body, however, is truncated by various social forces acting on it in historical periods.

The human body is a palpable reality. This means that its existence is something that can be demonstrated as it is a physical feature, hence, tangible. The senses could verify its presence given its shape and form, including the fact that it is capable of sensing and being sensed, therefore, experiencing a whole lot of emotions and events happening in its surroundings. It is in the "sensate realm" that the whole issue of the body and its gravitas in our philosophical musings and sociopolitical discourses becomes a flashpoint. Descartes' (1596–1650) "cogito, ergo sum" (I think, therefore, I am) is a typical case in point. This notorious statement from one of the philosophical giants of the seventeenth century is not just about the attainability of knowledge as a product of the mind-body dualism, but an assertion of a belief (now a philosophy) that the body, however conceived, is wholly separate from the mind.

According to Descartes, two substances are distinct when each of them can exist apart from the other. Thus, Descartes reasoned that God is distinct from humans, and the body and mind of a human are also distinct from one another. He argued that the great differences between the body (an extended thing) and mind (an unextended,

immaterial thing) make the two ontologically distinct. According to Descartes' indivisibility argument, the mind is utterly indivisible because “when I consider the mind, or myself in so far as I am merely a thinking thing, I am unable to distinguish any part within myself; I understand myself to be something quite single and complete” [1].

Some scholars find this Cartesian philosophy that binarizes the mind and body to be problematic [2]. This rationale for holding the distinctiveness of the two is questionable on two grounds: one is based on typology, and the other on phenomenology. Classifying the body and the mind as two distinct substances (or something with materiality). While the capacity of the body to sense (to feel) and be sensed (to be felt) is not solely ontological but experiential. The body learns from these events, and with such capacity comes the ontological aspect. The body could no longer be seen as a conduit—a mediator between experiencing and knowing, but both at the same time. It is at this point that embodiment and corporeality become both instructive and strategic in advancing a new corpus of insights (pun intended). What bridges corporeality and embodiment is the notion of materiality.

The mind-body problem is a classic philosophical debate that highlights the relationship between thought and consciousness, representing the human mind, and the brain as part of the physical body. The discourse on the body-mind nexus is normally pegged in terms of how the mind and body function chemically and physiologically. So far, the interactionist perspective gave the clearest position as it conceived the mind and body as distinct—an extended position based on the premise that the mind and the body are fundamentally different. From this notion, we think that it is not a question of dualism but of duality, highlighting the distinctive factuality of both. But again, duality does not solve the issue.

Our position is that the body and the self are one, and creating distinctions between the two conflates the very idea of corporeality based on the emerging discourse on new materiality. As early as 2004, Reischer and Koo argued in their piece entitled “The Body Beautiful: Symbolism and Agency in the Social World” that the body is a site for the construction and performance of gender. Reischer and Koo [3] echoed prominent scholars like Butler and emphasized that gender is nothing but a series of repeated performances, and what holds the act together is the enactment of the very body. This therefore clearly demonstrates that the self is conscious and agentic enough to perform based on some normative expectations. This follows the argument of Grosz (1994, in [3]), who opposed the dichotomization between the mind and body and emphasized that the body is not natural, ahistorical, or precultural. More recently, Harding et al. [4] problematized the materialities and materialization of working bodies. They realized the lack of literature on bodies in their materiality. They coined the term “body/flesh,” whereas the body is the cultural dimension and the flesh is the material/biological dimension. Harding et al. [4] argued that these two are indivisible, and they succeeded in revealing that the body/flesh becomes the mode of control in silencing and keeping women invisible, but there are ways to exercise agency by, for instance, interceding interpellations and breaking free from the norms.

2. Materiality and the body

For the sake of clarity and brevity, let us offer an operational definition of materiality. From the base word “matter,” materiality is denotative of the physical components whose functionality and practicality in terms of purpose are the core considerations. The following quote concerning the etymology of the word is instructive:

*matter (n.): 1200, materie, "the subject of a mental act or a course of thought, speech, or expression," from Anglo-French matere, Old French matere "subject, theme, topic; substance, content; character, education" (12c., Modern French matière) and directly from Latin materia "substance from which something is made," also "hard inner wood of a tree." According to de Vaan and Watkins, this is from mater "origin, source, mother" (see **mother** (n.1)). The sense developed and expanded in Latin in philosophy by the influence of Greek hylē (see **hylo-**) "wood, firewood," in a general sense "material," used by Aristotle for "matter" in the philosophical sense (<https://www.etymonline.com/word/matter>).*

Given the above, it is the contention of this chapter that to address both the chasm and schism between the body and what it can accomplish, there must be a sociological accounting of their nexus. It is only through such accounting that we can have a fresh appreciation of the affordance of bringing the material, objective body back to the drawing board. The same, we believe, is made palpable by new technologies such as various social networking platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. These real-time visual artifacts re-position the physical body to different angles that reflect some sort of agency hitherto seen as such.

There are two options possible. One is to clarify the difference (and similarities) between corporeality and embodiment. The other is to reconceptualize their nexus in terms of what they intend to accomplish. The former will stabilize the distinctive traits of corporeality as opposed to embodiment, and this means recognizing both as anchored on the physicality of the sensate body. It can be accomplished by pointing out definitive features via their classic definitions. The latter will expand the ambit of their applicability in terms of how useful they are as far as the acting person (i.e., the acting body or the body in motion) is concerned. It can be done by reconceptualizing corporeality as a performance, on the one hand, and embodiment as a demonstration, on the other hand.

3. Corporeality as performance

A corporeal is a thing that has a physical existence and is capable of being seen and touched. Defining it this way, we can consider corporeality as a bodily representation seen through the functionalities of its organic parts. In one sense, the body is an object and something we are and is describable through a variety of "languages" such as biology, anthropology, medicine, and art. What we know about its components, functions, techniques, and capacities has developed and changed over time. In another sense, *to be* a body is subjective: It is the "fleshy" form through which we mediate, experience, and enact our lives. As emphasized by Harding et al. [4], when a call is heard and the body/flesh turns the very act of turning creates an embodied subject. In this way, our bodies connect us to the world, and we are subjected to the governing norms and power around us. However, while we all exist as bodies, our experiences of embodiment are not all the same.

One classic example would be the act of selfying. A selfie can be defined as a self-photograph taken using a smartphone. What makes selfies distinctive from other types of photographs is that they are taken by the persons themselves. The body positioning is done with the dedicated purpose to achieve a specific agenda in mind. While it is true that disembodiment happens online, Gonzalez's [5] study shows that digital activism creates embodiment and connection. Selfying is a postmodern way of representing the self through the visible body. A selfie of myself represents me as a

person and speaks to its viewers (mostly online viewers) of both having and being a body. That is, my body does not exist on its own—it is always connected to the world and its environments. It breathes air, it converts plant and animal matter into energy, and it is sustained (and challenged) by billions of microbes I will never see. At any given moment, my body is working hard in imperceptible ways to keep me alive, and throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, my corporeality reminds me that staying alive cannot be taken for granted.

The selfie is done primarily for an audience. The type and set of selfies posted on an Instagram account represent how the account holders want the viewers to see them as persons with an actual body (with a fair complexion and desirable shape, located in a lovely place). They are done primarily for them; hence, customized in the way they expect him/her to be (as a body). Looking at selfies this way, we cannot help but conclude that selfies as a corporeality are a form of performance prepared for a specific audience (see [6] study about feminism and political selfies).

4. Embodiment as demonstration

To emphasize the affordance of embodiment within the discursive universe of materiality, allow us to quote William James [7] as to his sentiment regarding the centrality of the body in amassing social experience:

The world experienced (otherwise called the ‘field of consciousness’) comes at all times with our body as its center, the center of vision, center of action, center of interest (...) The body is the storm center, the origin of coordinates, the constant place of stress in all that experience trains. Everything circles around it, and is felt from its point of view (p. 89).

Embodiment as a conceptual tool has generated a renewed interest within the philosophy of cognitive science over the past 20 years. Nonetheless, despite such excited innuendos, there remains much disagreement about just what it means to say that cognition is embodied. Kiverstein [8] came out with three-fold taxonomy of the body-cognition nexus (apologies for the extended quote):

In one view, which I will call body-functionalism, the body is understood as playing a role in implementing the computational machinery that underpins our cognitive capacities. A second view attempts to deflate talk of embodiment by arguing along traditional lines that the body contributes to information processing only by supplying inputs to the brain, or by executing motor instructions sent out from the brain. I will label this position body-conservativism as it seeks to preserve the traditional approaches to cognitive science in the face of calls for revolution and reform from the philosophers of embodiment. A third, somewhat heterodox and radical view, entirely eschews the computational theory of cognition on account of its alleged failure to explain how representations can provide an agent with commonsense knowledge of the world. In this third view, the body is understood as the source of meaning. I will call this view body-enactivism, as it is concerned with articulating how the body can enact or make a situation means to an agent (p. 741).

The trifocal categorization of body cognition quoted above is strategic in our articulation of new materialism because it tacitly prospects the agency that is lodged

within the body itself. In its basic sense, the body is no longer reduced to a sensate body, leaving it as a mere receptacle and processor of experience. Rather, the body becomes the thinking flesh, the self in actuality. As such, cognition and action are no longer separate but an integrated continuum. This conception verges on the model of enactivism. Enactivism was developed as a theory describing cognition as a mental function that arises from the dynamic interaction of the organism with its environment. The concept understands mental faculties to be embedded within neural and somatic activities and to emerge through the actions of the organism. Actions are proposed to not merely constitute responses to environmental stimuli but to instantiate expectations about the valence, sequence, and form of the organism's environment. Imputing rational impulses to body movements provides new room for entertaining a new notion of agency rooted in bodily materialism.

5. Agency: a mode of thinking with the body

Before outlining the key findings of this data, it is necessary to recall a distinction Husserl [9] drew between the body-as-subject (*Leib*) and the body-as-object (*Körper*). Bodies are both physical structures and lived experiences; something we are and something we have. Thus far, such a model has paid more attention to how we think about the body than how we think about the body. However, this literature remains interesting since the two facets are not independent: exploring social representations of the body can often be a particularly direct way of enlightening how first-person bodily experience interacts with social knowledge.

The body of a woman offers nuanced impacts on how this thinking-with the body. Although flesh in its constitution and form is similar to that of a man, the materiality of a woman's body has been subjected to various and diverse cultural, political, religious, and literary discourses. Her body movements have been the focus of such discursive pontifications. Under such duress, her body movements have been deprived of such virtue, even though her motivations for such actions are almost on par with those of men [10].

Women are more demonstrative in terms of how they conduct their movements compared to men, who are more performative in theirs. An example of this is how men perform power in maintaining their relationships. Performance is driven by the sheer desire to have the audience see what they want to see and what they want to feel. Hence, men's body postures are meant to show off such performances for the sake of their audience.


Women's bodies, on the other hand, tend to move (as in body motion) based on what they feel and towards self-discovery [11]. Their audience is themselves and, in many ways, they challenge the stereotypes, take back control of their bodies, and build a community and social support [12, 13]. Hence, motivations are demonstrated through body movements. From this vantage point, she could easily demonstrate what she truly feels rather than perform what is expected of them. Demonstrative actions are more agentic than performative ones. The former is anchored on internal conversations, as if thinking with the body. The latter is girded by the spectacle of showmanship.

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Chapter 3

Relational Feminism: Home in the Era of a Pandemic

Gadiël Robbertze and Charnét Swart

Abstract

Home forms a central part of every individual's life. Home is meant to be a space of safety, security, peace, and serenity. However, for such a central point in everyday life, the law does not reflect an adequate understanding and interpretation thereof. Home as a space during the COVID-19 pandemic has changed drastically, especially insofar as it relates to domestic violence. It is, therefore, fitting to discover what exactly home means and what home ought to mean in order to protect all legal rights that flow from it adequately.

Keywords: home, COVID-19, domestic violence, South Africa, Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, feminist theories, relational feminism, feminism in law, autonomy

1. Introduction

Home is where the heart is. It is, or at least it is meant to be, a space of safety, security, privacy, equality and human dignity. All these aforementioned rights are protected by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (“the Constitution”) and are contained in the Bill of Rights [1].

However, the COVID-19 pandemic and the national lockdown caused people to be confined to four walls, exposing existing inequalities and the scary reality that many women, in particular, face, especially with regard to gender-based violence. It can be said, during this period, that there were, in fact, two pandemics – COVID-19 and domestic violence.

Since the COVID-19 outbreak, ‘home’ has taken on a new meaning. This chapter aims to determine what home means versus what home ought to mean if the rights therein are unlimited or unfettered by diminishing practical realisation. The chapter intends to interpret the ideal form of home from a relational feminist perspective and will look at how home as a safe space has been tarnished due to domestic violence, which has increased exponentially during the COVID-19 pandemic. The research is predominantly theoretical in nature in the sense that we aim to analyse and synthesise feminist theories in an attempt to achieve a holistic understanding of home in law. The research is a combination of interpretive and critical analysis of the law insofar as it pertains to ‘home-ing’ rights, autonomy and domestic violence.

2. The meaning of home in law (from a South African perspective)

Home has been defined in various disciplines. However, it greatly lacks adequate interpretation in law. One should have a legal understanding of home because as it stands, there are laws generally applicable to the home as underlined in the Bill of Rights. This includes rights such as equality, human dignity, freedom and security of the person, privacy, housing, and to a large extent, the right to life. The reason is that home is meant to be a space of equality, human dignity, freedom, safety, and security and is the penultimate place for exercising one's right to life [2]. Home encapsulates the most intimate parts of one's life, it is a space of existence and freedom. However, home carries with it very subjective feelings and interpretations.

2.1 Home and house

In order to fully discern what home could mean, one first needs to consider what elements make up the home and this can be achieved by looking at the right to housing, the structural form of the home. However, as a point of departure, it is essential to note that home is not merely a physical location but also an inalienable emotional construct [2].

Although South African case law and legislation refer to 'home', no formal definition is in place. For instance, Section 14(1) of the Constitution deals with the right to privacy and reads as follows: "Everyone has the right to privacy, which includes the right not to have – their person or home searched" [1]. Section 26(3) of the Constitution reads: "No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions" [1]. Further, Section 3(5)(b) and 17(1) of the Housing Act 107 of 1997 ("Housing Act") speaks of "home ownership" and not "house ownership" [3]. Furthermore, the preamble of the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act 19 of 1998 ('the PIE Act') reads as follows: "AND WHEREAS no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances" [4]. Lastly, case law also refers to the home, and the courts have attempted to define it. For example, in the case of *Port Elizabeth Municipality v Various Occupiers* 2005 (1) SA 217 (CC) ('PE Municipality'), par 17, the court considers home as a concept in relation to adequate housing. The case provides that the Constitution recognises that "home is more than just a shelter" (see para 17 of the judgment) [5]. It considers the importance of the house as a home and the home as a place of "personal intimacy" and "family security" which becomes a "familiar habitat" [5].

In light of the above, it seems as though the rational point of departure would be to understand housing rights as encapsulated in the Constitution and the Housing Act. The Constitution provides for the right to "adequate housing" [1]. Housing is a complex matter, hence the difficulty in defining adequate housing. Housing has a profound emotive aspect because it plays such a central role in forming a person's life and livelihood. Access to adequate housing provides for the enjoyment of life and living as a human being. Therefore, it is crucial to establish a definition of adequate housing. There is no definition of adequate housing within South African legislation; however, there is mention of it in policies, case law and international law which has proven to assist in understanding what it entails. As a starting point, Section 26 of the Constitution provides that everyone has a right to access adequate housing and that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures to realise the right progressively. The Housing Act was implemented to effect Section 26 of the Constitution.

The preamble of the Housing Act states that housing, in the form of adequate shelter, is a “basic human need” and that it forms a vital part to the “socio-economic well-being of the nation” [3]. This is a highly regarded right.

Despite this, there is no definition of housing. The closest definition relating to adequate housing is the definition of ‘housing development’:

“which means the establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, and to health, educational and social amenities in which all citizens and permanent residents of the Republic will, on a progressive basis, have access to –.

Permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and.

Potable water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply” [3].

International law provides a wider scope of what adequate housing necessitates. South Africa became the 163rd state party to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (‘ICESCR’) on 12 January 2015 [6]. Therefore, the ICESCR has interpretive value in South Africa, and a definition of adequate housing may be considered from this covenant. The Convention further informs South Africa on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979 (‘CEDAW’), which was ratified by South Africa on 15 December 1995 [7].

The international standard of housing should be the minimum standard of housing at a national level. Furthermore, adequate housing, even on an international level, means more than just having a place to live - it is interconnected with other rights, including the right to privacy, freedom, equality, and even property rights. The interdependence and interrelatedness of other human rights associated with housing rights must be recognised on an international basis as they are on a national basis. Once again, the right to adequate housing cannot be understood in isolation and must be considered within its context of other human rights [8].

Article 11 of the ICESCR deals with the right to an adequate standard of living, including “adequate food, clothing and housing, and the continuous improvement of living conditions.” The ICESCR General Comment no. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing, was implemented in response to Article 11 (1) of the Covenant, which holds an interpretive value [2]. It recognises the importance of the right to adequate housing on the enjoyment of other economic, social, and cultural rights. The paper provides that the right to adequate housing applies to everyone regardless of their age, economic status or group and that the right must be absent from any form of discrimination [6]. Furthermore, this right must be interpreted in the wide sense of the word, meaning that the right to adequate housing consists of more than a roof and four walls. The right to adequate housing includes a right to security, peace, and dignity since it is not a right interpreted in isolation but within its context with other human rights that affect it and which it affects. Furthermore, it is not merely a right to housing but a right to adequate housing, which means that there should be adequate privacy, space, security, lighting and ventilation, adequate basic infrastructure, and adequate location to work and basic facilities, all at a reasonable cost. Many factors affect adequacy, including social, economic, cultural, climatic, and other factors, all of which must be considered when defining adequacy in respect of housing [9].

This understanding of housing, has a strong impact on the understanding of home since it informs part of the structural narrative of the home. However, home is not as one-dimensional as housing. It encompasses additional values and is gendered in nature. Reason being, that it can be said that for many years, and even to this day, women have traditionally been confined to the home. Therefore, it is crucial to elucidate the importance of gender and the imbalanced enjoyment of said fundamental rights in the home.

2.2 Home and city

Henri Lefebvre coined “the right to the city” and Chris Butler muses on it in *Henri Lefebvre: Spacial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to City*. The city, according to Butler and Lefebvre, is more than just an urban product of industrial production and capital accumulation. The right to the city, according to Lefebvre, entails participation in collective and creative acts. Denying people of these acts results in a denial to the right to the city [10]. Lefebvre further suggests that the right to the city is linked to access to urban life which in turn links to centrality, gathering and convergence [10]. As a result, one can see how the home connects to the city. Both are inherently creative, expressive, and participatory spaces.

In addition to the foregoing, Allison Goebel further links the right to the city to inhabitation [11, see in general Chapter 7 and in particular, page 179]. She contends that inhabitation goes beyond merely a place of residency, occupation or habitation. Rather, this extends to aspects such as access to work, access to adequate housing and basic services [11]. These aspects all culminate to confer on one person a sense of rootedness in a particular place which brings forth an individual’s sense of belonging in a certain place. Once these aspects are compromised, the sense of rootedness and belonging dissipates with it.

These places that people find themselves in are gendered (among other things) in nature. In other words, it is important to be cognizant of how geography is also of importance to the notion of gender. For instance, there have been various historical patterns of migration to urban areas within South Africa, which women have all done under very different conditions to men. In the 1980s in South Africa, restrictions on migration shifted which meant that more people, including women, began to fill new informal settlements in urban areas. Preceding the removal of said restrictions, urban areas were formed for the purposes of accommodating the male workforce. It is thus clear that the right to the city is riddled with a history of struggle and that these struggles in themselves are gendered.

Moving back to the home, and as we have argued before, home has often also been viewed as a space of imprisonment for women, especially when subjected to strong patriarchal power structures. Women’s limitation of movement is as a result of certain cultural and social contexts and ultimately results in the subordination of women. For instance, women are often confined to particular places, usually the home, which can be associated with the private sphere. This not only limits her right to the public sphere, but also places a limitation on her identity. In this instance, the city, although not necessarily attainable in circumstances where she is confined, is embraced as a space of freedom, liberation, and empowerment in paradox to the perceived liberty lived in the private sphere. In other words, the city becomes her ‘private’ or ‘intimate’ space where she can fully express herself and feel autonomous, despite the different power structures within the public sphere. In comparison, her space, her home, which is meant to be a space of freedom of expression and autonomy is ripped from her and a space, the public sphere, becomes her intimate space. Thus, she is unfairly stripped

from her right to a home because the only space where she can be herself is a space that nonetheless limits her freedom, but in this instance, to a lesser extent than at home.

Furthermore, many women have been and still remain subject to discrimination in several cultures, religions, political contexts, in the city and the state (i.e., socially, economically etc.), and this discrimination occurs within the city (the public sphere) congregates within the home space. Therefore, it can be seen that city and home equally struggle with discrimination, and one influences the other, meaning that discrimination occurring within the home flows into the city and vice versa. The two concepts are interlinked but nonetheless separate.

The paradoxical enjoyment of the public sphere was more so deprived as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic which resulted in further reduction of the enjoyment of an already diminished liberty experienced by women. This not only pertained to one's freedom of movement for instance, but where one identifies as their sphere of autonomy. It showcased the said reductions due to the fact that it was realised by all South Africans within a small time frame – South African's became increasingly more aware of each other's home spaces.

Additionally, when considering the right to a city, it is also important to consider it within the South African context and how many South Africans are excluded from having a right to the city and thus, having a right to the home (on the basis that the two concepts remain interrelated). Both home and city serve as anchors and rootedness in place. Where basic human rights, such as housing, are denied, the rootedness dissipates and along with it the individual's sense of belonging. This results in exclusion from society, and once you are excluded from society, as Hooks indicates, home becomes your only source of protest and belonging.

It is true that in most instances in South Africa (and elsewhere) women are and have been, denied the right to a city. By this, we mean that the public sphere is dedicated to perpetuating the idea of it being the male's domain, and women belong to the 'private' sphere. For instance, women are statistically more at risk of enjoying the public sphere. Therefore, they are cast aside to the so-called 'private' sphere (also related to the home space). However, our argument will show that their right to live and use is denied even in the 'private' sphere. Tovi Fenster notes that the right to use public spaces must begin at the home scale. One cannot invoke such a stark separation between the public and private spheres because the two have substantial impacts on each other. By isolating the discussion on the right to the city from the right to a home, one creates neutral ideation of the public domain, which is removed from any power relations, which is simply not a realistic view of the public and private spheres.

The above displays how many women are deprived of the right to a city for reasons such as not having fair opportunities to work, having additional care-giving burdens which prevent them from moving to a more structured and urban setting which can provide them with fundamental human rights such as the right to water, housing, social grants, transport etc. However, it is true that for some women, it is a choice to remain in these rural areas. However, often these rural areas do not cater for all the needs that an individual requires. Ultimately unequal opportunities are at play when it comes to women and men based on stereotypical gender roles. It is thus important to consider how equality should be interpreted and eventually implemented to ensure that all individuals, whether male or female, are treated equally in the true sense of the word.

When considering the right to the city one needs to consider how history has played a role in women's sense of place, home, safety and their right to a city.

Apartheid in South Africa caused segregation, poverty, protest etc. The legacy of apartheid remains, and post-apartheid urban studies have followed these trends of segregation, protest, and urban poverty.

3. The gendered home

As previously stated, home is a physical location related to housing. Furthermore, it is a psychological construct. Intangible factors such as emotional, psychological, social, and cultural factors are associated with home. Home, for example, can be perceived as a place of memory and nostalgia, comfort and security. It is an innately gendered concept in this sense because there is an appeal to regress to past traditions or social norms, which results in unequal relationships between men and women. These nostalgic memories and feelings can create a sense of comfort in the discomfort - there is a comfort in being rather than becoming.

Among other reasons, this is primarily why many feminist theorists (such as liberal feminist theorists) have rejected the idea of home because it creates a false sense of security in the nostalgia where patriarchal patterns are re-implemented which confine women to one space, and limits them from entering the public sphere to a large extent. In order to illuminate how home is gendered, Martin Heidegger's philosophy of dwelling is considered as a point of departure. In 1954 Heidegger published 'Baren wohnen denken' translated to 'building, dwelling thinking' [6]. Heidegger wrote that 'we attain to dwelling, so it seems, only by means of building' [12]. In his discussions, he, unfortunately, abandons the importance of preservation. Although the word *bauen* also means to cherish and protect, preserve and care for, he contends that building in the sense of preserving and nurturing does not make anything [12]. Iris Marion Young reflects on this writing and counters Heidegger's argument by expressing that preservation contributes to establishing one's identity [13]. She explains that preservation entails the act of keeping physical objects intact; moreover, it renews their meaning in life. Preservation is distinct from construction/building because construction disrupts the current state of being, whereas preservation is cyclical and temporary in nature [13].

Between 1946 and 1949, Simone De Beauvoir wrote *The Second Sex*. In her book, she asserts that women's housework has a negative basis. Acts such as tidying up, washing, and cleaning dirt are repetitive in nature and thus make nothing. One removes the dirt, only for it to be dirty again, and then the cycle starts again. She argues that human existence involves transcendence and immanence [14]. In other words, being human involves some form of moving forward (not being repetitive). Therefore, women subjected to housework alone perpetuate humanity without making any discernible change.

A potential gendered limitation of this definition reveals itself in Heidegger's argument that building in the sense of preserving and nurturing does not make anything. This indicates that women (generally speaking, preservers) are not on an equal footing as men (builders) [13]. However, Young demonstrates that preservation is in fact, world-making. She discusses the many facets of preservation and states that preservation entails not only the act of maintaining the physical things among which one dwells (which gives context to people's lives) but that it also entails the telling and re-telling of stories so that memories live on and in that sense, keeping people alive as it informs and develops and informs their identity.

The effect of nationwide lockdown brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the imperative nature of maintenance within the home, as families could

not help but notice the imperfections and shortcomings of their living environment due to the elongated confinement in their homes.

The contrasting views on what home means for women have created duality in meaning, and the purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how home can once more, be a space of safety, equality, privacy, autonomy, and the like.

However, before delving into how home can be a positive space, it is very important not to neglect the realities that many women face daily with specific reference to domestic violence. Therefore, home as a space of danger and fear, especially in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, will be considered next.

4. Domestic violence and the COVID-19 pandemic

On 31 December 2019, The World Health Organisation first reported the occurrence of the COVID-19 pandemic [15]. Governments across the world adopted regulations that forced citizens to make sacrifices in the interest of the public good. On 23 March 2020, the President of the Republic of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa, announced that the National Coronavirus Command Council took the decision to implement a nationwide lockdown for 21 days with effect from 26 March 2020 [16]. The announcement of a national lockdown, which would confine persons to their residential homes, is a novel occurrence in this country's history. To effectively deal with the rapid spread of the virus, the government gazetted various regulations. Ultimately, the COVID-19 pandemic placed the spotlight on another pandemic, namely the 'the shadow pandemic' [17]. In 2014, the UN Women started to use the term 'pandemic' to capture the global prevalence of gender-based violence [18]. During the lockdown period, the world had to deal with two pandemics simultaneously which proved to be interrelated [18]. The term 'shadow pandemic' was first referred to by the United Nations in a 2021 report to describe the exponential increase of domestic violence during lockdown [18].

A home includes different role-players of which the eldest male tends to be regarded as the 'head of the household,' and women seldom get elevated to the 'head of the household'. Women typically take on an inferior role of doing what the 'head' wishes; if non-compliance with such demands, violence often occurs. The occurrence of violence is the most common violation of an individual's human rights [17]. Domestic violence has existed in society for a long time but remains underreported as it is regarded as a private matter [19]. Domestic violence affects the development of a nation and can therefore not be regarded as a private matter [20]. The costs associated with domestic violence costs nations fortunes which hinders overall development [21]. Despite the costs to individuals, health systems and the society, domestic violence remains widely ignored and misunderstood [21]. The World Bank reported that only 7% of women reported abuse to a formal source [21]. The main reason why victims of domestic violence fail to report abuse is due to the stigma surrounding victims of domestic violence [22]. Victims who were raised in a violent home tend to think that violence is the norm and thus stay in the abusive home environment [23].

In response to the Covid-19 pandemic, the South African government prohibited the sale of non-essential items such as tobacco and alcohol [24]. One would expect that this prohibition would somewhat assist in regulating or reducing the occurrence of domestic violence. Unfortunately, the government did not fully consider the implications of family members being confined in an (often small) family home. Frustrations related to unemployment, the restriction of movement, and the

prohibition of substances inadvertently and habitually used to emotionally cope, caused an increase in the reported cases of domestic violence. During April 2020 (amid the lockdown period) gender-based violence rose by 500 percent [25]. During the first week of the national lockdown the South African Police Services received an estimate of 2300 complaints concerning gender-based violence [26].

4.1 Restriction of movement

After the state of disaster was announced, regulations under Section 3 of the Disaster Management Act 57 of 2002 were gazetted. For the period of lockdown every person was confined to his or her home unless the individual was performing an essential service, obtaining an essential good or service, collecting social grants, or seeking emergency, life-saving or chronic medical attention [24].

For some, adopting the regulations which confined one to one's home was seen as a blessing as it meant spending more time with your family in the safety of your home. For others, it meant that they would conduct their work duties from the convenience of their home, which also led to financial savings. Despite the negative connotations associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, some experienced benefits from the announcement of the national lockdown period.

For others, primarily women and children, the announcement of the national lockdown led to further oppression and isolation. One of the prominent tactics of domestic violence perpetrators are to socially isolate their victims [27]. As stated by Jacky Mulveen, project manager of Women's Empowerment of Recovery Educators, Covid19 does not make an abuser, but it provides the abuser with more tools to control the victim [28]. The regulations made provision for an abused partner to leave the confines of her home to seek assistance, but this did not provide adequate protection for such victim. Women who were forced to leave their homes due to an abusive partner was ultimately deprived of her physical home structure and her sense of safety, security and serenity.

In this regard, it is imperative to consider how shelters for battered women were affected during the COVID-19 pandemic. Many women who leave their abusive homes have no option but to approach a shelter. Shelters for battered women are thus critical during these times. The problem in South Africa lies in the fact that at this point and even during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Department of Social Development only has 84 shelters set up nationally [29]. Over and above the lack of shelters, considering the vast spread of the so-called shadow pandemic, many of these shelters are inadequate in terms of their infrastructure and their facilities [29]. This would naturally make women hesitant to approach such shelters and leave them stranded in their unsafe homes.

Moreover, shelters are not a permanent solution. The lack of financial means of these shelters means that many of these shelters can only accommodate women and children for a period of three to six months. Moreover, specific admission measures and criteria tend to be in place. For example, some shelters tend to exclude women who have children over a certain age, which poses the risk of being placed in general shelters alongside men, facing the potential of abuse all over again, not to mention the recurring trauma they will face in these spaces.

It is evident that women who seek out temporary shelters lack autonomy because their ability to make choices has been stripped from them [29]. This poses a serious risk. When women have nowhere else to go, they run the risk of homelessness or facing the dreadful reality of returning to their abuser. Thus, there is a dire need to

establish funding for domestic violence shelters and temporary homes in a country ridden with domestic violence.

4.2 Financial deprivation of women during the pandemic

During the COVID-19 pandemic, women were placed in a very uncertain position as some women lost their employment or experienced a reduction in their income. Even before the implementation of the national lockdown, women faced the reality of unemployment. The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) reported that South Africa has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world. Stats SA reported that 2.2 million jobs were lost in quarter 2 of 2020 [30]. The NIDS-CRAM survey showed the gendered nature of job losses, with 2/3 being attributed to women [31]. Social grants were made available for persons who met certain criteria; however, grants were only accessible to those who could complete the application via WhatsApp, SMS, and e-mail [32]. This had the potential of inhibiting women subject to domestic violence from reprieve as abusers are inclined to limit their access to communication devices. Women who were subjected to domestic violence were forced to rely on the government or their abusive partner for financial support. Due to the administration involved in claiming funds from the government, women often elected to remain in the unsafe environment of their abusive partner.

During the national lockdown, some women struggled to claim spousal and child maintenance. Debtors of maintenance (mostly men) opportunistically abused the State of Disaster to evade their maintenance responsibilities. Even though a party may not unilaterally decide to abandon his or her maintenance obligations, this was done, and the court provided little support for the party who relied on the maintenance to ensure a functioning household. Family courts were deemed essential services but directives were issued which, in most cases, did not provide the party claiming maintenance with immediate relief. The Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Ronald Lamola, said during the lockdown period that only first-time applications for maintenance and applications in respect of enforcement of maintenance orders would be dealt with [33].

During the lockdown period women took on more unpaid labour tasks such as caregiver, educator, and domestic worker. An inadequate interpretation of the law providing for home indirectly affects children as well. Any imbalance of home protection for women is cascaded down to children as well. It is regrettable that there is no systemic attempt to encourage men to take more responsibility when it comes to such tasks. On average, women perform three times more unpaid work than their male counterparts [34]. While being confined within four walls, women's tasks increased and in some instances, had a negative effect on their mental health. The additional household responsibilities reduced the women's work productivity which ultimately had (and still has) a negative impact on their career prospects.

When one thinks of 'abuse,' one is usually more concerned with physical abuse as this type of abuse is more widely reported and discussed on social media platforms. However, as seen from the above discussion, economic abuse is often more of a concern as an abusive partner is in a position to exploit an abused partner who has no other financial support.

As mentioned earlier, products such as alcohol and tobacco were banned during the lockdown period to ensure bed availability in hospitals [24]. This ban was a blessing for some victims of domestic violence, however, in other cases, individuals used all available funds to secure alcohol and tobacco products illegally [35]. They would

pay exorbitant amounts for such products instead of providing for their family's basic needs.

Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in many individuals losing their source of income. As mentioned in the discussion above, insofar as domestic violence shelters, women lack the financial means to seek out alternative options. The effect of people losing their source of income as a result of the pandemic has exacerbated this problem. As a result, many people, particularly women, become welfare recipients of the state. This places them in a very unfortunate position because there is a preconceived notion that welfare recipients are a burden to the whole of society [36]. Society views reliance as a form of failure, failure to achieve autonomy and views these persons as a financial burden. Society at large views these women as capable of working and earning an income to care for herself and her children. However, the several factors which prevent her from achieving this are often overlooked [2]. These women are seen as dependent, which is linked with weakness. The public sphere develops many plans to enforce self-sufficiency and a perverse form of autonomy [36]. Suppose women continue to live in these unpleasant conditions. In that case, the state and the public are disappointed and confused because they believe that these vulnerable women “choose” to remain in such conditions [36].

The first goal of the relational approach requires compromises. These compromises require changing the subjective understanding/belief of autonomy and how to achieve it. The public sphere pleads helplessness and believes that these circumstances of abused women are inherent in the structure of society. They see no feasible solution to these vulnerable circumstances because the only reasonable solution would necessitate a complete loss of the most basic structures of society they are familiar with [2]. The only solution requires sacrifices, which entails challenging the association of independence with autonomy and viewing interdependence as a way of achieving independence, thus, denying the conventional claim to independence [37]. An alternative understanding of autonomy is required, one which does not negate the possibility that the development of a person stems from relationships, which includes dependency relationships [38]. The importance of the relational approach in this context is to make oppressed and abused women feel safe and more autonomous, regardless of their dependency on state welfare [39]. The relational approach denies the exclusive association of independence with autonomy because this association often devalues people who do not fit the ideal image of independence [39]. The relational approach redefines autonomy in terms of relations which enhance this value.

4.3 Domestic violence Act 116 of 1998

Women, children, and elderly people are more prone to suffer from violence. The reported cases of gender-based violence in South Africa are among the world's highest, and this was the position even before the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic [40]. The increased number of reported gender-based violence cases led to the South African government declaring gender-based violence a national crisis [41].

The Domestic Violence Act's preamble specifically states that the Act intends to provide more effective remedies to deal with acts of domestic violence. The Act aims to ensure that the home environment is a place of safety. Research on the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act has revealed that law reform does not automatically change women's experience of violence. More legal remedies and easier access to such remedies do not liberate women from violent behaviour within their homes [42].

In *KV v WV 2020 (1) SACR 89 (KZP)*, the court *inter alia* states that the legislature's intention in dealing with domestic violence matters was to apply different principles to those set out in criminal law and delictual laws. In this case the court had to determine whether unlawfulness would be a requirement to determine whether the conduct constituted domestic violence. The court explicitly held that the requirement was 'harm' and the requirement of unlawfulness need not be considered. The court recognised that domestic violence can take on a multitude of manifestations and that the home environment should be protected by providing victims (primarily women and children) with a wider form of protection by making reference to the word 'harm' [43]. Even though this Act can provide some sort of protection and remedies for victims of domestic violence, such orders are seldom made final.

There are various non-profit organisations whose main aim is to assist victims of domestic violence with court procedures, shelters, and general emotional care. One of these organisations is MOSAIC. MOSAIC is an organisation that provides court support services to victims of domestic violence who apply for protection orders. The organisation estimated that almost half of its clients were not returning to court to finalise their protection orders. In most instances, the victim reported that she was threatened by bodily harm or harm to a loved one and therefore did not return to make the protection order final. Victims also reported not adhering to the return dates due to systemic issues. These issues mainly relate to the victim not being adequately informed of the process and what is expected of her. Other victims simply claim that they lost confidence in the criminal justice system [44].

CEDAW found that nearly 144,000 requests for protection orders were made from 2018 to 2019, of which only 22,200 were granted [45]. In many cases, the protection order simply called on the abuser to sleep in a different bedroom within the same house. This shows that in some cases, the home remains a source of anxiety, fear and oppression even if the victim is deemed as protected under the law as it stands.

4.4 International response to gender-based violence during lockdown

The increasing rates of domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic have given rise to a range of additional responsibilities placed on governments and non-profit organisations around the world. Worldwide regulations were implemented to curb the spread of COVID-19. Most countries, such as Italy, Spain, and France, implemented strategies to assist individuals in abusive relationships during the lockdown period.

Italy implemented a smartphone system where victims could seek help with the use of a smartphone application which made it possible to seek assistance without making a phone call [46]. A new law was also implemented that orders the abuser to leave the family home and not the abused party. In Brazil, a similar innovation was implemented. The Human Rights BR application was launched in April 2020, which provides victims with a method of reporting that would be more secure than a traditional phone line [47]. Domestic violence matters could also be filed electronically, and the matter could be heard virtually in some of the Brazilian courts [47]. Protection orders which would have expired during the lockdown period were automatically extended [47]. The Maria da Penha Patrulha police, which was established in 2019, provided services that include house visits to victims' homes to ensure that court orders are complied with [47]. This initiative is aimed at both the abuser and the abused and ultimately does not just place the responsibility on the abused. Such

innovation ensures that the home and the human rights of the abused are properly protected.

The Spanish government enabled exemption from lockdown regulations for women who found themselves in domestic violence [47]. In most cases, women are clearly left with one option: she must leave the communal home whilst the abuser remains comfortable in the home pending the possible finalisation of court cases. It is believed that Spain was the first country to implement the Mascarilla-19 campaign [48]. Women who found themselves in an abusive relationship were urged to visit a pharmacist and use the code word 'Mask-19', which would then alert the pharmacist that the woman required assistance. Similar campaigns took root in France, Argentina, Chile, and India [48]. The French government went as far as providing free counselling and paid for the bills of the hotel rooms of the victims who asked for help at the pharmacies. During the first lockdown, the French government subsidised 20,000 nights of accommodations in hotels for victims of domestic violence. The Spanish and the Belgian government took a similar approach by purchasing several nights of private hotel accommodations for victims [48]. These initiatives provided temporary relief, which did not protect the home environment of the abused. Despite the noble intentions of the abovementioned initiatives, these initiatives only provided temporary relief and did not protect the home environment.

5. Evictions during the National Lockdown in South Africa

An eviction process sparks various emotions such as powerlessness and humiliation. In an attempt to ensure that persons remain within the confines of their homes, the Disaster Management Act Regulations placed a moratorium on evictions [49]. Unfortunately, this protection did not provide adequate protection for women in informal settlements. Residents of informal settlements, inner city occupiers, tenants, and mortgage payers were the most vulnerable groups who had to face the risks associated with the pandemic and losing their access to housing [49].

Interpretation of ownership in rural areas differs markedly from the acquisition of immovable property in accordance with South African laws [49]. In rural areas, a home is regarded as a collective 'home,' and it is passed on from one generation to another. The Constitution does not recognise this practice and is not legalised as it is based on a verbal or written agreement between families [49]. When it was found that women and their children did not belong, they were forcefully removed from their homes, curtailing their right to health services [49].

In March 2020, a group of about 210 occupiers of a building belonging to the City of Cape Town was evicted following a court order which was obtained before the implementation of the national lockdown Regulations. These occupiers were left without alternative accommodation [50]. Further, in April 2020, the City of Johannesburg evicted 23 residents in a building that accommodated City employees. This eviction process was challenged, and the Gauteng High Court, Local Division ruled that it was indeed an unlawful eviction [50]. The City of Cape Town's Law Enforcement Unit forcibly evicted over a hundred residents of Empolweni without a court order. This eviction was also found to be unlawful [50]. The above examples illustrate the helplessness experienced by many (mostly women and children) amid the COVID-19 pandemic despite so-called legal safeguards [50].

6. Towards a relational (feminist) understanding of home

The gendered aspect of home requires a reconceptualization of home through the lens of equality. For instance, domestic violence will not stop unless abusive relations are restructured. Therefore, there is a need to interrogate these sets of relations which inform unequal powers between parties. The task of restructuring abusive relations is challenging on the one hand because it aims at restructuring intimate relations as well as relations in broader public spaces, which shape and uphold domestic violence [37]. However, on the other hand, relations are dynamic and ever-changing which means that there is scope to interrogate and change these harmful relations. Once this can be achieved, the true and hopeful meaning of home can be achieved.

Furthermore, if rights are understood in terms of relations, it brings forth the possibility to determine which relations are destructive, and which are constructive to values such as privacy, security, safety and autonomy. Such values are only made possible by structures of relationships [2]. In other words, a relational approach determines which relations structure the right to a home (being safe, secure, and settled in one's identity and the relations that form it). Certain relations take away from this right to the home (not always directly), often indirectly, by being complicit to the threat of these values. For instance, it is not solely the violence between intimate partners within the home that causes a threat to such values, but also the state's complicity. This complicity contributes to the violence occurring privately [37]. Hence, there is a clear need to restructure these detrimental relations and how they undermine these values, into a way that considers alternative relations which are beneficial to them. Many social relationships have constrained and oppressed women. Therefore, imbalanced power relations between men and women need to be restructured, alongside a transformation of the social and intimate relations that give rise to these values threat.

Relations of inequality and patriarchal conceptions of masculinity are what shape domestic violence. However, these relations are only understood when seen in the light of broader gender relations that society instills [37]. It is, therefore, critical to understand how masculinity and patriarchy intersect with other hierarchies and state structures and how they affect both men and women [37]. In order to eliminate violence and to ensure that cherished human values are upheld, a serious rearrangement of power relations between men and women is required [2]. This is a rearrangement of how relations are structured, not only from an interpersonal level but from a broader societal level as well [51]. The dichotomous relationship between the public and private spheres is part of the destructive relations that contribute to the prevalence of violence. The divide insulates the private sphere from regulation, even when such regulation is necessary. This insulation leads to women's continued force and subordination in the private sphere [52].

Therefore, it can be argued that Jennifer Nedelsky's concept of relational autonomy can add some value to redefining the home and the relationships that exist within it. Autonomy exists because of constructive relations. Autonomy is imperative to all feminist theories. It is a notion that aims at dismantling oppression, subjection, and individuality [37]. Nedelsky defines autonomy in terms of a relational approach and looks at autonomy as the feeling of comprehension, confidence, dignity, efficacy, respect, and a degree of peace and security from oppressive powers. Domestic violence is a prime example of how oppressive relationships stand in the way of achieving autonomy and, equivalently, the ideal of home. The relational approach calls for a need to restructure state involvement in a way that does not threaten her

autonomy. The relational approach does not invite more state involvement but rather a different form of state involvement [37]. This different form of state involvement will be achieved when underlying structures in the public sphere are restructured in such a way that it informs values within the private sphere. In other words, we require a restructuring of the values in the public sphere which enhance patriarchal practices to ones that celebrate autonomy as understood in relational terms [37]. This does not equate to more state involvement. It results in a different application and practice of state involvement which merely upholds already existing rights. It results in the state applying its duties in a manner that mandates change. The principal purpose of the public/private divide is to ensure that autonomy is protected. However, such a divide has proven to be ineffective in ensuring autonomy. Often the divide protects the violence within the walls of the private sphere instead of autonomy. It results in violence within the walls of the private sphere, which is being protected, instead of autonomy. The fundamental question should not be how to maintain and build more boundaries but rather how to advance autonomy between these boundaries.

Although autonomy is rooted in liberal theories of individualism, Nedelsky argues that relational autonomy has the capacity to incorporate the human experience of embeddedness in relationships, both good and bad. Relational autonomy and relational feminism investigate social norms and institutions that are detrimental to the value of autonomy and consider methods of restructuring these destructive norms. In redefining autonomy from this perspective, it becomes easier to protect it because it is no longer limited to independence and to the private sphere. When redefining autonomy in terms of relations and protecting it, we reclaim autonomy as an ideal and simultaneously reclaim home. By reclaiming autonomy in terms of relations, we reclaim home as a place, and we reclaim home as a feeling.

7. Conclusion

Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic people have been expected to adjust their entire lifestyle. Individuals were *inter alia* expected to remain home in an attempt to curb the spread of COVID-19. It has become apparent from the above discussion that a home is not merely a location or a physical structure, but it is a space where one longs for a sense of security, autonomy and belonging. In the case of *PE Municipality* the court specifically recognised that a ‘home is more than just a shelter.’ It further recognised that a home is a place of ‘personal intimacy.’ Many feminist theorists reject the idea of home as the home is regarded as a measure of confinement as it purports lofty conceptions of the enjoyment of rights, however, when not provided an adequate consideration of the factors and relationships contained within this concept it is merely a vehicle for further divide/disparity and oppression.

The home thus goes beyond a functional dwelling as currently defined and should be considered within the context of other human rights. The implementation of the lockdown regulations emphasised the already existing pandemic – the shadow pandemic. Gender inequalities were further brought to light during this state of disaster/pandemic, ultimately for the restructuring of abusive relations. The COVID-19 regulations and lockdown were crucial in highlighting the disparities and inequalities suffered by women and, ultimately, families within South Africa, showing now more than ever the importance of the law to adapt its conception of the home and the inequalities to be addressed therein. This does not equate to more state involvement but an appeal for a different application and practice of state involvement which would promote human rights.

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We would like to acknowledge all the brave women who have suffered in silence and in the face of domestic violence. We would also like to commend all those fighting the courageous fight against domestic and gender-based violence. If you or a family member has experienced domestic violence, the following helplines are available in South Africa:

- The 24 hours Gender Based Violence National Command Centre: 0800 428 428 or (Please Call me) *120*7867# (free) for counselling and other services, including shelter.
- Women Abuse – Call: 0800 150 150
- People Opposing Women Abuse – 011 642 4345
- National Shelter Movement of South Africa (NSMSA) – Helpline for GBV survivors – 0800 001 005, SMS/WhatsApp/Please Call me to 082 057 8600/082 058 2215/072 239 7147.

With greater discourse on these problems, will come greater equality for all.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Thanks

We would like to thank IntechOpen Limited for providing us with this opportunity to not only spread awareness of the dangers that many women face, but also as an avenue to provide solutions and assistance where it is greatly lacking.

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Perspective Chapter: Feminist Standpoint Theory – A Lens for Counseling Psychology Research and Practice

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Abstract

As a guiding critical research epistemology, Feminist Standpoint Theory (FST) combines the idea that all knowledge is situated with a claim that some sociocultural locations provide opportunities to develop epistemically advantaged knowledge about overarching systems of power. FST thus represents a framework for uniting researchers and participants in coalitions of solidarity to decolonialize traditions of knowledge and research that assume researchers are objective observers. In this paper, we discuss how FST research methodologies can offer counseling psychologists a nuanced systemic and intersectional lens to better situate each person and their lived experiences, and in turn, develop collaborative, meaningful social justice-oriented advocacy and interventions across individual and community spheres. Accordingly, in Part I, we argue that an FST lens can shape counseling psychologists' approach to research. In Part II, we then discuss how this consequently influences clinical approaches that require engagement of a psychological lens to attend to the lived experiences of vulnerable groups.

Keywords: feminist standpoint theory, methodology, qualitative research, intersectionality, social justice, intersectional marginalization, multiple marginalization, counseling psychology, identity

1. Introduction

For counseling psychologists, scholarly and clinical competency requires being responsive to an individual's personal psychological, behavioral, and emotional experiences in parallel with a relational and sociological understanding of wellbeing via the bio-psycho-social-spiritual model [1]. In line with this model, feminist and social justice advocates continue to encourage psychologists to address the gap between theoretical valuing of social justice orientations and integration as visible practice for clinical training [2]. According to such a holistic and systemic approach, counseling psychologists must be comfortable managing the complexity wrought by the role of

power, privilege, and oppression as it affects clients' daily lives as well as the breadth of counseling psychologists' professional and scholarly activities. A feminist social justice perspective thus requires that counseling psychologists adopt an orientation toward advocating against systemic inequalities in various communities [3, 4]. For counseling psychology scholars, this commitment involves ongoing reflexivity to recognize and deconstruct the colonial roots of Western mental health practice and research.

One way that counseling psychology scholars can better integrate social justice values in their practice is by first adopting critical epistemologies in their research pursuits. Feminist Standpoint Theory (FST) represents one example of a flexible epistemological lens that is well-suited for guiding counseling psychology scholars to embed social justice initiatives in research. FST is a tool that aids scholars in the deconstruction and redistribution of systems of sociocultural power. It does this through engaging social justice values of collective solidarity via the epistemological re-centering of marginalized standpoints in research previously excluded or pathologized [5, 6]. As Rolin [7] argues, FST is a uniquely valuable research lens for conceptualizing sociocultural power as a distinctive type of obstacle to the production of scientific knowledge due to the ways that power distorts or suppresses the collection and analysis of evidence. FST scholars argue that the relations of power are a critical object of inquiry since they are endemic to global societies rather than representing merely an individualized cognitive bias that occurs solely on a personal scale [8, 9]. From this, an FST lens can offer counseling psychology scholars an epistemic and methodological scaffolding for research. Such practices, alongside a sustained FST lens, can in turn inform clinical practice through mobilizing a richer commitment to critical inquiry and social constructionism [10].

In this paper, we discuss the fit of FST as an important epistemological lens that can support counseling psychology scholars to better embed social justice initiatives in research. Further, we argue that, by extension, adopting an FST lens within research informs practical applications for clinical practice and training, filling the gap between social justice theory and praxis. In Part I of this article, we summarize the relevant epistemological tenets and historical background of FST, which includes the ways that it naturally dovetails with intersectionality theory as its core of critical praxis. We then discuss how FST takes a psychological lens to situate critical inquiries in social science research on everyday experiences to reveal how they illuminate overarching systems of power. In Part II, we illustrate that, as a social justice informed field, counseling psychology clinical practice can be similarly enriched and mobilized by adopting an FST lens.

2. Part I: FST epistemology and methodology: critical inquiries on power

FST describes an area of feminist theory and practice first articulated by sociology, Black Feminist/Womanist, and political scholars such as Bell Hooks [11, 12], Nancy Hartsock [13, 14], Dorothy Smith [15], and Sandra Harding [6, 16, 17]. Specifically, as a social constructivist and post-positivist epistemology, FST provides justification for what we claim to know in both daily life and social science research [18]. FST holds important and meaningful roots within Hegelian and Marxist traditions that are critical of, and seek to deconstruct, the oppressive systems of power that organize our world especially regarding intersections of gender, race, and class. Marxian roots further inform FST by suggesting that knowledge, knowing, and the knower are

ideas linked to particular time-and-place social categories (and locations), which are unequally “imbued with power” ([19], p. 160). The result is that knowledge, knowing, and knower are separate and sometimes alienated from one another.

Broadly, these philosophical roots inform two specific, material precepts within FST. First, it is vital to account for the social positioning of any social agent [20]. Secondly, standpoint theories are foundationally oriented toward making an appeal toward these social identities in order to pursue its core aim: the study of structural power relations [7]. Power in this sense refers to the dynamic and continually unfolding processes wielded by institutional structures to manage the ability of a group or an individual to constrain the choices available to another group or individual [21]. FST can therefore provide an critical lens to support ongoing efforts within the field of counseling psychology to decolonize Eurocentric epistemologies within research and practice paradigms [22, 23]. Of particular interest to counseling psychology researchers is the way that FST scholars are interested in engaging an intersectional analysis on individual-level psychological experiences and the ways these are influenced by—and therefore can illuminate—the structural dimensions of social life [9]. It is thus important to first discuss how and why FST posits an epistemically advantageous relationship between interlocking experiences of marginalization and the ways that this advantage provides opportunity for people to develop standpoints. Secondly, it is necessary to discuss how standpoints are discerned within an FST lens to inform counseling psychology research on the nature of social reality. As such, the following sections addresses the epistemology and values of an FST lens to research including: a) the role of power as it shapes the situatedness of knowledge, b) the role of power as it affects critical research inquiries, c) the importance of FST’s intersectionality stance, and d) the applicability of an FST lens to counseling psychology researchers’ social justice approaches. Lastly, we will briefly discuss criticisms and ongoing development within FST research scholarship and epistemology.

2.1 FST epistemology and the role of power and situated knowledge of social agents

According to the FST conceptualization of power, one of its most influential concepts, situated knowing, attends to interlocking systems of structural power and argues that one’s social location shapes *and* limits one’s knowledge of the world [17, 24]. As Harding [25] and Grasswick [26] argue, each person can only achieve a partial view of reality from within their particular social location, as this view is ultimately shaped by the values and interests of the overarching systems of power acting upon them. As a result, FST’s aim is the study of power relations, which is undertaken through coalitional research and activism with sociopolitical identities that are characterized by a lack of cultural privilege. In her foundational approach to FST, Hartsock’s [27] concept of the politics of location critically generalizes Marxian epistemology which posits that “due to the forces of capitalism and the ideology of ‘abstract masculinity’, material life is structured into a fundamental opposition between two different groups” [28], such as capitalist and proletarian classes, or women and men. Black scholars such as Hooks [11, 12] and Patricia Hill Collins [29–31] articulated crucial nuances to FST’s central ideas that related to issues of gender oppression. In particular, they underscored how this form of power occurs at the interlocking intersections of racism and sexism, in addition to other simultaneously intersecting dimensions of oppression [32].

To further understand FST's concept of situated knowing, adopting this lens suggests that those who occupy the furthest extremes at the margins of power and privilege have experiences that they can critically reflect upon. Compared to people positioned at the social centre, people within this context are therefore thought to be more likely to develop what W. E. B. Dubois called double vision, Gloria Anzaldúa's concept of "*borderlands*" consciousness [33], or Dorothy Smith's *bifurcated consciousness* [6, 34]. This type of vision affords such people epistemic advantage to insights on the very dynamics and structure of the overarching systems of power. As such, double vision represents a cyclical relationship between intrapersonal and wider group-level sociocultural experiences. Important knowledge and survival skills associated with the development of double vision are achieved through enduring oppression. Subsequently, double vision typically culminates in a psychological shift as individuals mobilize their knowledge and survival skills to resist these relations of power, thus informing the ability to act as social agents.

Given this lens, standpoint is an attitude of active political engagement that an epistemic agent develops from *having to learn* to move through the world from the margins [35]. Solomon [36] argues that the nature of such a standpoint relates to theories about the achievement and "epistemic fruitfulness of political awareness" (p. 233). This stance clarifies that epistemic advantage does not merely represent a simple perspective *developed at* the cultural margins or bestowed as a result of holding a particular identity group label [32, 37]. Further, standpoint knowledge can be explicit or implicit, and is present in one's "ability to participate in, challenge, or manipulate power relations between social groups" [36]. This aspect of standpoint theory bridges the epistemic gaps between situated knowing and subjectivity. For instance, Harding [25] argues that P. H. Collins' [29, 31] concept of the Outsider Within possesses such a critical psychological ability—specifically, *the ability* to engage in reflexivity. This represents a form of intrapersonal and interpersonal intelligence developed by people with experiences shaped by interlocking systems of oppression at or between social margins.

FST scholars such as Collins and Bilge [38] and Hammers and Brown [28] argue that FST's interest in empowerment, consciousness raising, and social justice initiatives can be strengthened through the construction of intersectional epistemic community spaces. These spaces would focus on discourse and coalitional solidarity among diverse groups who have been (or who are) marginalized. The purpose of this strategy is to deconstruct traditional knowledge gaps and boundaries by inviting open standpoint dialog across diverse "subjects of liberatory knowledge and politics" ([17], p. 176). This aspect of research and advocacy starts from giving voice to the perspectives of maximally oppressed lives, after which other experiences are bridged to capture shared and unique nuances. Foundational to such coalitions is the intentional centering of Black women and other groups who have been socially marginalized (and thus typically left out of scientific discourses). Further, these social agents are foundational to social revolution as, due to their marginality, FST posits that they are less likely to be committed to maintaining dominant power systems, and to be more resistant to the oppressive assumptions inherent within a sociological or psychological discipline's traditional values and resources [32]. This practice relates to HOOKS' [12, 35] articulation of "centering the margins" as a crucial process of individual liberation as well as pivotal to wider processes of decolonialization and social justice [38, 39].

2.2 The role of power and standpoint knowledge in research

Power relations are a uniquely challenging object of inquiry because of their ability to "suppress or distort relevant evidence" ([7], p. 119) to obscure their own

nature and thereby prevent opposition. FST focuses on standpoint as a technical term referring to the development of a politically engaged perspective, identity, or consciousness that develops through struggle against such power (i.e., oppression and domination). Standpoint is pivotal to FST research because it encompasses the knowledge and survival skills that are cultivated as groups who have been marginalized engage in scientific actions that critically examine the underlying nature of social relations. The result of these scientific actions is to illuminate the ideological workings of relations of power [40, 41].

According to FST, standpoint captures knowledges that have historically been positioned to exist “outside” of Eurocentric traditional conceptions of scientific objectivity. From this, FST argues that people situated at social locations characterized by marginalization have the most nuanced and rich knowledge of sociocultural dynamics relative to knowledge produced by those situated at the social centres [25]. For the most productive FST inquiries on sociocultural power, Harding [25, 42] argued that researchers should begin by engaging “maximally” marginalized standpoints. This, she argued, was due to the speculation that the higher the level of oppression, the more objective the account of the mechanisms and structure of society ([43], p. 16). Notably, this tactic posited a kind of feminist objectivity intended to provide a counterhegemonic discourse against traditional, masculinist, and White research, scholarship, and theory discourses [44]. Harding thus initially argued that by inviting the standpoints of “the most oppressed group of women” ([45], p. 17) who are also oppressed by race and class, researchers can generate the most truthful research findings. The nature of standpoint thus offers epistemic privilege and authority to make the relations of power visible and therefore accessible to social justice revolution [46]. Beginning research from these standpoints enables FST researchers to uncover aspects of social power relations otherwise obscured within traditional research approaches and biases.

2.2.1 Development of a research inquiry: reflexivity and deconstructing traditional biases

As a starting place to deconstructing traditional research biases, Cole [47] provides foundational guidelines for psychologists to attend to diversity within groups by asking who is included within groups. From this, FST research involves conceptualizing social categories as reflecting “what individuals, institutions, and cultures do, rather than simply as characteristics of individuals” ([47], p. 175). To Cole, this shift is meant to “productively complicate the meaning” (p. 173) of social categories of identity, and how difference, privilege, and inequality shape experience [9]. Examinations of the role of inequality help psychologists attend to how groups, group members, and institutions stand in relation to one another and begin to deconstruct traditional conceptions of boundaries of difference and the individualization of social category membership. This involves engaging research that challenges the presumption of homogeneity of groups, thus inviting evaluation of the implicit bias that causes researchers to view categories of marginalized identity as being defined by difference and disadvantage. Such a cognitive shift requires diligent reflexivity on the part of the researcher to continually transparently situate and consider their own biases, experiences, and role relative to the context of the research inquiry, hegemonic traditions of research, and wider sociocultural relations of power.

Since the FST epistemology requires flexibly and sensitively centring marginalized standpoints as the position from which research inquiries should begin, this lens does

not depend upon any manualized structure for developing research questions. From this starting point, research is then oriented “upstream” toward critical inquiry on overarching structural power [47, 48]. FST researchers then determine participant recruitment and community partnerships by attempting to critically discern whose standpoints will reveal the most about sociocultural systems of power, and who will benefit most from the research [6, 49]. Engaging this critical examination at the outset of a research project involves establishing and maintaining partnerships with stakeholder communities. Researchers can then deconstruct gaps between knowledge and relations of power. This orientation reflects the importance FST bestows upon participants’ identities as a lens to examine both how overarching power relations shape social locations, and the diversity inherent within groups without assuming homogeneity [25, 29, 50, 51].

2.3 FST means engaging an intersectionality stance

Intersectionality is an intrinsic component of FST and provides a mechanism to situate the research data with respect to complex relations of power. As a concept and tool of critical inquiry and social justice praxis, intersectionality theory is neither new, nor is has it been solely the domain of North American feminist scholarship and activism [38, 52, 53]. According to Angela Davis [54], taking a *intersectionality stance* represents “today’s feminism”—specifically, it is an answer to critiques against what Davis calls “bourgeois white feminism”, and possesses underlying ideas rooted in the scholarship of Black womanism, feminism, and anti-colonialism. As a challenge against sociopolitical contexts of “neoliberal domestication of dissenting knowledges in academia”, Canadian scholar Sirma Bilge [55] argues that a more radical intersectional praxis is necessary to combat the “whitening and depoliticising of intersectionality theory” [56].

Intersectionality theory itself originated from a legal, anti-discrimination discourse that was argued to allow Black women to make both a race and gender claim as simultaneous causes of action. Specifically, the theory argues that such intersections create unique and distinct burdens that make social identities the consequences for vehicles of certain kinds of vulnerabilities [39, 52]. As a social science theory, intersectionality begins within the argument that each person’s identities and experiences are multiple and shaped by a multiplicity of interlocking social categories. Next, intersectionality theory posits that, people’s lives are best understood as being shaped by a multitude of interlocking “axes of social division that work together and influence each other” ([38], p. 11), rather than by any single axis in isolation.

From this critical theory again comes praxis. For instance, Bilge [56] argues that intersectionality represents a counter-hegemonic political awareness that offers feminist academics and activists vital critical potential for constructing non-oppressive political coalitions between a multitude of social justice-oriented movements. Similarly, as Patricia Hill Collins [39] and Kimberlé Crenshaw [53, 57] argue, these movements require intersectional, flexible solidarities to form a robust and inclusive set of coalitions around social justice across a range of political identity sites (i.e., within Black communities; among communities of other people of color; with white allies). As such, many argue that intersectionality theory is subverted if it is only used to privatize identity and the related influences of unequal power relations [3]. Rather, its application must be focused on dismantling the systems of power that maintain the marginalization of certain identities. This perspective is rooted in intersectionality as an embedded, critical praxis to feminist research, which inherently implicates individual researchers as equally construed subjects [10].

A large area of work by feminist standpoint theorists has been to attempt to embrace more complex intersections and difference (2000). FST proponents argue that interacting systems of privilege and oppression position individuals who hold marginalized identities at a precarious intersection of oppression and domination. Relations of power often further render these identities as epistemically invisible since they fail to fit the normative prototypes of their respective cultural groups [58]. In response to these dynamics, FST offers a powerful guiding epistemology to critical-ideological research on intersectionality. FST is able to embrace such complexity because it inherently posits that *all people* have experiences that exist at the nexus of multiply-intersecting sociocultural systems that differentially privilege and/or oppress particular groups [10, 59, 60].

It is important for FST researchers to interrogate the role of structural inequality as it affects multiple minority identity category membership. This is because these relations of power position groups and individuals in asymmetrical and hierarchical relation to one another, thereby creating vastly different perceptions, experiences, and health outcomes [47]. Notably, processes of multiple and interlocking systems of marginalization combine to impose many forms of sociocultural and psychological harms [61–64]. FST's critical inquiry into the nature of power relations upon such identity intersections therefore requires flexibility and attention to nuance. In particular, Solomon [36] notes that the language of *intersections* is best applied with the intention of treating complex experiences of identity as “non-formulaic combinations of simpler identities” (p. 233). She goes on to argue that more complex intersections must continue to be empirically investigated and not simply derived through “armchair combinations of the standpoints of component groups” (p. 233).

2.3.1 Researcher/psychologists' social identities and power in research

To access maximally epistemically privileged standpoints, an FST lens means researchers must engage in a process of critical evaluation to attempt to discern which social situations tend to generate the most objective knowledge claims [25]. This is a controversial position in feminist scholarship, given how FST positions the researcher as a kind of judge with the power to weigh a prospective participant's relative socio-cultural oppression [49]. Through engaging an intersectionality stance, the researcher must take contextuality into account to increase the rigor of critical scrutiny that occurs in epistemic communities of researchers [65]. This involves a process of situating and contesting dominant perspectives that have been traditionally prioritized within research to then determine which people and perspectives are better than others for the goals of the inquiry [66, 67]. Starting with centering the margins, FST researchers then invite a diversity of standpoints which together can engage in critical dialogues to produce knowledge about (and useful to) society as a whole. This process involves subjective and objective justifications that support FST's central theses of situated knowledge and epistemic privilege [68]. Specifically, Harding [69], p. 9 writes,

Each oppressed group will have its own critical insights about nature and the larger social order in order to contribute to the collection of human knowledge. Because different groups are oppressed in different ways, each has the possibility (not the certainty) of developing distinctive insights about systems of social relations in general in which their oppression is a feature.

FST critical inquiries focus on sensitive research topics that must be handled with respect to honor participants' voices and experiences. In sharing their personal experiences, participants face potential costs involving the risk of experiencing guilt, shame, or embarrassment [48]. These risks can be heightened when sharing personal stories with a researcher who potentially represents dominant cultural groups or institutions. Consequently, FST scholars call for flexible methodological approaches that can be responsive to participants' needs, safety, and trust building. Researchers are therefore encouraged to offer anonymity to avoid face-to-face interactions, or conversely, "more personal and interactive communication and has the potential to diminish the typical power relationships present in conventional research" ([48], p. 291). Crucially, Toole [37] argues that such approaches to research require empathy as an invaluable tool of any inquiry. She posits that empathic perspective-taking helps researchers maintain a more consistent appreciation for the paradigms participants employ, and "generate new data, offer better interpretations of existing data, or come to understand phenomena" (p. 16) that were otherwise obscure. This is a researcher role and skillset that is strongly resonant with counseling psychology's existing practices and perspectives to human sciences and therapeutic interventions.

It is important to consider the risks of abuse of power inherent within any research inquiry, given the epistemic and social power held by researchers. FST scholars argue that one important strength of the approach is that it offers a framework to consider not just multiple, marginalized participants' perspectives, but also to transparently situate and examine researchers' own perspectives, social locations, and identities [70]. In this aim, FST researcher Kristen Intemann [65] argues that in adopting the FST lens, the locus of objectivity and empirical justification is social and psychological. FST research objectivity and justification must therefore be promoted at a higher level—that is, by structuring epistemic research communities through practices that manage the negative influences of biases of individual researchers. This process requires that the community and individual researchers pursue thorough epistemic rigor in examining the ways that researchers' (and thus counseling psychologists') social locations shape aspects of research. Examples of areas for explicit examination include the development of research questions, selection of methodologies, examinations of background assumptions, and interpretations of the data. As such, an individual researchers' status as an insider or outsider (or some combination therein) to the inquiry is less important than the ways that the research contributes to and engages with the wider social epistemic FST and social justice communities to critically produce knowledge [65]. Importantly, the degree to which such epistemic rigor on the research inquiry can occur is influenced by the social locations of the epistemic/empirical community members (i.e., individual researchers and psychologists). Specifically, Rolin [67] argues that the epistemic fruitfulness to challenge problematic default assumptions within science itself is greater when these epistemic communities include wider and diverse participation foregrounded upon the standpoints of insider-outsiders (i.e., who are members of oppressed groups).

2.4 Counseling psychology: therapy and research projects that Centre the margins

To cultivate a more situated understanding of the world that is authentic to the dynamics of power, counseling psychology researchers can use an FST lens to intentionally centre and prioritize diverse marginalized standpoints as a foundation for social justice-oriented initiatives. This process of centering the margins breaks from the traditional structure of subject-object relations [12, 35]. When centred, the FST

research lens can offer an empowering framework for these subjects to take view of the traditional and dominant systems of power and oppression. This process therefore allows counseling psychologists to redistribute power by affirming the experiences and identities of those most profoundly harmed and oppressed by sociocultural power inequalities. An FST lens helps researchers and participants deconstruct the unequal power structures that restrict the agency, access, and production of knowledge to only those groups positioned at the centre of the power structure [7]. Through this individual-level psychological lens, this means that a counseling psychologist and participant are relationally positioned as co-researchers. Together, they enter an epistemological coalition to engage a process of validation and deconstruction of the dominant discourses and ideologies that are brought forth by both stakeholders, since both are mutually shaped by such overarching relations of power [71].

Ultimately this engages the therapeutic dyad, the site of counseling psychology across both clinical and research domains, as the means and mechanism by which to explore the nexus of counseling and standpoint as a critical discourse of body proximity. Specifically, the core of counseling is typically therapeutic dyad. This functional relational space constitutes a *meeting-place* that is both verb and noun: the intersection of two body subjects is a tangible project of multiple and intersecting knowledges. It is at once reflective and shaping of the power relations that house it [72]. In this space, counselor and client are equally imbued with aspects of epistemic power as subjects and objects alike. However, it is important that we acknowledge the limitations of therapy as an act of one type of the project of justice-doing and activism. We must always recall that psychotherapy has historical and current risks of serving as a tool in the hands of institutions and individual counselor by which to reify social control that maintains oppressive power structures [73]. An FST lens necessitates that we consider the researcher (i.e., subject) and researched (i.e., object) as co-constituted in the knowledge making-process – that is, the researcher cannot be controlled for or eliminated through methodological rigor; they must instead be marked, explored, and articulated throughout the research process [9, 10]. Similarly, an FST lens problematizes and challenges this positionality when considering the therapeutic dyad. An individual counselor's status as an insider or outsider (or some combination therein) to the therapeutic intervention or assessment project is less important than the ways that the therapeutic space contributes to and engages with the wider social epistemic body positionings of both counselor and client to critically produce knowledge for the purpose of therapy [65].

Through an FST lens, the sociopolitical and physical proximities between the counselor and the client are inescapable and legible to both subjects, no matter the ethical stance of the counselor. Indeed, our physical bodies are tools of representation: as counselor and client sit together at this nexus, systemic and social forces of power produce and invoke power relations from and toward their gendered and racialized bodies. This emotional (yet physical) relational meeting constitutes a site of political situatedness separate but deeply linked to the relative and proximal epistemic positioning and access that are imbued upon their differing (yet physical) social bodies. A critical feminist optics such as an FST lens therefore allows us to view the exchange and flow of power in the therapeutic meeting-space relative to the configurations of body positions in these interactions. Subsequently, both bodies (counselor and client) take on subject-object qualities of critical knowledge: toward the self-body, the other-body, and the relational space they are positioned at, both inside and outside the physical counseling space. The counseling relationship may therefore be one factor in explaining the power relations between the engaging bodies at such a

meeting-place. Exploring our physical bodies at this nexus may then serve as a critical reason to center the margins, *and conversely*, to locate the margins within the center of the counseling dyad.

As a result, through the phenomenology of an FST lens, both counselor and client are reformulated to consider both the body that *we have* and the body that *we are* [74]. This novel process of centering the margins breaks from the traditional structure of subject-object relations [12, 35]. When centred, the FST research lens can offer an empowering framework for these subjects to take view of the traditional and dominant systems of power and oppression. This process therefore allows counseling psychologists to redistribute power by affirming the experiences and identities of those most profoundly harmed and oppressed by sociocultural power inequalities.

2.4.1 Data analysis, counseling skills, and knowledge translation

As a critical and ideological research paradigm, FST can guide counseling psychology researchers' reflexive lens as they engage in data analysis. This lens shapes the research mind in order to question the position, socio-political context, and aim of the research in each step, rather than suggesting specific manualized steps to data analysis. This lens extends beyond the traditional scope of a research project's immediate outcomes, since feminist research inquiry offers a platform to motivate mutual consciousness raising between participants and researchers, social change, and empowerment of vulnerable stakeholders [75]. For instance, research findings must offer information that is useful to participants, and is validating of their experiences through engaging a holistic view of reality that integrates the personal and political [76]. Further, FST research practices can focus on participants' agency and options (e.g., promoting a shared understanding of power relations), and stressing the importance of personal empowerment and respect for personal dignity [77]. As a result, adopting an FST epistemology involves critically revising scientific practices, for example, by offering flexibility and transparently situating researchers and participants' standpoints and social locations. This lens can support counseling psychology researchers to deconstruct the ways that relations of power shape participant safety, data collection and analysis, and the values implicit across the overall research process [7, 65]. In extension, an FST lens can inform counseling psychology researchers to be critical of the policy implications of their findings and ensure that they are accessible to relevant stakeholders [75].

Given the prevalent use of interview-based research within the field of counseling psychology, an FST lens to research can also inform the unique ethical implications and dual roles that can arise when research blends with therapeutic relationships [78]. Importantly, neither the FST nor counseling psychology research interviews are meant to provide therapeutic intervention. However, FST scholars hold a central interest in consciousness raising, which they argue can occur when "articulating perceptions of one's experiences that are usually censured by the culture" ([17], p. 194). Further, consistent across counseling psychology and FST scholarship, the relationship between researcher/psychologist and participant/client is conceptualized as living, collaborative, and foundational to the goals of either approach. As such, like the therapeutic relationship, the research partnership is an important site to begin situated, meaningful social justice actions that can, in some cases, promote reflexivity that can have therapeutic effects [3, 79].

Primarily, researchers should be aware that structural relations of power can become internalized to occupy both research and therapeutic relationships [7].

To manage the risk for abuse of power, Campbell and Wasco [75] suggest that FST researchers should use their role and power to facilitate the development of non-hierarchical relationships, deconstructing inequalities therein, such as the assumption of researcher expertise. To balance some aspects of relational power, researchers can consider disclosing personal information or experiences relevant to standpoints on structural power dynamics [80]. Active practices of transparency can also include researchers informing participants about their intentions and collaborating on how participants' involvement and the dissemination of research findings will benefit them and the communities they represent [22]. FST research practices also require methodological flexibility, and ongoing reflexivity to clearly situate and articulate the researcher's presence, pre-suppositions, and intentions throughout the research inquiry. Specifically, the researcher's presence should not, nor "cannot be controlled for or eliminated through data scrubbing, member checking, bracketing, or auditing; rather the researcher's positionality should be marked, explored, and articulated throughout the research process" [9]. This means that an FST lens can strengthen counseling psychology researchers' practices of active and transparent commitment to protecting and upholding participants' voices, stories, and preferences after they share their experiences within research [22].

2.5 Criticisms and ongoing development of FST

FST represents an array of related feminist perspectives which continue to provoke important theoretical debates and dynamic developments of the theory as a lens for research [24, 37, 68]. For instance, critics such as Bar On [81] have raised issue with FST's second wave Feminist extension of Marxian ideas as they relate to an intersectionality stance. Specifically, early FST theorists argued that women were not simply a homogenous social *class* characterized by social marginality but were also a *revolutionary* class who would be the best agents of their own liberation under patriarchy. These early ideas overlooked intersectionality, and have since been reoriented within FST [20]. Similarly, authors such as Jiang [82] contend that Harding's focus on locating and starting from maximally objective standpoints conflicts FST's own underlying social constructivism by implying essentialism based on the rhetorical positioning of "women" as a group that exists separately from intersectionality. Bowleg [83, 84] argues that such assumptions create false dichotomies and intergroup conflict. In response, Hekman [44] argues that FST might be more authentically conceptualized as a counterhegemonic discourse that must remain responsive to new paradigms of politics. That is, it should recognize politics as "local and situated activity undertaken by discursively constituted subjects", and define political resistance as counterhegemonic discourses that are "effected by employing other discursive formations to oppose [the dominant] script, not by appealing to universal subjectivity or absolute principles" [44].

Naturally, it is important for standpoint theorists to emphasize the specific historical feminist roots of the theory, invoke its core stance of intersectionality, and invite inclusive diversity to standpoint epistemologies. As such, to expand its historical gender lens regarding the achievement of standpoint and epistemic privilege, contemporary standpoint theorists typically engage an intersectional stance to capture the interlocking experiences of other social categories characterized by a lack social and economic privilege. In fact, Harding [6] described the absence of an intersectional stance in feminist research a "kind of no-longer-tolerable error that is not itself a part of standpoint theory" (p. 19). Further, anchoring FST within intersectionality

and marginality related to multiple-marginalization represents what Cole [47] calls the oldest approach within intersectionality studies, and cannot be isolated from theory or research. The author further argues that exploring intersections of multiple subordinated statuses achieves some aims of social justice by attending to categories that have largely been (and often continue to be) epistemically erased or otherwise stigmatized (see [85]). As such, it is important to ensure that intersectionality is upheld by moving away from the idea that marginalized groups or social locations represent the sole *constitutive sites that convey* epistemic privilege [34]. Further, researchers seeking to include a wide range of experiences that have been marginalized should be mindful not to treat these standpoints as secondary to the experiences of women as a social category. Doing so risks implying class essentialism by taking a static, additive perspective of intersectionality [9, 20].

In response to criticisms of maximal oppression stances, proponents of FST argue that researchers should focus on “the diverse array of knowledge found within a multiplicity of standpoints” ([45], p. 17) rather than assume the ability or necessity to generate universal knowledge claims. In doing so, FST recognizes that epistemic privilege is available to individuals whose experiences of pain and suffering may occur at other positions on the social power spectrum that are not currently captured as maximal extremes [30]. Broadly, these debates illustrate how a fundamental tension between feminist empiricism and feminist postmodernism is reconciled by modern FST, making room for the breadth of human experiences that represent anti-categorical intersectionality [86, 87]. Through an FST lens, counseling psychology theory and research can be strengthened by embracing difference and complexity found in revolutionary coalitions of multiple subjectivity [17].

3. Part II: FST as a lens for engaging social justice counseling psychology practice and advocacy

Embracing complexity helps FST researchers develop knowledge on society that can then be mobilized toward social change. Broadly, FST’s political engagement integrates several epistemological practices and values. Firstly, they represent crucial acts of empowerment and self-determination for maximally marginalized people [12]. Secondly, the intentional centring of the margins and the de-centering of sites and agents of structural power helps FST researchers to manage the risk of epistemic relativism, essentialism, and erasure. Thirdly, these practices enable what FST theorists refer to as a *democratic strategy for world sciences* [5, 6, 39]. Specifically, in seeking to develop a more transferrable, situated human experience of the world, FST’s intersectional stance offers a trajectory toward specific social justice actions that matter to relevant stakeholders.

It is important to explore what FST research practices might mean for clinical practice in counseling psychology. Counseling psychologists are typically interested in humanism and the holistic bio-psycho-social-spiritual [1] wellbeing of clients and research participants [88, 89]. These ideas have been propelled by arguments that the field would benefit from supplementing their training with “interdisciplinary study in history, sociology, or other social sciences and/or to pursue collaborative relationships with scholars in other disciplines” ([47], p. 175). Counseling psychology also distinguishes itself with a proud history of social justice advocacy and an ongoing commitment to on-the-ground community and political engagement [23, 90, 91]. There are many creative and diverse ways to approach praxis related to FST in ways

that may be meaningful and relevant to counseling psychology's goals of social justice action. As such, given the way an FST lens can shape the counseling psychology research mind, the following sections will discuss how it can in turn affect clinical practice. This discussion includes issues related the ways in which FST lens can shape counseling psychology clinical practice along with engagement with wider policy and community partnerships.

3.1 FST As a lens for counseling psychology clinical practice

The field of counseling psychology relies upon the scientist-practitioner model that requires a careful balance between clinical expertise and skill development in relation to rigorous empirical investigations of issues that influence client presenting concerns and treatments [92]. Such a balance requires mindfulness toward critical inquiry as praxis, such as the ability to fluidly translate epistemological and theoretical data to real-world applications in ways that are meaningful to client wellbeing. This obliges counseling psychologists to not only consider, but to centre the physical proximity of counselor and client as a site of epistemic analysis and reification, in directly response to the gendered and racialized bodies of those present.

For counseling psychologists, an FST lens offers a framework to go beyond simply identifying vulnerable groups and individuals within them. Specifically, it orients this analysis to hold the physical meeting-place of the counseling interaction as a site of power. This space is not just physical but also social, emotional, relational space. At this nexus, gendered and racialized bodies are iteratively positioned to be able to critically identify higher sociocultural relations of power that create and uphold these systemic vulnerabilities (i.e., to centre the margins). In doing so, counseling psychologists and clients can first identify culturally relevant needs, systemic barriers, risk factors based on their body proximity inside and outside of the counseling site. The increased nuances of such a knowledge base can allow counseling psychologists to more appropriately inform and collaboratively develop interventions that will most empower clients as they are supported in defining their needs and systemic barriers on their own terms [93]. This approach helps to deconstruct hegemonic tendencies within social sciences related to objectifying, deficit-based analyses of vulnerable groups tied to the relational experience of these bodies brought into the proximity of the physical counseling site [22, 94]. Instead, an FST lens can encourage counseling psychologists to pursue practice that focuses on holistic, mutual, situated conceptualizations of client and counselor. Through an FST lens, strengths and resilience are centred, and viewed, instead of simply vulnerabilities, as forms of nuanced, adaptive creativity that influences psychological processes of identity development, knowledge production, and politically-engaged practices of resistance against structural power [70, 73].

Beyond counseling psychologists' understanding of the individual and systemic cultural factors that impact clients, there are elements within the therapeutic relationship that are unique. Moodley [95] describes this as a 'third space' in therapy, which is created when a psychologist and client interact, each bringing with them a unique set of intersecting cultural identities and social locations. While there is a common understanding in FST that psychologists hold a certain level of power, there are unique nuances that are highlighted in the therapeutic relationship. For example, given their life circumstances, a psychologist may have faced more adversities than a particular client, and this can lead them to develop alternative psychological conceptualizations. In this way, an FST lens allows for unique experiences and

understandings to come to the forefront for both the client and psychologist, and the third space provides opportunities to unpack such realities [96].

Beyond the therapy room, counseling psychologists are called to engage with community, policy, and service advocacy partnerships [22]. As discussed above, FST challenges researchers to understand the world through the lived experiences of individuals who have been socio-politically marginalized, and more importantly, to apply that knowledge toward social change and activism [45]. Given this stance, it is helpful to understand how FST researchers address issues of critical feminist epistemology by first informing research inquiries and subsequently drawing practical implications toward social change through advocacy and clinical practice interventions. These areas of discussion illustrate how an FST lens can inform counseling psychologists in their own commitments to social justice. Subsequently, engaging FST research values to counseling psychology practice implicates two important areas of discussion. First, an important focus is placed on practical and theoretical issues of ethics, power, and social justice values as they affect the development and management of the psychologist/client relationship. Second, there is a focus on FST research validity and knowledge transfer, as they can impact clinical practice and advocacy.

3.1.1 Living relationships: researcher-participant, psychologist-client

Within its critique of post-positivist empirical research traditions, feminist empiricism considers the traditional connections between the researcher (i.e., the subject) and research participants (i.e., the object) as living and co-constituted within the process of knowledge production [97]. Several important implications stem from FST's stance that the researcher and participant are co-constituted within processes of knowledge production. For instance, when the FST researcher and the participant enter into an epistemological coalition, this living relationship begins processes of illuminating and challenging internalized dominant discourses from both people, and offers a means to validate each other's voices [71]. This perspective parallels counseling psychology's humanistic stance of equity and collaboration, regarding the therapeutic relationship as an foundational site of therapeutic intervention [3, 78].

An FST lens can also empower psychologists in recognizing subjectivity as unfixed, as well as recognizing the importance of critical self-reflection and relationality. Overall, many counseling clinical skills are well-suited to FST's research orientation toward relational equity, epistemic coalitions, and social justice. Examples include reflexivity, the use of immediacy, transparency, appropriate self-disclosure, and empathic, active listening and clarifying questions to check assumptions are crucial for equitable, and culturally conscious relationship management. In addition, counseling psychologists' existing attendance to a bio-psycho-social-spiritual systems model [1] can be more richly informed by adopting an FST lens [3, 78]. In this way, when viewed from a feminist optics, the therapeutic relationship has the potential to offer much more than helping a client reduce distress or make changes; it can lead to new insights about the gendered and racialized self-body. In turn, integrating such self-understandings can lead to broader shifts in how one engages in the world at large, possibly contributing to social change as the individual iteratively engages and disengages in proximity to other bodies in the world.

3.1.2 Knowledge transfer, catalytic validity, and community partnerships

FST research practices can benefit existing counseling psychology practices (e.g., managing one's sociocultural positionality as it exists the particular nexus of physical

body proximity in the counseling dyad) by focusing reflexivity to include analysis of relevant power relations that might be reified within the research relationship. In extension, this lens can inform counseling psychology's existing social justice values, which argue that collaborative and interdisciplinary treatment planning should foreground client voices, and that clinical judgment should be articulated and positioned throughout the process of mental health service delivery [3]. Both the FST researcher's and social justice-oriented counseling psychologist's goal is to give voice to insiders to speak to their social realities and carry forward a range of restorative justice actions on their behalf [77]. Specifically, FST involves taking the concept of the standpoint seriously throughout, such as by inviting participants to hold a greater stake and agency in research development, data analysis, and dissemination [98], and clients to be empowered as experts of their own experiences who have full decision-making capacity. Further, counseling psychologists can benefit from by FST's concept of taking standpoints seriously through the power of research to inform clinical practice—that is, by using knowledge produced by the collaborative critical inquiry to guide them in sharing power with clients to hold greater agency over their own assessment, intervention, and mental health plans.

An FST lens embraces methodological pluralism and flexibility in both qualitative and quantitative research to bridge group- and individual-level experiences, and to illuminate the nature of overarching cultural forces. Similarly, counseling psychology focuses on utilizing a range of methods for investigating “both emic and etic perspectives on human behaviour, and [promoting] the use of research methods drawn from diverse epistemological perspectives” ([90], p. 130). As such, a critical FST epistemological framework can be integrated into feminist empiricist methods and counseling psychology practice alike to interrogate the role that power relations play in science, therapy, and assessment. These strategies can support counseling psychology's individual and organizational policy stances toward ethical cultural responsiveness, non-maleficence, and social justice regarding incorporating research into practice and methodological plurality. Similarly, FST also informs counseling psychology's orientation toward integrative therapeutic modalities predicated upon culturally-competent and socially-just assessment and treatment [22, 91].

Through an FST lens, counseling psychologists can making use of body proximity to engage in a deeper critical evaluation of clinical practice and the appropriate applications of research that considers clients' identities and physical bodies as meaningful markers for examining the interlocking power relations that shape social locations, group diversity, and individual experience and knowledge. This orientation can then guide professional policy, activities, and partnerships toward intervention and advocacy that are carried out in solidarity with marginalized communities. An FST research lens can help counseling psychologists center intentionally in the margins, facilitating vulnerable clients' participation in science and their therapeutic treatment by using practices oriented toward anti-oppressive restitution [22]. An FST lens to research can also deconstruct power hierarchies by sharing control and decision-making with clients about knowledge transfer and consciousness raising—two integral aspects of FST research methodology. Through this lens, research and counseling psychology practice is no longer conceptualized as interest-free or apolitical, but instead should be understood as having direct and indirect impacts on the lived realities of stakeholder communities.

Finally, an FST lens oriented toward building coalitional community partnerships can inform collaborative trust-building between counseling psychologists and clients by attending to the internalization of structural power dynamics for both

psychologist and client [93]. These partnerships might be engaged by both individual psychologists across their practice areas, as well as informing policy within training programs as these roles bring them iteratively into proximity with the gendered and racialized bodies of others. Subsequently, this lens can inform clinical practice and professional identity development by encouraging transparent discussions oriented toward growing a mutual self-awareness and consciousness-raising of one's reactions or beliefs between psychologists and clients alike. An FST lens can also help counseling psychology training program policies and curricula to challenge the cultural dominance of deficit-based models related to hegemonic conceptualizations of marginalized groups as inherently vulnerable and defined solely by risks. Instead, an FST lens can inform the development of program and organizational policies that actively centre empowerment, resilience, and strength-based models of well-being and healing. In turn, the production of previously marginalized social knowledges can benefit training and clinical practice by providing meaningful ways to mobilize the therapeutic relationship as an important site of resistance against structural of oppression [22, 99].

4. Conclusion

Counseling psychologists' ethical commitment to ongoing reflexivity and cultural responsiveness is well supported by critical epistemologies like FST [94, 100–102]. FST offers a powerful lens of political engagement that can inform current efforts in counseling psychology to more deeply embed a social justice stance across research and practice domains [2]. FST research values can mobilize counseling psychology due to the overlap of counseling skills and feminist research methodology. This also has implications for the ways that counseling psychologists build coalitions among social justice researchers, as well as with various stakeholder groups. These values thus recognize the importance of collaboratively managing the relations of power that shape both therapeutic and research partnerships. More broadly, adopting an FST lens supports counseling psychologists' focus on subjectivity, body proximity, and the importance of developing understanding of contextualized psychology to direct social change, rather than seeking to demonstrate a static, objective truth [103].

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Section 2

The Literary Body

Perspective Chapter: Subjectification and Objectification of Women in Media

Eni Maryani and Reksa Anggia Ratmita

Abstract

This chapter will elaborate on the objectification and subjectification of women in the media. The dilemmatic situation between the process of objectification and subjectification of women in television dramas will have implications on women and ultimately on how society sees and positions women. One of the media realities in Indonesia, soap operas, has become a television product that is very popular, especially among women. Currently, soap operas generally occupy prime time which is owned by almost all televisions, therefore the advertising revenue from these shows is very tempting. A popular soap opera can reap advertisements in one episode up to billions of rupiah. Meanwhile, television viewers to date also occupy the largest audience percentage compared to other media. The question is what are the implications on the self-development of women's audiences and society's view of women. Based on that, this chapter will discuss an introduction to the subjectification and objectification of women in the media as a phenomenon, both conceptually and theoretically. Various realities of objectification and subjectification that occur in several media and will also be described, the last section will describe a critical study of the existing cases and how changes were made possible and by whom.

Keywords: subjectification, objectification, women, media, soap opera

1. Introduction

This article discusses the position and role of women in the media or specifically, discusses the representation of women's positions and roles in soap operas produced and aired on Indonesian television. Soap operas in Indonesia are considered popular television programs and therefore generally become shows that occupy primetime television. At the beginning of its development, soap operas in Indonesia aired once a week, but later the most popular soap operas eventually broadcasted every day and are known as on-running soap operas. In addition, the duration of 1 hour per one broadcast would later eventually increase to 1.5 hours per one broadcast, which would be added up by the television station into 2 hours or even increased into 3.5 hours during special events such as New Year's Eve in one broadcast. Television station's policy in extending broadcast hours can be accessed through news uploaded by online

media, with an additional note at the end of the news that said that “the program may change their broadcast hours according to the TV station’s policy” [1, 2].

The existence of soap operas which are quite intensive both in terms of duration and frequency affects the audience, who are generally women. This condition is assumed to have a significant effect on women as the audience. The representation of women in the media, which is continuously accepted by the audience, can eventually be considered as a true representation of the reality of women. This assumption is in line with one of Gerbner’s cultivation theory hypotheses which states that “the more time a person spends watching television, the stronger the tendency is for that person to equate television reality with social reality” [3–6].

In line with some of these views related to the reality and representation of gender in the media, Brodolini et al. draws the conclusion that although audiences have the option to either accept or reject content from media and the meaning of the content itself [7], the media system still has the power to own the decision of which gender would appear and be represented as role models. All media content eventually becomes an important source of information about a gender that imposes or challenges our own ideas in regard to said gender itself [8].

Meanwhile, other studies [9, 10] raised their findings of how media content shows or tells women could only offer their bodies or their faces, and in regards, women spend a lot of their time taking care of their physical appearances. In other words, the struggles of feminists who are trying to fight for gender equality are not only dealing with patriarchal culture and men’s perspectives, but also media content that subordinates, weakens, and objectifies women. Therefore, media content needs to be continuously criticized regarding the unfair representation of women’s values and how this representation is carried out.

In addition to raising the values of gender bias found in Indonesian soap operas, this paper will also reveal the involvement of women as subjects in making soap operas and how the position of women as subjects in stories actually plays a role in the construction of a representation of women and its perspective in the media. This discussion is important in reference to Gill Rosalind [11]’s findings and analysis which highlighted the occurrence of sexual subjectification among European women. According to Rosalind, sexual subjectification occurs when they observe the existence of women as a subject, through their appearance, consciously making themselves sexual objects within their own community.

Rosalind observes that one of the best-selling T-shirts from a British high-street fashion store French Connection which read “fcuk me,” taking inspiration from “fcuk football,” was a huge success. Said T-shirt is seen worn by young women everywhere, emblazoned on their chests, competing on the street, in the club, and on the tube with other similar T-shirts declaring their wearer a “babe,” a “porn star,” or “up for it,” or giving instructions to “touch me” or “squeeze here” [11]. According to Rosalind, this surprised him not only because of the sexual self-presentation the women offered but also how alienated these women actually were and how terms that objectified women developed. Only one generation before, women were fighting not to be objectified, not to be reduced to the size of their breasts, or not to be consumed as a mere sexual object; yet now the women paid a lot of money (the T-shirts are not cheap, with \$30/£20 per use) to show their self this way [11].

In line with Rosalind’s view, this paper is also based on the idea that women’s involvement in the process of sexual subjectification is more worrying than women who are sexually objectified by other parties, whether it is by men or by culture. Efforts to encourage women to be more educated and have a variety of abilities that

are not inferior to men in the public sector are one of the hopes so that they are able to be the subject of their own lives. However, in line with the phenomenon observed by Rosalind, the women, who are positioned as subjects in several soap operas in Indonesia actually objectify other women or even themselves.

This condition challenges the women's movement in making various efforts to re-strengthen women's awareness that their ability or inability is not determined by their gender. To complete the data related to subjectification and objectification through the media, this research will focus its observations on two popular soap operas in Indonesia, namely soap operas titled *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta*. These two soap operas are assumed to contain contents that represent not only the objectification but also the subjectification of women.

Observations were made on the two operas from November to December 2022. During this period, the researcher chose 3 episodes of the soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* (episodes 896, 897, and 898) and the soap opera *Cinta Setelah Cinta* (episodes 257, 262, 263). Episode selection was carried out qualitatively based on the data needed to get an overview of the subjectivity and objectivity issues of the two soap operas.

Referring to the narrative aspects of the film included plot, premise, characters, and conflict [12]. The data for the three elements were obtained from the scripts of the two soap operas studied. A script is a story evolved through pictures. It has a subject, usually the main character, happened in a place, while doing their thing which is called action [13]. To understand the narrative of a story, Branigan [14] claimed that there are two different sources. The first source is diegetic or information that can be accessed easily by the characters in the story. Information is available in the narration. The second source is non-diegetic or information that can be accessed directly by the audience. In other words, the narrative of a film, in this case a soap opera, provides a way for the audience to feel certain emotions and the audience can choose to accept or reject them [14]. Therefore, to obtain an overview of the attitude of the audience towards the two soap operas, interviews were conducted with six viewers. To get an overview of the context of the audience, the informants were selected with different gender, ages, and work backgrounds.

2. Subjectification and objectification

This theoretical framework places the body and position of women in the family and the community based on the sociocultural context with the aim of explaining the position of women in the media and the objectification of women in the media. Based on the theory of objectification, the main meaning of objectification refers to the attitude of men who explicitly make sexual innuendo or comments focusing on women's bodies. Usually, the objectification of women is related to their sexual objectification, which arises when a woman's body is considered separated from herself as a human being and the woman is seen as a physical object of male desire [15].

The objectification of women makes them vulnerable to experiencing oppression or violence regarding sexual harassment. However, in general, women are not aware of objectification towards themselves because culturally, women are constructed to see the world through a man's point of view. Objectification theory also suggests that many women are sexually objectified and treated as an object which is judged on the basis of their usefulness to others [15]. In general, objectification theory assumes that the objectification of women affects how women see themselves.

Objectification experienced by women can occur directly or indirectly. When this happens indirectly, it will involve the internalization of women's experience of objectification, which then turns into self-objectification [9]. Self-objectification makes women see themselves only as a body and not as whole human beings [16].

The objectification of women arises because of patriarchal habits and culture which consider women as weak creatures so that they are objects that can be controlled by men. According to Nussbaum, there are seven indicators involved in treating an object: instrumentality, denial of autonomy, inertness, fungibility, violability, ownership, and denial of subjectivity [17]. Women unconsciously develop behaviors that tend to obey and support self-objectification as a result of patriarchal culture. This behavior is known as self-objectification. Calogero [18] explains that self-objectification arises when an objectifying view develops among women themselves so that they see themselves through the point of view of those who supervise or control them and women participate in supervising themselves to be in accordance with said parties' perspectives itself. Sexual objectification produces self-objectification, which then turns into self-surveillance, and causes psychological and mental health consequences that threaten the [9].

Self-objectification affects how women live and interact socially. According to Saguy et al. [19], objectified women tend to limit their presence in social interactions by speaking less when the other person is a man. Women who are influenced by an ideology, for instance, a sexist attitude, will increase their level of self-objectification [20]. Self-objectification can be considered as a consequence of an ideological pattern that justifies and preserves the status quo socially [21]. Other research has shown that the more materialistic women are, the more likely they are to adopt an objective view of themselves and monitor their bodies more closely [22].

Sexual objectification based on the female body is considered to be the most common and obvious form of patriarchy and sexism. Sexual objectification of women appears as a fragmentation of a sexual nature so that women are only seen apart from their physical appearance and separate from their personality. According to Ref. [23], women internalize messages that are objectified and make themselves an object to be seen and assessed based on all attributes that are not competency-based. The other concept is sexual subjectification which occurs when the existence of women as a subject, through their appearance, consciously makes themselves sexual objects within their own community [11].

Cupo [24] introduces "women subjectivity," an analysis that explains how women's subjectivity removes the subject status out of women's bodies. They argue that the female body is a subjectification because the female body is a manifestation of male power in a patriarchal culture. Women, in women's subjectivity theory, cannot be fully said to be oppressed because they can be involved in the pressure, inequality, and exploitation that occurs to themselves. Women can position themselves as a subject who consciously participates in this inequality. Women also have the opportunity as subjects who consciously make themselves subjects even though they are aware of the pressure and exploitation that occurs.

Based on the theories and various concepts that have been developed, the reality and representation of women include the process of subjectification and objectification. This process is a challenge for feminism which seeks to improve the position and role of women, or even otherwise support patriarchy and male perspectives that weaken and harass women.

3. Soap operas and their development in Indonesia

The dynamics of the development of Indonesian soap operas began with the creativity and needs of media practitioners to develop media content both as works of art and as commodities in the media industry. This section will describe the development of soap operas in Indonesia and two soap operas that have been very popular in Indonesia for the past 2 years, titled *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta*.

3.1 The development of soap operas in Indonesia

Soap operas are called electronic cinema, or Sinema Elektronik (Sinetron), in Indonesia, a term coined by Sumarjo, one of the founders of Jakarta Institute of Art (Institut Kesenian Jakarta-IKJ). It refers to a series of cinematic broadcasts that can be watched through electronic media (television). This term is then used to call serial drama broadcasted on American television, known as soap operas. Soap opera first appeared in 1930 in the form of a serial drama broadcast on American Radio. At that time, the drama series was very popular among housewives who liked to listen to the radio in their spare time or while doing household chores. Referring to this phenomenon, this drama series program promoted a golden opportunity for companies whose target market is housewives to advertise various soap products, namely laundry soap and bath soap, and this led to the term 'soap opera'. Around 1940, serial drama or soap opera which was originally broadcasted on the radio then switched to color television created by Peter Goldmark. In Spain, soap operas are also developing and are known as telenovelas [25].

The development of soap operas in Indonesia began with the broadcast of a television series called *Losmen* on TVRI Indonesia, which was produced by senior Indonesian theater players at that time, Tatiek Maliyati and Wahyu Sihombing. As a television series, *Losmen* was taken very seriously, supported by well-known artists at that time such as Mieke Wijaya, Mathias Muchus, Dewi Yull, August Melasz, and Ida Leman. This series tells the Life of Mrs. Broto who manages an inn (in Indonesia called losmen) with her family and the various attitudes and behaviors of the inn tenants. Mrs. Broto's family as the inn manager is shown as a family that has a harmonious relationship with their tenants. The simplicity shown by *Losmen* and its ability to present the daily life of Indonesian people very well made *Losmen* one of the most popular events at that time [26].

Entering 1995 to 1998, many private broadcast stations were produced and existed at that time. Accordingly, the theme of the soap operas on private television slightly shifted in terms of story ideas, taking and adapting stories from feature films of the 80s instead of doing original work, such as *Lupus*, *Olga*, and *Catatan si Boy*. Then in 1998, Multivision Plus, one of the film-making companies in Indonesia, made the soap opera *Tersanjung*. This soap opera is the longest-running soap opera in 1998, consisting of 356 episodes which are divided into several seasons [25]. In line with the rating system that has become a reference for television producers for advertising purposes, the presence of soap operas is increasingly associated with obtaining ratings issued by the AC Nielsen rating agency. Ida Farida, one of the Indonesian women filmmakers, decided to move to the television industry after filmmaking activities in Indonesia declined in the 1990s. She wrote and directed soap operas for television and thus marking the start of the production of soap operas by women.

This consideration resulted in soap operas that were very different from the soap opera *Losmen*, both in terms of story ideas, filmmakers, and the artists who became the main characters. In addition, the soap opera production system that succeeded in attracting the audience's attention shifted from weekly broadcasts into daily broadcasts, then known as on-running broadcasts. In such a production process, the actors are forced to memorize the scenarios and understand the story as fast as possible. There is little to no opportunity to explore the characters or the situation and context of each scene.

In this context, acting is merely a technical work for the actors so that they can appear and speak as written in the scenario. There is very little chance that every scene contains some kind of depth of acting from the actors. Because of this, some female actors do not even have the opportunity to understand how women are positioned or identified in soap operas that involve themselves as women.

3.2 Popular soap opera: *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta*

This section is based on a narrative analysis of the content of two popular Indonesian soap operas and interviews with female viewers of the two soap operas. The soap operas studied are *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, which are two soap operas that are currently very popular in Indonesia.

Ikatan Cinta is currently being aired daily on RCTI (Rajawali Citra Television) at 20.00 (GMT + 7). It first aired on 19th October 2020 and has 1.025 episodes as of now (22 January 2023). *Ikatan Cinta* is telling the story of Andin and Elsa, two sisters who like the same man named Nino. Their relationship got worse when Elsa knows that Nino will be married to Andin. Elsa slandered Andin and said that Andin is getting pregnant with another man's child. She also said that Andin has killed the man. Because of Elsa's words, Andin got jailed and Nino did not want to admit that Andin is indeed pregnant with his child. After Andin got out of jail, she met with Aldebaran, Roy's brother, who seeks revenge. However, Aldebaran fell in love with Andin and decided to adopt Andin's child, thinking that the child is Roy's child.

The duration per episode is variative, between 60 to 120 minutes. Five days after its first being aired on television, *Ikatan Cinta* got the highest rating for the program that aired on prime time. Museum Rekor Dunia Indonesia (Indonesia Museum of World Record) named *Ikatan Cinta* as a prime-time soap opera that has the biggest national audience share. It broke the record to have more than 40 percent of the audience share in 100 days constantly. It also got a lot of awards, both domestic and international awards. One of the biggest awards that it has achieved is the award from the Indonesia Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy as the best creative economy creation with the highest audience share. But *Ikatan Cinta* was losing its audience when Arya Saloka, the main actor in the soap opera, got into a scandal and needed to leave the soap opera. However, because of the demand of the audiences, Arya got cast again and *Ikatan Cinta* now has a stable rating again. Not only because of the change of the main character, but *Ikatan Cinta* also lost most of its audience share because of the new soap opera aired by the rival television channel.

Cinta Setelah Cinta is a soap opera that airs on SCTV (Suryacitra Television) every day at 19.00 (GMT + 7). Because it airs in prime time, *Cinta Setelah Cinta* is one of the biggest rivals of *Ikatan Cinta*. The story goes with Starla and Niko that are happily married to each other. They have a daughter and a son together and everyone thinks that they are the perfect family. Little did they know, Niko is having an affair with Ayu, their old friend from high school. Ayu's husband knew about their affair

and tried to catch them but he, Ayu, and Niko got into an accident. Ayu's husband is declared brain dead and he donated his heart to Niko. Being thankful to Ayu, Starla never suspected Ayu and Niko's relationship. When Starla found out about the affair, she asked Niko to divorce her but Niko insisted that he will never leave Starla.

Cinta Setelah Cinta first aired on 16th May 2022 and now it has 360 episodes (22 January 2023) with a duration of about 60 to 100 minutes per episode. It was nominated as the most popular primetime program at Indonesian Television Awards 2022. Their main actor and actress also got nominated at the same event. The program itself is not only being aired on television, but also on the VOD platform called Vidio.

The reason why we chose these two soap operas is that *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta* are two primetime programs that have a high audience share. The scriptwriters for these two soap operas are also women. They also have the same stories that revolve around women and their struggles in married life. The women characters got betrayed by their husbands but they still need men to continue with their life. These two soap operas showed women's subjectivity as being the subject of patriarchy. Despite the same main theme of the stories, their audience shares are still higher than any other programs that air at primetime.

4. Women in Indonesian soap operas

Based on the narrative analysis carried out on the two soap operas *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, there are various visualizations, symbols, and dialogs that weaken and marginalize women and position them as subordinate to men. In addition, it was found that several women who acted as subjects objectified women as well. The objectification of women in this study is interpreted as a process of degradation of women's roles and abilities.

4.1 Women in Indonesian soap operas

The decline in Indonesian local film production in the 1990s made many filmmakers turn to soap operas, and women filmmakers were no exception. One of them is Ida Farida, who made her debut as a soap opera writer and director in the 1990s [27]. This marked the beginning of the emergence of many female filmmakers in the television industry.

The director in *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta* development is a male director, but the screenwriters for the two soap operas are women. The screenwriter for *Ikatan Cinta* is Donna Rosamayna, who uses a pen name Theresia Fransisca. The development of *Cinta Setelah Cinta* also involved a woman screenwriter, Serena Luna.

In the textual system, it is assumed that content created by women usually constructs a narrative motif based on women's wishes and processes what is received by the audience based on women's point of view [28]. However, based on an analysis of the content of the soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, the storyline and characterizations of female subjects still reflect women's views that are in line with men's perspectives as well as gender-biased patriarchal values. The storyline and the characterization of female subjects in the soap opera contain various objectification of women.

The female screenwriters in the two soap operas are subjects who have the power to make powerful stories, but instead, they create storytelling that weakens and demeans women. The objectification carried out by female screenwriters also

produces female characters who, as subjects, are also involved in objectifying women. There is a scene in the soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* that depicts a female entrepreneur declaring her resignation as the head of the company because she thinks that a man, her son-in-law, is a more suitable person to become a company leader. The built-up story does not present scenes related to aspects of competence for someone who deserves to be a company leader, only that he is a man of the family and he is the one who has the right and ability to be a leader. Another scene reveals the thoughts of a woman who is able to work professionally so that she has a higher career position than her male partner, but then thinks that her success is the reason for her partner leaving her. In addition, in *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, there is a scene that represents a wife who at first dares to express her life choices but ultimately chooses to remain silent when forced to comply with her husband's decision, even though it differs from her wishes and/or life choices.

Referring to these findings, women screenwriters as subjects actually objectify women. In addition, the representation of the main female character in the storyline of the soap operas they wrote also objectifies women themselves. The perspective of women in soap operas, instead of giving views that are unique to women and siding with women, reinforces men's perspectives and existing patriarchal values. The existence of women writers as subjects actually become a subject that perpetuates women's unconsciousness toward the objectification of themselves. The audience is only seen as a segmentation that needs to fulfill their desires or be supported by their way of thinking (even if it harms them) so that soap operas can be easily accepted and enjoyed by many women [28].

In the end, media content is in line with the media agenda, which prioritizes its interests to have high-rating soap operas. In other words, female screenwriters play a more important role in maintaining the audience segmentation of soap operas as a market and the high rating obtained becomes a reference. When the storyline and characterizations of the characters in a soap opera produce high ratings, no changes are deemed necessary. Therefore, the existence of women writers as subjects of power in writing soap opera scripts has not been able to produce various alternative thoughts to make women respect themselves more and have more confidence in their own abilities.

Based on several descriptions of the content of the two soap operas analyzed, it can be said that a woman who makes up a story in a film is not necessarily able and aware that, as a subject, she can produce images of women who are not gender biased or objectify women. In other ways, a story about feminists is not always determined by a female writer or director, but by whether gender-biased values and the process of objectifying women are contained therein or not [29].

Encouraging and supporting women to act as subjects in the media industry is not enough to influence media content or soap opera stories that are pro-women. However, efforts are needed to build awareness about women's perspectives on women as subjects who can be involved in producing content that are more pro-women by not demeaning women and subordinating women to men.

4.2 Narrative analysis of women in soap operas

Subjectification in soap operas occurs when women have a position as a subject, either as a screenwriter or a female character in the story, which will still represent objectification to herself, or a woman who does not fit her position as an autonomous subject. Meanwhile, objectification occurs through thoughts, attitudes, or behaviors

that demean women both in terms of weakness, incompetence, and inappropriateness in their position as autonomous subjects.

The soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta* present women as the main characters that construct reality both about themselves and about other people. The depiction of women shown as subjects in both soap operas is deemed quite interesting, in which there are women as wives who are described as having independent characteristics and able to survive when their husbands are not around. Apart from that, there are women who succeeded in their careers, women who are mistresses, and women who are cheated by their husbands.

Based on the narrative analysis of the soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, this study examines four elements of narrative which include the plot, premise, characters (characterizations), and the conflict that occurs [12, 13]. Through this narrative analysis, the objectification of women will be revealed in the content of soap operas whose scripts are written by women, meaning that as a screenwriter, she has a position as a subject.

4.2.1 Storylines that subordinate women

Based on the analysis of the storyline, it was found that the plot that directs the women's lives tends to be very dependent on men and even becomes subordinate to men. The storyline of *Ikatan Cinta* follows how Andin, as the main female character, has to go through various trials and sufferings caused by the struggle between a man and her sister, Elsa. Her sister even slandered Andin in order to get the man she wanted resulting in the destruction of Andin's household and Andin had to be imprisoned.

Even though the plot of *Ikatan Cinta* develops and Andin later finds her happiness with another man, Andin is still placed in a subordinated position. Andin still places herself as a woman who depends on men, in this case, her own husband. In episode 397, Andin said that she was very grateful that her husband had returned because the integrity of the family was in her husband's hands. In episode 398 Andin also said that she was sure she would be fine because her husband would take care of her when she was sick.

This is reinforced by the meaning created by the audience who say that the title literally means "bonds of love." The use of the word 'bond' becomes the main thread that there is an understanding that both parties are bound to each other, in this case, the main character involved. However, when the "bond" is associated with the word "love," the meaning of women and men becomes different. Culturally, the bond of love that occurs between a man and a woman will make a woman an unequal partner regarding the continuity of the bond of love. In a romantic relationship, culturally, Indonesian society tends to place women as the party responsible for its continuity. Therefore, women must place themselves lower, be more patient, or be more supportive of men or their partners because if the bond of love cannot be maintained, the woman tends to be blamed. Even women feel they have no right to sue their partners when they are unfaithful.

One of these thoughts is manifested in the soap opera *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, which tells the story of the struggle to get a man between the female characters in this soap opera. In the soap opera *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, two women who are bound by a debt of gratitude fight over one man who then brings a lot of problems in everyone's life. Starla, the main female character, has to accept her destiny of losing her husband, who in the story is taken by another woman. The soap opera also creates a storyline

that places Starla as a woman who feels that she cannot fight or defend her marriage. This happens a lot because the woman thinks it is her fault or she does not feel worthy of demanding her husband respect her marriage.

It's not enough to place Starla as a woman who cannot do anything when her husband treats her badly, this soap opera also creates a storyline that depicts Starla's husband considering Starla a lowly woman because she cannot do anything about his affair. Then his partner not only has an affair but marries his mistress even though he has not divorced Starla. The storyline seems to place Starla as a weak person, causing her husband to marry another woman, showing that again the woman is blamed.

Even when a woman does not feel guilty for breaking up their relationship because a man or his partner broke or weakened the bond of love between them, she will look for other women to blame instead of blaming the man or her partner. This happened with the emergence of the term "*pelakor*" (mistress) in the soap opera. In episode 262, Starla and her husband argue about her husband's affair. Starla then said the term "*pelakor*" toward the woman who is having an affair with her husband. The term "*pelakor*" among Indonesian women refers to the abbreviation of the phrase "*perebut laki orang*" (taking other's men) which means that it is the mistress themselves who seize married men or not because the men are unfaithful or even like to chase other women who do not like the man at first or do not want to accept the man. Even though there is a possibility that the mistress may seduce others' husbands, as a man, he also has a responsibility to avoid these temptations and commit himself to the bond of love with the woman he has chosen as a lover or wife. The word "*pelakor*" does not see that possibility or does not think in that way, the term represents the way of thinking that women are wrong and they should be responsible for supporting men so that they can become good men. They have to be there to please and support men even when they hurt them.

Referring to the discussion above, the title of the bond of love (*Ikatan Cinta*) in terms of the storyline has directed to a story that places women as the subordinate of men, especially in their love relationships. Meanwhile, the issue of infidelity and the term "*pelakor*" in the soap opera *Cinta Setelah Cinta* emphasizes that a woman's job is to support a man and must try to prevent a man from making a mistake. Therefore, wives and women who are seduced by men must be able to act to make the man a loyal husband. It is the wife's fault if her husband has an affair with another woman. It is the woman's fault if a man is tempted by her, but if a man seduces a woman, then it is the woman's fault if she is tempted. Therefore, the existence of women is for the benefit of men and makes men become respectable or good figures even though women have to make sacrifices to achieve this. If it does not work then as a woman, she is a failure, as a wife, she deserves to be betrayed, as a woman who has an affair deserves to be blasphemed as a seducer of married men (*pelakor*).

4.2.2 Men in Women's life

The premise is important in the narrative analysis of a film because the premise contained in a film will color the entire storyline. Through the premise of women, the soap operas *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta* build storylines about the female characters in the two soap operas. The question that arises is what kind of premise does to the story of *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta* have or is based on.

Based on an analysis of the soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* through the life stories of its female characters (Andin & Elsa), a conflict is presented between the two women

because they love the same man, Nino. Nino, as Andin's husband, also secretly accepts Elsa's presence as his life partner. This situation led to various conflicts in the lives of women so it became an obstacle to the happiness of the two women. A woman's life is centered on a man as a partner or a person who is loved by both women. The happiness of women and their sadness too originate from men. In other words, this soap opera turns women whose roles are protagonists into subjects who, through their choices, then objectify themselves by making a man who is unfaithful to their marriage as a subject that determines their happiness.

The premise that men are the determining subject of happiness in a woman's life even though the man hurts her is also reflected in the soap opera *Cinta Setelah Cinta*. In the soap opera *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, there is a woman named Starla, whose life seems perfect, but later her husband commits an affair and marries another woman without her knowledge. Starla's life then becomes full of suffering because she has to accept her husband's infidelity in her marriage.

The two soap operas with hundreds of episodes continue to extend the story to tell the story of a woman's struggle to get happiness from the man she loves even though he has betrayed her. Some of the good scenes in *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta* even suggest that women chosen as the mistress only have a negative impression. There are efforts to make men as parties who actually become victims of the women they are having an affair with. Meanwhile, the female antagonist in this soap opera also ends up regretting all of her actions. She feels that she is living uncomfortably after getting the man she originally wanted because the man is not what she expected. In other words, men are again positioned as the center of women's lives.

In addition, although Andin as the main character is a woman who works as a lecturer, the soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* emphasizes Andin's role as a wife. As a woman, her role as a wife is more dominant. She does not forget her main duties as a wife and as a mother who continues to take care of her child while her husband focuses on his career. Other women in the soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* are also described as women who have power and appear actively in public spaces such as working and having high positions in a company, but they still place themselves under the power of men. In episode 896, Andin's mother says that Andin's husband is now responsible for all company decisions. Even though the owner of the company is Andin's mother, she still gives full power to men, in this case, her son-in-law or Andin's husband.

4.2.3 Women and femininity

Feminine or femininity should be understood as the attitude or behavior shown by someone [30] both male and female. However, feminine characteristics are then better known as attitudes and behaviors attached to women. Research reveals that when women confirm feminine values in themselves, this will affect their attitudes and behavior [31].

The female characters in both soap operas, namely Andin (*Ikatan Cinta*) and Starla (*Cinta Setelah Cinta*) are described as independent women but still spoiled. She is also an obedient figure to her husband who is a perfect embodiment of a wife in a patriarchal view. This view was received by the audience who revealed in the interview that Andin is a pious wife because she obeys her husband's words. In episode 397 there is a scene showing Andin trying to serve her husband in the car by providing him with a drink and asking if his husband wants a massage.

Besides that, the spoiled nature that is attached to women also appeared in episode 896 which was shown in the scene at the hospital, when Andin said that she could

only fall asleep if her husband came to sleep with her because she was sick. This dialog provides a view that women feel weak and need protection from men who are considered stronger.

The female characters in *Cinta Setelah Cinta* are described as women who have problems with their household life. Starla as the main female character has a character that tries to look tough but the soap opera, through its narrative, also shows that Starla feels weak. The character Sukma in episode 167 also describes a woman who accepts all the circumstances and problems she faces as a form of women's responsibility that must be able to save their own household life. When they cannot overcome problems in their marriage, they think they have to accept this fact and keep it to themselves. Because as a woman, Sukma understands that the failure of her marriage will be judged by society because she cannot become an ideal woman with the feminine values she should have had.

4.2.4 Women's conflict as the Core of the story

In general, the conflicts presented in the soap operas *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta* are conflicts between women and themselves and other women who both make men the center of their lives. Men, with all their betrayal toward women, are still considered as a source of women's happiness in these two soap operas. Women must fight so that in the end it is her who is finally chosen by men in their life.

In the soap opera *Ikatan Cinta*, the female characters Andin and Elsa experience conflict because they want the same man, Nino. When Nino became Andin's husband, Elsa had a personal conflict with her feelings of jealousy. The conflict developed into an open conflict against Andin when Elsa slandered Andin to destroy her household.

In the soap opera *Cinta Setelah Cinta*, the main conflict that occurs is the affair committed by Starla's husband. This conflict becomes the culmination of various problems that occur in the lives of the female characters. Starla must be faced with her husband's infidelity and their divorce. The female character named Ayu is a woman who is involved in an affair with Starla's husband and gets bad views from those around her with the nickname *pelakor* (a woman who takes another's husband). This means that Ayu is considered to be the person responsible for the affair itself.

The female characters in these soap operas are generally involved in various conflicts motivated by their dependence on men. The conflicts they experience with themselves or other women are generally due to men's attitudes and behavior that do not align with their expectations. The interesting thing is that these soap operas emphasize the open conflict between women rather than the open conflict between women and men.

5. Discussion

In soap operas, the presence of women is represented in two modes of existence, namely discursive and material [24]. They are represented in a discursive fashion through images, symbolic systems, and language. In the material mode, women are represented as they really are through their physical appearance, physical strength, and ability to speak and act. Both of these modes are present simultaneously in the female characters depicted in the two soap operas analyzed in this study; women, both as screenwriters and their works as well as female characters in the various characteristics and roles that exist in said soap operas.

The presence of women as screenwriters, independent wives, and entrepreneurs or professionals who are successful in their careers is the material presence of women which provides an alternative to the image of women that are considered as mere objects. However, discursively in the dialog that occurs or in the narration of the thoughts of the female characters presented in the soap operas as material subjects, they still represent women as objects or subjectification. These women present ways of thinking which are represented in various visualizations and dialogs both symbolically and narratively in various storylines.

A female screenwriter has a position as a subject who has access and power to represent women in a way that is different from the male point of view, both from the discursive and material existence of women. However, access and power are not enough to make a female subject able to become one that is not gender biased or different from the male perspective towards women. A female screenwriter as a female subject can also objectify women or self-objectify in accordance with the perspective of men who objectify women. Referring to the involvement of women in the process of objectifying women in soap operas, a narrative analysis of soap operas as media content is needed. Based on the narrative analysis which includes the storyline, premise, characters, and conflicts, there are important things that can be understood in the two soap operas studied.

The storyline of soap opera *Ikatan Cinta* and *Cinta Setelah Cinta* is an illustration that serves as an example of self-objectification by female screenwriters and the characters she created. What the female subject does, as a screenwriter, makes women, in this case female characters and female audiences, participate in positioning or accepting the role of women as objects.

This situation makes women increasingly alienated from their subjectivity as Rosalind has observed towards women in Europe who presented themselves as objects [11]. This is also in line with the idea that states that the results of self-objectification make women more vulnerable in fighting against an unjust gender status quo and also in their participation in collective action aimed at fighting the status quo itself [20]. The storylines and female characters in the two soap operas studied cannot be separated from their underlying premises. Both soap operas were built on the premise that men are the center of women's lives and also the main source of women's happiness.

Women who are involved in objectifying women, either themselves or other women, ultimately place themselves as a powerless woman. Loughnan et al. [32] also found that women who recalled situations that involved themselves objectifying other women led them to see their own as inhumane and immoral. Therefore, the consequence of self-objectification experienced by women is a change in their personal free will, including the perception of their right to make their choices freely and consciously [33]. Referring to the soap operas studied, the conflicts that arise describe more conflicts created by women, both conflicts within themselves (internal conflicts) and conflicts with other women (external conflicts). There is a tendency that the conflicts that arise are conflicts based on women's choices to make men the source of their happiness and think that this is what they have to fight for, even though the men ignore or hurt them.

The analysis of the soap operas studied show that media content still reinforces the power of patriarchal culture and the male perspective on women, which makes women as objects that are degraded, marginalized, and oppressed in their life or social relations by men. Female audiences are convinced by the soap opera that a wife is very dependent on her husband, a woman is not worthy to be a leader, or a woman who is successful in her career or has a higher position than her partner will be abandoned by her partner.

The findings above are in line with other research regarding the representation of women's images in the media, the media constructs women as a form of fulfillment of the gender dichotomy. Women still have an image that reinforces masculine hegemony in media [34]. More specifically, the results of this study are in line with Supratman [34]'s research which also confirms Chesney-Lind's argument, that the image of women is shown through female characters that are dependent, friendly, fragile in relationships, and submissive in their domestic life. This image is considered as an answer to discriminatory practices against women. This is also the reason why women are often portrayed as victims while men are portrayed as perpetrators in the media. The media's construction of women's images is still considered as fulfilling the institutional system of gender and women's subordination because the media's image of women is still in the character of being dependent on men, resigned to life, taking care of children, or fragile in maintaining relationships [34].

6. Conclusion

The feminist movement, especially those that focus on the influence of the media on gender-biased or unfair social constructions towards women, still has big challenges. The first conference of the Council of Europe Network of National Focal Points on Gender Equality [35] concluded that the media's treatment of women and the reproduction of female stereotypes are related to violence against women in everyday life. Stereotypes and sexist representations affect women as citizens and violate their human rights. It should also be noted that all the processes that occur in the media today do not only make men as subjects who objectify women but also actively involve women in objectifying women.

Further studies are needed on media content related to stereotypes and sexism, freedom of expression and gender equality, the position of women in the media, and new media as a tool for positive change. Referring to the study conducted on soap operas in Indonesia, the Indonesian government needs to encourage the inclusion of gender issues in the education curriculum from an early age so that a perspective that is not gender biased can be built from the start. The government must also push for the enactment of the Broadcasting Conduct Guidelines and Broadcasting Standard Guidelines which prohibit the publication of content that objectifies women, contains sexist values and is gender biased in broadcast media, especially television, without violating freedom of expression in the media.

Feminists must work together with independent groups regarding control of media content, whether with academia, women's groups, or an alliance of media professionals to develop awareness regarding the influence of media on audiences. In addition, cooperation is also needed in an effort to develop awareness about gender values that are fair to women and women's perspectives that are different from men's perspectives on women.

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Chapter 6

A Study of Nomadism and Rhizomatic Consciousness in Kamila Shamsie's *Burnt Shadows*

Munazzah Rabbani

Abstract

Past and present postmodern nomadic epistemologies as well as the gendered dimensions of nomadism have often served as intellectual sites of resistance to destabilize totalizing hegemonies and ideologies often sustained in the name of nation-states and nationalisms. In this context, this study traces the nomadic post/trans-national ventures of Shamsie's protagonist Hiroko Tanaka, in *Burnt Shadows*, that define her life in an anti-genealogical spatial stance akin to rhizomatic existence rather than in a chronological temporal frame. For this purpose, this research employs Braidotti's notion of nomadic subjects as nomadic polyglots along with Deleuze and Guattari's conceptualization of nomads as war machines external to the state apparatus. Through the multiple geographical, cultural, national displacements and the resultant nomadic becoming experienced by her protagonist, Shamsie seems to question the relevance of nationalism as an over-arching grand narrative in the works of second-generation writers of Pakistani origin. And by contextualizing her work as a tale of spatiality rather than of temporality, Shamsie seems to map the alternative fictional terrain of history, which is not concerned with the chronological mapping of national spaces; it is rather concerned with discovering new forms of nomadic interconnectedness without being bound to a single space or teleological purpose.

Keywords: nomadism, rhizome, de-territorialization, nationalism, global imaginary

1. Introduction

It's great to have roots, as long as you can take them with you.

Gertrude Stein

Kamila Shamsie's fiction is multi-faceted and is difficult to categorize under a single label. Four out of the six novels that she has penned so far deal with national politics and its ensuing impact, predominantly, on women who, in most cases, reside in Karachi. In most of her works, "violence is caused by national politics" ([1], p. 386). But, in her fifth novel *Burnt Shadows* (2009), she deviates from this tradition of Karachi novels and pens a work that spans two continents, six decades, and events ranging from the Nagasaki bombing in the Second World War in 1945 to the 9/11

destruction of Twin Towers in the US in 2001. It was in *Burnt Shadows* (2009) that she “broke away from her focus on Karachi and Pakistani politics” ([1], p. 391). On the other hand, Western perception of literatures being produced in the third world countries by writers like Shamsie essentializes a homogenous reading as made evident by Jameson’s quite famous yet controversial construct of National Allegory in his work “Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism” [2] that scrutinizes, in a totalizing mode, the production of third world literary representations in the form of ‘national allegories’ with univocal, political, nationalistic and, to some extent, binaristic constructions of meaning as opposed to, what Jameson believes, the Western individualistic construction of meaning so rampant in Western literary representations. Jameson’s construct of National Allegory limits and/or privileges the literatures being produced by the once colonized nations as national allegories dominated by the political turmoil(s) taking place in these nations. But this simplistic or rather naively unitary perspective becomes susceptible to re-signification in the times of globalization. In this context, Shamsie’s fiction that deals with national as well global issues needs to be investigated to probe the kind of allegories/narratives being produced in her works. *Burnt Shadows* (2009) deals with the displacement(s) of a global nomad Hiroko Tanaka in a postnational setting. It revolves around the life of a Japanese woman Hiroko and her emotional mapping of the global events and spaces. So, in this study, Shamsie’s *Burnt Shadows* (2009) has been probed as a work of nomadic feminist allegory rather than a national allegory that includes Braidotti’s reading of nomadic subjects [3] along with Deleuze and Guattari’s Rhizomatic consciousness [4] and their conceptualization of nomad as a war machine (2010). This work also probes how nationalism as an over-arching construct limits and/or privileges nomadism among the male and female protagonists in Shamsie’s narrative.

2. Nomadic imaginary and rhizomatic consciousness

Rosi Braidotti, in her noteworthy study of nomadism (1994), exposes the arbitrary and constructed nature of cultural and national affiliations and posits a theory of female subjectivity based upon multiplicities and a strong sense of deterritorialization to resist totalizing hegemonies and ideologies often sustained in the name of nation-states and nationalisms. Being a nomad means, for Braidotti [3], being “a subject in transit” (p. 10); it refers to “the permanence of temporary arrangements” (p. 11) and “the nomadic tense is the imperfect: it is active, continuous” (p. 25). It is founded upon a state of “unredeemed otherness” which involves physical and esthetic mobility not as an imperative but as a willful choice directed against territorializing oppressive forces to resist “assimilation or homologation into dominant ways of representing the self” (p. 25).

The past and present nomadic epistemologies bear little resemblance and are quite significant in the context of this study. The nomadic subject in this postmodern global/urban world does not necessarily bear resemblance to the ruthless male nomadic subject portrayed in the myths as violent or as “War Machines” [5] external to the state apparatus involved in looting or sacking the cities. This “(neo)Nomadism of suburban unrest” ([3], p. 26) is concerned more with the metropolitan space(s), rather than the traditional nomadic trajectories. Hiroko, in *Burnt Shadows* (2009), also moves from one urban space to another in an act of “molecularisation of self” ([3], p. 16).

Of particular significance, in Braidotti’s nomadic imaginary, is the figure of nomadic polyglot which is highly relevant to this study. Braidotti believes that nationalism feeds on the exaltation of a particular language, usually the mother tongue of

the majority group in a nation-state, and that particular language is used to reinforce national identities and cultures. Nomadic polyglot, on the other hand, does not believe in the supremacy of any particular language and exists in-between languages which gives her/him a vantage point to deconstruct identities. The nomadic polyglot understands language/words to be in a state of transit, with meaning forever on the move, and hence, disavows the concept of steady identities and mother tongues.

Deleuze and Guattari [4] establish the relation between the individual nomadic body and the state apparatus. Basing their work upon Foucault's biopower which perceives and exposes the relationship between the individual body and the state power as linear, structured around an hierarchy, Deleuze and Guattari perceive the nomadic subject as a flat surface/body (in opposition to the vertical, temporal perception of subjectivity so dominant in Western critical tradition) devoid of hierarchy and defined by spatiality rather than temporality, and this subjectivity tends to be self-sufficient; in fact, they term nomadic subjectivity as a "body without organs" to resist territorialization and exclusionary state practices.

Closely associated with nomadic subjectivity is the figure of rhizome. Deleuze and Guattari [4] introduced it to explain nomadic consciousness in opposition to the figure of tree that has vertical/linear roots. Rhizome also denotes underground roots, but these roots grow sideways, horizontally, not vertically. Rhizomatic consciousness is central to the nomadic imaginary as it puts an end to teleology in Nomadic ontology. As Deleuze and Guattari [4] put it:

A rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo. The tree is filiation, but the rhizome is alliance, uniquely alliance. The tree imposes the verb 'to be' but the fabric of the rhizome is the conjunction, 'and... and...and...' The conjunction carries enough force to force and shake the verb 'to be'..... The middle is by no means an average; on the contrary, it is where things pick up speed. Between things does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing to the other and back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal movement that sweeps one and the other way, a stream without beginning or end (p. 25).

This state of interbeing, in-between-ness, non-fixity is closely associated with the emphasis on de-territorialization in these times of globalization. The politics of location that it entails involves a repudiation of the notion of rootedness or roots, and emphasizes the significance of 'routes', of passages, of states in transition. The figure of rhizome is particularly relevant for the understanding of Hiroko's post/trans-national ventures that define her life in anti-genealogical spatial stance rather than in a chronological temporal frame.

3. Nomadic imaginary, linguistic polyglot and nomadic desire

Shamsie's *Burnt Shadows* (2009) is a work of nomadic allegory that traces the dis/re-locations of Hiroko Tanaka who hails originally from the war-torn Japanese city of Nagasaki but goes through an empowering process of metaphoric nomadic becoming. Shamsie, in her work, has situated her protagonist in post-national nomadic imaginary and, through her multiple geographical, cultural, national displacements, Shamsie questions the relevance of nationalism as an over-arching grand narrative in the works of second-generation writers of Pakistani origin. Nomadic consciousness resists and challenges all sorts of situated rootedness in the form of nationalistic,

linguistic, cultural belonging and emphasizes “blurring boundaries without burning bridges” ([3], p. 4). This “permanence of temporary arrangements” (p. 11) entails a “kind of critical consciousness that resists settling into socially coded modes of thought and behavior” (p. 5). Hiroko and her fiancé Konrad display this resistance to established norms and patterns of existence along with Raza—Hiroko’s son—whose nomadic performativity involves a different kind of mapping or tracing.

Shamsie has also placed Hiroko in contrast to the other nomads in her narrative—particularly her son Raza who is a nomad very much like his mother but who prefers adherence to the past nomadic trajectory rather than the postmodern nomadism of his mother. The gendered dimensions of nomadism have been highlighted by Shamsie in her narrative as the nomad as an “open-ended, interconnected entity” cannot be homogeneously categorized by assimilating or negating the differences “between men and women” on the one hand and “among women” on the other hand ([3], p. 158). For this purpose, this study, first, draws parallels between Hiroko’s and Konrad’s nomadism and then between that of Hiroko and her son. In the end, it briefly touches upon Kim’s nationalistic revival that refutes the notion of women as a homogenous nomadic category.

As mentioned earlier, *Burnt Shadows* (2009) is a tale of spatiality rather than temporality. It maps different spaces in an act of defining the “fictional terrain” ([6], p. 198) of history; it is not concerned with the chronological mapping of national spaces. It encompasses, through the characters of Hiroko and Konrad, “a reterritorialization that has passed through several versions of deterritorialization to posit a powerful theory of location based on contingency, history and change” ([6], p. 198). Konrad, due to his multi-national lineage (a German who lives in Japan and has an English half-sister who lives in India), is an apt example of nomadic post/trans-national performativity. When he is sent by his British brother-in-law James to Azalea Manor in Nagasaki, Japan, to take care of his inherited property, he is fascinated at once and the most by the photographs displayed in that house; photographs that contain the hint of a promise, a visionary promise akin to the nomadic “visionary epistemology” ([7], p. 31), photographs that show “Europeans and Japanese mixing uncomplicatedly” ([8], p. 6) and he instantly believed in that promise. As the allegorical representation of nomadic imaginary, he manifests faith in discovering new forms of interconnectedness without being bound to a single space or teleological purpose. His nomadic performativity is evident from his act of keeping diaries, his purple notebooks which contain “research and observation about the cosmopolitan world” ([8], p. 9). His very act of keeping and maintaining these notebooks can be deemed as an act of subverting the linear form of national history based upon exclusionary practices. As the nomadic rhizomatic consciousness is “the opposite of history” ([4], p. 23), so his notebooks can be termed as works of alternative “fictional terrain” ([6], p. 198) that challenge the sedentary nature of national linear history by highlighting the fascisms inherent in national discourses. Hiroko describes Konrad’s desire to write these notebooks in these terms: “I always thought his obsession grew from a need to believe in a world as separate as possible from a Germany of ‘laws for the protection of German blood and German honour’” ([8], p. 69). This desire to rebel against or challenge the macro/micro-fascisms inherent in national discourses is an integral part of nomadic becoming which entails a need to challenge the hegemony through the act of moving away and also through the act of imagining or envisioning an alternative intellectual terrain, an alternative epistemology, which is represented through his notebooks. His notebooks also express a move away from the national discourses towards post-national cosmopolitan imaginary which is an integral part of the global imaginary. His rhizomatic becoming (spaced in three countries across two continents) expresses the very act of subverting hegemonies

and macro/micro-fascisms which are often the consequence of narrow and suffocating nationalism. As the nomadic consciousness is both an act of de-territorialization and also of re-territorialization, so Konrad's act of moving away from the micro/macro-fascisms inherent in German linear nationalism during the second world war is both an act of de-territorialization which leads towards re-territorialization. His disavowal of the German nationalist ontological space as an act of de-territorialization leads him to Japan in search of "a pattern of people moving towards each other" ([8], p. 68); hence, his act of moving away from micro/macro-fascisms is also an act of moving towards a visionary space which Benhabib terms as a Utopian "no-place". This Utopian space is a "space of critical no-where-ness" (Benhabib as cited in [3], p. 32) where exclusionary practices are not legitimized, where hegemonies are challenged, a space enclosed in the intellectual terrains of Konrad's purple notebooks as works of alternative fiction. This Utopian "no-space" is the space of no labels, be it national, ethnic, religious, or cultural; a "no-space" devoid of strangeness or alienation or othering bestowed by these labels; a desert nomadic terrain containing the map of "a world in which he [Konrad] could have arrived in Delhi to see his sister... as an equal and not found that his Germanness, her Englishness, were all that mattered" ([8], p. 69). But this Utopian impulse was burnt to ashes in the Nagasaki bombing when, ironically, everything else in the neighborhood except the tree on which he had hung his notebooks remained unburnt, uncharred. The annihilation of Konrad's visionary notebooks which contain the map of nomadic Utopian "no-place" is highly significant and highlights the resistance faced by nomadism as a visionary epistemology at the hands of the sedentary forces of nation-states or nationalism.

Hiroko, on the other hand, can be termed a nomadic polyglot. She displays a kind of identification with the nomadic symbolic imaginary that makes her resist the idea of fixity and rootedness. As mentioned earlier, nomadic epistemology is premised on the idea of "permanence of temporary arrangements" ([3], p. 11) which involves physical as well as intellectual dis/re-location. Hiroko goes through this process of dis/re-location multiple times. She manifests strongly the tendencies of postmodern urban nomadism in contrast to her son Raza who exhibits an ambivalent relation to the past nomadic epistemology. Her identification with the nomadic imaginary is quite strong and can be traced in multiple ways. Her multiple dis/re-locations present a "fictional terrain, a reterritorialization that has passed through several versions of deterritorialization to posit a powerful theory of location based on contingency, history and change" ([6], p. 198). This 'powerful theory of location'—location as both the geographical location as well as a "notion that can only be mediated in language and consequently be the object of imaginary relations" (Rich as cited in [3], pp. 21–22)—entails also the notion of identification as an introspective process mediated via language through her multiple dis/re-locations. Hiroko's first act of dis/re-location was a deliberate choice and an act of refusal to identify with the identity bestowed upon her by the war, the 'hibakusha'—the person affected by the big bomb. It was this fear of reduced identity that led her to identify with the nomadic imaginary and to give up the sedentary nature of national being.

It was the fear of reduction rather than any kind of quest that forced her away from Japan. Already she had started to feel that word 'hibakusha' start to consume her life. To the Japanese she was nothing beyond an explosion-affected person" ([8], p. 49).

Her disavowal of the national location (Japan) to mediate through language the imaginary relations based upon identification is an act of nomadic becoming. This

geographical mapping is also an act of cartography—to exist in a mobile manner, to draw maps of the places visited, to contextualize one's existence without the need to cling to situated form of being or of rootedness. This disavowal also entails an unhinged form of existence, liberation from the normative modes of nationalist being and freedom to practice or embrace the horizontal modes of rhizomatic becoming. Here, the relevance of Jameson's *National Allegory* (1986) does become questionable in Shamsie's narrative as it is only when the protagonist has liberated herself from the identity imposed upon her by an event associated with the national imaginary (the bombing) that she is able to attain subjectivity and centralize her existence; it is only when she becomes a globe-trotter and steps into the in-between space(s) of nomadic becoming that she is able to sever her national ties and visualize a rhizomatic "No-(wo)man's land" ([3], p. 19).

She had not thought of destination so much as of departure, wheeling through the world with the awful freedom of someone with no one to answer to. She had become, in fact, a figure out of myth ([8], p. 48).

Hence, her identification with the nomadic imaginary gets intensified when she gives preference to routes not to roots, to departures not to destinations, to the act of transit and not to the teleological purpose behind it. And when she arrives, all of a sudden, at James and Elizabeth's home in India, she did appear to James as a 'figure out of myth' ([8], p. 48) as it was utterly impossible for him to categorize or label her. Her refusal to cling to national/gender/class identities or labels renders her into a figure utterly alien, impossible to be categorized according to the normative 'male-stream' ([3], p. 6) patterns of existence.

James was oddly perturbed by this woman who he could not place. Indians, Germans, the English, even Americans... he knew how to look at people and understand the contexts from which they sprang. But this Japanese woman in trousers. What on earth was she all about? ([8], p. 46).

In the 'male stream' ([3], p. 6) national imaginary, hence, Hiroko has no space; she is an alien with no recognizable fixed roots or rather she is rooted in non-fixity, in non-belonging, and her roots are spread not in a linear sedentary mode rather in the horizontal spatial mode of rhizomatic being. She is a figure devoid of nationalities as a nomad has "no passport—or has too many of them" ([3], p.33); she is an alien body that resists assimilation or amalgamation. As a male patriarchal figure, James finds it difficult to comprehend this 'woman in trousers'. Hence, Hiroko as a nomadic figure challenges the phallogocentrism inherent in the national imaginary which categorizes masses especially women on the basis of their appearance and dressing.

James' wife Elizabeth, at that moment, also realizes and appreciates this challenge to phallogocentric monologism of 'male stream' thinking and wonders when did she start believing that "there is virtue in living a constrained life?" ([8], p. 46) Hiroko is a nomadic figure with a desire very much like that of Konrad to find Benhabib's Utopian "no-place" (Benhabib as cited in [3], p. 32) devoid of labels or nationalities and her presence turns Elizabeth into a desiring subject too. Elizabeth's very act of relinquishing her relationship with James and traveling to New York is also an act of giving up on the sedentary situated nature of marital life and shifting to nomadic existence as she does not want to be the "Good Wife" ([8], p. 117) anymore. Her move from India to London and then eventually to New York where she spends the rest of her life manifests identification with that mode of nomadic imaginary

in which transit or move from one place to another is more internal rather than external. In this respect, she offers a contrast to Hiroko's nomadic wanderings from Nagasaki to India to Istanbul to Karachi and then to New York. Elizabeth's nomadism is more internal than external; one that does not require change in the nomad's habitat or place as she decides to get anchored in New York but it is a part of nomadic imaginary as nomadism, basically, involves "subversion of set conventions... not [necessarily] the literal act of traveling" ([3], p. 5).

Through her multiple willful dis/re-locations, Hiroko allegorically epitomizes the role of pre-state matriarchy in opposition to the patriarchal nation-state. The pre-state matriarchy which is nurturing and protective in contrast to the patriarchal nation-state which is imposing and controlling makes itself manifest in Hiroko's attempts to shield her father—"the traitor" ([8], p. 15)—from state control and brutality. Her father who is an "iconoclastic artist" ([8], p. 13) is repeatedly tortured and arrested for speaking out against the military and the emperor. The patriarchal nation-state arrests her father, bars her from working in the school where she went to teach German language and sends her to work in a munitions factory instead. Hence, rather than being nurtured and protected by the state, she and her father are banished and stigmatized. This control and manipulation are quite reminiscent of, what Kortenaar as cited in Lee [9] describes as, the reduction of people "to a single known quality" (p. 139). The patriarchal nation-state further banishes her and Sajjad and bars them from entering into India after partition. The role of nation-state can be further perceived through Raza's "teenage rebellion" when he yells at his mother: "I can't ask any of my friends home...with you walking around, showing your legs. Why can't you be more Pakistani?" ([8], p. 130) She also tries to protect Abdullah—her son Raza's childhood friend—and tries to smuggle him to safety in Canada. Hence, Hiroko allegorically symbolizes the nomadic maternal (no)space with no boundaries or labels, which is nurturing and yielding rather than controlling or unforgiving.

Shamsie has also employed various metaphors to symbolize nomadic and nationalistic modes of existence. Birds have been used by Shamsie as an ambivalent metaphor—a metaphor of nomadic becoming, non-belonging, and non-fixity as well as the representative of bloodshed and turmoil in the name of nationalism and nation-states. The birds carved on Hiroko's back symbolize the ravages of the 'new bomb', the horrors of war, the 'hibakusha'. The "three charcoal-coloured bird-shaped burns on her back, the first below her shoulder blade, the second half-way down her spine, intersected by her bra, the third just above her waist" ([8], p. 91) symbolize the impact of nation-states engaging in brutal acts of terror. Hence, the bird shadows burnt on Hiroko's body allegorically represent the nation-states and their strifes. But these birds also allegorically stand for the nomadic wandering spirit; they also represent the resistance to "assimilation or homologation into dominant ways of representing the self" ([3], p. 25). Sajjad also highlights the ambivalence in this metaphor as he re-signifies the scarred back of Hiroko as "birdback" because everything about Hiroko is "beautiful" ([8], p. 91). Repeatedly, Shamsie employs birds as an ambivalent metaphor of horrors of nationalistic wars and the hopeful spirit of nomadism. Birds leave their comment in the form of "white streak" (p. 10) on Konrad's purple notebooks hung under the leaves; the silence in James' home at Delhi is only shredded by the "vibrant bird calls" which assure Hiroko that "there was nothing here she couldn't leave without regret" (p. 58); at Qutb Minar in Delhi, Hiroko circles the minaret like a bird while Sajjad thinks of her as a "wounded bird" but with "something more feral in her" (p. 81). For Sajjad, birds symbolize the permanence of Dilli in contrast to Delhi for "no matter how often he circled Delhi he would always return to world of Dilli" (p. 106).

Birds, here, allegorize Sajjad's rootedness in contrast to Hiroko's non-rootedness; his enthusiasm and spirit to belong to a certain place in this case the old Dilli which is in contrast to Hiroko's non-belonging nomadic spirit; his sedentary nature of belonging in contrast to Hiroko's rhizomatic non-linear consciousness. It is due to his belief in the sedentary nature of existence that he is the most distraught when he is forced to give up his Indian nationality at the time of partition. "They said I'm one of the Muslims who chose to leave India. It can't be unchosen. They said, Hiroko, they said I can't go back to Dilli. I can't go back home" ([8], p. 125). Birds as a representation of nomadic existence also appear in Karachi at Hiroko and Sajjad's home where she is fascinated by the "sudden chattering of sparrows" (p. 130). Birds as a metaphorical representation of the new bomb haunt Hiroko's life, especially when she gave birth to a stillborn daughter, she realized that "the birds were inside her now, their beaks dripping venom into her bloodstream, their charred wings engulfing her organs" (p. 222). Birds as an ambivalent allegorical representation of nationalistic violent belonging and nomadic becoming stand in stark contrast to the metaphor of cashmere jacket which was given to Sajjad by James. James also understands the imperial symbolic value of this act as he muses: "Discarded clothes as metaphor for the end of empire...I don't care how he looks at my shirt so long as he allows me to choose the moment at which it becomes his" (p. 35). Bilal [10] interprets this symbolic gesture as an act of transferal of agency from the colonizer to the colonized with the "discarded clothes" acting as the metaphorical representation of the empire. Shamsie interprets this metaphor as an act of discarding the empire and maintaining the persona of being in control when in reality the English had lost control and were being driven out of India (Shamsie as cited in [10]). Shamsie and Bilal [10] both interpret the cashmere jacket or the "discarded clothes" (p. 35) as an imperialistic and colonial metaphor. After her father's death when Kim gets hold of the jacket—the discarded clothes—in Raza's apartment, she puts it on, and "it fitted almost perfectly—the sleeves only a little too long" ([8], p. 325). This borrowing and perfect fitting of a highly imperialistic and colonial metaphor is quite significant as it foreshadows the revival of nationalistic spirit in Kim which eventually leads to the undoing of both families—the Weiss-Burtons and Tanaka-Ashrafs.

As mentioned earlier, Hiroko allegorically represents the role of a feminist nomadic polyglot. Polyglots comprehend and understand the slippery and treacherous nature of languages, their arbitrary constructed structures and the elusiveness and multiplicity of signifiers. Nationalism usually establishes a linear relationship with a particular (mother) tongue with chronological tracing of its evolution while nomadism deconstructs the idea of fixity and nostalgia for an origin that is associated with a mother tongue. Mother tongue, as Braidotti [3] puts it, "feeds into the renewed and exacerbated sense of nationalism" (p. 12) which makes the nomad pause and critically view the notion of steady national identities to burst open "the bubble of ontological security that comes from familiarity with one linguistic site" (p. 15). Hiroko exhibits this nomadic skepticism towards national languages/mother tongues right from the beginning of the narrative. It is her ability to move in-between languages that first brought her in contact with Konrad. More specifically, it was his visionary notebooks that contained the traces of a futuristic Platonic "no-place" (Benhabib as cited in [3], p. 32) that brought them close as Konrad wanted a translator to translate the letters for his visionary book. Their conversations always moved between different languages such as German, English and Japanese. As Braidotti [3] says that "being in-between languages constitutes a vantage point in deconstructing identities" (p. 12) so it provides both Hiroko and Konrad with a "vantage point" to perceive and challenge the constructed and arbitrary nature of national identities

and identifications. It made Konrad understand and challenge the nationalistic and suffocating world of Germany and her laws, and it was due to her familiarity with multiple linguistic sites that Hiroko was able to give up her national space (Japan), work with the Americans as a translator right after the Nagasaki bombing, and move to India. It was her ability and desire to deal with multiple languages that brought Hiroko and Sajjad close to each other as she wanted to “learn the language they speak here” ([8], p. 57). It is due to her ability to move in-between languages as a “polyglot has no vernacular, but many lines of transit, of transgression” ([3], p. 13) that she is able to move in-between borders and cities, to be always in a state of transit.

Being a nomadic polyglot, Hiroko is able to perceive languages and history in a horizontal spatial frame rather than in chronological linear setting. For her, all languages and signifiers have a rhizomatic non-sedentary relationship which makes it possible to comprehend the “fictional terrain” ([6], p. 198) of history in rhizomatic and non-linear fashion. As Hiroko is unable to ‘settle’ into a single linguistic point of origin, similarly she is unable to believe in a single version of history; for her the events that took place in Nagasaki in 1945 belong to the “fictional terrain” of alternative rhizomatic history. She conjures up “fairy tales” ([8], p. 177) to word her stories of pain and horror of Nagasaki bombing.

The one about purple-backed book creatures with broken spines who immolate themselves rather than exist in a world in which everything written in them is shown to be fantasy. The woman who loses all feeling, fire entering from her back and searing her heart,... The men and women who walk through shadow-worlds in search of the ones they loved. Monsters who spread their wings and land on human skin, resting there, biding their time. The army of fire demons, dropped from the sky, who kill with an embrace ([8], p. 177).

This description of alternative rhizomatic history which is non-linear, in which there are no victors or losers, where there is merely the space to suffer and mourn, and where the human suffering has been transported to the domain of fairy tales and demons, displays Hiroko’s nomadic critical sensibility which makes it possible for her to be a subject always in transit, always on the move—be it between borders or between fairy tales and linear history. To her “language came so easily it seemed more as though she were retrieving forgotten knowledge than learning something new” ([8], p. 60). For her, the very search for linguistic origin entails not something associated with national language or mother tongue, rather it is the acceptance or embracing of the arbitrariness of language(s), to recognize their futility and hollowness but despite that ascribe to signifiers that aspect of “visionary epistemology” ([7], p. 31) that makes her perceive their porous interconnectedness, their transformative potential that destabilizes stereotyped commonsensical meanings to resist established structures of power and to re-define subjectivity; in short, to word a personalized version of alternative history. By wording her personalized fairy tale version of Nagasaki bombing, she attempts to make manifest history at corporeal lived level of her body by turning her body into a text, a signifier, a corporeal language with fairy tales inscribed onto it.

Hiroko’s son Raza is also a nomadic polyglot who exists in-between languages and is “struck by the maddening, fulminating insight about the arbitrariness of linguistic meanings” ([3], p. 14). For him, like his mother, languages contain the map or the cartographic illusion of the transformative “no-place” (Benhabib as cited in [3], p. 32), the “visionary epistemology” ([7], p. 31), to hinder the “free fall into cynicism” ([3], p. 14). His ability to converse in different languages seems to mirror

the non-sedentary and non-linear nature of his existence. His very name “Raza Konrad Ashraf” is an amalgamation of multiple nationalities—German, Indian, and Pakistani. His features make him susceptible to different labels—Japanese, Chinese, Afghan, Pakistani, and when he joins CIA in Afghanistan, he acquires the broadly homogenous label of Third Country National.

Raza’s nomadic existence, despite being a polyglot like his mother, is different from the one his mother adhered to. It is premised upon a sense of lack—a lack developed by his failure to obtain the ontological grounding imperative for a sedentary nationalistic notion of subjectivity. Repeatedly, Raza is deprived of ontological grounding or roots while living in Karachi as he is teased due to his features:

...a wretched group of children who had danced around Raza earlier, tugging at the skin around their eyes while chanting, ‘Chinese, Japanese.’ ([8], p. 182).

Being deprived of ontological grounding in national/istic terms renders Raza into a global nomad in contrast to his mother Hiroko who herself had disavowed the national space for a nomadic existence. After the start of Afghan war, Raza is repeatedly asked about his nationality as he was frequently mistaken for an Afghan from the Hazara tribe. His desire to acquire new words, new languages, seems to be consequence of his lack; it seems to be an effort to fill the gaping void left by the absence of an over-arching grounded national identity through signifiers.

I want words in every language....I think I would be happy living in a cold, bare room if I could just spend my days burrowing into new languages ([8], p. 146).

For him, belief in a single “linguistic site” ([3], p. 15)—a mother tongue—fails to provide the ontological grounding which his body has also denied him; his desire to dive into new words, new vocabulary, and to transit between them hints at his desire to establish a de-territorialized identity through language.

As mentioned earlier in this section, Hiroko’s feminist nomadism is more prone towards postmodern nomadism that deals with cities, urban unrest, not necessarily with the desert spaces. In contrast, the past nomadic epistemology that Raza identifies with has traditionally been associated with spaces outside the city, an exteriority, not an interiority, existing outside the state apparatus. Deleuze and Guattari have discussed the functioning of past nomadic apparatus in their work *Nomadology: The War Machine* (2010). Deleuze and Guattari define it as “the mechanisms” used by “the counter-state societies” to challenge and prevent the dominance of nation-states (p. 15). These mechanisms, Deleuze and Guattari believe, can take two forms: huge mechanisms spanning the entire globe or “the local mechanisms of bands, margins, minorities, which continue to affirm the rights of segmentary societies in opposition to the organs of state power” (2010, p. 15). Hence, these dissenting sections of society challenge and resist the hegemony of the state through nomadism. But there is no denying it that the first form of nomadism contains the propensity to evolve into a hegemonic system as Deleuze and Guattari have included the global systems of economic control and the global wars in this category.

Deleuze and Guattari [5] further highlight the ambivalent role of religion in traditional nomadic imaginary. Religion is considered to be part of the state apparatus that is used to construct a certain interiority, to impose a certain nationalistic version of history. Bhabha as cited in Lee [9] terms it as the “pedagogical” role of the state in which education is used to condition the masses to accept a certain nationalistic

religious viewpoint (p. 3). But “religion is fundamentally a center that repels the obscure nomas...nomads do not provide a favourable terrain for religion” ([5], p. 47). Both Hiroko and Raza exhibit their nomadic resistance towards state’s control and manipulation of religion. The “pedagogical” (Bhabha as cited in [9], p. 3) role of the state has been highlighted by Shamsie through the repeated failures that Raza has to go through in his Islamic–Studies intermediate exam. He failed that exam twice because “the jumble of words only grew more jumbled, bright spots of light appeared before his eyes as he tried to read, and nonsensical answers to questions he didn’t even understand kept coming to mind in Japanese” ([8], p. 144). His absolute failure to respond in a coherent way to ontological queries left him bewildered and he simply wrote, “There are no intermediaries in Islam. Allah knows what is in my heart” ([8], p. 144) and handed in his paper. Nomads, as Deleuze and Guattari [5] put it, do have a sense of the absolute, but this internalization of the absolute may be difficult, for the nomad, to reconcile with established religious forces because of the dissenting nature of their existence. It is due to the insistence of the state on “devotion as a public event, as national requirement” ([8], p. 145) that Raza fails to perform in Islamic-Studies exam. His nomadic becoming is hindered or impeded by sedentary forces of religious nationalism. The “fictional terrain” ([6], p. 198) of nomadism does not “provide a favourable terrain for religion” ([5], p. 47) as is evident from Hiroko’s unease at the “new wave of aggressive religion”, which made youths with “fresh beards” come to a book shop in Karachi to vandalize it for selling “unIslamic” ([8], p. 142) books.

Raza’s polyglot nomadic becoming, moreover, is quite different from that of his mother’s feminist nomadism in its propensity to function as a “war machine” [5]. Hiroko’s postmodern urban nomadic becoming is premised on the notion of escape: escape from the ravages of war by moving from one urban city space to another—be it the bombing of Nagasaki in 1945 or the looming possibility of a nuclear war between India and Pakistan or the World Trade Center bombing in 2001—she is always in a state of transit, of becoming. To escape war, she does not revert to the traditional desert space of nomadism existing outside the state apparatus; it’s the urban landscape of the global imaginary that fascinates her. Raza, on the other hand, displays the classic nomadic tendency to move to the desert spaces, not to seek an escape from war, rather to flee towards it; he reverts to the spaces created by the forces existing outside the sphere of the nation-state, an exteriority, not an interiority. He manifests this tendency, first, when he escapes to the war camp of ‘mujahiddin’ in Afghanistan. Ironically, it was the imposed identity of ‘hibakusha’ that made him escape the national space just like his mother, but unlike his mother, rather than escaping to the urban spaces of transnational nomadic imaginary, he escaped to the “barren planet” ([8], p. 214)—the harsh region bordering Pakistan and Afghanistan. The imposed identity of ‘hibakusha’ that had turned his mother into a postmodern nomadic globe-trotter turned Raza into an alienated nomad who reverted to war to escape the labels imposed by the national imaginary. His very escape allegorically represents resistance to the enclosed space of national imaginary based upon the ethos of exclusion, not inclusion.

...he realized he had been waiting a long time for confirmation that he was...not an outsider, no, not quite that. Not when he had lived in this mohalla his whole life... Not an outsider, just a tangent. In contact with the world of this mohalla, but not intersecting it. After all, intersections were created from shared stories and common histories, from marriages and possibilities of marriages between neighbouring families—from this intersecting world Raza Konrad Ashraf was cast out ([8], p. 189).

Raza's escape, hence, to the war camps is outcome of the deterritorialization of the national space when due to his shared stigmatized identity with his mother and his "unPakistani looks" ([8], p. 259) he was made to feel like an outcast. Again, later in the narrative, Raza's decision to work as a translator for the private military contractors in Afghanistan and other war torn regions is an act of nomadic becoming. Hiroko also opted to work for Conrad as a translator and later for the Americans, but all her ventures were motivated by her desire to escape the ravages of war, unlike Raza who retreats to war-torn regions. Deleuze and Guattari refer to the form of nomadology as "huge worldwide machines branched out over the entire ecumenon at a given moment, which enjoy a large measure of autonomy in relation to the states" (2010, p. 15). These private military contractors working on the global scale outside the boundaries of the nation-state act as an exteriority, not an interiority. Their form could not be reduced to the enclosed space of the nation-state but exists outside and above it. Raza's decision to join the private military contractors functioning in war torn regions is an act of merging or amalgamating the two forms of nomadism i.e. the "huge worldwide machines" and "the local mechanisms of bands, margins and minorities" ([5], p. 15). Both forms of nomadism are forms exterior to the national space and time; they exist as an exteriority, outside the "polis" (p. 51), the state law. But these private military contractors also highlight the ambivalence in the functioning of the nomadic war machine itself when this machine has been appropriated by the state, to do the bidding of a particular nation-state and impose its "aims" upon other states (p. 96). This duality in the role of these war machines is made evident when Raza fails to make his cousin Sajjad comprehend the difference "between working for the American military and working for a private military company contracted to the American military" ([8], p. 259).

Being a nomad is being deprived of history as "nomads have no history; they only have a geography" ([5], p. 62). They have no shared history as history represents linear hierarchical becoming. They only have shared geography and alliances. So, Raza exists only in different spaces; he is relegated to a spatial existence, not necessarily temporal—Karachi, Afghanistan, Dubai, Miami and other parts of the globe. This non-sedimentary rhizomatic spatial existence is emblematic of nomadic becoming outside the domain of the nation-state. Nomadic becoming is also closely related to the familial alliances forged due to the "potential of a vortical body in a nomad space" ([5], p. 24). These familial alliances are an act of rhizomatic horizontal becoming as in the case of Weiss-Burtons and Tanaka-Ashrafs. The alliance of Elizabeth's family with Hiroko's family is an act defined by the rhizomatic consciousness: an act of conjunction, of interbeing, not of subjugation or linearity. But this alliance is threatened or rather put to an end by Kim's nationalistic revival which resulted in Raza's arrest in the process of saving Abdullah. Raza's final act of attempting to save Abdullah also manifests the revival of state's efforts to control the 'exterior' ([5], p. 51)—the migrations and the nomadic movements, populations and paths. His final act is also an attempt at transformation from being a war machine of past nomadic imaginary to the nomadism of the postmodern nomadic imaginary. His final act of surrender to the state's polis, the law, to save Abdullah is an act of Utopian re-vision and emancipation for Abdullah quite akin to Konrad's faith in a Utopian "no-place" (Benhabib as cited in [3], p. 32), a belief in nomadism as a "visionary epistemology" ([7], p. 31) to challenge and subvert hegemonies and binaries imposed by nation-states. Ironically, this very act of nomadic salvation was rendered almost futile by the nationalistic spirit of Kim who acted as the allegorical representation of the territorial nation-state. She not only did put an end to Raza's nomadic transformation from past to postmodern

nomadic imaginary, she also doomed the spatial alliance of Weiss-Burtons and Tanaka-Ashrafs. Her nationalistic act was an act of subjugation, of hierarchy, of linearity, and a rejection of alliance and rhizomatic conjunction. Hence, the nomadic imaginary is overtaken by the national imaginary.

4. Conclusion


It can be safely said that Shamsie, in *Burnt Shadows* (2009), presents an allegory of nomadic becoming in global post-national setting. The presence of global deterritorialized forces of nomadism question the relevance of nationalism as a singular unitary perspective to evaluate the works of second-generation writers of Pakistani origin. *Burnt Shadows* (2009) cannot be labeled as a National Allegory as Shamsie situates her protagonists in a global deterritorialized world and their multiple dis/re-locations emphasize that they traverse borders and boundaries without being situated in a single national location. Moreover, even within the nomadic epistemology, Shamsie highlights the ambivalence through the protagonists' identifications with the past and the present urban nomadic imaginaries. It emphasizes the gendered dimensions of nomadic epistemology, particularly in Hiroko's and Raza's cases where Hiroko's nomadism led her to urban spaces while Raza's nomadism led him to war-torn regions. Moreover, Kim's refusal to identify with the nomadic epistemology that resulted in the shattering of the spatial alliance of Weiss-Burtons and Tanaka-Ashrafs also highlights that women cannot be labeled as a homogenous, non-chaotic nomadic group. The disruptions that exist within female subjectivity cannot be negated; rather Shamsie's narrative reiterates the need to comprehend female nomadic subjectivity in all its multifariousness and complexity.

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Chapter 7

Perspective Chapter: The Female Body on the Phallogentric Altar – Appropriations of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s Feminist Manifesto

Moffat Sebola

Abstract

This chapter reflects on how Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, in multifarious ways, projects and confronts a nuanced (and blatant) exaltation of maleness over femaleness in her fiction. Adichie’s fiction mainly presents (Black) women as constantly living in patriarchal and repressive spaces characterised by multifaceted discriminations, marginalisation, abuse, commodification and censorship, all of which are protracted by the notion that femaleness should live in total subjection to maleness. To instantiate her opposition to this practice, Adichie accords authoritative roles and voices to her female characters, despite their living under repressive and constraining spaces. Reliant on the postcolonial feminist theory, this chapter analyses some of Adichie’s prose works, namely; *Purple Hibiscus*, *Half of a Yellow Sun*, and *The Thing Around Your Neck* to foreground appropriation of her feminist manifesto. The analysis positions Adichie’s prose as one that falls within the ambits of contemporary literary works that project women confronting and contesting hydra-headed manifestations of patriarchal repression, its attendant practices and ideologies, and gender inequality. Adichie’s prose is herein appraised as a literary space within which varied socio-cultural trajectories and gender inequalities in particular are expressed in a postcolonial context.

Keywords: body, freedom, maleness, patriarchy, postcolonial feminism, woman

1. Introduction

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie is perceived by some scholars as a novelist par excellence [1–9], making her part of what Ayodabo [10] delineates as “a recent and interesting period in Nigerian literature” in the postcolonial context. This period views issues such as “identity and displacement, political conflict, postcolonial disillusionment, multiculturalism and globalisation, cultural shock and poverty” in a serious

light ([10]:549). In expressing her ideological and authorial vision, Adichie thematises “contemporary issues which bother the postcolonial subject” ([11]:11), focusing largely on “gender, origin, race, and age” ([9]:122; [12]). Murphy [13] proffers that Adichie writes from different perspectives and yet, such perspectives still harmonise in diverse ways towards the fulfilment of her authorial objectives. In lieu of this, this chapter considers an analyses of some of Adichie’s creative oeuvre as “an entirely legitimate endeavor” ([9]:112), mainly because it “offers the unique advantage of condensing critical issues such as [the] conflict of powers, the reconfiguration of gender relationships...” ([14]:2). Furthermore, this chapter argues that Adichie confronts patriarchal domination whilst concurrently promoting “a progressive view of [...] gender roles.” ([15]:421). For expository convenience, this paper aims: (a) to reflect on Adichie’s confrontation of the pre-eminence of the male as a theme that is largely ‘normalised’ in (African) literature and culture; (b) to discuss how Adichie confronts the ideologies of ‘male supremacy’, while at the same time, repurposing the debate and discourse on gender (in)equality within the broad spectrum of contemporary African literature and criticism; (c) to attend more closely to the antithetical stance assumed by Adichie’s female characters as defiance to the exaltation of maleness at the expense of women; (d) to highlight the effects of patriarchal control and intolerance in Adichie’s fiction. To achieve these aims, Adichie’s two novels, namely; *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006), and her collection of short stories, *The Thing Around Your Neck* (2009), are synthesised analytically to highlight both her activism in literary feminism and her contestations of the exaltation of maleness in what may be read as a postcolonial feministic context.

2. Background: thematic Inclinations of Adichie’s Selected Texts

To coordinate the reader’s understanding, it is essential to provide a brief background of each text selected herein for analysis, particularly in relation to the paper’s focus. In *Purple Hibiscus*, fifteen-year-old Kambili and her older brother Jaja lead a privileged life in Enugu, Nigeria. Although for the most part of the novel they appear live in a caring family, later on, however, one realises that they live under their father’s repressive and abusive religion. They even attend an exclusive missionary school, and this in their father’s view, is to totally shield them from the ‘sins’ of the world. However, Kambili soon reveals in her account that, things are less perfect than they appear. Although her Papa (Kambili’s father) is generous and well respected outside the home, he is fanatically religious and dictatorial at home – a home that is asphyxiating. Although the novel thematises other aspects such as the country beginning to fall apart under a military coup, Kambili’s major focus is her discovery of a life beyond the restraints of their father’s autocracy at her aunt’s home. At her aunt’s home, there are not only books, curry and nutmeg to enjoy, her cousins’ freedom and laughter in their home make her realise the contrast between her home and her aunt’s. When she returns home, her father’s abuse escalates, and Kambili must come up with ways to keep her family intact. Put succinctly, *Purple Hibiscus* foregrounds the turmoil of adolescence, the place of family in society, and the desire for freedom in a repressive world.

Half of a Yellow Sun, on the other hand, returns to a precarious moment in the contemporary history of Nigeria. Shortly after Nigeria gained independence from Britain, follows a massacre of Nigerian people. The Igbo tribes of the southeast seceded and established The Republic of Biafra, resulting in three years of civil war as Biafra was slowly strangled into submission by violence and starvation. In the novel, Adichie

writes about the lives of three characters who were involved in the unrest of this war, namely; Ugwu, Odenigbo and Olanna. Thirteen-year-old Ugwu works for Odenigbo, a pan-Africanist university professor full of revolutionary zest, as a houseboy. His girlfriend, Olanna, is the London-educated daughter of a tribal chief turned businessman. She abandoned her life of privilege in Lagos for her new lover. As Nigerian troops advance and the characters must flee from murderous armies, their ideals are severely tested, as are their loyalties to one another. The novel emphasises moral responsibility, the cessation of colonialism, ethnic allegiances, class and race – and the multifaceted ways in which love can obfuscate them all. Broadly speaking, the novel evokes the promise and the distressing disillusionments that marked this time and place. Common between the two novels and her anthology of short stories, *The Thing Around Your Neck*, is the implication of women, marriage and gender roles as recurrent themes even amid the discussion of nationalistic and global issues such as war, racism and colonialism. Many of the stories in *The Thing Around Your Neck* focus on fraught relationships between men and women. Specifically, Adichie explores the roles women are asked to play within their birth families and then in their romantic relationships, and it is the latter that drew the attention of the present paper.

3. Theoretical consideration

This chapter's theoretical lens assumes anchorage upon Chambers and Watkins' [16] remark that, it is axiomatic that most significant work in Postcolonial Theory and Criticism deals with questions of gender and sexuality. Therefore, the theoretical fulcrum of this paper is Postcolonial Feminism, by which it is meant a sketching out of the "processes by which gender and sexuality are necessarily imbricated in colonialism and its legacies", which "cannot be neglected by postcolonial critics" ([16]:297). Clearly, "feminists collide with postcolonials on the understandings of the 'third world women' and the overruling of gender hierarchies in racialized spaces" ([17]:371). Also, Parashar (ibid) states that Postcolonialism and Feminism "as critical discourses have enriched the understanding and explanatory potential of international relations" where "these two theoretical approaches have grown exponentially in their capacity to embrace diversity and unpredictability of global political and social life". Postcolonialism and Feminism merge successfully because they both "stand resolutely in support of subversion and change in the political, cultural and social landscape; not just to bridge the distance between the centre and the margins but also to bring the knowledge of and from the margins to the centre" (Parashar, ibid). Postcolonial Feminists thus essentially "argue for the historical and geographical specificity of feminisms, and their capacity to engage productively with difference" ([16]:299). Put more tersely by Parashar, Postcolonialism offers Feminism the conceptual tool box to see multiple sites of oppression and to reject universalisms around gendered experiences of both men and women ([17]:371). In this chapter, I, in accord with Nwachukwu and UnekeEnyi [18], argue that the quantum of Postcolonial Feminism's grouse is, at the literal level, the idea that males primarily appropriate discourse and write females as footnotes in male history, to emphasise the superiority of maleness over femaleness. Linked to this grouse is also the belief that "agency is denied female characters in male discourse where they are treated as appendages and chattels in the treasure troves of patriarchy" ([18]:44). Hence, since the 1980s when the term "feminism" was first coined, "it has sought to upturn the so-called "complacent" social order which feminists claim, is patriarchy-focused" ([18]:44). I further

contend that this feminist grouse is evinced in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's prose, where she labours to enforce a belief in sexual equality in the postcolonial context. As if in consensus with Etim [19], Adichie views "the men-women binary" as indicative of "the relationship between post-postcolonialism and gender" where "the liberation of women is central to the liberation of Africa". I draw Adichie's prose into sharp focus whilst considering that feminism's theoretical-ideological stance generally yields a cacophony of voices, which basically results in an interminable list of feminisms, i.e., "Marxist feminists, Black and African, Asian, Women of Colour, American, French, Irish, Black British, Gynocritics, Gynesis, Psychoanalytic, Myth, Third World/Third Wave, Deconstruction, Misandrist, Femalist, Motherist, Womanist" ([18]:44). This is why Nnolim [20] posits that the feminist house is divided - a division which he further compartmentalises into: feminists, womanist/accommodationists, reactionaries, middle-of-the roaders and gyandrists. Notwithstanding these, I nevertheless locate Adichie's fiction under the ambit of Postcolonial Feminism, despite Nwachukwu and UnekeEnyi viewing her as part of 'new' female voices who insist in their attempt to castrate males. Ostensibly, in their commendable efforts to corroborate the latter view on Adichie, Nwachukwu and UnekeEnyi, conclude that "rather than being conciliatory, Adichie is unabashedly pensive and combative" ([18]:45). Although I concede that, for Adichie, feministic postulations entail a deployment of varied arsenals aimed at dismantling patriarchy, and to some extent concurrently entrenching matriarchy, even if by implicit means, I do not concur that Adichie intends to castrate males, as Nwachukwu and UnekeEnyi [18] claim. On the contrary, I argue that Adichie's feminism is geared towards exposing and confronting gender imbalances for the purposes of encouraging a reconfiguration of the possibilities of attaining the equality of sexes, as espoused by her *Dear Ijeawele or A Feminist Manifesto in Fifteen Suggestions* (2017). I also purport that Adichie's fiction "necessitates a movement towards fashioning a newer, fresher and a more foregrounded (estranged) terminology to account for the changing complexion and habits of Africa's postcolonial criticisms, as a way of responding to emerging realities" ([19]:1). While there may be instances where I admit that "Adichie is yet to abandon the vindictive urge to get even with men" ([18]:47), I am also not oblivious to the realities in the contemporary African critique-scape which predisposes one to contemplate the idea that, perhaps, there is a need for a re-assessment, refocusing and repositioning in postcolonial hermeneutics on gender discourses (see [19]). Hence, I maintain the stance that Adichie's fiction "suggests a need for reorientation" on gender discourse ([21]:159). I agree with Nwachukwu and UnekeEnyi [18] that "Feminism [can be] reactionary", that, it can be "the explosion of an aggregation of bottled-up fuse of female frustrations regarding what they perceive as patriarchal; culturally-conditioned constructs where women are systematically subjugated and furiously fenced-in at the lowest rung of the social ladder". In reading Adichie's fiction, I also notice her insistence on the vocalisation of such frustrations, which span from the 1890s to the intense agitations of the 1960s to the 1980s down to the present. Thus, in my view, Adichie, as a woman 'liberationist' or feminist, vociferates "on a coterie of grievances on perceived complexes and connivances ostensibly by all males against all females" ([18]:42). Overall, my ideological premise is that the sum of Adichie's feminist activism is two-fold: a desire to work with women's issues and a political conviction that women are generally viewed in a junior light while men are venerated as supreme and; therefore, this view needs to be confronted and contested. It is on this premise that the next section focuses on the so-called subalternity of women and the concurrent exaltation of maleness in Adichie's fiction.

4. Adichie's Feminist Stance

Within the patriarchal vertigo, one of the “maladroit practices” and yet dominant prongs it protracts is the doctrine of ‘the superiority of the male’ over the female ([3]:208). Linked to the doctrine is the notion that a male child ensures the protraction of the *father*’ and clan’s name in a male-controlled culture [22]. Therefore, a male child is foregrounded as being more important than a female child [23]. Houndjo [23] thinks that these “social imbalances between men and women are the bedrock of injustices women encounter in the world, particularly in African societies”. Among the Vhavenda in South Africa, for example, the primacy of the male is clearly highlighted in the Tshivenda play, *Hu do sala nnyi?* (Who will remain?) [24]. Read from a feministic perspective, the play falls short of imagining and portraying women beyond gendered roles. The play trivialises women to nothing but mere custodians of traditional values. In this way, the play surfaces as a prototype of the (male) literary tradition in Tshivenda (and most African) fiction that depicts women as passive and voiceless. These images serve to rationalise, and therefore perpetuate inequality between the sexes. The vignette in this play centres around the theme of inheritance, which only the male child is deemed eligible to receive. Makhado, a wealthy man, has one son, Tshiwela, who is married and has birthed only daughters. These daughters are overlooked by Makhado as eligible heirs. Women’s role in the preservation and distribution of wealth, as depicted in *Hu do sala nnyi?* is to only show up either as concubines or co/deputy wives for the purposes of bearing male children; theirs is merely to be silent and submissive. Perhaps this is why “in Africa, most women are stereotyped as the submissive, while men are dominant” ([25]:15). For Makondo [22, 26], among the Shona in Zimbabwe, male supremacy is evinced even in the Shona’s anthroponomastic dynamics and trends. Apparently, the “Shona oral tradition has it that the Shona society used to value more male children...a mother who bore boys was proudly named *Vachizvaramachinda* (mother of boys) and was highly valued when compared to *Vamachekanhembe* (mother of girls)” ([22]:12 original italics). Makondo also states that some polygamous marriages in Zimbabwe were due to the husbands’ quest for women who would give birth to baby boys. This notion is hinted at in Adichie’s short story, “On Monday of Last Week”, when Kamara called on the phone Chimwe, who began to cry because “another woman was pregnant for Chimwe’s husband and he was going to pay her bride price because Chimwe had two daughters and the woman came from a family of many sons” ([27]: 86). “Male children are ‘favoured’ “because they ensure the immediate continuation of a father and clan name” in the patriarchal society ([22]:12). With this in mind, Makondo [26] concludes:

As a result, almost all given names this study found have subtle or otherwise traces of this gender influence in its bid to capture its deep feelings and thoughts against the perceived Shona patriarchal dominance. This male dominance dictates that women remain aliens in the families they married into.

The idea that sons are the ones responsible for the continuation of a clan’s name also links with women’s quest to birth more children (sons) in marriage. Expectedly, the *umunna* (extended family members) propose to Mama (Beatrice) in *Purple Hibiscus* that Eugene (Papa) should take another wife because a man of his stature cannot have just two children ([28]:75). In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, which may be “read as a post-postcolonial work” ([19]:9), Adichie highlights why birthing a male child

is essential through Anulika, who says: “I want to have a baby boy first, because it will place my feet firmly in Onyeka’s house” ([29]:119). Birthing a male child is thus viewed as a viable means for a woman to legitimise her value in the family into which she marries. By implication, should Anulika give birth to a girl, ‘her feet’ will not firmly stand at Onyeka’s house. Birthing a girl is a cause for concern in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, as evinced when “Onunna from Ezeungwu’s compound had a baby girl first, her husband’s people went to see a *dibia* to find out why!” ([29]:119). Birthing a girl child is thus viewed as a misfortune, if not inconsequential. Hence, when Amala gave birth to a girl, Odenigbo’s mother rejected Amala’s daughter ([29]:184), on the grounds that “she wanted a boy,” to which Olanna responded: “We’ll keep her” ([29]:250–251). Through Olanna’s acceptance of Baby, Adichie deconstructs the patriarchal ideology that a girl child is of a lesser value compared to a male child.

Adichie also instantiates how the primacy of the male pervades the Nigerian and ultimately the African context in *Purple Hibiscus*, when Mama had had miscarriages and the villagers urged Papa, her husband, to have children with someone else, more so sons [30]. It is also unsurprising to learn that Okafo and Okoye, Obierika’s two maternal cousins, in the short story “The Headstrong Woman”, urged Obierika to marry another wife, after his wife’s third miscarriage. Furthermore, Amala is only promoted by Odenigbo’s mother from being a ‘helper’ to a ‘woman’ “because she would give birth to Mama’s grandchild” –a son, to be precise ([29]:238). The conception and ultimate birth of a son is such an important aspect to traditionalists such as Odenigbo’s mother that, when Amala was ill, Odenigbo’s mother believed it was her enemies who wanted to harm Amala’s pregnancy because “they do not want somebody to carry our family name” ([29]:239). This ‘somebody’ who would carry the family name was, to Odenigbo’s mother, a boy, who after being born, “her fellow women will no longer call her the mother of an impotent son” ([29]:238). Herein, also lies the fragility and anxiety of the patriarchal ego, because such a ‘glorified’ male sustains his quasi-divine status under the patriarchal gaze, only when he is able to reproduce for the sustenance of the ‘family’. Through Odenigbo’s mother, Adichie hints at the ambivalence and instability of the patriarchal ego in that the very maleness it worships is quickly despised (by the very system) upon the discovery of the male’s impotence. This opprobrium is stressed by Nwamgba who, in the short story, “The Headstrong Woman”, thought it strange of Obierika, “a prosperous man with only one wife, and she worried more than he did about their childlessness, about the songs that people sang, melodious mean-spirited words: She has sold her womb. *She has eaten his penis. He plays his flute and hands over his wealth to her*” ([27]:200 original italics). Thus, in Adichie’s fiction, considerable focus is placed on how most of her female characters perceive childbirth –birthing a male child, as one of the major ways through which women can attain and sustain value in their families, communities and consequently, in the world. Adichie also shows that in instances where a girl child is born, i.e., “Baby” in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the affection she receives from her grandmother is “half-baked, half-hearted” ([29]:184). For Adichie, however, the girl child possesses equal dignity and value with the male child, and therefore should not be viewed or treated as if she is disposable.

5. Adichie on the appeasement of the (Fragile) patriarchal ego

The patriarchal ego, it seems, chiefly wants to be in charge of everything and everyone. This desire is so deeply ingrained in Eugene (Papa) that Kambili tritely knew that something was wrong when she heard Mama on the phone because “it was

always Papa who placed the call” ([28]:146 emphasis added). Apart from the need to be in control, the patriarchal ego also seems to be pacified when women grovel at its feet. In the short story, “Jumping Monkey Hill”, when Chioma’s adulterous father had walked out of his marriage because his wife confronted and slapped his concubine, to his disgrace, “Aunty Elohor, Aunty Rose, and Aunty Uche”, all came to Chioma’s mother and told her, “We are prepared to go with you and *beg* him to come back home or we will go and *beg* on your behalf” ([27]:105 emphasis added). Chioma’s mother, however, responded: “Never, not in this world. I am not going to beg him. It is enough” ([27]:105). Here, Adichie concurrently reveals how some women aid the perpetuation of patriarchy and how other women refuse to nurse the patriarchal ego. With the refusal to beg her husband to come home, Chioma’s mother had to be prepared to see her business fail because her husband “always helped her import shoes from Dubai”, hence, “she lowered her prices” ([27]:105). The idea that a wife must always fight to keep her husband is also held by Aunty Ada in the short story, “The Arrangers of Marriage”, who tells Chinaza: “Don’t let your husband eat out too much, or it will push him into the arms of a woman who cooks. Always guard your husband like a guinea fowl’s egg” ([27]:178). Thus, encapsulated in the patriarchal agenda, is the need to have women “softened”, “pliable” and “accepting” ([27]:40), so much so that Nkem is not free to even cut her hair. When Nkem cut her hair, Obiora (her husband) told her he liked her long hair and that she should grow her hair back because “long hair is more graceful on a Big Man’s wife” ([27]:40). Adichie, however, simultaneously exposes the fragility of the patriarchal ego through Nwamgba’s father. Ostensibly, Nwamgba’s father “found her exhausting, this sharp-tongued, headstrong daughter who had once wrestled her brother to the ground (After which her father had warned everybody not to let the news leave the compound that the girl had thrown a boy)” ([27]:199). Nwamgba’s father eventually allows her to marry the man she wants because “it was better that he let her go with the man she chose, to save himself years of trouble when she would keep returning home after confrontations with in-laws” ([27]:199). The patriarchal system loathes women who resist it. Adichie considers the exaltation of the male as nothing but an anxious and false superiority complex because of its double standards. Adichie cogitates the confrontation of patriarchy, irrespective of its anxiety, as a worthwhile endeavour, because this “false superiority complex attributed to maleness” pervasively translates “into other spheres of influence, such as education, sport, politics and economics” ([31]:38). Incensed by this, Adichie ably employs “exceptional artistic elaborations” to modulate “the reader’s sensations by showing how the mechanisms named” patriarchy “are set up” ([3]:197).

As already indicated, in *Purple Hibiscus*, the glorification of the male is significantly personified by Eugene, who “is a tyrannical patriarch” ([15]:423). *Purple Hibiscus* implicitly links anxious masculinity, absolutist religion, autocracy in university and political corruption (Stobie, *ibid*). Stobie (*ibid*) thinks that “the key attribute linking all these harmful practices is an arrogant conviction of being right, a refusal to accept difference or engage in the give-and-take of reasoned discussion” with women. For example, when Aunty Ifeoma attempted to show Papa-Nnukwu that Eugene’s problem was not that he followed “those missionaries,” because she too had gone to missionary school, Papa-Nnukwu said, “But you are a woman. You do not count” ([28]:83). Aunty Ifeoma did not let this remark slide: “Eh? So I don’t count? Has Eugene ever asked about your leg? If I do not count, then I will stop asking if you rose well in the morning,” to which Papa-Nnukwu quickly conceded: “I joke with you... Where would I be if my *chi* [god] had not given me a daughter?” ([28]:83). Through

Ifeoma, Adichie intends to draw from the margins to the centre, female voices who not only assert their presence but also vocalise their objection to the disregard of their existence by the patriarchal exponents. Papa-Nnukwu also exposes himself as a sexist when he tells (widowed) Ifeoma that he would intercede for her to his god (*Chukwu*) so that she “finds a good man to take care of her and her children” ([15]:424). To this, Ifeoma responded: “Let your spirit ask *Chukwu* to hasten my promotion to senior lecturer, that is all I ask” ([28]:83 original italics). Through Ifeoma’s ‘dry’ response to Papa-Nnukwu, Adichie laconically shows that there are women whose aspirations are not solely lynched to the presence of the male for their survival; some women merely want to progress academically. Adichie bolsters this notion through Auntie Ifeka in *Half of a Yellow Sun* who tells Olanna that, “You must never behave as if your life belongs to a man” ([29]:226). Nwachukwu and UnekeEnyi, however, think that “by urging women to leave their husbands and live in sin and irreverence all in the name of self-assertion, independence and individuality [...]” Adichie’s “feminism encourages the destruction of the communal base of the society and endangers the sense in family life in which is the root of the African society” ([18]:49). My premise is that Adichie does not advocate the destruction of neither family nor marriage, instead, she reveals how the very institutions can become a source of tyranny when they should be a place of harmony. Adichie’s brand of feminism does not propagate misandry either.

In Adichie’s fiction, one also notes that some women do not even have the volition to decide on who they want to marry. For instance, in the short story, “The Arrangers of Marriage” ([27]:167), Chinaza Okafor has no say in the selection of the man she must marry. In fact, she is expected to be grateful that the ‘arrangers of marriage’ found her a husband who is a doctor, something she must equate with winning “a lottery” ([27]:170). In this setup, Chinaza learns that in an arranged marriage such as hers, “sex was not consensual” ([27]:168). Chinaza seemingly has no choice but to thank the arrangers of her marriage “for everything –finding her a husband, taking her into their home, buying her a new pair of shoes every two years”. This, for Chinaza, “was the only way to avoid being called ungrateful” ([27]:170). Chinaza is expected to stay in her marriage, however repressive, because according to Auntie Ada, Chinaza ought to realise that there are many women who “would offer both their eyes for a doctor in America [...]. For any husband at all” ([27]:184). Connected to this confrontational tactic of male supremacy is Adichie’s implicit dissuasion of women and girls from perceiving marriage as the only absolute aspiration for which they should sacrifice their lives and freedom. Viewing marriage and passing the ‘marriageability test’ ([32]:30), as the ultimate aspiration to which women and girls must strive, is projected by Ifeoma’s student who came to announce that she was getting married because her fiancé “could no longer wait until she graduated” ([28]:234). The student did not call her fiancé by his name, “she called him “dim, my husband,” with the proud tone of someone who had won a price” ([28]:234). She also said: “I’m not sure I will come back to school when we reopen. I want to have a baby first. I don’t want dim to think that he married me to have an empty home” ([28]:234). Adichie also sheds light on this notion through Arize who is willing to give up her sewing, in preference of marriage because that is what would give her “a child” ([29]:41). When Olanna disputed her eagerness to give up sewing for marriage, Arize said: “It is only women like you who can say that, Sister. If people like me who don’t know Book wait too long, we will expire” ([29]:41). To combat expiration, marriage and childbirth (of sons) are the only alternatives for Arize to justify her existence in the world. In such a context, women who are unable to conceive or have miscarriages, like Arize, may have their mother visiting often in “the first, second and third year of marriage, poking

at Arize's belly and urging her to confess how many abortions she had had before marriage" ([29]:130). Nwamgba's mother, in the short story "The Headstrong Historian" ([27]:198), was aghast when she (Nwamgba) told her that Obierika was the man she wanted to marry. The problem, according to Nwamgba's mother, was that "Obierika was an only child, his father had been an only child whose wives had lost pregnancies and buried babies" ([27]:199). The idea propounded here is that, for a woman to have a secure, legitimate position in her marriage, she should have several children, mainly more male children. Hence, Adichie, as Stobie [15] argues, uses various characters to raise "questions about the possibility of change within the family, the church and the nation". Adichie's questions may also necessitate a confrontation of male supremacy in *Purple Hibiscus* where Adichie criticises "dogmas such as the infallibility of the pope and the celibacy of priesthood, and offers an alternative to patriarchal and religious absolutism, shame and body-hatred" ([15]:422).

In the short story, "Tomorrow is Too Far" ([27]:187), the entrenchment of the ideology of male supremacy and how it privileges some males while marginalising females (and other males), is highlighted when the narrator says:

Grandmama let only your brother Nonso climb the trees to shake a loaded branch, although you [a girl] were a better climber than he was...Grandmama taught Nonso how to pluck the coconuts, which were hard to climb, so limb free and tall, and Grandmama gave Nonso a long stick and showed him how to nudge the padded pods down. She did not show you, because she said girls never plucked coconuts... Grandmama presided over the sipping of wind-cooled milk ritual to make sure Nonso went first. [And when asked] why Nonso sipped first even though Dozie (a boy) was thirteen, a year older than Nonso, [...] Grandmama said Nonso was her son's only son, the one who would carry on the Nnabusi name, while Dozie was only a nwadiana, her daughter's son ([27]:188).

With the female protagonist, who was a better climber than Nonso, Grandmama would sometimes pat her back and say, "It's good you are learning, *nne*, this is how you will take care of your husband one day" ([27]:195 original italics), because only girls are expected to pass the 'marriageability test', Adichie [32] says. When Nonso died, Grandmama felt betrayed by him, "asking him who would carry on the Nnabusi name now, who would protect the family lineage" ([27]:189). Within this patriarchal giddiness, there is still Dozie, of whom it is unknown whether "he felt anything about being the wrong grandson, the one who did not bear the Nnabusi name" simply because he was born by his grandmother's daughter ([27]:192). Tactfully, Adichie highlights how the proverbial 'patriarchal tree' is climbed by the male from an early age, while the female is denied such a privilege. According to the narrator, Grandmama may well have "asked Nonso to climb to the highest branch of the avocado tree to show her how much of a man he was" ([27]:194). Here, Adichie still seeks to expose the fragility of patriarchy because, when Nonso climbed to the highest branch, he fell and died, and with his fall, patriarchy had metaphorically been dealt "a dull, final plop" ([27]:194). Adichie shows how riled she is by patriarchy through the narrator who says she "knew that some people can take up too much space by simply being, that by existing, some people can stifle others" ([27]:195). Fed up with the imbalance, the narrator eventually conceived the idea of scaring Nonso when he had climbed to the highest branch. She needed to "get Nonso maimed, his legs twisted, to mar the perfection of his lithe body, to make him less lovable, less able to do all that he did [...] less able to take up your space" ([27]:195). Apparently, it

was easy to get Nonso to climb to the top of the avocado tree; you only had to remind him that you were the better climber” ([27]:195). Seemingly, Nonso was unaware that “the branches [of the patriarchal tree] were weak”, and so, “Nonso climbed the tree. Higher and higher” ([27]:196). At this juncture, the narrator reveals that there are many ways of killing patriarchy. Among such ways, was the superficially detached but nefariously effective nonetheless, where, “you waited for that short moment when he [Nonso] was between motions. An open moment [...] Then you screamed, “A snake! [...] in those few seconds, Nonso looked down at you and let go, his footing slipping, his arms freeing themselves”. In the end, she could absolve herself through a dismissive conclusion, “maybe the tree simply shrugged Nonso off” ([27]:196). Through this tactic, Adichie aims to deconstruct the absolute stance of traditional (cultural) assumptions that have for long protracted male dominance through an indoctrination of gendered prohibitions which also tabooed interrogation. Simoes da Silva [33] observes that, Adichie’s prose, precisely her novels *Purple Hibiscus* (2003) and *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006), “express a unique aesthetic focus that combines post-colonial, feminist and ethical concerns”. Simoes da Silva avers further that, “thematically topical and polemic, the writing in both texts is raw and confrontational” ([33]:455). Adichie’s brand of feminism then, not only “comes in variegated templates” ([34]:2), but aims to espouse “harmonious mutual relationships across genders as a means to creating a better world, with relationships defined along capabilities” ([1]:3).

Adichie imagines varied spheres where women are no longer repressed and censored. One such a sphere is academia. We learn through Amaka, for example, that at university, “they are telling Mom [Ifeoma] to shut up” because “if you don’t want to lose your job, you shut up” ([28]:224). Such repression and censorship seemingly compel Obiora to recommend to his mother (Ifeoma) that she be fired so that they could “go to America,” where “her work will be recognized, without any nonsense politics” ([28]:224). Through Obiora’s recommendation, Adichie hints at some of the causes of the brain drain, particularly the migration of female academics from their home countries to the diaspora. Ifeoma, as we learn from Obiora, “should have been senior lecturer years ago,” but “they have been sitting on her file” ([28]:224). However, migrating to America, which according to the narrator of the short story, “Imitation”, is a place permeated by “the abundance of unreasonable hope” ([27]:26), one soon realises that Ifeoma is still likely to suffer from alienation, repression and discrimination. This is a dilemma faced by diasporic women such as Philippa. Apparently, Philippa who then lived in America, was treated “as a second-class citizen”. At first, Ifeoma dismisses this statement as “sarcasm”, until Chiaku informs her: “...It is true. All my years in Cambridge, I was a monkey who had developed the ability to reason” ([28]:244). Also, in the short story, “Ghosts”, Ebere, a doctor in America, was interested in a post advertised (for a doctor) by the hospital board, but when she came for a job interview, the hospital board “took one look at her medical degree from Nigeria and said they don’t want a foreigner” ([27]:68). Also linked to Ebere’s experience in America is the stereotypic condescension that women like Kamara in the short story, “On Monday of Last Week”, face in the diaspora. Kamara speaks good English and Neil is surprised upon learning that Kamara was Nigerian, implying that proficiency in English is not coterminous with being African. Through Tobechei, Adichie also reveals that diasporic women like Kamara are warned to never mention their education because disclosing this, even the fact that she has a master’s, might spoil her chances of securing a babysitting job in America.

Although Chiaku's assertion may seem alien to the repressive dynamic of patriarchy, Adichie reveals that the postcolonial female academic generally lives in a repressive and alienating environment; environments where they are also commodified. In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Kainene discloses how her parents used her and her sister, Olanna, as sexual baits to procure business contracts: "My sister [Olanna] and I are meat. We are here so that suitable bachelors will make the kill" ([29]:59). Here, Adichie pointedly highlights the refraction of the repressive dynamic of patriarchy, revealing how it ultimately links with the commodification of the female body [35]. In foregrounding women's commodification in a patriarchal world, Adichie also takes aim at the way women are perceived in various spheres of discourse in society—often highlighting "society's complicity in such" perceptions ([34]:7). For Nkem in the short story, "Imitation" ([27]:31), commodifying her body appears to be the only means for survival in a world where the men who help her do so in exchange for sex with her:

She [Nkem] dated married men before Obiora [her husband]—what single girl in Lagos had not? Ikenna, a businessman, had paid her father's hospital bills after the hernia surgery. Tunji, a retired army general, had fixed the roof of her parents' home and bought them the first real sofas they had ever owned. She would have considered being his fourth wife—he was a Muslim and could have proposed—so that he would help her with her siblings' education.

Tunji did not propose. There were other men after Tunji, "men who praised her [Nkem] baby skin, men who gave her fleeting handouts, men who never proposed because she had gone to secretarial school, not a university" ([27]:31). Out of gratitude for what Obiora did, which other men she had been with did not do, like taking her siblings to school, introducing her to his friends and moving to a flat in Ikeja, when he asked if she would marry him, "she thought how unnecessary it was, his asking, she would have been happy simply to be told" ([27]:32). Through Nkem, Adichie locates women who resort to the "use of sex and their bodies as instruments for survival" ([35]:15). Needless to say, debates about the women's use of sex and their bodies for survival abound within the feminist discourse. Nkealah reveals that in such debates, there are scholars who view women's use of sex to their own advantage as subversive, because it dismantles notions of sexual inequality as women re-appropriate sexual power. For these scholars, Nkealah further asserts, "women's survival under difficult conditions, social or economic, is therefore linked to sex and the body as the primary locales of female power" ([35]:63). On the other extreme of the debate, "there are scholars who argue that prostitution further deepens sexual inequality because it places men (the buyers of sex) in a position of power while women (the sellers of sex) remain in a subordinate position, depending on men for their survival" ([35]:63). Thus, by locating Nkem, Adichie intends to sustain the debate on whether women's use of sex for survival subverts patriarchal dominance and control or reinforces them.

For Ujunwa's fictional character, Chioma, in the short story, "Jumping Monkey Hill", the conditions set for her commodification are different. She is sexually harassed when she hunts for a job. Upon being called for a job interview, Chioma learns, "after the first few questions, the man says he will hire her and then walks across and stands behind her and reaches over her shoulders to squeeze her breasts" ([27]:99). When Chioma finally gets a job at a bank, and is told if she can bring in ten million naira during her trial period, she will be guaranteed a permanent position, she does not quite understand what the deputy manager means by going out to get

new accounts for the bank. Two weeks later, Chioma and Yinka visit the home of an *alhaji* in Ikoyi. He (the *alhaji*) looks at Chioma and says, “This one is too fine” and asks Yinka to come and sit on his lap, asking if she does not think he is “strong enough to carry her”, to which Yinka agrees and smiles. Chioma learns that this, assenting to the sexualisation of her female body by males such as the *alhaji*, is what the deputy manager meant by bringing in accounts to the bank. When Ujunwa’s story ended with Chioma walking away from the *alhaji*’s suggestive remarks which were meant to solicit her consent to sleeping with him for the procurement of a contract, Edward thought the ending “to be implausible” because Chioma was “a woman with no other choices” ([27]:114). The whole story was to Edward, “implausible, agenda writing, it isn’t a real story of real people” ([27]:114), until Edward learnt from Ujunwa that Chioma was actually Ujunwa, who had walked out of the *alhaji*’s house and went home. Linked to Edward’s remark is the idea that women can only succeed by sleeping their way to the top. In espousing a confrontational stance against this view, Adichie’s female protagonists begin by demonstrating “a stoic refusal to contribute to cultural commodification” ([4]:41). This is where “they fight against cultural commodification by refusing to contribute to the stereotypical expectations about their country” and themselves ([4]:41–2). In the short story, “Jumping Monkey Hill” ([27]:95), such an oppositional stance against stereotypical expectations about Africa (held by Edward Campbell) is maintained by Ujunwa Ogundu. In this short story, Adichie (through Ujunwa) not only subverts Europe’s desire (as personified by Edward Campbell) to lord over African literary productions, but also confronts Edward’s suggestive remarks to the Senegalese woman about how “he had dreamed of her naked navel” ([27]:111). Upon hearing this, Ujunwa asked the Senegalese woman what she said after Edward told her this, but the Senegalese woman had said nothing. Ujunwa interrogates this: “But why do we say nothing? Why do we always say nothing?” ([27]:112). And yet in such a space there are still men such as the Black South African, who dismiss Edward as “just an old man who meant no harm” ([27]:112). To the Tanzanian, there was no need to antagonise Edward “because Edward was connected and could find them a London agent; no need to close doors of opportunity”. Both the South African and Tanzanian tacitly regard Edward’s ogling at women as something that should be seen by the women writers as “[their] due” ([27]:111), and therefore should not confront it for the sake of ‘the greater good’.

When Ujunwa read her story, which was about “the realistic portrayal of what women were going through in Nigeria”, Edward retorted: “It’s never quite like that in real life, is it? Women are never victims in that sort of crude way and certainly not in Nigeria” ([27]:113). Edward’s basis for this assertion is that, “Nigeria has women in high positions. The most powerful cabinet minister today is a woman” ([27]:113–14). At first, Ujunwa “tried not to notice that Edward often stared at her body, that his eyes were never on her face but always lower” ([27]:106). Implicit in Edward’s gawking at Ujunwa is not only his sexualisation of Ujunwa’s body, but also a projection of a sense of entitlement to her body. This is evidenced when Edward was looking for a seat, and Ujunwa offered him her seat saying, “I don’t mind sitting in the sun...already getting up” and asking, “Would you like me to stand up for you, Edward?” to which Edward responded, “I’d rather like you to lie down for me” ([27]:106). Edward’s gawking at Ujunwa’s body made her feel “a self-loathing”. Augmenting Ujunwa’s enagement was also the realisation that Edward “would never look at a white woman like that because what he felt for Ujunwa was a fancy without respect” ([27]:109). Here, Adichie intends to show how patriarchal dominance stretches even into women’s creative and artistic expressions. Adichie’s literary vision thus encapsulates the conviction that

when women are actively involved in the deconstruction of stereotypical expectations about their country, they will eventually succeed in deconstructing stereotypical expectations ascribed to their gender in a patriarchal society. Thus, Adichie captures the raft ways the manifestations of the patriarchal ego's sense of entitlement to the female body. This resonates with the narrator of the short story, "The Thing Around Your Neck" ([27]:115), who speaks about how life and living in America was like home at first because your uncle's wife.

called you nwanne, sister, and his two school-age children called you Aunty. They spoke Igbo and ate garri for lunch and it was like home [...] until your uncle came into the cramped basement where you slept with old boxes and cartons and pulled you forcefully to him, squeezing your buttocks, moaning; he wasn't really your uncle; he was actually a brother of your father's sister's husband, not related by blood. After you pushed away, he sat on your bed –it was his house, after all –and smiled and said you were no longer a child at twenty-two. If you let him, he would do many things for you. Smart women did it all the time. How do you think those women back home in Lagos with well-paying jobs made it? Even women in New York City? ([27]:117 original italics).

Adichie also indicates, however, that even in instances like the one detailed above, there are women who refused to give in; they "left still" ([27]:117). In the short story, "The American Embassy" ([27]:128), one of the men who broke into "Ugonna's mother's" house and killed her son, slapped her "behind" and laughed, "saying how soft her body was, waving his gun" ([27]:132). With this, Adichie still shows how some men feel entitled to a woman's body, and therefore can do whatever they want to it. Adichie's notion of feminism thus assumes a unique and a "significant paradigmatic visage," in that she consistently "dramatises the imperative of valuing all human beings irrespective of age, race, class and *gender*, if society must survive" in her creative oeuvre ([19]:5,7 emphasis added). Adichie is aware "of the necessity of complementarity between the sexes if the war against unprogressive forces in society must be won" ([19]:7). And so, in trying to define the ideological premise of Adichie's writing, we recognise Adichie's recurrent motif of women often living "in the face of stark, unyielding masculinity" ([1]:2). Among such women is the unnamed narrator of the short story, "Cell One", who lived in fear of the notorious thief, "Osita", about whom she discloses: "I used to look across the hedge and see him and close my eyes and imagine that he was walking toward me, coming to claim me as his" ([27]:6). Attendant to the masculine ego, Adichie implies, is a sense of ownership of the female. Hence, Adichie's artistic vision is aimed at "transforming women's identities from a position of controlled submissiveness to that of empowerment" ([1]:4). To attain this, Adichie purports that, "concerted efforts must be made to remove all barriers and structures which tend to disempower women" ([19]:7). Thus, Adichie's fiction sets out to disencumber (African) traditional cultures of their internal repressive practices and ideologies, which have over the generations structured themselves along the points of gender power. Adichie's fiction describes the challenges of Igbo people from the viewpoint of women who [are] rescued from their lower positions" ([36]:380). Although other works by Adichie, i.e., *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006), deal "with Nigeria's civil war and military coup" ([36]:380), one still realises that "the theme of war expands into the broader theme of [a] society in which we see people struggling over problems such as gender, wealth, sex, occupation and family" ([36]:388). Thus, apart from revealing "the continuing effects of


colonisation even after independence,” Adichie also “brings women into the forefront through characters [such] as Olanna and Kainene in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, reflecting women’s solidity (sic) during war” ([36]:389). Connected to the latter view may also be Adichie’s realisation that, “the incorporation of a full section on the roles of Biafra women during the war, [...] as most literature on the topic is dominated by the experiences of male soldiers who fought in the war,” ignores “the important roles played by women” ([37]:324–25). “During the war”, Üyesi further avers, “these women sought better conditions for themselves and their communities” ([36]:389). Hence, the women in this short story, “A Private Experience”, are projected as capable of staging a protest against the military and General Abacha, calling for democracy. Chika’s sister, Nnedi, is said to be one of the organisers talking to the students about the importance of “having our voices heard” ([27]:45). In the short story, “The American Embassy”, the female protagonist had stories she could tell “of her own journalism, starting from university in Zaria, when she organised a rally to protest General Buhari’s government’s decision to cut student subsidies” ([27]:136). Adichie’s literary vision thus entails valourising girls and women. This is also notable in the short story, “The Headstrong Woman”, where Nwamgba looked for the valiant spirit of Obierika in her son, Anikwenwa, but did not see it. When Mgbeke gave birth to a girl, “Nwamgba held her, [when] the baby’s bright eyes delightfully focused on her, she knew that it was the spirit of Obierika that had returned; odd, to have come in a girl” ([27]:214). With this, Adichie not only valorises women and girls, but also ascribes equal value to men and women. All in all, Adichie, a feminist voice, challenges the supremacy of maleness as a means of demonstrating the need for the reconfiguration of gender discourses. With this, she impresses upon women and girls, in particular, the need to pride themselves in the distinctiveness of their gender while also prompting them to interrogate and confront patriarchal ideologies and practices. This confrontational dynamic that inflects Adichie’s work also serves a decolonising aim – a sort of implicit and explicit feminist critique of debilitating traditional and modern mores which propagate female repression and marginalisation.

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Section 3

The Legal Body

Chapter 8

Perspective Chapter: The Female Body as Sites of Power

Barbara Grabowska

Abstract

The female body was and is involved in politics. The idea of the so-called femininity, including the female body, has political implications. In the past, the weakness of the female body was justified, among other things, by the exclusion of women from the public sphere. Today's unrealistic ideal imposes on women the (self-)discipline of caring for physical appearance. Your own body becomes a tool of social oppression. Therefore, the emancipation of women requires the unmasking of the alleged naturalness of the female body model. The body can even become an instrument of political struggle.

Keywords: femininity, body, feminism, power, emancipation

1. Introduction

The starting point for my further reflections is Kate Millet's claim that sex is a status category with political implications ([1], p. 58). Sex, and corporeality in certain respects (sexual characteristics, susceptibility to diseases, physical strength, predisposition to perform given professions, etc.), has political significance. Having a body identified as a female body affects one's position in political reality, condemning its owner to a status of subordination. For Millet, the most significant consequence of being a woman is being on the losing side in an unequal distribution of political power. Therefore, in a patriarchal society, the relationship between men and women should be described with such terms as rule, domination, and subordination.

However, involving the body, especially the female body, with politics is even more profound. Legislation and social policies have a direct or indirect effect on women's ability to make decisions about their bodies. Millet draws attention to US regulations of her time that prohibited abortion. She believed it was the way in which patriarchal legislation denied women the right to decide on their own bodies and forced them to undergo backstreet abortions ([1], p. 64). In addition to the prohibition of abortion indicated by Millet, we might also mention the availability of various methods of contraception (including the financial method that involved reimbursement for contraceptives) or regulations on *in vitro* fertilization, which directly interfered with corporeality. Indirect influence, on the other hand, is exerted by, for example, demographic policies, such as incentives on childbearing, or conversely, pressures to reduce fertility. In this context, I believe, the male body proves much less susceptible to the influence of politics, and any attempt to subject it to such regulations is strongly opposed. In Poland, for example, the over-the-counter sale of EllaOne day-after pill

has been prohibited, justified by concern for the health of women who might overdose the product (although no such cases have been reported). On the other hand, the purchase of potency pills intended for men does not require a visit to a doctor, and more than that, these substances are widely advertised on radio and television. A man would feel embarrassed having to explain his problems. Female body and female sexuality have long been under control.

The body thus determines political status, and politics affect certain aspects of corporeality. This is the reason why feminists question the distinction between private and public. Political philosophers assume that alongside the public sphere, there is a private sphere, protected from outside interference, at the heart of which lies the intimate sphere. Meanwhile, when analyzing the situation of women in the context of the aforementioned legal regulations, we note that this division is illusive. Jane Mansbridge and Susan Molle Okin note that questioning the above distinction means: "... perceiving all action as potentially bearing public significance. It means noticing that the force which constitutes much of politics goes all the way down to the tiniest gestures that express domination between people, and begins with them. (...) Challenging the dichotomy of the public/private sphere means emphasizing the non-triviality of domestic issues and demanding that they be included in public discourse. It is emphasized here that whatever happens between a man and a woman at home, even in the bedroom, is conditioned and, on the other hand, itself conditions whatever happens in legislation and on the battlefields." ([2], p. 359). The binding of both spheres turns out to be reciprocal: politics regulate many private matters, and patriarchal relations that prevail in the private sphere cannot remain unaffected by political decisions.

Changing the status of women from that of subordination, therefore, requires making the issue of sex, together with its corporeal aspect, the subject of analysis, and public discourse. It is necessary to bring them out of a closed private space into the light of day. Otherwise, it is impossible to address the question of how the domination of men over women came about and why it has endured. Traditionally, the subordinate role of women is explained by referring to so-called natural differences. The role and place of women in society and politics came to be determined by the body. The body build and its frailty manifested by the deficiencies of physical and mental strength necessary to perform many activities, susceptibility to specific diseases such as hysteria and swing of moods resulting from the monthly cycle—all of this justified the patriarchal model. Germaine Greer describes a disease called "green sickness," or more academically chlorosis ([3]. p. 41)¹, which was attributed exclusively to women. Such ailments were supposed to effectively exclude women from professional and political life. In more "modern" times, however, it was argued that women's brains are organized differently and do not allow them to succeed in science and technology, areas where knowledge now translates into power.² Therefore, women are unable to fully understand the mechanisms that govern the modern world, which is symbolized by the engineer.

¹ "The descriptions of the condition are vivid, and although some of them incorporate symptoms arising from other causes generally we can observe the same hypochondriacal syndromes that are put down to hysteria these days: epilepsy, asthma, breathlessness, flatulence, *sensus globi in abdomine se volventis*, lassitude, convulsions, and painful menstruation."

² Greer cites Otto Weininger's book "*Sex and Character*," a similar type of argumentation is presented by Anne Moir and David Jessel in their work "*Brain Sex: the Real Difference between Men and Women*."

2. Gender differences—Nature or culture?

The belief in the natural differences between sexes was questioned in the early days of feminism. John Stuart Mill, in “The Subjection of Women”, in his fight for granting women the right to vote, seeks to refute the argument of women’s natural and inalienable otherness invoked by opponents of their participation in politics. He asks: “What are the natural differences between the two sexes? In the present state of society, we cannot get a complete and correct answer to this; yet almost everybody dogmatizes about it, hardly anyone attends seriously to the only source for even a partial answer. (...)”

Because however great and apparently ineradicable the moral and intellectual differences between men and women might be, the only evidence we can have for there being natural differences is negative” ([4], p. 308). As an example of such seemingly natural differences, Mill mentions specifically female health ailments and notes that: “we see from the almost total disappearance of ‘hysterics’ and fainting-fits since they have gone out of fashion.” ([4], p. 344). It, therefore, turns out that it is not the corporeal constitution that has a decisive influence on women’s behavior and health, but customs and fashions. Femininity is not determined only by nature but also shaped by culture.

Second-wave and contemporary feminists are far more radical in expressing this view. “From the outset, our observation of the female is consciously and unconsciously biased by assumptions that we cannot help making and cannot always identify when they have been made. The new assumption behind the discussion of the body is that everything that we may observe *could be otherwise*” ([3], p. 5)—Greer concludes. Magdalena Środa, on the other hand, states: “Until recently, it has been a popular opinion, not questioned by many, that a woman is by nature destined for domestic and family life and a man for public and creative life. This conviction, supported by the category of ‘nature,’ never actually required justification but still had been justified a lot” ([5], pp. 295–296). Citing Sherry B. Ortner, she lists three types of such justifications. First of all, the female body is involved in the process of species reproduction, for which reason it is closer to nature than the male body. Secondly, a woman’s body, especially its maternal function, assigns her to the home, thus greatly limiting her social mobility. Last but not least, women “by nature” have a different mental predisposition. These arguments show that the (female) body, to paraphrase Millet’s thesis quoted at the beginning of the article, has political implications. This very body excludes her from the sphere of politics, deprives her of the opportunities to exert influence on political decisions, and thus deprives her of the ability to protect her interests, as: “the private world of women is nearly everywhere and always subordinated to the public (socio-political) world of men” ([5], p. 298). Even if there are currently no legal obstacles preventing women from participating in political life, the stereotype mentioned by Professor Środa still prevails to effectively discourage them from engaging in activities within the public sphere.

3. (Self) disciplining the female body

Questioning the division between public men and domestic women, feminists make a distinction between biological sex and cultural gender. They argue that: “the male or female roles are determined by extra-natural factors, regardless of the anatomy and physiology of the external organs” ([1], p. 60). It turns out that it is not

the body that determines sex, but it is sex that shapes the body. This is because many aspects of corporeality are part of gender identity, that is, that aspect of femininity that is shaped by social and cultural pressures. Greer points out that even something seemingly as tough and durable as a skeleton is susceptible to deformation under particular circumstances, like wearing corsets or performing the job of a typist or a secretary, which requires a person to constantly bend.

Pierre Bourdieu in his conception of habitus, defined as a “system of dispositions,” shows how historical and social conditions determine our beliefs and practices. He uses the term social class, but I think it can also be applied to gender. It proves, among other things, that the aesthetic taste of an individual is closely related to his social position. Aesthetic preferences are the basis of social judgment and determine belonging (or exclusion) to a given group [6]. Our physicality, body shape, hairstyle, and clothing, is also a way of presenting these preferences. According to Bourdieu, physical appearance is also an element of cultural capital. According to Naomi Wolf, the body itself, not just clothing or hairstyle, is an object of fashion [7]. Therefore, the female body is not arbitrarily shaped by its owner but is given to practices consistent with the habitus. “Everything related to habitus, body language, gestures, and postures, are internalized by individuals so strongly that they seem natural” - also internalized image of the female body is considered its own. They also fail to notice that: “the image of the ideal and legitimate body (such qualities as beauty, youth, vitality, vigor, grace, and harmony) are far from reality and the real body” ([8], p. 94).

Sandra Lee Bartky also points this out, when she refers to Michel Foucault’s concepts and his descriptions of disciplinary procedures, and argues that it is this type of practice that produces a body that is recognized by its appearance and characteristic gestures as feminine. Thus, we are not women because we have female bodies. Conversely, our bodies become feminine because we adopt this gender role.

Lee Bartky presents three types of practices that shape the female body:

- those that aim at creating bodies of a certain shape and size;
- those that bring out particular gestures, postures, ways of moving, etc., from the body; and
- those that treat the body as a surface for decoration.

Practices of the first type impose a certain model of the ideal body. Today it is the ideal of a slim, almost boyish figure. In order to achieve it, women undergo very strict diets and work out, performing exercises that shape various muscles. They often become anorectic or bulimic, which are the present-day conditions equivalent to hysteria. Practices focused on gestures, on the other hand, lead to the development of a submissive attitude in women. Hence the effort to appear small and harmless take up as little space as possible or express their subservience by lowering their eyes or averting their gaze in response to the gazes of men. Decorating the female body also requires a lot of effort. It is necessary to take care of the skin and complexion, proper make-up, well-groomed and stylish hair, and waxing. All these practices are aimed at one goal—transforming one’s body into the body of an ideal woman and into a body that is properly trained and shaped by power relations that give it a subordinate status. However, this is an effort that is doomed to failure. The ideal turns out to be unattainable, and chasing it unsuccessfully results in feelings of guilt and

shame. It opens the way to a conviction that our body is imperfect and defective. As Lee Bartky argues: “To have a body felt to be ‘feminine’—a body socially constructed through the appropriate practices—is in most cases crucial to a woman’s sense of herself as female.” ([9], p. 68).

This body does not belong to her. As a woman, she “must make herself ‘object and prey’ for the man.” ([9], p. 61). Disobedience to disciplinary procedures is punished by the denial of patronage, this means low social status. The feeling of guilt is an equally severe punishment for rebel women. This is because patriarchal standards become internalized, making women extremely effective at conforming to them. Therefore, the freedom that they have now achieved is proving to be only illusive. In fact, they have been almost completely subjected to a new, anonymous, and diffuse disciplinary authority that has taken control over their bodies. In the model described by Lee Bartky, the body is a product of disciplinary procedures of power, which is thoroughly imbued with politics. The woman’s body, by involving its owner in a regimen of practices that shape it, even becomes an instrument of oppression.

Since their bodies have been taken away from them, women mostly do not feel comfortable in them. Millet saw it when she wrote that: “Patriarchal conditioning and convictions seem to poison the women’s attitude to their own bodies until it actually becomes a promised source of anguish” ([1], p. 89). In this way, the politicization of bodies leads to their peculiar alienation. One’s own body turns out to be alien and hostile. Anyway, it can hardly be called one’s own anymore since it is the product of disciplinary procedures and the result of patriarchal relations of domination. The subordinate status of women means that the most intimate sphere, as it may seem, corporeality and how it is felt, is shaped by power relations. It is impossible to escape from being drawn into this arrangement because: “for the sake of feeling oneself as an existing entity, one can now only exist as a man or as a woman” ([9], p. 68). Patriarchal power is holding on tight—what has changed is perhaps the form of exercising it. It has become more modern and less visible, but because of that perhaps even more effective. What is now effectively holding patriarchy in place is a rigid, polarized division into two sexes and the need to be assigned to one of them with all its consequences. “It is an essential part of our conceptual apparatus that the sexes are a polarity and a dichotomy in nature. Actually, that is quite false” ([3], p. 17)—says Greer. Therefore, putting the naturalness of traditional gender roles into question requires going much deeper and challenging the very foundations of gender classification.

Wolf believes that the myth of beauty oppressive the female body is the last remnant of the old ideologies of femininity ([7], p. 27). Therefore, it must be exposed and rejected. Confronting this myth requires asking about power relations. It is necessary to ask who it serves and who derives profits from it. The appearance of the female body (or rather constant concern for it) is a political matter ([7], p. 347). Without overcoming this oppression, we will not create truly egalitarian relationships.

Biology and nature, as suggested by feminists, do not unequivocally delineate the male–female dichotomy. This is because they leave a lot of room for interpretation. However, this area of freedom has been appropriated by authority. That is why it is so important to unmask the apparent naturalness and show the political entanglement of gender categories. “The ‘normal’ sex roles that we learn to play from our infancy are no more natural than the antics of a transvestite. In order to approximate those shapes and attitudes, which are considered normal and desirable, both sexes deform themselves, justifying the process by referring to the primary, genetic difference between the sexes.” ([3], p. 22)—says Greer. It is important to be aware of this in order to try to oppose the ever-present patriarchal power.

4. Beyond the male-female dichotomy

Can the gender dichotomy be completely discarded? What could it be replaced with? Liberal feminists propose the replacement of polarized gender roles with the concept of androgyny, that is, recognizing the entire spectrum of gender identities individually chosen by each individual. “Androgyny does not eliminate gender differences but is built on the understanding that we are capable of both transcending polarized gender roles and creatively developing aspects of our personality that have been ‘neglected’ in traditional upbringing. If we are all socially encouraged to develop both feminine and masculine qualities (which are equally important both for society and for the good life of an individual), all discriminations will disappear” ([5], p. 322)—as Professor Środa describes the ideal of androgyny. Androgyny abolishes the traditional rigid division into men and women, replacing the polarized identification of males and females with a whole spectrum of individualized gender identities that are combinations of what has traditionally been considered masculine and feminine in various combinations and proportions. This ideal is supposed to depoliticize the body, as far as possible. This is because sex here is stripped of its political significance, blurred in the multiplicity of individual experiments, and transferred entirely to the private sphere. Gender identity freed from social pressures to become a “normalized” woman or man becomes a matter of individual preference. At the same time, androgyny does not question the existence of biological differences, it only assumes that no clear determination of those differences exists. The same set of physical characteristics may be the basis for different variations on gender roles. Corporeality is largely an area for individual experimentation, the results of which cannot be fully predicted. This means the end of the rigid framework of masculinity and femininity that individuals must be forced into with the use of disciplinary strategies. In line with the general liberal trend, the sphere of individual freedom is broadened and the influence of authority is reduced—the body is definitely freed from the scope of political influence.

However, for some, this is still an inadequate solution. A concept is emerging that completely challenges the distinction between a given biological sex and a constructed gender. Judith Butler is trying to address this issue: What other foundational categories of identity—the binary of sex, gender, and the body—can be shown as productions that create the effect of the natural, the original, and the inevitable?” ([10], p. 35).³ Therefore, the goal is to overthrow the last bastion of proponents of natural sex characteristics—biological sex. Its illusive invariability and political neutrality are to be exposed, for biological sex, which was given by nature, could not be impinged upon by power. And yet Butler tries to demonstrate that she too is a product of certain power relations—male domination and compulsory heterosexuality. Thus, politicizing the body goes even deeper than Lee Bartky showed—it is not just about the body’s shape, dimensions, and appearance. The body is recognized as a cultural mark, while the order of constructing gender identity so far is reversed.

It is not gender that is formed on the foundation of biological sex (in a way more or less determined by the latter), it is our perception of biological sex and perception of bodies that is the product of cultural regulatory practices. Three fictions need to be rejected: the belief in the unequivocal nature of biological sex, the alleged internal consistency of gender, and the binarity within the two categories. This is because they only serve to uphold the existing order of power. Therefore, with reference to the

³ J. Butler: *Uwiktani w płęć* [*Gender Trouble*], Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warsaw 2008, p. 35.

concept of Monique Wittig, Butler reflects: “Is there a ‘physical’ body prior to the perceptually perceived body? An impossible question to decide. Not only is the gathering of attributes under the category of sex suspect, but also the distinction of these “characteristics” as such. That penis, vagina, breasts, and so forth are named sexual parts is both a restriction of the erogenous body to those parts and a fragmentation of the body as a whole” ([10], p. 215). The body is, therefore, not a given, something ready-made. We create it by distinguishing and giving names to its various parts. It is also up to us what significance we assign to its various elements. We are the ones who have completely arbitrarily selected a certain set of so-called gender characteristics. Our body is, therefore, a complete construction from the very beginning. Even if there is an objective body, which is independent of linguistic categories, it is inaccessible to us. When describing one’s body, one inevitably enters the perimeter of the cultural and social system. Our corporeality is always politicized. We may at best not realize it. Therefore, using categories taken from psychoanalysis, Butler states that: “The sexed surface of the body thus emerges as the necessary sign of a natural (ised) identity and desire” ([10], p. 153). We thus find only the naturalized, instead of what was supposed to be natural. The alleged naturalness is meant to conceal the political involvement of gender identity at the biological level and create the appearance of its invariability. The category of nature is once again exposed as a tool that sustains the system of power.

Should we thus assume that: “... the body is not a ‘being’, but a variable boundary, a surface whose permeability is politically regulated, a signifying practice within a cultural field of gender hierarchy and compulsory heterosexuality”? ([10], pp. 250–251). If so, the traditional division between the private sphere and the public sphere is untenable. For the very core of the private sphere, that which is most intimate to us – —our own body—turns out to be shaped by culture and power. How has that come about? In her explanation, Butler refers to Michael Foucault’s claim that the entire sphere of sexuality (including, of course, the category of gender) is saturated with power, and that our bodies only make sense in the context of power relations. Therefore, sex is not only a category with political implications, it is political “from the very foundations.” Categories of sex and compulsory heterosexuality: “are not natural but political categories ([10], p. 231), as Butler underlines. Citing Foucault, she stresses that: The category of sex is thus inevitably regulative, and any analysis that makes that category presuppositional uncritically extends and further legitimates that regulative strategy as a power/knowledge regime” ([10], p. 189). Until we expose the power relations that hide behind the naturalized sex category, we will not be able to change them or free ourselves from them. This is not easy, as the naturalization strategy effectively masks the matrix of gender dichotomy and compulsory heterosexuality. Therefore, if we want to change, if we want to abolish male domination and oppression associated with the social organization of sexual reproduction, we need to expose this apparent naturalness.

The awareness of politicizing gender identities paves the way for making a change. However, this is not an easy task. Butler notes that the authority that shapes our perceptions of body, sex, and desire does not fit into the liberal model of the social contract. We cannot negotiate the terms of how it functions, because it is not exercised by a group of specific, identifiable individuals in an intentional manner. It is an anonymous and dispersed power, within which: “power relations establish and limit the very possibility of will. Therefore, power can neither be taken away nor rejected, but only deployed differently.” ([10], p. 228). Neither revolution nor anarchy is possible. There is no escape from being involved in politics. However, one may question

and challenge the categories imposed by it and destabilize whatever forms the basis of power relations—the dichotomy and unequivocalness of gender identities. This is served, for example, by parody practices that treat the surface of the body as a space for free staging. Such activities are intended to provoke reflection on the naturalness of masculinity and femininity. The proliferation of various configurations of gender identities is expected to destabilize this category. However, the deconstruction of identity is not the deconstruction of politics; rather, it establishes as political the very terms through which identity is articulated.” ([10], p. 263). Thus, the right strategy is not an attempt at depoliticizing sex and the body, which is doomed to failure; but quite the contrary, treating one’s body as a “tool for political struggle.” This is the only way it is possible to reinterpret the practices that define gender identity and create new possibilities that transcend and break the binary matrix. Thus, this is the approach that stands in opposition to the idea of androgyny discussed early on. It is not a matter of excluding corporeality from the political sphere; quite the contrary, the body should be properly handled in the political sphere.

5. The chapter conclusion

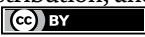
Feminist discussions on gender address the politicization of the body in two ways. On the one hand, they point to the need to expose the involvement of corporeality in politics, which is hidden under the pretense of naturalness. They reveal that our body, the way we perceive it and the way we seek to change it, is not politically neutral but is the result of power relations. On the other hand, feminists do not wish in any way to remove gender issues from the political sphere. On the contrary, they indicate the need to bring sex and corporeality into the public debate. They argue that leaving these issues within the private sphere effectively sustains the patriarchal model. Of all the concepts that are the most radical, it is the body that becomes a tool. However both of these perspectives underscore one thing: what seems private, or even intimate to us, that is our own body, is, contrary to appearances of so-called naturalness, strongly (and according to some positions indelibly) entangled in politics.

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Abolition Feminism and Jumping Scale: Transformative Justice as a Way of Life

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Abstract

Abolition feminism builds on the concept of “abolition democracy” as articulated by W.E.B. DuBois and Angela Y. Davis. They argued that in order to abolish slavery as well as institutions that furthered the afterlife of slavery, such as the prison industrial complex, it was necessary to simultaneously build a wide array of democratic institutions that would make slavery and the prison system unthinkable. In doing so, it further becomes clear that real democracy is inconsistent with slavery and the prison industrial complex. Similarly, abolition feminism signals that it is not possible to end carceral systems without a systemic gender analysis. At the same time, a liberatory feminist politic is inconsistent with an investment in carcerality. An abolitionist feminist politic is also ideally rooted in creativity and provisionality as it is primarily centered, not in just ending carceral systems, but creating systems of governance and sociality based on principles of horizontality, mutuality and relationality. At the same time, because many strands of abolition feminism tend to focus on the corporeal effects of gender violence on an individual scale, its practices are often presumed to only work on a smaller scale. This work will engage Laura Harjo’s analysis to look at how “jumping scale” can be used to connected the corporeal to a global praxis for transformation.

Keywords: abolition feminism, carcerality, transformative justice, gender violence, anti-violence

1. Introduction

The rise of the anti-violence movement has generally situated gender violence and its response on the corporeal level. That is, the focus of sexual violence and interpersonal violence is on the impact of violence on the body. (1) How do we keep that body safe? (2) How do we heal the body from its trauma? This individualized, corporeal focus then contributed to both a carceral and medicalized response to gender violence. First, we need police to keep individual bodies safe as gender violence becomes understood as individual rather than a collective problem of managing bodies that have been deemed vulnerable (and bodies that are not deemed vulnerable or often deemed unworthy of protection). Corporeal trauma also then becomes the site of medical intervention

requiring professional treatment to enable healing. Essentially this corporeal focus implicitly understands gender violence as individualized rather than relational.

In response to these carceral and medicalized strategies for addressing gender violence developed an abolition feminist movement that called for a transformative justice strategy for addressing gender violence. Abolition feminism builds on the concept of “abolition democracy” as articulated by W.E.B. DuBois and Angela Y. Davis. They argued that in order to abolish slavery as well as institutions that furthered the afterlife of slavery, such as the prison industrial complex, it was necessary to simultaneously build a wide array of democratic institutions that would make slavery and the prison system unthinkable. In doing so, it further becomes clear that real democracy is inconsistent with slavery and the prison industrial complex ([1], p. 58; [2], p. 182). Similarly, abolition feminism signals that it is not possible to end carceral systems without a systemic gender analysis. At the same time, a liberatory feminist politics is inconsistent with an investment in carcerality. An abolitionist feminist politics is also ideally rooted in creativity and provisionality as it is primarily centered, not in just ending carceral systems, but creating systems of governance and sociality based on principles of horizontality, mutuality and relationality.

In this article, I argue that while transformative justice is a germinal framework for articulating response to gender violence, its formulations still tend to focus on gender violence as primarily corporeal and individualized rather than fully articulating corporeality in a relational manner. Consequently, transformative justice can easily lapse back into carceral and medicalized logics. Instead, I will suggest how a more global understanding of the history of transformative justice can connect the corporeal with multi-level scales of connectivity to create a different form of sociality and globality.

2. Transformative justice

Transformative justice is an abolition feminist practice that has become increasingly visible as a praxis for addressing inter-personal harm, often with a focus on gender-based violence, without relying on the criminal justice system. It operationalizes abolitionist feminism by creating processes and practices that can create communities capable of addressing harm without causing harm.¹ However, what transformative justice signifies is sharply contested. First the concept of transformative justice has emerged from disparate fields of inquiry and practice.² Within the strands of transformative justice that emerge more specifically from an abolition feminist framework, numerous questions arise: Is engaging in transformative justice inconsistent with ever calling for help from the police? Is transformative justice survivor-centered? Can transformative justice be scaled? Can it even work? My interest is less in providing a definitive account of what transformative justice is amidst these debates. As Ejeris Dixon says in a

¹ See Mia Mingus definition of transformative justice Barnard Center for Research on Women [3].

² Transformative justice has been used to describe a movement emerging from a critique of the co-optation of transitional justice, which is a framework by which post-conflict countries emerge to address serious human rights abuses Gready & Robins [4]. Ruth Morris also used the term to describe a critique of restorative justice, but her analysis has sometimes (although not always) operated independently of abolitionist feminist frameworks around transformative justice Morris [5]. Other organizers their engagement with term emerging from networks with revolutionary movements in Latin America. (Personal Conversation, Kim McGill, Youth Justice Coalition, March 11, 2020. Los Angeles. This is not by any means an exhaustive list of all the varied and sometimes intersecting strands of transformative justice organizing and theorizing.

recent work on transformative justice, *Beyond Survival*, “There have been conversations, arguments, and even declarations of what and who is or is not transformative enough... I want to make certain that we let TJ [Transformative Justice] be free, that we do not judge TJ, put TJ into boxes or constrain TJ” ([6], p. loc 89). Rather, I want to explore the political possibilities for transformative justice with respect to one issue frequently debated—whether or not transformative justice can be built to scale.

Transformative justice is often viewed in at least some strands of this movement as developing out of a critique of restorative justice. A Restorative justice@ is an umbrella term that describes a wide range of programs which attempt to address harm—from the individual to the systemic level—from a restorative and reconciliatory rather than a punitive framework. That is, as opposed to the US criminal justice system that focuses solely on punishing a person who causes harm and removing that person from society through incarceration, restorative justice attempts to involve all parties (the person who caused harm, the person who was harmed, and community members) in determining the appropriate response to a harm in an effort to restore the community to wholeness. However, as restorative justice became popularized through being increasingly attached to the criminal justice system through diversionary programs, organizers operating from an abolition feminist perspective sought to develop a framework that did not rely on the criminal justice system. Ruth Morris was one of the first restorative justice practitioners to shift to the concept of transformative justice. She argued:

The very word restorative was unhealthy for victims. A victim's first instinct is to want the world back as it was. Until a victim is ready to move on from this, to recognize they can transform the world positively from their pain, but they can't restore the world as it was, their healing is blocked. Restorative justice, although intended to speak more of a Garden of Eden kind of restoration to the universe as God envisioned it, in practice encouraged victims in imagining that you can restore a past, before some trauma changed life forever. Restorative theory did not take into account the enormous structural injustices at the base of our justice systems, and the extent to which they function mainly to reinforce racism and classism. Any theory or method that ignores the racism and classism that are basic to retributive justice is missing something very vital, and will serve to reinforce that racism and classism further, by not challenging it. Related to both of these points, the idea of restoring justice implied we had had justice, and lost it. In fact, distributive justice abounds everywhere, and most offenders are, more than the average person is, victims of distributive injustice. Do we want to restore offenders to the marginalized, enraged, disempowered condition most were in just before the offence? This makes no sense at all ([5], p. 19)!

Not surprisingly, practitioners of transformative justice are wary of co-optation and incorporation into institutions and often focus on local praxis. For instance, nationally renowned transformative justice practitioner Shira Hassan argues that transformative justice cannot be scaled because to scale it would be to institutionalize it and transformative justice would thus devolve back into restorative justice [7]. Others, such as Ejeris Dixon, acknowledge that while TJ is not currently building to scale, eventually the goal is to “start small, build to scale, and allow ourselves to learn from both our successes and our failure” ([8], p. loc 303). In general, whether or not practitioners believe transformative justice can be built to scale, they often emphasize working at the local level first.

Some strands of the transformative justice movement also formed out of the realization that “community-based” approaches toward addressing harm often relied

upon a romanticized notion of community that was not sexist, homophobic or otherwise problematic—or that “community” even existed to begin with. As restorative justice became associated with the social service delivery or as an “alternative” within the criminal justice system, transformative justice became articulated as a political organizing project geared toward creating communities of mutual accountability. The work of abolition feminists emerges amidst the contradictions of gender violence and harm that was perpetrated in the very movements that were trying to transform society. Consequently, the center of attention of some strands of abolition feminism has been the corporeal scale of gender violence. Many abolition feminists called for a shift of building to scale to building deeper and healthier relations among organizers on the local level as a result of this more individualized and corporeal focus [9]. This shift did not signify a lack of interest in ending systemic oppression; rather, local organizing became imagined as the site where systemic oppression could be most effectively addressed. As Adrienne Marie Brown frames it, “I love the idea of shifting from ‘mile wide inch deep’ movements to ‘inch wide mile deep’ movements that schism the existing paradigm” (ibid, 16). Doing the deep work necessary to transform communities structured under the logics of racial, gender and colonial violence as well as to create a space for traumatized bodies to heal seemed to work against the possibility then of bringing transformative justice to scale.

Another reason for the focus on the very local scale is the continuing focus of the corporeality of gender violence. Many strands of the transformative justice movement correctly noted that social justice struggles often collapsed because of the continuing impacts of unaddressed trauma within communities impacted by violence. Individuals acting out of unaddressed trauma had difficulty working collectively without bitter conflict. Thus, it was important that corporeal healing be integrated into social justice organizing itself. But then this focus on “self-care” and “healing” often displaced the importance of collective organizing, particularly at a larger scale. Certainly as Herbert Marcuse demonstrated, a focus on the body and pleasure can an important site to unveil the death-dealing structures of white supremacy, genocide, patriarchy and capitalism [10]. Creating a society that is pleasurable would necessarily create a society that is more just. But while many strands of the transformative justice movement have in fact focused on “pleasure activism” [11], how this pleasure on the corporeal scale is connected to dismantling global structures of oppression is not always operationalized. Pleasure activism is easier to imagine on the corporeal or local level rather than on a global level.

In this article, I wish to employ Laura Harjo’s Indigenous feminist methodology of “jumping scale” to suggest different political possibilities for articulating the relationship between transformative justice, the body and its healing from trauma and scale. Harjo’s work suggests that instead of articulating the relationship among the corporeal, the local and scale as unidirectional (starting small and building to scale) antagonistic (inch deep/mile wide vs. mile deep/inch wide), jumping scale suggests the possibility of a mile-wide/mile-deep approach that simultaneously resists incorporation into statist policies. Essentially, such an approach involves reconceptualizing transformative justice as more than a set of local processes, but as a way of life.

3. Jumping scale

Jumping scale according to Laura Harjo is a manner in which Indigenous transformation happens through traversing through different scales across time and

space.³ She contends that transformation happens through a relational praxis through individual body, local and global scales. At the same these scales are also translated temporally through the ancestral knowledge and Indigenous futurities. What connects these traversals across scales is that they are built through relationality. They are never simply about gaining number nor leaving the body behind or ignoring the local to achieve the global. But rather they all exist in relationship to each other.

The Muskoke individual living in the city without access to practices such as stomp dance or traditional games still perpetuates other Muskoke values and practices; they still enact Muskoke community even if it is at the scale of a single person and their body. Scale works with emergence geographies to help understand the spatial imaginary of relationality and kinship that operates in the Muskoke community in ways that draw upon a network of spatiotemporal locations ([12], p. 11).

Mariame Kaba notes that transformative justice cannot be seen as a simply an alternative practice to incarceration.

It's not actually the alternative... It is an ideology, a framework, a political vision, a practice... it's simply a way to shift and transform our relationships to allow us to build the conditions under which we will no longer need prisons. Part of the problem of positing a quote "alternative" to the PIC is that it's impossible. What is the alternative to oppression ([13], p. loc 3939)?

Similarly, Ruth Wilson Gilmore argues that the current abolitionist focus on the "prison industrial complex," originally termed in order note the expansive nature of the carceral system, has instead truncated abolitionist politics. Thus if, transformative justice is not an "alternative," what is it? Gilmore calls for abolitionist geographies that recognize that "freedom is a place" and that abolition requires not simply the dismantling of prisons, but the transformation of place [14]. But transformation of place can only happen through jumping scale because all places exist in relationship to teach other. Harjo's articulation of jumping scale coordinates not only the local, but the individual body level to the global. Her articulations are consonant with an abolitionist feminist praxis that understands that global movements for social change are undermined when they are structured by individual practices of gender violence. As transformative justice practitioner Mia Mingus has argued, the abuse in our world begins with the fact that we have an abusive relationship with ourselves [15].

So that transformative justice can jump scale spatially we must also jump scale temporally. By traversing temporalities to ascertain the multiple genealogies of transformative justice, we can expand transformative justice's possible futurities.

4. Traversing time

"Futurity is the invocation of many temporalities and spatialities to form an imaginary that is constructed from energy, kinship, community knowledge collective power, and geographies" ([12], p. 11)

³ Harjo builds on the work of Neil Smith of jumping scales in which challenges the binary of moving from small to big and resists the presumptions of statist territoriality but de-naturalizes the order of racial/colonialist capitalist space.

Harjo describes her vision of Indigenous futurities in which communities can jump scale across time and place in order to spatialize the future. This happens through a process of what she describes as kin-space-tie envelopes that enable us to “understand social relations within the processes of globalization, such as political, cultural, and economic impacts connected to an area or geography” ([12], p. 28) But rather than chronological time being the glue in these envelopes, it is our relationships throughout time and space that provide an imaginary for the world we want to live in. “Futurity is a practice that invokes our ancestors’ and relatives’ unactivated possibilities in our present lived moment, and it imagines future possibilities” ([12], p. 34).

To explore how transformative justice can spatialize the future, I will first traverse time by exploring some of the multiple genealogies that helped give rise to the transformative justice movement. My intent is not so much to replace a “bad” genealogical account of transformative justice with a correct one. Rather, I seek to demonstrate other political possibilities for transformative justice that emerge when we multiply transformative justice’s genealogies, particularly by exploring a variegated history of the abolition feminist politics that gave rise to transformative justice. In particular, transformative justice emerged not just out of abolition feminist’s critique of carcerality, but its commitment to building systems of governance and living based on principles of horizontality, mutuality and relationality. Genealogical accounts of transformative justice tend to focus on its emergence out of what Mimi Kim describes as the “carceral creep” [16] within the anti-violence movement [17–19]. However, it equally emerged through an Indigenous critique of settler colonialism, feminist critiques of revolutionary movements in Latin America and critiques of the nation-state governance systems. From these multiple genealogies emerged multiple visions of what transformative justice could be.

At least one strand of the transformative justice movement developed through organizations working with an abolition feminist analysis.⁴ This strand is most popularly known through the statement made by Generation Five, an organization focused on ending child sexual abuse without investing in carceral systems. While Generation Five no longer exists, individuals from Generation Five have brought this politic to a number of organizations including Generative Somatics and the Bay Area Transformative Justice Collective. The Generation Five statement itself, however, was also the product of collaboration with a number of individuals and organizations, including Incite! Women of Color Against Violence⁵ and Critical Resistance. In this essay, I wish to focus on the development of abolition feminist thought that emerged out of Incite! to build on the genealogies of transformative justice to assess what this genealogy might have to say about the scaling of transformative justice.

4.1 History of Incite!

Incite! emerged out of the both the anti-violence movement and the critical resistance movement.⁶ Co-founders of Incite! had been involved in anti-violence

⁴ While Generation Five is often credited for the term “transformative justice,” it is important to note that others have also used the term through other genealogical strands. For instance, the Youth Justice Coalition began employing this term through its engagement with movements in Chiapas.

⁵ The name of Incite at the time of Generation Five. It later changed its name to be Incite! Women and Trans People of Color Against Violence, and the name has undergone changes since then.

⁶ Information on the history of Incite! that is not cited comes from my personal involvement as a co-founder of Incite!

organizing for many years. The idea of Incite! in particular emerged when some of the co-founders had been engaged in a frustrating board meeting of the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault where some board members had proposed that Hillary Clinton be invited as a keynote speaker to the next national conference. This choice was illustrative of what the eventual co-founders of Incite! perceived to be as two trends in the anti-violence movement: (1) issues faced by women of color were at the margins of the anti-violence movement and (2) this movement was primarily concerned with professionalization, respectability and social service provision instead of building a political movement to actually end violence. At the same time, co-founders were also fatigued with being part of the “women of color caucus” of their various national and state anti-violence organizations in which they provided continual critique of white-dominated movements to no effect. Thus, at this board meeting, these eventual co-founders of Incite! began writing the names of people who could begin a women of color anti-violence organization that was committed to grassroots organizing rather than primarily to social service delivery. Many years later, these individuals listed on this napkin eventually converged in Santa Cruz for the first Color of Violence conference held in April 2000.

The founding of Critical Resistance: Beyond the Prison Industrial Complex was also a formative part of the genealogy of Incite! Critical Resistance formed nationally to advance abolitionism. Some of the co-founders of Incite! had also been involved in co-organizing the first Critical Resistance conference held in Berkeley in 1999. As the anti-violence movement became increasingly connected to the criminal justice system, it became virtually impossible to critique criminalization within mainstream anti-violence organizations. The Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (or VAWA), despite being part of a repressive anti-crime bill, was heralded as “feminist” legislation. Any attempts to critique VAWA were immediately denounced as anti-survivor. However, the emergence of critical resistance began to provide a framework by which those in the anti-violence movement could critique its investment in criminalization.

At the time of the founding conference of Incite!, the “Color of Violence” in 2000, the founders did not know what the solution to carceral feminism was. But it sought to create a space to figure out what the possibilities might be. In that spirit, the Color of Violence was organized to bring abolitionists in conversation with anti-violence advocates who did not necessarily have an abolitionist perspective. Through this conversation, anti-violence advocates were challenged to rethink their unquestioned reliance on criminal legal solutions. At the same time, they also challenged abolitionists to develop more thoroughgoing gender analysis in their work. This continuing conversation culminated in a statement produced by Incite! and critical resistance on gender violence and the prison industrial complex, which can be understood as an abolition feminist call to develop non-statist approaches to ending gender violence.⁷

Incite! organizing operated at the intersections of addressing healing at the bodily level while simultaneously addressing global structures of violence. On the one hand, it was intervening in the tendency in more patriarchal social justice movements to create little space for healing or for addressing interpersonal violence *within* these movements. They were aware of interpersonal dynamics that resulted from organizations inability to address impact of trauma on peoples’ bodies quickly led to organizational dysfunctionality and disintegration. At the same time, it was wary of the social service model for addressing corporeal trauma that did challenge the global conditions that created trauma in the first place.

⁷ The statement can be found online as well is in Incite (Ed.). [20].

While developing their abolition feminist critiques of carcerality, however, Incite! members did not know how it would be possible to end inter-personal gender violence without relying on the criminal justice system. Thus, Incite! started organizing activist institutes to figure out what could be other possibilities. Ideas that developed from these institutes were distributed so that local groups could experiment with them.⁸ Numerous formations, connected and not connected with Incite!, developed that began experimenting with different processes and strategies. Mimi Kim then used this work from Incite! to develop creative interventions, from which emerged the immortal 600+ Creative Interventions Toolkit that is a foundational text for many transformative justice practitioners today.⁹

Given this genealogy, it is not a surprise that transformative justice became equated with local processes. Through years of experimentation, many practitioners learned that such processes could actually be successful, but they had to be thoughtful and time intensive. Such local processes tended to come into place AFTER harm had occurred, and their contextually-based nature made them difficult to imagine being scaled.

However, it is also important to note that these practices that emerged from Incite! were influenced not just by those who emerged out of the anti-violence movement. Sista II Sista began collaborating with Incite! soon after its formation and had a transformative effect on Incite!'s political vision. It influenced Incite!'s abolition feminist analysis to not just focus on ending carceral systems, but in creating systems of governance and living based on principles of horizontality, mutuality and relationality. Many organizers in Sista II Sista were focused less on the critiquing carceral feminism and more on addressing gender violence within revolutionary movements. Thus, their implementation of transformative justice was always premised on it building to scale. Through Sista II Sista, Incite! became involved in the World Social Forum and became more directly engaged in transnational mass movements for social change. These exchanges shifted the focus of Incite! from simply thinking of transformative justice as a process for addressing harm after it occurred to stopping harm from happening in the first place. They also provided more of a transnational perspective on what transformative justice could look like.

Incite!'s engagement with Indigenous feminist organizing (which contributed to its co-founding of the Boarding School Healing Project)¹⁰ led to the analysis that the prison industrial complex is the arm of a nation-state form of governance that is based on violence, domination and control. Abolishing the prison industrial complex thus requires challenging the presumed inevitability of a nation-state form of governance. One of Incite!'s training modules for instance, framed gender violence as existing the intersections of capitalism and colonization and a commitment to decolonization was evidenced in Incite!'s principles of unity and its initial organizing packets.¹¹

In addition, Incite! linked gender violence not only to carcerality but to global systems of violence. It organized against the War in Afghanistan because many mainstream anti-violence organizations were supporting with the rationale that the war would liberate women from the Taliban. While Incite! was developing local responses to violence, it was just as involved in organizing against global systems of violence

⁸ A copy of these statement can be found at <https://incite-national.org/community-accountability-working-document/>.

⁹ The toolkit can be found at <http://www.creative-interventions.org/tools/toolkit/>.

¹⁰ The Boarding School Healing project later morphed into the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition. Information on this organization can be found at <https://boardingschoolhealing.org/>.

¹¹ From author's personal collection.

by working with Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) and other transnational groups. It also collaborated nationally with RJ911 which was a national coalition of racial justice organizations opposing the war on terror. An example of this synthesis could be found in Sista II Sista's Weapons of Mass Resistance which was a simultaneous campaign against imperialism, military recruitment and police violence. Its campaign slogan was: "From Brooklyn to Baghdad: We Want You Out."¹² All of these influences exposed Incite! members to different models of organizing in which personal transformation was directly linked to global transformation.

5. Traversing space

Laura Harjo notes that jumping scale means that local community works must operate through multiple temporal and spatial frameworks, from the local to the global: "Scale is produced through relationality and through social processes that transcend...terrestrial realm and geographic positions" ([12], p. 44). Indeed, many movements, particularly those (although not exclusively) that are Indigenous-led, seem to operate through such a framework. One movement that had a strong influence on the development of Incite! was the Movement of Landless People (known as Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra or MST). At the time of Incite!'s foundation, this movement was based in networks of families which claim territory that is owned privately, but is not being used. The families set up tents and fences and defend the land, which is called an "occupation." If they managed to gain control of the land, then they form a settlement in which they build houses and more permanent structures. At the time Incite! was forming, 300,000 families had been involved in these occupations. Families rather than individuals take part in this resistance. About 20 families form a nucleus, which is coordinated by one man and one woman. The nuclei are then organized into the following sectors: (1) production/cooperation/employment, (2) education/trading; (3) education, (4) gender, (5) communication, (6) human rights, (7) health and (8) culture. Both men and women participate in the gender sector. This sector is responsible for ensuring women are involved in all decision-making positions and are equally represented in public life. Security teams are mixed gender. The gender team trains security to deal with domestic violence. Obviously, since the MST is not a legal organization and, thus, cannot utilize the state to address domestic violence, it must develop accountability structures from within.

All issues are discussed communally. As time progresses, participants report that domestic violence decreases because interpersonal relationships are communal and transparent. Also, because women engage in "physical" roles, such as being involved in security, women become less likely to be seen as "easy targets" for violence; the women also think of themselves differently. This strategy effectively connected bodily transformation with structural transformation. By changing the governance structure and engaging women in enforcing security, women's bodies ontologically shifted from being necessarily vulnerable to violence to capable of powerful action. In addition, sectors and leadership roles rotate so that there is less of a fixed, hierarchical leadership. Hierarchical leadership tends to promote power differentials and hence abuse. This leadership model, thus, helps prevent the conditions of abuse from happening in the first place. In addition, issues among families are dealt with very openly and transparently since abuse tends to proliferate in secrecy. Members of MST reported

¹² From author's personal collection.

to Incite! in various meetings that while their communities were not perfect, they noticed that the longer they lived under these structures, the less violence happened in the first place. From these exchanges, Incite! members learned that transformative justice practices needed to focus not only on intervening when violence happens, but on creating communities where violence becomes unthinkable. In addition, because this structure connected corporeal transformation with communal transformation, then individuals become transformed as well.

In conversations with members of Incite!, members of the MST distinguished their organizing model from community-based models in the United States in that, unlike the United States-based organizations, the MST does not strive to create what they termed hippy commune zones. They note that the system can handle any number of localized alternative groups as long as those groups do not grow. Rather, whenever, an occupation becomes relatively stable, some families leave that area to start a new one. This philosophy seemed to be mirrored in the development of the factory movement in Argentina of which Incite! members were also in dialog. These organizers reported to members of Incite that when workers took over factories, they immediately began to connect with other factories to collectivize resources on a larger scale. Thus, rather than organize from a “deep vs. wide” philosophy, their approach was of organizing deep AND wide. This philosophy is illustrative of Harjo’s concept of jumping scales. That is, if we understand that we all our related, then deeper relationships on the corporeal and local levels are furthered when organizers deepen their relations with all of creation on the global scale. Otherwise, one can end up promoting exclusivist and cliquish organizational projects that might benefit a local group but be harmful for other communities. Incite! exchanges with organizers in Chiapas further demonstrated that it was possible to do this deep relational work on a larger scale if one engaged in process that promoted horizontal participation. They suggested that building the infrastructure took time, but once the infrastructure is built, it was possible to coordinate egalitarian mass action rapidly.

On the one hand, Incite learned from these movements the importance of building the world we want to live in now on the local level. But members also learned that these world-making projects have to build to a sufficient scale so that they could begin to squeeze out the current system and thus clearly demonstrate that another world is possible. Incite! also learned that it was in fact possible to operate communities on a larger scale that operated on principles of horizontality and reciprocity.

Incite! members also were informed by the organizing strategies of Masum, a women’s organization in Pune, India, which addresses violence through accountability strategies that do not rely on the state. The members of Masum actively intervene themselves in cases of domestic violence by using such non-violent tactics as singing outside the home of the person committing violence until that person ended the abuse. Masum organizers reported they have been able to work on this issue without community backlash because Masum simultaneously provides needed community services such as micro credit, health care, education, etc. After many years, this group has come to be seen as a needed community institution and, thus, has the power to intervene in cases of gender violence where their interventions might otherwise be resisted. Incite! learned that interventions in violence are more successful when they are not segmented from the rest of life. That is, in the United States, organizing is often fractured into an issue-based approach. Because gender violence is segmented from the rest of life, it proliferates. However, the approach of Masum was not to organize around a particular issue but to create a different way of life. Because these transformative processes and structures connect the body and its needs to governance

systems these new systems become internalized on the bodily level to create new beings capable of living in more just systems. This provided another transformative justice of jumping scale that addressing a particular issue is more effective when it works on a multi-relational scale with all other issues simultaneously.

Finally, Incite! was also informed by the work of Sista II Sista. Sista II Sista focused on deep local organizing to address violence against girls in the neighborhood committed both by the police and other members of the community. Sista II Sista created a video project documenting police harassment after one girl was killed and a second was sexually assaulted and killed by the police. In addition, it created a community accountability program, called ASisters Liberated Ground@ to organize its members to monitor violence in the community without relying upon the police. One of the ways it increased its base of support was by recruiting young women to attend freedom schools that provide political education from an integrated mind–body–spirit framework that then trains girls to become activists on their own behalf. It also started a day-care cooperative that attracts women who need daycare services, but then provides training so they can become organizers as well. At the same time, as mentioned previously, they also worked on a global scale, connecting their efforts to grassroots movements globally, particularly in Latin America. They engaged in various fair-trade projects as well political and intellectual exchange. The work of Sista II Sista demonstrates how organizing deep and wide were not at tension with each other but are mutually supportive. It further demonstrated that organizing strategies that connect the body to the larger systems in which it inhabits creates new socialities based on more justice-centered logics.

Incite!'s experience with movements globally helped it consider a different relationship to the processes of “co-optation.” Incite! initially began in many ways in fear of co-optation because it was critical of how the federal government had co-opted the anti-violence movement with federal dollars until eventually this movement was operating essentially as an arm of the state. This fear of co-optation contributes to a fear of jumping scale because this becomes equated with institutionalization and hence co-optation. We see similar tendencies in the United State in debates about voting where electoral politics is seen as essential for some organizers, while seen as reformist and a distraction from revolutionary politics by others.

However, when Incite! participated in the World Social Forum, its exchange with revolutionary movements revealed a different possibility for understanding the dynamics of cooptation. There, movements seem to have no problem with engaging in electoral politics or other practices that might be deemed in the United States as reformist. They operated on a dual power organizing model, which is a strategy of taking power by making power. Making power involves building the world you want to live in now, while at the same time resisting and challenging the power structures we currently have by taking power. Of course, such models exist in the United States but generally the “taking power” part of operations is often much stronger than the making power operations. Making power involves developing an infrastructure of horizontal governance that can involve hundreds of thousands of people. Consequently, engagement with the system can soon become the totality of one's organizing efforts, thus increasing the fear of co-optation. But transnational movements have been able to develop organizing processes in which their level of “making power” is as equally strong as their “taking power.” Having this strong “making power” infrastructure seems to enable these movements more easily engage in taking power initiatives that could be seen as reformist as means to jump scale without being invested in institutional reform per se.

Large-scale organizing that engages institutional reform requires what Communities Against Rape and Abuse (CARA) describes as a “jazzy” approach [21]. Organizations do not necessarily have to fear institutionalization just because more mainstream institutions adopt one’s language or proposed policies and practices because that can be a sign that a movement is actually transforming the common sense. However, movements must be aware of shifting terrain and adjust strategies accordingly. As Shira Hassan notes: “A purity politic happens when we think that transformative justice has a formula that you are supposed to follow every single time” ([7], p. loc 3612) In addition, a lesson Incite members learned from these exchanges with transnational movements is to rethink whether operating at a smaller scale necessarily equates with a “more pure” and less co-opted politic. In fact, these movements suggested that remaining at a purely local scale is equally a part of institutionalization and co-optation: the system promotes a flourishing of alternative small organizing projects that fulfill our quest to be “alternative” as long as these projects do not coalesce to change the system.

The insight of Incite! organizers as well as others who have been organizing transnationally informed the development of Generation Five’s foundational statement on transformative justice since they had been part of the collaborative process that gave rise to this statement. This analysis of the need for transformative justice to jump scale is clear in many sections of the statement. “Transformative Justice must respond to the need to transform the violent conditions and dynamics of our lives—such as racism, colonization, patriarchy, and heterosexism—in order to achieve justice at every level” (Generation [22], p. 4) Because it was the product of a consultation with people not just rooted primarily in the anti-violence movement but in leftist and transnational movements, the statement situates transformative justice as integral to revolutionary politics.

While Leftist and social justice movements in the U.S. continue to pose significant ongoing challenges to the power and primacy of the State, we have failed to offer real alternatives to replace, dismantle, or transform it. Ultimately, we will not be successful in mobilizing masses of people to transform current political, economic, and social apparatuses if we do not have a concrete vision for the future. The goal of dismantling oppressive structures is shortsighted, and perhaps impossible, if we are not also prepared to build alternatives. This is not merely a rhetorical failure or a failure of analysis; it is a failure of practice. As this paper will argue in detail, the lack of liberatory approaches to violence actually undermines the entire project of social justice on both ideological and practical levels (Generation [22], p. 8).

Informed by Indigenous theories of decolonization, this statement explains that the goal of transformative justice practices is to build to sufficient scale in order to transform the state itself.

Built on this foundation, we envision alternative institutions of justice that would invest larger segments of the public as they became increasingly viable. This might be maintained through the building of an interconnected system of alternative institutions that, theoretically, could one day transform the State itself. In the same way that we challenge the Left to view individual transformation and social justice as fundamentally connected, we challenge the sexual and domestic violence sectors to expand their work to include transforming the conditions that allow violence to occur and to explicitly challenge State violence (Generation [22], p. 24).

Thus, while the transformative justice processes today that have emerged out of genealogical strands often emphasize the individualized body as well as the local, these strands historically also connected local transformative justice process with global transformation.

6. Jumping scale through transformative justice

These multiple strands and genealogies of transformative justice through time and space suggest some possibilities for developing a multi-scalar transformative justice. In this section, I will point to some of these possibilities as well some contemporary examples that speak to what these possibilities could be in practice.

6.1 Building deep by building wide

One lesson learned from transnational transformative justice movements is not whether we build deep OR wide, but that we might more effectively build deep when we simultaneously build wide. In the United States, it is often presumed that we should build local models first and then as they are successful, we may try to expand them. However, these local models are not easy to build. Even when they are generally “successful” they can often be so draining and time-consuming that people involved in them burn out. As a result, local efforts do not multiply. Thus, learning from transnational movements, it may be the case that for local efforts to be more successful, they need to simultaneously connect with global efforts to provide needed resources, infrastructure and support so that they become sustainable. In particular, jumping scale allows movements to produce new scales of action that are not necessarily circumscribed by the state.

Often in my organizing experience, I have found that a local team will often run into an issue or a stumbling block. However, it is often not the same stumbling block that another local group hits, and generally another local group has often figured out a solution to another local group’s problem. But by having all groups connected to each other, it is easier to figure out solutions to local problems as well as spread the work so that the process becomes less draining and time-consuming for all involved.

One such model of this possibility is CAT-911, which is a network of community action teams creating alternatives to 911 throughout southern California.¹³ What is noteworthy about this system is that while it is focused on building very local responses, these local teams are also building together regionally. They have a Web site that has a forum where they can exchange ideas, troubleshoot issues and provide mutual support. They have regional trainings and other gatherings to multiply the effects of their work. One could imagine multiple regional hubs of transformative justice projects and processes that can then network nationally or internationally.

6.2 Transformative justice as a way of life

Jumping scale also suggests that has much transformative justice organizing needs to focus on building creative structures of governance BEFORE violence happens, not just addressing the effects of harm afterwards. As Mariame Kaba and Shira Hassan note, transformative justice processes are often about mediating between a process that is long

¹³ For more information, see www.cat-911.org.

enough to be meaningful, but not so long as to take over one's life or the life of an organization [23]. On the one hand, processes that take a long time become hard to replicate on a larger scale because they are so time-consuming. However, processes must take years in order to effect the massive transformation required to stop being people from engaging in abuse. As a result, people often critique transformative justice as a failure.

However, as the work of Kaba and Hassan suggest, the fault is less about the failure of transformative justice processes per se as it is a misunderstanding of what a transformative justice process can do. A "process" will always be simultaneously too short and not long enough but that does not mean a process cannot be effective for what it is set up to do. But processes must be understood as part of a larger infrastructure that creates a transformative justice way of life. Here lessons learned transnationally can help suggest a way forward. As discussed previously, other movements focus more on creating different governance structures in which people become less violent in the first place. This is also an important lesson learned from Indigenous decolonization structures. As many Native organizers note, gender violence was often relatively rare prior to colonization. There were processes to address gender violence when it happened. But the most significant thing was that the social structures in Native communities stopped gender violence from happening in the first place [24, 25]. When there are social systems in which there is transparency, horizontality and collectivity, it becomes increasingly difficult to abuse. The relatively rare times it does happen can then more satisfactorily addressed through a process because the process is supported by a transformative justice way of life.

An example in the United States that speaks to this possibility includes the Bay Area Transformative Justice Collective. Part of this infrastructure involves individuals developing "pods" or a collection of individuals that would get support if either one has caused harm or one has harmed someone. The pod is then a network of individuals who know each other and are prepared to act collectively. A person can have multiple pods for different purposes. However, the idea of it is that each person in that pod would also be encouraged to develop their own pod as well as to share the idea of pod-making with others. People can check in regularly with each other so that support systems are ready to act when something goes wrong.¹⁴

This approach echoes some of the apparatus developed previously by Friends Are Reaching Out (FAR OUT) in Seattle.¹⁵ The premise of this model is that when people are abused, they become isolated. The domestic violence movement further isolates them through the shelter system, where they cannot tell their friends where they are. In addition, the domestic violence movement does not work with the people who could most likely hold perpetrators accountable B their friends. FAR Out = s model was based on developing friendship groups to make regular commitments to stay in contact with each other. In addition, these groups develop processes to talk openly about relationships. One way abuse continues is that we tend to keep our sexual relationships private. By talking about them more openly, it is easier for friends to hold us accountable.

Essentially, this pod infrastructure would ideally grow until everyone is in a pod that would reverse that isolation created by capitalism that seems to make the prison industrial complex a necessity. But it also suggests that mutual accountability is not just something that we engage in at the point of emergency but that it becomes a way of life to be thinking and acting together collectively on the personal level. This is

¹⁴ For more information on this model, see <https://batjc.wordpress.com/pods-and-pod-mapping-worksheet/>

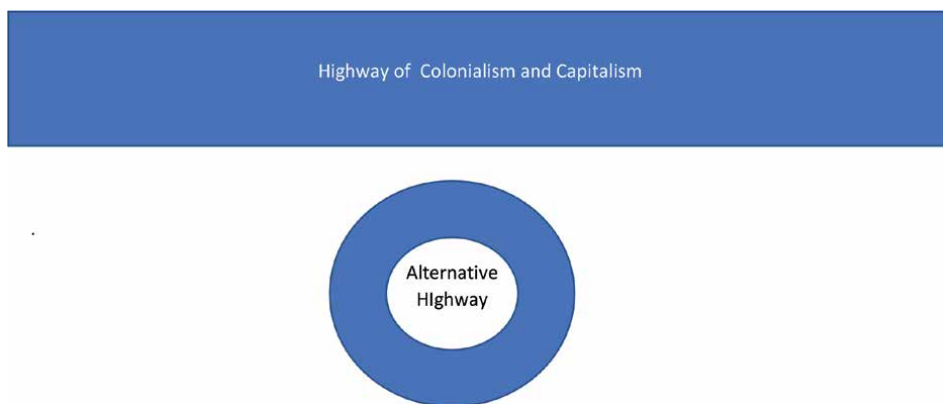
¹⁵ For a longer discussion as well as the problems that happened in the implementation of this model, see Burk [26].

essential because a local process will not squeeze out the prison industrial complex or denaturalize its assumed necessity. But a new way of life will do that. Furthermore, corporeal transformation must synergize with global transformation.

6.3 Rethinking co-optation

Learning from the multiple genealogies of transformative justice may also require us to rethink its relationship to institutionalization and co-optation. One reason transformative justice practitioners are reluctant to think about jumping scale is that scale is often equated with institutionalization and co-optation. If we try to engage in transformative justice in settings like schools for instance, this will just lead to transformative justice being watered down into ways that no longer really challenge the system.¹⁶ Certainly, we can see this process happening everywhere. For instance, in 2013, the L.A. school board mandated restorative justice programs in all schools as a result of organizers trying to stop the “school-to-prison pipeline.”¹⁷ But the programs that were often implemented tended to focus on transforming students into mini-police officers without addressing the hierarchical manner in which education exists.¹⁸ Essentially the restorative justice programs tended to assume it was always the students that were the problem rather than the teachers or school administration. In one school I happened to witness how restorative justice became equated with having students go in a circle and tell other students about their favorite ice cream flavor. Thus, the lesson learned from experiences like this is just to avoid such efforts to expand the reach of transformative justice.

However, the experiences learned from transnational justice movements perhaps shift our relationship to this lesson learned. At one World Social Forum gathering, workshop participants troubled the presumed relationship between co-optation and scale by suggesting that keeping practices small and more “pure” is also another example of co-optation.



¹⁶ For a deeper analysis of the problems of restorative justice in schools, see Hereth et al. [27].

¹⁷ Available from: <http://laschoolreport.com/california-has-voted-to-expand-its-ban-on-willful-defiance-suspensions-a-look-at-how-an-even-more-expansive-2013-reform-has-played-out-in-l-a-unified/> For more on the school-to-prison pipelines in LA schools, see Center, L. C. S. [28].

¹⁸ Other critiques of this policy included the lack of training and resources given to teachers to implement these programs. See Watanabe & Blume [29].

This process is illustrated in the diagram above. As represented by Sista II Sista co-founder, Paula X Rojas, the idea is that the current system has most people driving along the highway of colonialism and capitalism in gas-guzzling cars destroying the world. However, some people, particularly those who live in the seat of empire in the United States, do not wish to do this. So, the system supports us to build out alternative highways where we can live in a more “pure” alternative system. We feel so better about ourselves, that we ignore the fact that we are driving in circles on our alternative highway while the highway of colonialism is still continuing on, destroying the world. Thus, co-optation can happen through institutionalization, but it can also happen by diverting our energies into small “pure” projects that essentially provide escape hatches for a few from the overall system. In addition, ultimately if transformative justice remains localized, it will then actually enable the proliferation of the prison industrial complex by providing temporary escapes from it rather than squeezing it out of existence. Transformative justice has to jump scale in order to squeeze out the prison industrial complex and its presumed inevitability.

Jumping scale suggests a different relationship between co-optation and space by connecting spaces together such that institutions are engaged as they are embedded with other spaces and structures. The issue may be less avoiding large or “impure” spaces but transforming our relationship to those spaces. For example, in the previously mentioned example of the co-optation of restorative justice programs in Los Angeles schools, it was also the case that this co-optation was furthered by educational activists not adapting their strategies once the demand for restorative justice programs in schools was won. When there was a relative vacuum in determining what the programs could be and activists had a time-sensitive opportunity to organize and develop the agenda, they did not take this opportunity. Rather, once “victory” was achieved, schools were left to determine what restorative justice would look like without major input from transformative justice organizers. As Ruth Wilson Gilmore notes, organizers organize for victory, but they do not organize for the day after victory when the landscape changes and new strategies are required.

By contrast, organizers in other transnational movements often have a more flexible relationship with strategies and hence seem to have less a fear of co-optation because co-optation seem to be taken for granted. For instance, as the same time I would hear organizers in the United States argue that we should not get involved in electoral politics, I would hear organizers from revolutionary movements in Latin America argue that of course they were going to engage in electoral politics. However, unlike movements in the United States that seem to rest once their “candidate” wins, these organizers did not invest in the candidates themselves. If the candidate furthered their aims, they would support that candidate, but they had no allegiance beyond that. They were constantly organizing for the day after victory.

Our relationship to broader movements can be transformed by jumping scale. That is, focusing on building the world we want now is necessary to avoid being absorbed into a reactive politics. However, as Paula X Rojas notes, while we build another world, our engagement with larger systems can be transformed from a politics of reaction to a politics of theater. Jumping scale sheds light on the problematic assumption identified by Shira Hassan and Ejeris Dixon that transformative justice requires that one never engages in the criminal legal system. If we focus on abolition as a positive project, then it is primarily not just about avoiding the criminal justice system, but changing the world so that the current system becomes unthinkable. Jumping scale, as Harjo demonstrates, also requires a different spatio-temporal understanding of what it means to change the world. This change requires new relationalities from the

individual's relationship to self, to how we understand kinship, ancestral relationships, future generations, etc., all the way up to modes of production, the state, the relationships of ecosystems, etc. These all represent different ontologies, but those ontologies are necessarily grounded in material space as well as ideology and social relations. Thus, in the meantime, we may need to use the system to deal with everyday emergencies. But if we are grounded in creating a different world, then our short-term strategies can be more effectively used as theater, as a mean to share to the world would another system could look like.¹⁹

One such example that complicates the relationship between “reform” and transformation is the organization survived and punished. This is an organization that develops support campaigns for survivors who have been criminalized as a result of resisting gender-based violence.²⁰ Their work could be seen as a reformist strategy that does not challenge the prison industrial complex but only who is in the prison industrial complex, thus creating a dichotomy between people who deserve and those who do not deserve to be in prison. However, survived and punished frames its campaigns from an abolition feminist analysis:

For many survivors, the experiences of domestic violence, rape, and other forms of gender violence are bound up with systems of incarceration and police violence. Nearly 60% of people in women's prisons nationwide, and as many as 94% of some women's prison populations, have a history of physical or sexual abuse before being incarcerated. Survivor defense committees are critical because they help to secure freedom for criminalized survivors. They can transform not only the lives of criminalized survivors but also those who come to their defense. They are an exercise in building collective power and care against staggering odds. Effective defense campaigns provide thousands of people with opportunities to demonstrate care for criminalized individuals through various tactics (including letter writing, financial support, prison visits, and more). They connect people in a heartfelt, direct way that teaches specific lessons about the brutality of prisons and their role in reinforcing gender violence. This direct connection can change minds and hearts, helping people to (hopefully) develop more radical and expansive politics. In the end, a practice of abolitionist care underscores that our fates are intertwined and our liberation is interconnected. As such, defense campaigns guided by an ethic and practice of care can be powerful strategies to lead us towards abolition [30].

Survived and punished further rejects the deserving vs. non-deserving dichotomies by organizing around criminalized survivors that are not “perfect victims.” In fact, one of their gatherings was entitled, “No Perfect Victims.” By rejecting this dichotomy, they challenge the mainstream anti-violence movement's reluctance to support criminalized survivors of sexual and domestic violence.²¹ Their work thus synthesizes meeting the immediate needs of people who need to be freed from prison today with abolishing prisons tomorrow.

¹⁹ Webinar, Reflections of Praxis-Based Learning, April 21, 2020. New School, New York.

²⁰ For more information, see Available from: <https://survivedandpunished.org/>.

²¹ Mainstream anti-violence organizations refused to support the campaigns to free Marissa Alexander, Bresha Meadows or to support the survivors of Daniel Holtzclaw. For instance, when I contacted Ohio anti-violence organizations to see if they would support Bresha Meadows, they informed me that they did not want to alienate police officers by doing so.

6.4 Ontological transformation

For us to have a world structured by transformative justice, we will be not only transforming places but transforming peoples in the process. This transformation requires not just political and social shifts, but ontological shifts at the corporeal level. Certainly, one of most significant contributions of abolition feminism is that we are always struggling for community liberation with the realization that the communities we seek to liberate are themselves oppressive. Furthermore, we ourselves are the oppressive people within our communities that require transformation. We have been so shaped by white supremacy, colonialism and heteropatriarchy that even our imagination about what the world could be is structured by these logics. We would not recognize our future selves in a world of transformative justice. As Riverside CAT-911 states in its orientation material:

Addressing carcerality includes addressing carceral logics within our own organizing. There is always the tendency to want to expunge “bad” or the “wrong” people in our movements. For instance, there is a tendency to focus on police officers as the problem rather than policing itself. This then leads to movements engaging in all sort of policing behaviors they excuse because they are the “right” people.

Riverside CAT-911 begins with the assumption that we are the wrong people. We recognize our ability to harm others and to engage carceral behavior as much as anyone else. We thus strive to build a movement that is not organized around the “right” people, but better processes and structures that enable us to collectively become better people. [31]

Building on José Esteban Muñoz, transformative justice is always on the horizon, a world for which we lack the vocabulary to describe [32, 33]. Consequently, we engage transformative justice strategies with flexibility and humility because we do not ultimately know for sure what will be required to transform ourselves ontologically. Thus, maybe some of the questions that proliferate in transformative justice movements, such as which strategies are acceptable and when, need to remain open questions and subject to debate as we learn from our mistakes. Thus, transformative justice necessarily requires a relational strategy between the corporeal and the global that recognizes that bodily transformation and global transformation are inextricably linked.

In addition, an abolition feminist analytic that attends to the ontological shifts enabled by transformative justice can be employed to address white supremacist and/or police violence. Mariame Kaba and Kelly Hayes note that we need to stop thinking about transformative justice as the response to harm perpetrated by the powerful [34]. However, how does transformative justice work for cases when the perpetrator is not part of one’s community? When the person causing harm is a police officer? Or is engaging in white supremacist violence? How does a community enable accountability when the person causing harm denies the legitimacy of that community? The Los Angeles Incite! chapter in collaboration with LA COIL, CURB and Youth Justice Coalition held a workshop and strategy session to imagine what transformative justice might look like in cases of police and white supremacist violence. Many different strategies were developed, but a theme that emerged from these discussions is that community-based strategies require people to be in community with you. If transformative justice is based on principles of non-disposability, then have our transformative justice processes unwittingly developed a politics of mass disposability by presuming that everyone who perpetrates state or white supremacist violence as

outside the realm of possible community?²² Some of the ideas that emerged from this workshop constellated around the theme that transformative justice must become a process of making relatives, of creating community with those deemed to be perpetually outside of it so that accountability can happen. Of course, organizers fear doing so because they are concerned that such work will enable co-optation. But as Laura Harjo suggests, jumping scale is less about building a mass movement or gaining institutional support and more about creating what Los Angeles-based organizer Luz Elena Henao describes as the connective tissue necessary to create relationships that can transform the world.²³

7. Conclusion

If the criminal justice system is fundamentally a logic of anti-relationality based on disposability, then transformative justice is a project of relationship-building. But that relationship-building requires jumping scales to transform relationships globally and bodily simultaneously. Otherwise, we essentially replicate the logic of criminal justice systems by creating communities in which only those relationships within a community matter. An abolition feminist analysis necessarily requires us to develop movements that jump scale by addressing violence at the individual, community and global levels. Jumping scale emphasizes locating violence in multi-relational fashion—individual violence within the community that failed to prevent it, the carceral/settler state that destroys relationality and employs individualism, and the global capitalist, white supremacist and genocidal logics that structure these relationships. Employing an Indigenous abolition feminist framework of jumping scale enables us to attend to all of these levels of violence so that we can build transformative justice deep and wide simultaneously so that we become different people not fundamentally constituted through trauma as we build a world that creates less trauma.

²² For a report from this gathering, see Available from: <https://andrea366.wordpress.com/2014/02/08/transformative-justice-strategies-for-addressing-policevigilantehatewhite-supremacist-violence/>.


²³ Personal conversation, May 12, 2020.

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Sustainable Development and Economic Empowerment of Women

Veyzon Campos Muniz

Abstract

The main objective of this chapter is to demonstrate the possible interrelationships between sustainable development, as a human right, and women's economic empowerment based on the hypothesis that the aforementioned right suffers a deficit of effectiveness when faced with contexts in which the equality in labor relations is not observed. In the first part, the need for a non-rhetorical affirmation of the right to development is exposed. It follows exploring general historical issues surrounding the sexual division of labor and asserting the global need to enable women to exercise their capacities and freedoms, freeing themselves from gender stereotypes. The analysis of good practices for the induction of the right to development is carried out, with gender equity as one of its main components. Therefore, it is argued that the acceptance of women in the formal labor market and the wage parity between men and women are relevant themes to the extent that their practical implementation is hampered by a male chauvinist culture, which consequently makes the aforementioned issue a challenge.

Keywords: sustainable development, human rights, Women's rights, economic empowerment, gender equality

1. Introduction

Empowering women, making them aware of their status as subjects of rights and thus promoting gender equity in all social and economic activities of a State, is a guarantee for the effective strengthening of economies, the promotion of business, the improvement of quality of life, and, consequently, the effectiveness of the human right to sustainable development, according to the United Nations Agenda 2015–2030. Thus, studying the interrelationships between the right to development and women's economic empowerment is fundamental to the full effectiveness of human rights.

Indeed, reflections on the sexual division of labor, its global characteristics, repercussions, and perspectives, are opportune and necessary in the search for awareness of and realization of gender equality. Cardoso [1], when looking at the European scenario, for example, points out that in sectors where work is predominantly female,

wages are lower compared to those paid to men, although work has the same or higher quality. Out of necessity, female workers are subjected to flexible, low-paying jobs—a problem observed in several state experiences.

Not infrequently, men and women are professionally evaluated in different ways due to the so-called “gender stereotype.” As Costa & Santos [2] points out well: “the concept of stereotype is closely linked to the study of the perception of individuals, based on the knowledge of their social category of belonging.” Gender stereotypes are, regrettably and globally, culturally accepted.

Therefore, it is intended to understand the phenomenon of the structural sexual division of labor and its impact on the effectiveness of the human right to sustainable development, highlighting the capacities of women and presenting strategies for inducing economic development with female participation in the labor market.

2. Right to development and gender equality

A part of the international debate for more than thirty years, the right to development was declared by the United Nations in 1986 as a human right. However, in spite of its enunciation, it can be seen that it sometimes does not appear in the practical domain of state planning; sometimes, it is not implemented in the social reality. In fact, States tend to show primarily rhetorical support for the right to development but neglect its basic contents in political practice [3].

One can think of the right to development as a possibility to achieve the improvement of social relations established in a given environment. This right-synthesis strives for political will and for the collective commitment to its effectiveness. After all, “whoever holds political or economic power in their hands has a commitment to humanity that they must not ignore” [4]. The responsibility for its implementation presupposes the sharing of burdens by all social actors: non-governmental organizations, international organizations, the private sector, and, of course, local and national governments. If there is no participation committed to the common well-being, it is difficult to reverse the structural conditions that impose obstacles to development.

The right to development presupposes a passive subjection of States, the international community, and also the private sector (including as an agent promoting jobs) to favor better human development, through solidarity and economic cooperation [4]. Fortunately, note that

development must be conceived as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people can enjoy [...] it is emphasized that the right to development is a universal and inalienable right, an integral part of fundamental human rights [... which] recognizes the interdependent relationship between democracy, development and human rights [5].

The interdependent condition of democracy, development itself, and human rights is what allows for the affirmation of gender equality as one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). At the United Nations Summit for Sustainable Development, in September 2015, the United Nations adopted the SDGs as a form of strategic planning to guide state policies and international cooperation activities in

the 2015–2030 Agenda, in order to remove the merely programmatic character of the right to development.¹

In the same vein, the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action [6], in its item 18, of part I, establishes that

the human rights of women and girls are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. The full participation of women, under conditions of equality, in political, civil, economic, social and cultural life, at the national, regional and international levels, as well as the eradication of all forms of discrimination based on sex, constitute priority objectives of the international community.

Thus, gender equality is perceived as an indispensable component for a State to assert the right to development. In the United Nations diction, the aforementioned guarantee includes, among other aspects, equal rights at work and in employment and the safeguarding of social protection and security.²

It is also observed that gender equality is intrinsically linked to the human condition [8], arises with it, and, therefore, is an aspect that is found in every human being since conception. The imputation of equality occurs at every moment that the human being is perceived as such. However, when referring to the situation of women in the world, the notorious inequalities existing between men and women are perceived, especially in the socioeconomic domains.

According to *The World's Women*³, gender disparities are rooted in structural inequities in access to economic resources around the world. In many countries, women continue to be economically and exclusively dependent on their spouses. Fewer women than men earn their own income as a result of the unequal division of formal and informal work. About one in three married women in developing countries has no control over family spending on major purchases, and one in ten married women is not consulted about where their earnings are going. Also, under the terms of the project, women of working age, in developed and developing countries, are more likely to be poorer than men when they have dependent children and do not have a partner to contribute to the family income or when their income are non-existent or too low to support the entire family's expenses. When it comes to elderly women in developed countries, they are more likely than men to be poor, particularly when they live

¹ SDG no. 5 specifies: 5.1. End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere; [...] 5.4. Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work, through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies, as well as the promotion of shared responsibility within the home and family, according to national contexts; 5.5. Ensuring the full and effective participation of women and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life; [...] 5.a. Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws; 5.b. Increase the use of basic technologies, in particular information and communication technologies, to promote women's empowerment; 5.c. Adopt and strengthen sound policies and applicable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

² *Discrimination against women* ([7], p. 19–39).

³ Project that presents recent statistics and analyzes on the situation of gender disparities around the globe, based on the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), which aims to promote and protect the full enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all women throughout their life cycle.

in single-person cells. The difference in poverty rates between women and men shows a downward trend in some countries, although it continues to rise in many others.

Unequivocally, it points to the need for States to implement public policies of social protection and regulation of labor relations, which are sensitive to gender inequalities. However, in times of crisis, the tension between the state's role in inducing development, enabling the reduction of inequalities and discrimination, and the need for financial contingency and economic growth based on private results generates a conflictive situation.

3. Sexual division of work and gender inequalities as historical constructions

According to Facchi [9], between the 14th and 18th centuries, several European women were burned and tortured under the accusation of being witches when they tried to have autonomy over their bodies. The European bourgeois man submitted, through violence, the woman to the role of a housewife while he affirmed himself as the provider of the family. With this, the sexual and structural division of contemporary labor was determined.

According to the bibliographic review of Cisne [10], the sexing of the female body designates an extension of the concepts of slavery and servitude, through which women are reduced to sex, being appropriated with regard not only to their workforce but also to their body and their life. This phenomenon of historical materiality denotes the concrete material appropriation of women's bodily individuality, in a process that takes them out of their subject condition and turns them into "things." Therefore, such appropriation differs from the simple capitalist exploitation of the "free" workforce, as it does not designate a formal contractual or wage relationship measured by hours or products. It is an appropriation that takes place both individually, especially through marriage and the family, and collectively, through sexist institutions such as churches, the State, and companies. Consequently, its expressions are: the appropriation of time, the appropriation of body products, the sexual obligation, and the physical burden of members in need of care, especially males.

Not even with the affirmation of fundamental rights, as observed with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, a French political document that was fundamental to the construction of later democratic constitutional models, did it get rid of the patriarchal roots present until today. Olympe de Gouges' proposition of a Declaration of the Rights of Women and Citizens (1791) was vehemently opposed and rejected, reaffirming the "naturalization" of the role of women as "objects", alien to political decision-making and, essentially, restricted to the domestic space. In the aforementioned document, the woman, considered "unnatural" and "too dangerous," defended, in her article 13, that for the maintenance of the State, "the contributions of women and men must be equal", since women participate "in all the thankless work, of all the heavy tasks"; and "therefore, have the same participation in the distribution of posts, jobs, positions, dignities and industry" [11].

4. Capabilities and freedoms of women

In due course, it is asserted that the exposed sexual division of labor leads to sexual discrimination in labor relations at a local and global level (as denounced by the

United Nations Agenda). Such discrimination occurs from the social (re)affirmation of gender stereotypes. For example: women are seen taking care of children and men working outside their homes, and this is seen as acceptable and correct.⁴

Such stereotypes over time and in different spaces did not allow the woman to show her true capabilities. Capabilities, from the perspective of Nussbaum [12], are constituted as “what people are truly capable of being and doing in an informed way, through an intuitive idea of a worthwhile life be lived”. The role of women’s capacities in inducing the development of individuals’ public liberties is affirmed, enabling the creation of a political-institutional-normative environment that overcomes national, regional, religious, racial, and economic distinctions through the affirmation of female-centered human rights “in reflecting on the basic political principles that can provide the basis for a set of constitutional guarantees in all nations” [12]. In these terms, the effectiveness of women’s capabilities and freedoms is an important factor in consolidating democratic environments.

It is pointed out that beliefs in the immutability of the sexual division of labor will only disappear if social “roles” are re-signified and work activities are shared equitably. Thus, in order to make sustainable development effective in practice, it is necessary to recognize and affirm women’s freedoms for the full exercise of decent work.⁵

In this way, the political safeguard of these capacities highlights the potential they have in expanding their freedoms so that, when they reach a desirable standard of living, based on equal working conditions and opportunities, they deconstruct unfair structural models, promoting socioeconomically more favorable environments and, consequently, inducing the effectiveness of the right to development.

Assuring capabilities to people so that they can exercise their main rights is to grant them freedom to have the kind of life they want [14]. Ideally, from the moment women freely choose a profession, they enter the labor market in the area of their aptitude and are able to receive the consideration corresponding to their functions. And so, women are allowed to live the life they have chosen and not the life that patriarchal society has determined based on gender stereotypes.

The education given to children is a decisive factor, so that, regardless of gender, they can, in the future, choose the profession they want.⁶ It is necessary to teach boys that they are also responsible for household chores and girls that they can study exact subjects if they want, noting that the educational process is not restricted to one gender.

Nussbaum [16], when analyzing capabilities based on entitlement theory, teaches that it is not just a matter of a subject “having a right” but an individual “having a right

⁴ “Men are expected to possess high levels of quality, including being independent, dominating, assertive and competent. On the other hand, high levels of commonality attributes are expected from women, which include being friendly, altruistic, concerned with others and expressive in emotional terms” (Costa; Santos, [2], p. 32).

⁵ Particularly by the content of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), it is clear that the list of human rights at work includes, in addition to the principles and guarantees relating to individual working conditions, the right to safe and healthy working conditions, the right to social security, the right to fair remuneration and the right to a reasonable limit on the number of hours worked ([13], p. 7).

⁶ “There are women with an excellent predisposition to program. [...] The problem is that they have to be very persistent because of the cultural pressure that is gradually exerted. In high school there are few left who want to be scientists or programmers. At university, even less. Only the most persistent [and with opportunities] make it to the end.” [15].

to” some given object. It is not enough to have the right; it is necessary that this right be exercised, with due urgency. Women need to be aware of their rights, and this is made possible through education. If women live in situations that lower their self-esteem and place them in a situation of submission, they will not exercise their abilities. They will not know they are free if they do not realize their rights are being violated [17].

Therefore, raising women’s awareness of their capabilities and freedoms and understanding the value they have represent an effective strategy for overcoming inequities in the labor market. Technology, in this sense, comes to cooperate with this urgent social transformation in the reality of developed countries, since non-human instruments end up “humanizing” managerial choices, in non-discriminatory interference, regardless of personal opinions or social pressures. Thus open up the possibility of division of labor based on competence and not on gender affinity as a perspective of change.

5. Good practices in sustainable development induction

The United Nations, through its Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) and its agency Global Compact, with a view to minimize the harmful repercussions for sustainable development arising from the affirmation of patriarchal labor structures around the world, has proposed Principles of Empowerment of Women as a way of guiding the business productive sector in the sense of distributing power to women in the work environment.

1. Establish gender-sensitive corporate leadership at the highest level;
2. Treat all women and men fairly at work, respecting and supporting human rights and non-discrimination;
3. Ensure the health, safety, and well-being of all women and men who work in the company;
4. Promote education, training, and professional development for women;
5. Support women’s entrepreneurship and promote women’s empowerment policies through supply chains and marketing;
6. Promote gender equality through community-oriented initiatives and social activism;
7. Measure, document, and publish the company’s progress in promoting gender equality.

The international organization’s commitment is in line with some state experiences in which the protection of anti-discrimination is a fundamental concern as a constitutional commitment and instrument of affirmation of the human right to sustainable development. The United Kingdom, for example, in April 2017, began to require all companies with a number of 250 employees or more to publish, by April 2018, the salary difference in the payment of employees. Regulation no. 172/2017, which proposes transparency on business data related to inequalities in payments between men and

women, in compliance with the Equality Act of 2010, represents an important advance for the economic empowerment of women, constituting an unequivocal normative mechanism of development induction.⁷ *The British State Secretary for International Relations, even when commenting on the new regulation, stated that “helping women reach their full potential is not only the right thing to do, but also makes economic sense”* [18].

It is important that political authorities are sensitive to the practical implementation of gender equality, overcoming the concept of hegemonic masculinity.⁸ The guarantee of fundamental rights (especially education) allows women to open up their professional space, in line with democratic premises. Understanding the effective promotion of equality in the labor field as the induction of equals services and rights, it's must impose a state intervention in the economy focused on efforts to empower women as agents of development.

Freitas [20] is emphatic: “sustainability implies the practice of equity.” In this sense, it should be said that, in the present and in future generations, there is the challenge of eradicating gender discrimination, in order to achieve the constitutional objective of building a plural, equitable, and sustainably developed State.⁹ However, there is a long way to go in the search for equality between men and women.

Gender equity, which has been greatly impeded by misogynistic social conceptions, has hindered economic development in different local realities. It is argued, therefore, that based on the idea of cooperation for sustainability, public enforcement optimizes this reality.

Donaggio & Midori [21], along these lines, assess that the “gain resulting from greater gender equity would be even greater in developing countries” such as Brazil. It is estimated that greater gender equity could result in an estimated 10% increase in Latin America's Gross Domestic Product. Indeed, such a positive impact would depend on “eliminating not only the current wage gap between men and women for the same job with the same training, but also other obstacles to development potential,” which “includes various forms of unpaid work,” economic underrepresentation (such as discrimination in the granting of credit), political underrepresentation, and the various forms of violence” to which women are subject.

6. Conclusions

The proposed and developed reflection leads to the following conclusive considerations:

⁷ *The Equality Act 2010 (Gender Pay Gap Information) Regulations 2017.*

⁸ The discursive perspectives emphasize the symbolic dimension of the concept of “masculinity”, formulated within a multidimensional understanding of gender. Any specification of hegemonic masculinity usually involves the formulation of cultural ideals; however, it should be considered only as a cultural norm. Gender relations are also constituted through political practices, including wage labor, housework, and child care, as well as through thoughtless routine actions [19].

⁹ The multidimensional model of sustainability is adopted, highlighting its social, ethical, economic and legal-political dimensions. Namely, the social dimension shelters the fundamental rights that depend on public and non-excludable policies. The ethical dimension, in turn, dispenses with empathic solidarity, concerned with interpersonal support and assistance. The economic dimension informs those productive relations must be guided by anti-discriminatory principles. And the legal-political dimension points to the need to guarantee the well-being of present and future generations. Such dimensions are intertwined and interdependent. Therefore, for there to be sustainability necessary [20].

- I. When analyzing the sexual division of labor in its origins in general historical lines, it is clear that unpaid female domestic work maintains the functioning of a productive “gear” that supports male activities and the perpetuation of gender stereotypes, which impact the social construction of the female body and lead to multiple violence against it. However, awareness of women’s capabilities and freedoms helps in the understanding of gender equity as a human right that must be observed in the labor market at global levels. It is perceived that it is not a matter of devaluing men but of equalizing the female condition, giving them decent opportunities for work.
- II. Gender equality, as a component of sustainable development, in terms of the United Nations agenda, goes beyond the problem of the sexual division of labor, globally influencing vectors of impact on the right to development in different state realities, such as: the optimization of the issue of women’s salary, the existence of female management and leadership models, the implementation of opportunities for professional advancement, the eradication of all kinds of sexual and gender discrimination, and, in particular, the right to education (for decent work and for raising awareness about rights).
- III. The unequal position between women and men in power relations (notably, in family, labor, and political spaces) is not a problem-issue that ends in itself. It is also a theme that provides a privileged point of view for the analysis of democracy. Thus, understanding the democratic experience as that of inducing environments of effective prevalence of fundamental rights, it is advocated for the affirmation of sustainable development as a structuring principle of a fair State, which, therefore, has in the economic empowerment of women a component of your development.

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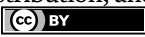
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Section 4

The Body That Performs

Dance and Resistance: An Embodiment of the Body as a Medium to Fight Violence against Women

Vani Tendenan

Abstract

This paper offers the perspective of dance as a manifestation of body resistance so as to produce a theological and practical basis for voicing and fighting violence against women in Indonesia. The author chooses dance as a resistance medium with a feminist dimension because dance has a relational character that forms a connection to the existence of the body and is open to shape each individual's experience, including the reality of suffering. Some of the theories that will be used are dance theory from Kimerer L. LaMothe and ritual theory from Roy A. Rappaport. The two perspectives will have a constructive dialog to show dance as an embodiment of defense against violence against women. This paper is divided into several sub-topics. The first is introduction, the second is the research methods, the third is the meaning of resistance, the fourth is the theoretical study of dance as a ritual practice, the fifth is the character of openness and relational dance, the sixth is dance as a feminist ritual medium for resistance, and seventh is the conclusions.

Keywords: dance, resistance, embodiment, feminist theology, violence against women

1. Introduction

Violence against women in Indonesia is a form of violence that continues to increase. Based on the 2022 Annual Records of Violence against Women, 338,496 cases of gender-based violence (KBG) against women were collected with details, complaints to Komnas Perempuan 3838 cases, service agencies 7029 cases, a significant 50% increase in KBG against women, namely 338,496 cases in 2021 (from 226,062 cases in 2020) [1]. The increase in the number of violence against women shows that in Indonesia, women lack protection and security space to defend themselves from various forms of violence. If women do not get a safe space, it will open up space for violence.

Violence against women in Indonesia is not only a social or cultural issue, but also a significant theological problem for common life. Serene Jones from the point of view of feminist theology sees that the issue of violence against women is also

intertwined with other forms of oppression, such as racism, poverty, exploitation, heterosexism, ageism, and discrimination [2]. Violence against women then becomes a problem of theological research because violence causes oppression as well as restraints on the existence of the human body. The issue of violence against women then raises the question that is there a source of theology that has the resilience to deal with violence? Or how can a theological perspective study be used to respond to violence against women?

This paper offers the perspective of dance as an embodiment of body resistance as a theological and practical basis for voicing and fighting violence against women in Indonesia. Dance as a ritual practice can communicate an inner experience that is expressed through body movements and expressions [3]. LaMothe shows that dance has the power to express human experience not with words, but through movements that signal an experience. The author chooses dance as a resistance medium with a feminist dimension because dance has a relational character that forms an appreciation for the existence of the body; is open to shaping each individual's experience; has the potential to open a language space that frees women to express themselves and even becomes a medium for self-defense in voicing the reality of suffering.

Some of the theories that will be used are dance theory from Kimerer L. LaMothe and ritual theory from Roy A. Rappaport. The two perspectives will have a constructive dialog to show dance as an embodiment of defense against violence against women. This paper is divided into several sub-topics. The first is introduction, the second is the research methods, the third is the meaning of resistance, the fourth is the theoretical study of dance as a ritual practice, the fifth is the character of openness and relational dance, the sixth is dance as a feminist ritual medium for resistance, and seventh is the conclusions.

2. Research methods

The research method used in this paper is a qualitative method with a feminist approach and literature studies. Qualitative methods investigate, find, and describe in a narrative a meaning that originates from the actions of everyday life [4]. Research with qualitative methods uses human experience or action as a significant research location to produce meaning. Data collection and processing of qualitative data as research methods do not focus on numerical data, but on empirical data that require interpretation of an action, human behavior. The author chooses to use a qualitative method because this approach to human experience is relevant to the feminist approach, which is also used as the focus of the research method in this paper.

The feminist method also uses an approach to human experience, specifically the subject of women as a source of knowledge. Jennie Barnsley quotes Linda Hogan seeing two relations that emerge in the investigation of the feminist method, namely "women experiences of oppression under patriarchy and 'engaged action for change'" [5]. The feminist method originates from the problem of oppression of women's experiences, which gives rise to an action to transform the meaning of experience. In this paper, a feminist method approach is used to understand violence against women as part of women's experiences that require theological construction through a cultural dimension, namely dance. Dance can be a medium of transformation to speak out against the reality of violence against women.

3. The meaning of resistance

Violence against women occurs in various forms and social contexts of human life. B. Rudi Harnoko in his article entitled *Behind Acts of Violence Against Women* agrees that violence does not only include physical damage, but also includes threats, pressure, suppression of the actualization of human's mental abilities and thinking power [6]. Harnoko showed that violence against the physical body is the same as violence against the individual's soul, which destroys the individual's ability to develop. Violence also refers to restraint on the actualization of the human body, which is the right of every individual in reality as a human being. If the existence of the body is not given the opportunity to actualize itself, then violence becomes a space for oppression of the body.

Accordingly, Jones, from a feminist theological perspective, sees violence as a widespread cultural and social practice. Jones saw "violence as systemic and structural, tolerated or accepted as "natural"-part of the human condition" [7]. Violence against women also becomes structured violence because it is supported by the social relations of human life. While, the systemic aspect shows that violence has been formed through the system of power in society. As a result, violence is normalized as part of human life practices.

Based on the context of violence, which is prone to occur in human relations, the author sees the meaning of resistance as a source of theory and practice in dealing with forms of violence. In terminology, Resistance means "a situation in which people or organizations fight against something or refuse to accept or be changed by something" [8]. Resistance describes an individual's ability to deal with problems, so the meaning of resistance is also closely related to efforts to resist. Next, Catherine Mills analyzes the meaning Resistance from Judith Butler. Mills saw "there is the linguistic vulnerability of the subject, so far as the subject is produced through language and hence is susceptible to its power to injure and wound" [9]. The linguistic dimension with resistance is in a vulnerability relationship. The emphasis on the subject as the agent of social transformation becomes vulnerable to injury when the subject is only formed in the medium of language. The intended language dimension also leads to verbal categories, which allow the production of a word to become uncontrollable, even language allows control over the subject so that the subject becomes helpless. Then Mills quotes Butler, who uses the concept of power from Michel Foucault to emphasize the meaning of Resistance through the subject.

"Power acts on the subject in at least two ways; first, by making the subject possible, as the constitutive conditions of possibility of the subject and, second, as what is 'taken up and reiterated in the subject's own' acting" [10].

Resistance can occur when the subject is placed in a power frame. Power is meant not as a passive subject, but as an active subject. Butler's perspective in Mills's writing describes Resistance as being confronted with efforts to bring subjects into action to survive through the power of existence. The subject is given space to perform actions that display the subject's self-existence. Power can be interpreted positively, namely to restore the rights of each subject to its existence in social relations. Resistance means strength as well as power to defend oneself against the suppression of one's reality as a subject.

In line with Mills's writings, Monique Deveaux outlines Foucault's agonistic concept of power to define resistance to violence. Deveaux sees "an agonistic model of power-the notion that where there is power, there is resistance" [11]. Agonistic power describes the strength of resistance based on the subject's desire to defend himself, to

show strength. Implicitly, Deveaux shows that without power, or the will to survive, it becomes difficult to practice Resistance because Resistance appears in the form of self-defense. The value of Resistance to violence can be understood as a form of the subject's struggle against oppressive power. Resistance also describes the power of the subject in an effort to defend against other powers.

Basically, Mills and Deveaux's perspective refers to the meaning of resistance that arises through the recognition of the existence of the subject. Resistance becomes resistance efforts because subjects, more specifically women who are vulnerable to becoming victims of violence, are not given space as subjects who have power over themselves. Women are actually used as objects that do not have the power or strength to act. Then, the meaning of resistance becomes an opportunity to see the ability, strength of women as subjects who are able to maintain their existence without any restraints and oppression. The author then chooses dance as the medium of resistance because the power of dance lies in the body's freedom to perform an action and has characteristics relational and openness.

4. Dance as a ritual practice

One of the works of art that involves body movement is dance. Dance is categorized as a nonverbal art that involves the reality of human life. Kimerer L. LaMothe in his book *Why We Dance? A Philosophy of Bodily Becoming* defines dance in three elements, namely "create and become patterns of sensation and response, cultivate a sensory awareness, and align our health and well-being with the challenges of the moment" [12]. LaMothe shows that dance is not just a moving body, but dance is formed in patterns that are identical to self-images. Dance patterns display sensations and body responses that are created based on the wishes of the dancers. Dance represents the dancer's experience and life. On the other hand, LaMothe shows that dance is formed in an awareness of the senses to participate through body movements and patterns. Dancing means being involved freely, and there is no element of coercion because every dance movement or pattern displays the dancer's own will. The sensory awareness element of dance also has an influence on the concept of sensation and self-response to human experience with its surroundings. In this case, dance is the awareness of the body's actions to move in response to efforts to align itself with circumstances. The circumstances or moments that LaMothe refers to also refer to the reality of suffering, pleasure, and the reality of self-experience in the world. Dance is a complex body movement because it implies self-existence with various experiences of human life.

Elsewhere in the book, LaMothe defines dance as a living entity that integrates reason with experience. LaMothe is in line with Gerardus van der Leeuw's perspective of seeing dance as "represents and brings into being as one—the complex webs of personal and communal experiences, symbolic and social relations that make the moment of performing" [13]. In dancing, individuals are formed in unity both personally and communally, which produce a performance. Basically, dance is an experience that is shown or manifested through symbolic actions, which can be done in groups or individually. The experience embodied in dance also involves the involvement of reason as a process of forming actions, so that dancing becomes a reasoning activity with bodily experience. Then, LaMothe emphasized that the unity of life meant was "dance enacts: bodily life and cultural life" [14]. LaMothe points out that dance is contextual because it consists of the experience of the human body with

cultural life that influences dance practice. Bodily life refers to the media or means of dance that shape human life, namely the body. In this case, dance displays the experience of the body, which is the basis of human life. Meanwhile, cultural life leads to social relations and environmental influences that shape individuals in the process of acting. Then, dance becomes an act of performance that unites the experience of the body and the experience of human culture.

If dance is understood as body movements that represent human existence through performances or performances, then dance becomes part of ritual practice. Roy A. Rappaport wrote the ritual as “the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers” [15]. Rappaport sees ritual at the display or performance level as a series of actions that are not only understood by the performers of the ritual, but can also be communicated by others. Ritual itself becomes open to bring up new meanings because meaning is not determined by default by actors. In Rappaport’s understanding, ritual means the arrangement of an action that is formed together to achieve an agreed meaning. Later, Rappaport listed several characteristics of the rituals. First, “encoding by other than performers, formality, invariance, and performance” [16]. Rappaport’s ritual markers show that the actions in the ritual are structured and unchanging. Structured means directed and fixed. In addition, Rappaport describes the characteristics of ritual with performance because performance forms the meaning of a ritual. Without performances or practices, rituals are difficult to identify. The characteristics described by Rappaport are markers of various human activities that can be categorized as ritual practices.

Ritual is not only marked by several characteristic, Rappaport also shows ritual as a special form of communication. Rituals are specific actions [17]. Rappaport emphasized that ritual practices originate from actions, human experiences that are given a special space, meaning that rituals are distinguished from ordinary actions. If the ritual is understood as a special action, then the ritual explicitly also contains a special message or meaning. Then the ritual becomes a communication process marked by two things. “First, there are those in which actions achieve, secondly, there are those in which transmitters achieve effects by informing” [18]. Ritual is understood as communication because of actions to achieve something, actions that influence the formation of messages or meanings. As communication, ritual becomes a medium that transmits messages to recipients, and actions are formed to inform meaning.

Based on the ritual perspective from Rappaport, dance becomes a ritual practice because it contains elements of specific actions. First, dance as a ritual, embodied in the performance of bodily experience, in the sense that its reality is seen through the form of movement. Without the dimension of body embodiment, dance cannot be performed because the basis of the medium used is the human body. Second, dance is formed in an awareness to achieve certain patterns. As a ritual practice, dance involves reasoning awareness in producing movements, and there is a meaning or purpose that is achieved through dance. Furthermore, quoting from Judith Lynne Hanna’s thoughts, dance as a ritual is “transformative performance” and “manifestation of many systems of belief” [19]. Hanna describes dance as a ritual practice that can transform both cultural processes and human experience. Dance does not mean standing body movements without a belief system, but dance rituals include the embodiment of a belief formed by humans. In this case, dance can be categorized as a ritual practice because it consists of a series of specific actions through body movements. Actions formed through a belief system to generate meaning.

5. Character openness and relational of dance

Talking about dance, one of the fundamental dimensions in dance is the experience of the body. As a nonverbal art, the body becomes the main focus in dance rituals to communicate messages or meanings. Kristin Kissel in her thesis entitled *Dancing Theology – A Construction of a Pneumatology of The Body* describes that the human body intertwined with various aspects of life, be it material, reasoning, beliefs, characteristics that allow for an action [20]. Kissell describes the body comprehensively because it is formed based on the units of human life. Through the body, humans can feel, know, and reason every reality of life. The body not only acts, but is also connected with reason so that the body becomes the medium for the unity of reason and action. Without a body, humans cannot channel reason with their actions.

Kissell's argument against the body implicitly shows that the body connects all tissues of human life. If the body is the main source in dancing, then dancing means that it is relational because it does not separate human existence, namely reason and action. Then dance can be understood to be relational in character because the body is formed in response to acting and reasoning, and the dimensions of the body relate to the complexity of human life. Kissell departs from the theology of pneumatology to elaborate on the relational aspects of the body.

“Dance as an art medium and example of body, soul relationality can provide a new structure and a new way of imagining theology and a pneumatology of the body; for in dance and the choreographic process, there is no separation between body and soul, body and Spirit because all are part of the dancing whole” [21].

Kissel seeks to bridge the distortions of the body and the soul in the world of Christian theology. For Kissell, the body is not only made up of physical matter. However, the reality of the body is integrated with the soul or spirit, which allows humans to connect with the Divine. Kissell's perspective supports the meaning of dance as a relational body involvement. Dance appears through the soul, the spirit that unites in the body. Dance is used as a theological medium because the meaning of the body is actively involved in unity with the soul. Through Kissell's thought, the relational nature of dance also shows an interdependent unity. A dancing body means showing a soul that is also dancing, so that dance becomes a medium for feminist rituals that shape the meaning of the body in relationality. A relationship that is established between oneself is also a relationship with God through the spirit, soul in the body.

Furthermore, from the perspective of feminist theology, Lisa Isherwood and Elizabeth Stuart use the body as a theological medium. “The body in its entirety is the site of experience” [22]. Isherwood and Stuart raise aspects of human experience as essential in interpreting the body. This is also done as an effort to equalize the primacy of reason or ratio. The body is the source and site for the formation of human experience, which means that the body moves in an inclusive manner. Inclusiveness leads to acceptance of the reality of diverse human experiences. Then, the body cannot be excluded only by rational use, but experience also becomes a major part of the body. If the body is the source of experience, then dance also means the arising of open experience. “The body is far more expansive and inclusive” [23]. The body includes reason with experience, but it is also broader because through the body, every reality of life is thoroughly processed.

Based on Isherwood and Stuart's argument, the body, which is the source of dance movement, can be understood as a site of openness for each individual. Dance

displays the reality of the experience of the human body with various dynamics of meaning to be displayed. Dance is not limited to the verbal medium, but through dance, the body moves openly to be involved in movement patterns. Dance is a medium of resistance that displays human experience in openness with self-reality as well as experiences with the world around us. In addition, dance can be a medium of resistance for people who experience violence because the experience of injury, suffering can be expressed or communicated through the openness of body movements.

The meaning of the openness of dance is in line with the universal values of dance. LaMothe uses Gerard Van der Leeuw's perspective to see the correlation between the body and dance. LaMothe wrote "dance is the most universal of the arts because doing it requires nothing other than one's own body" [24]. In LaMothe's perspective, dance starts from the main source, namely the body. As the main source, dance does not use a medium or means outside the body, but through the body itself, each individual can start the dance. Then, dance is understood to be both open and universal because the body belongs to every individual, an essential possession in human life. Furthermore, the meaning of dance forms the meaning of the body in the space of equality because each individual can display his body's experience to communicate a meaning.

In more depth, LaMothe emphasized "every human being is a body moving, its movement is its life" [24]. The body as a universal medium for dance forms movement. LaMothe points out that the correlation between the body and dance is also present in the experience of movement. A moving body, a dancing body signifies human life. The correlation that is manifested through movement then produces dance not only in the meaning to be conveyed, but mainly in the body in self-existence with the reality of experience. If the meaning of the body being a source of life, dance can also be interpreted as a source of openness to life experiences. An experience that is open to everyone and everyone can participate together. Then, the open and relational nature of dance as a ritual practice shows that dance is a source or medium of feminist resistance that displays bodily actions in an effort to defend oneself against various forms of violence against the body.

6. Dance as a feminist ritual medium for resistance

Dance is an experience of the body as well as a medium for feminist rituals that can shape efforts to resist violence against the body. As a ritual practice, dance implies an act devoted to the meaning of life. Specific actions refer to any movements, rhythms, or floor patterns that are displayed through the body, actions taken to show an unusual action so that movements, rhythms or floor patterns that are displayed through the body, actions taken to show an unusual action so that the dance becomes more meaningful. Aside from being a ritual medium that is nonverbal, dance is also a medium of communication that connects individuals to other individuals. Judith Lynne Hanna wrote three characteristics of dance as a form of communication.

"Dance has grammar (a set of rules specifying the manner in which movement can be meaningfully combined), semantics (the meaning of movements), and vocabulary (steps and movement phrases which may comprise realistic or abstract symbols)" [19].

Individuals can use dance as a medium to convey meaning or a message. The grammar of dance includes actions and body language that are formed regularly based on the will of the dancer. Dance also has a semantic character because everybody

movement has its own meaning. On the other hand, the character of dance as a medium of communication also implies vocabulary through the symbols displayed in movement. Hanna's perspective shows that the dimension of dance has relevant properties to become a tool in achieving something. In addition, Hanna described that the dimensions of the human body in dance are a central source of communication in conveying meaning.

From a feminist ritual standpoint, dance can be a medium of resistance that empowers and celebrates the lives of every individual. Feminist rituals display "use symbols and stories, images and words, gestures and dances, along with a variety of art forms, which emerge from women's experiences" [25]. Dance is a medium for feminist rituals that show the experience of the body as an aspect of women's experience, the movement of the body in unity with the soul.

Furthermore, the relational and open dimension of dance also forms bodily experiences that originate from women's experiences, namely the movement of body beauty as well as self-creativity. Feminism places the experience of women in respecting the experience of the body as a source of life. Feminist rituals through dance have the capacity to fight for equality, goodness for life together because the dimension of bodily experience takes precedence in practice.

Dance as a feminist ritual medium has a value of Resistance because each individual or community can maintain their own existence through movement, bodily actions in making sense of life. In addition, dance also has a feminist character, which is relational and open. Relational refers to the bond that unites the body and soul, connecting the reality of individual experience with the reality of the world around it, and more specifically dancing can connect the individual's relationship with God. Through dance, the body is no longer depicted as separate from the soul, but rather the body is connected, entwined with the soul as a resource for theology. Implicitly, the relational character of dance lies in the unity of the body, which expresses the soul, reason, and human action. The relational nature of the body also shows the body's openness to the expression of feelings with the mind in response to an experience. In dancing, the body is not limited only by the mind, but the dimension of feelings, human emotions are also manifested openly. In this case, the meaning of Resistance through dance becomes positive because it unites all aspects of human life in relation and openness. Dance involves human experience, including efforts to display self-defense power through movement and patterns of beauty of the body.

7. Conclusions


Dance as a ritual medium shows the practice of body experience, which is relational and open. In dancing, everyone can be open to express their body experiences. The body is no longer just a practice of thought but also a practice of action that connects humans with the reality of life experience. Reality also leads to the experience of oneself, with others, and also with God. Then, the feminist nature of dance becomes an effort to resist women's violence. Resistance is not an attempt to commit violence, but an effort to self-defense that respects, protects, and fights for self-existence through body movements in dance.

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Perspective Chapter: Patriarchy and Masculinity Represented in the Diaries of Seafarers Analyzed from the Perspective of Marxist Feminism – Domination Structure of Seafarers and the Marginalization of Women

Yoriko Ishida

Abstract

Looking at the human “body,” which has existed in contexts beyond the distinction between men and women, there are “dominators” and “the dominated” in which a situation of “oppressor” and “oppressed” is created. A world in which this is most evident is that of seafaring. There, domination is not limited to one structure; rather, a twofold domination structure exists. One is the domination and oppression among men, and the other is the existence of women who have been marginalized in the industry. Marxist feminism has clarified that the oppression of women in capitalist societies is based on the connection between capitalism and patriarchy, and in the industry, the vector of domination is not necessarily “male → female,” but rather “male → male → female.” The purpose of this paper is to focus on the shipping industry, which has been constructed at the base of capitalism and to point out the kinds of oppressive structures that have developed there, using the textual analysis of “diaries of seafarers” as a methodology, by focusing on the “bodies” of men and women represented in the history of seafarers in the East and West, with *patriarchy* onboard ships and the *masculinity* of seafarers as keywords.

Keywords: patriarchy, masculinity, Marxist feminism, seafarers, shipping industry, body, sexuality, materialism

1. Introduction

When we look at the human body, which has existed in one world beyond the distinction between men and women, we realize that there are always “dominators” and “dominated” people and that situations of “oppression” and “othering” are created. The world in which this is most evident is that of “seafarers.” There, the vector of

domination is not limited to one; rather, a dual structure of domination exists. One is the domination and oppression that exists among men, and the other is the existence of women, who, as “concepts,” have been relegated to the margins in the shipping industry. In particular, Marxist feminism has clarified that the oppression of women in capitalist societies is based on the link between capitalism and patriarchy, but in the shipping industry, “capitalism” and *patriarchy* are complex, as the vector of domination is not necessarily “male → female” but “male → male → female.” The purpose of this paper is to focus on “seafaring,” or the shipping industry—which has constructed the basis of capitalism—and to identify what kind of oppressive structures have developed in this industry. In particular, by focusing on the “bodies” of men and women as represented in the histories of seafarers in the East and West, with *patriarchy* on board ships and the *masculinity* of seafarers as keywords, I point out that, in the shipping industry, which can be called the authority of materialism, the domination of men by men ultimately oppressed and otherized women. I also indicate that the domination of men by men in the materialist world of shipping ultimately oppressed and othered women.

2. Defining *patriarchy* and diversifying *masculinity*

In this section, I clarify the definition of *patriarchy* and the diversification of *masculinity*. No term has been used more extensively than the term *patriarchy*, and since the 1970s, it has been a key term in feminist theory¹. However, the concept of patriarchy existed long before it became essential in feminist theory, and originally, it did not necessarily mean the domination of women by men. In Japan, as well as in Europe and the United States, it refers to a family structure in which the male members of the family, who hold patriarchal authority within the family, dominate and control the other family members. In other words, the “patriarchal system” is a system of “patriarchs.” Thus, when discussing *patriarchy*, it is necessary to consider not only the “male → female” structure, but also the “male → male” structure. It is important that, regardless of the direction of the vector of domination, various forms of domination are preserved within the patriarchal system, and they become “culture” and form a strong ideology. In *Sociology of Domination (Soziologie der Herrschaft)*, Max Weber classifies the concept of domination into three types—legitimate domination, traditional domination, and charismatic domination—and argues that patriarchal domination is the purest form of “traditional domination” [2]. In Weber’s theory of patriarchy, the primary stage of ruling control is the family, but the patriarchal family, in Weber’s sense, is not a so-called “family” in general but “one that has non-related members and is managerial in character.” Thus, “by extension, it is possible to discuss a certain type of political control by setting up a relationship between the sovereign and the administrative executives and subjects, with the patriarch and children.” [3]. Consequently, patriarchy can be extended to a much greater extent than the “family” if the basic conditions of “absolute power” and the “reverence of the members” are met.

¹ It is no secret that it was Kate Millet’s *Sexual Politics* that first incorporated *patriarchy* into the construction of feminist theory. Millet focused on the fact that in most cultures and societies, it is men who are in control, and she called the system of male domination of women a patriarchal structure. Although feminist theory is not monolithic, such as radical feminism, liberal feminism, and Marxist feminism, there is no doubt that all of them are clubbed with the idea of “a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women” and “a totality of relations and norms in which power is distributed based on gender in favor of men and roles are fixedly allocated” [1].

Masculinity, on the other hand, is often possessed by “men,” and the term *masculinity* has been interpreted almost synonymously with “maleness” or “manliness.” However, the latest masculinity research suggests that *masculinity* is not a monolithic quality that all men possess. In the 1970s, masculinology began as part of the academic field of gender studies in the West. The leading scholar in this field is Robert W. Connell. In *Masculinities* and *The Men and the Boys*, Connell considers masculinity not as a singular form but as a plural form (masculinities), and he examines gender not only in terms of feminine/masculine contrast but also in terms of the interactions among the various masculinities. Thus, Connell refers to the plurality of masculinities. In addition to referring to the plurality of masculinities, Connell focuses on gender-based power relations by defining hegemonic masculinity as a form of hegemonic masculinity [4]. Just as *patriarchy* is not necessarily limited to the family or to the domination of women by men, so *masculinity* is not limited to male characteristics but is of a diverse nature, an interpretation that is presented to us more convincingly when we analyze seafarers’ histories.

3. The concept of seafarers and seafarers’ culture in the west and Japan

Before going into this essay, it is necessary to explain what kind of people *seafarers* were and why *patriarchy* and *masculinity* are associated with seafarers. Seventy percent of the earth’s surface is covered by the sea, and for humans living in such an environment, *ships* have been an indispensable means of transportation since ancient times. It is the seafarers who move the ships. It is interesting to note that the impression of seafarers is the same in all ages, in all regions, in all times, and in all places. It is no exaggeration to say that a *seafarer culture* has persisted across borders and throughout the ages. In Japan and in the West, at least during the era of sailing ships and steamships, which, unlike today’s automated ships, required a great deal of manpower to operate, *seamanship* and *manliness* were strongly associated with each other. It is no exaggeration to say that the ideals of masculinity were associated with seamen’s labor, and there was no room or need to dispute them. As an occupation of maximum physical strain, it is not surprising that physical toughness was held in very high regard and as essential to the proper execution of the job [5].

Moreover, it is no exaggeration to say that in no other profession does class have so great an influence on the duties of a man as it does in the seafaring profession. In the nineteenth century, as depicted in the nautical diaries of Richard Henry Dana, the subject of the analysis in this paper. In England, in particular, the rapid population growth provided the British merchant fleet with an abundant labor force, but the crews were subjected to poor working conditions, including poor food and low wages on board. The poor conditions also affected the character and ethics of the seafarers, leading to the prejudice that they were socially and morally inferior. Barton notes that merchant seamen perceived their being called Jack Tar as a cause of “oppression” [6].

These prejudices had a profound effect on the relationship between seafarers and captains. To manage and control rough and rowdy seafarers to hold them down by force with a certain amount of authority. The question is not whether the seafarers were socially or morally inferior but whether such prejudice against them resulted in an increase in the captain’s power. This is where the patriarchal system comes into play.

This was the case not only in the West but also in Japan, where the same rhetoric was used against seafarers. In Japan, one might say that the social and moral depravity of seafarers is represented by the stereotype that seafarers take part in betting and womanizing. This is not as simple as saying that they were simply prodigal and

incorrigible. This stereotype is not only a product of the capitalist system of modern shipping but also a symbol of the oppression that seafarers were forced to endure. The unique culture of seafarers gave the impression that seafarers were corrupt and that they were subject to the oppression of *deceptive substitution*, as if debauchery were the responsibility of the individual who favored it.

4. Patriarchy and Masculinity represented in seafarers' histories

This chapter points to the “patriarchal system” that persisted among men in the shipping industry, and how, through that patriarchy, *masculinity* was divided into *masculinity* of the dominant and of the ruled.

In *Women Seafarers and Their Identities*, Momoko Kitada points out that the definition of *patriarchy*, which has been referred to as a system that oppresses women, has a somewhat different meaning in the shipping world [7]. She further explains the unique patriarchal system on board the ship as follows.

This definition is a little different from the original meaning of patriarchy, which was based on the authority of [the] father over his sons in early societies in Western Europe (although the relationship between the two meanings is [self-evident]). It is relevant that the term “patriarchy” in its original sense can be applied to social relationships aboard single-sex (male) ships. The relationship between the Master (Captain) of a modern-day vessel and “his” crew (the rest of the seafarers) resonates strongly with the idea of an authoritarian father figure whose rule cannot be challenged but who is expected to act in the best interests of those in his “care.” Within ship culture, the authority of the Master over the crew is absolute [7].

The concept of domination between men on board, Kitada argues, implies a relationship in the hierarchy of captain and crew; however, her argument does not go so far as to explain why this is important.

I believe that to clarify the concept of patriarchy among men in shipping, I must go back to the early histories of seafarers—that is, to the age of sailing ships in the West—and to the early Meiji period in Japan, when ships were modernized. In early seafarers' history, both in the West and in Japan, seafarers were not so much “seafarers” as “laborers.” Shipping companies, or capitalists, invested capital in vessels and other assets to employ workers (seafarers) and earn profits. Naturally, since seafarers do not own assets, they are employed by the shipping company and work under the organization's command and order. Thus, a structure of domination between capitalists (shipping companies) and workers (seafarers) has already been established. In other words, it is clear that Marxist historical materialism has supported the world of shipping. However, what is noteworthy in the early history of seafarers is that the unique domination structure of the seafaring industry—“captain → crew” rather than the “shipping company → seafarer” domination structure—was firmly established.

It is well known that there is a great difference between an officer and a sailor. Therefore, it would be foolish to speak of the “histories of seafarers” as if they were all the same, but since the overwhelming majority of seafarers in the early days of shipping were sailors, it is thought that the contemporary image of seafarers has been formed mainly by sailors. For example, Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative*, published in 1840, is a true account of his 2 years as a merchant sailor from 1834 to 1836. The “misery” is brought about by the hierarchy of captain and sailor, a “distinctive patriarchal system,” as he describes. In the record of August 1834, when the ship had just set sail, the following description appears.

Yet a sailor's life is at best but a mixture of a little good with much evil, and a little pleasure and with much pain. The beautiful is linked with the revolting, the sublime with the commonplace, and the solemn with the ludicrous [8].

Dana's description indicates that seafaring was a demanding occupation during the era of sailing ships in the West. Industrialization was originally oriented toward using labor as cheaply as possible. In this sense, it is not surprising that seafarers were forced to work hard, but what makes the seafaring industry unique is that, because of the harshness of the work, a system and culture unique to the industry were created, and the traces of this system and culture have not disappeared even today. The image of the crew formed during the era of sailing ships remains a representation of all seafarers, even today. Furthermore, in the domination of seafarers by captains, we can read a "distinctive patriarchal system" in seafaring as well as the existence of a hegemonic masculinity held by the controlling captain and a subordinate masculinity held by the lower-ranking sailors. This is most evident in the tyrannical control of the ship's crew by the captain. In *Two Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative*, Richard Henry Dana is on board a sailing ship in 1834 and witnesses the absolute power of the captain.

The captain, in the first place, is [the] lord paramount. He stands no watch, comes and goes when he pleases, is accountable to no one, and must be obeyed in everything, without a question even from his chief officer. He has the power to turn his officers off duty, and even to break them and make them do duty as sailors in the forecabin. Where there are no passengers and no supercargo, as in our vessel, he has no companion but his own dignity, and few pleasures, unless he differs from most of his kind, beyond the consciousness of possessing supreme power, and, occasionally, the exercise of it [8].

As discussed in the previous section, interpreting Weber's theory of patriarchy in a broad sense, an organization in which both "absolute power" and the "reverence of members" exist is a group under a patriarchal control structure dominated and controlled by the patriarch, regardless of blood relations. From the above description, it can be understood that the "patriarchal system" that Weber discusses is prominent in the relationship between captains and sailors, but what is particularly noteworthy is that captains who are on the controlling side in such a "patriarchal system" possess *hegemonic masculinity* without exception. The captain's power is the power to perform the duties of the ship's officers. The captain's power is not limited to the orders of duty on board the ship but emerges most clearly in Dana's narrative in light of the scene in Chapter 15, titled "Flogging," in which the body of the sailor is depicted.

When he was made fast, he turned to the captain, who stood rolling up his sleeves, getting ready for the blow, and asked him what he was to be flogged for. "Have I ever refused my duty, sir? Have you ever known me to hang back, or to be insolent, or not to know my work?"

"No," said the captain[.] "[It] is not that that I flog you for; I flog you for your interference, for asking questions."

"Can't a man ask a question here without being flogged?"

"No," shouted the captain[.] "[N]obody shall open his mouth aboard this vessel but myself," and he began laying the blows upon his back, swinging half round between each blow, to give it full effect. As he went on[,] his passion increased, and he danced about the deck, calling out, as he swung the rope, "If you want to know what I flog you for, I'll tell you. It's because I like to do it! Because I like to do it! It suits me! That's what I do it for!"

The man writhed under the pain until he could endure it no longer, when he called out, with an exclamation more common among foreigners than with us... [8]

The body of the sailor, who is flogged even though he has no right to be, symbolizes the contrast between the *hegemonic masculinity* of the captain, who occupies absolute power in a ship with a completely established patriarchal system, and the *subordinate masculinity* of the sailor, who has no choice but to submit to him.

5. Seafarers' sexuality and the othering of women—complete separation of production and reproduction labor

How did the “male → male” structure of oppression, or distinctive patriarchy in seafaring, as described in the previous chapter, affect women? This section discusses the ways in which the sexuality of seafarers turned women into others, using *From the bottom of the ship at 140 degrees Fahrenheit – Diary of a lowly sailor in the international Shipping Industry* as a primary source, as it has been considered a valuable seafarer's record in the early nineteenth century. This is the diary of Hachiro Hirono, a member of the engine department of Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK Line), which is commonly known as the “*Hirono Diary*” (named the “*Hirono Diary*” hereafter). This diary contains records from November 1928 to June 1931, when the author was on board the Akita Maru and Katori Maru as a lowly sailor of the engine department of the NYK Line. This diary conveys the actual employment conditions of pre-war seafarers (ratings). In the *Hirono Diary*, references to “women” appear frequently. For example, in his diary dated February 6, 1929, it is written as follows:

I have been tired of hearing our sailors talk about “women.” For the first four or five days on board, I listened to them out of curiosity, but every morning and evening, I [have] been tired of hearing them to the point that I have calluses on my ears. They returned to the ship in the morning and were happy to talk loudly and blatantly about the whore and the girl they had last night [9].

In the *Hirono Diary*, the so-called “drinking, gambling, and prostituting” are frequently mentioned, which could be considered a common practice in seafaring and is based on cultural and financial patriarchal domination. What did this manifestation of culture mean for women? I do not intend to theorize that modern seafaring was unsuitable for women because of the hard work involved. It is not that simple. If hard work determined the unification of gender in the seafaring industry, then the problem of excessive gendering in the contemporary seafaring industry should have been solved by today's dramatic advances in technology and the high-technology nature of ships. However, the reality is that this has not been the case. It is not the harshness of modern seafarer labor that is significant but the impact of the patriarchal system that has supported such harsh labor.

It is noteworthy that the unique culture of seafarers was complicit in the gendering of the seafaring industry. The diversification of patriarchy and masculinity in the seafaring industry, which had constructed a “male → male” domination vector, became the basis of the shipping industry that supported the capitalist system, and the unique seafarers' culture that was established there suggested a unity of gender and produced discourses that “othered” and excluded women. In other words, the “male → male” domination structure has been established as a holistic concept constructed in a relationship in which women are regarded as others. In fact, as already explained, given the harshness of the seafaring industry and the tyrannical control of the captain over the crew, it is not difficult to imagine that the space on board was not a space in which women could enter. This shows how the shipping world was a space that excluded women. In other words, seafarers on board were defined by a monosexual

living system, and because of this, their lives became monosexualized, and a culture of othering women was born.

Here, I need to go one step further. What was the effect of the presence of women on individual seafarers? I have already noted that the modern seafaring industry was fully integrated into the patriarchal system of domination, but what was the consciousness of the individual seafarers who were placed in that system? As is clear from the above quoted passage, the word “woman” in the *Hirono Diary* appears mostly as a word meaning “whore,” “concubine,” or “prostitute.” Behind the word “woman,” one can always see “sexuality.” Considering the working and living conditions of modern seafarers, a ship was a closed space where only men existed, but this does not mean that it was “genderless.” On the contrary, the difference between one sex and the other is strongly expressed in a space where sexual unification is the norm. Their working environment must have had a significant impact on their sexuality, but, as Hirono describes, many of the lower-class sailors were single, so their sexuality was directed toward an unspecified number of women. This is where the concept of “prostitution” naturally emerges. The patriarchal system of domination that supported the seafaring industry not only excluded women but also helped to transform their status into that of being bought by men.

This is not limited to seafarers in Japan. In the history of British seafarers, the situation of seafarers’ prostitution was more intense. In Japan, the extant sailors’ diaries and other records indicate that sailors bought women when they disembarked in port and went out to brothels; there is no mention of large numbers of prostitutes boarding ships while they were at anchor. In England, however, it was more common for prostitutes to be brought on board; according to Suzanne J. Stark, in the early nineteenth century, when a ship came into port, there were hundreds of prostitutes on board until the ship sailed. This was not necessarily true of “merchant ships” alone but was more pronounced on “warships.” However, given the blurring of the distinction between naval and merchant crews in the early days of British shipping, onboard prostitution was not uncommon on merchant ships either [10].

When examined in light of patriarchal structures of domination and the othering of women in modern shipping, prostitution has even greater profound implications. In feminist theory, so-called “sex work” is not seen as a “sexually deprived act” but as a kind of economic activity and labor. If “becoming a prostitute” is an economic activity for the women depicted in the seafarers’ diaries, then the presence of “women” in the seafarers’ histories is significant. The incorporation of sexuality into the labor of seafaring means that prostitution determines the roles of men and women in seafaring based on their sexual identities. In Marxist feminist theory, the patriarchal concept is analyzed materialistically and is based on the idea that the male “sexual domination” of women has a “material basis.”

In “the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union,” Hartman argues that “...we define patriarchy as a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women. The material base of patriarchy is men’s control over women’s labor power. That control is maintained by excluding women from access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting women’s sexuality” [11]. Due to patriarchal domination, the background of the domination vector of “captain → seafarer” is the composition of “seafarer (male) → female,” and these vectors result in a materialistic foundation of profit for shipping companies. In the modern shipping industry, seafarers were the essential labor force for shippers and shipping companies to maintain their capital, while women were the devices for reproducing that labor force.

This is not to say that women were exploited by men through prostitution. As mentioned previously, insofar as “prostitution” is also an economic activity, men are “customers” for women, and as long as a transaction over sex is established, they are not being exploited. The problem is that patriarchal rule has in effect determined the behavior of seafarers (men) and women as role norms, the roles have been completely separated, with men as productive labor (seafarers) and women as reproductive labor bought by seafarers². In the contemporary era, prostitution was a reproductive device of the shipping industry, and the division of labor between male and female seafarers was determined, just as the division of labor in the modern era has been established as “male = outside production labor / female = inside reproduction labor.”

At the basis of the patriarchal double structure of power and control, “captain → seafarer,” there existed a stepping stone, even if only a small one, which was women. When women became “a prostitute” for seafarers, they were already relegated to a situation where they could only exist on the periphery of the shipping industry. The patriarchal system in seafarers’ culture did not directly dominate and oppress women, but it was also a threatening system for women on an entirely different level.

6. Conclusion

Ships and women have been considered from opposing angles in Western maritime history. While women were considered harmful to ships and seafarers, disruptive to shipboard order, and an invitation to misfortune, they were also objects of worship [12]. In the latter, we can cite as examples the fact that, in English, ships are represented by the pronoun “she”³ and that, from the nineteenth century onward, many popular ship figureheads were represented by half-naked women [13]. In the West, there are records of women serving on pirate ships, warships, and merchant vessels as early as the eighteenth century. In this sense, the history of seafarers in the West may appear to be far more generous toward women than in Japan. However, even in the West, when we consider *patriarchy* as a key word, we still see that the ship was a completely gendered space.⁴

This paper has shed light on the structure of patriarchal domination in seafarers’ histories. The concept of patriarchal domination has been a defining force in the histories of seafarers and has determined the nature of gender in the shipping industry. In other words, it is no exaggeration to say that the patriarchal system has supported the

² In feminist theory, especially Marxist feminism, “reproductive labor” means free “domestic labor” in the private sphere. While domestic labor is “reproductive” in the context of the housewife being otherized from the market and producing the labor force of the “husband” outside the market, in this paper “prostitution” is interpreted as reproductive in the context of indirectly contributing to maintaining the labor force of “sailors” as “other” from outside the shipping industry, even though it is not free.

³ The reason for the ship being taken for a “she” is not clear. There are a number of theories, including that “the ship was controlled by a man, who compared the ship as his partner to a woman,” or that “several men followed around, making a big fuss all the time.” The following website has some interesting information: <https://www.tabisen.com/tabisen/yutaka/post-2963.html>

⁴ For example, there were women who accompanied their husbands on board as captains’ wives. Some of them even took the place of their husbands as captains of ships. Some of them even sailed the ship in place of their husbands, the captains. The women who appear in the maritime history of Europe and the United States are not the main purpose of this paper and will be discussed in another paper. For more information on women on board ships from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, see the author’s book [14].

shipping industry in Japan. The memory of gender unification, which has been etched in the memory of the shipping industry for a long time, is surely inherited even today. Gender identity was the principle that maintained the order of the shipping industry, and it was believed that only men could be given subjectivity in seafaring. The image of the seafarer, which has been formed by the ratings in the histories of modern seafarers, may no longer be a relic of the past for large shipping companies, but it may still leave its mark on small companies. Even today, there are very few female ratings.

How can we dispel this and make the seafaring profession more open to women? It would not make sense to try to promote gender equality in terms of the ratio of numbers by establishing a quota system. After all, the author's proposal may not be in line with the general goal of increasing the number of female seafarers, as there are limits to increasing the number of female seafarers. The patriarchal system of domination that once existed among men may no longer exist, but it has changed in the modern era, as it has othered women on a different level. The reason for the high turnover rate of female seafarers is overwhelmingly due to family reasons, such as marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, and nursing care. As discussed in this paper, this is because the system of the "gender role division of labor" is determined by the patriarchal system. In other words, the seafaring industry, which requires long hours of work outside the home, is an occupation that promotes more masculinity in terms of gender roles in the division of labor, and it is the seafaring industry that has promoted the patriarchal system. It is not surprising that it is difficult for women to enter such a profession.

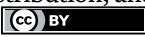
It is a well-known fact that the working conditions of workers after the Industrial Revolution were so poor that socialist thought aimed at abolishing the capitalist system was established. Marxist feminism was developed under these circumstances as a socialist ideology that aimed to change class relations between capitalists and workers, and materialism not only created class exploitation but also caused the exploitation of women. In other words, Marxist feminism, in its early stages, to shrug off the poor working conditions of women workers, found the cause of women's oppression in capitalist society, which had created such conditions. However, in light of the particularities of the seafaring industry, we see "another form of female oppression" in which women "cannot even become workers" in the shipping industry. There, as the original Marxist feminism found, we can find the cause of women's oppression in capitalist society (the shipping industry), which brought about a class-dominated system of capitalists and workers, or captains and sailors [15–18].

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Teacher Power and Gender in Libyan Language Teacher Education

Reda Elmabruk and Nesrin Etarhuni

Abstract

Teacher power (TP) is a function of teacher knowledge that makes teachers far superior over their students. How TP is exerted in language classrooms can influence students' emotional well-being and can hinder active participation. This case study employs a discursive approach—rather than a perceptive one—to explore how Libyan EFL teacher educators exercise power and whether such power is influenced by gender. Teachers' discourse is recorded and analysed quantitatively and qualitatively to determine the extent to which male and female teachers utilise pro-social or anti-social power how student–teachers respond to and perceive TP is also investigated. Six teacher educators (three males and three females) were observed over 18 lectures (22 hours) involving 47 students. Personal interviews were conducted with the educators, besides holding focus groups. The findings reveal convergent patterns of power with unique gender variances in TP ratios (anti-social: pro-social). Male power ratio (2.3:1) was much greater than the females' (1.5:1) who displayed command power, zero criticism, and zero coercion; Female power was distinguished by politeness, compliment and “command softening” whereas the students tolerated command, interruption, and questioning, unwarranted coercion and unconstructive criticism were met with silent protest. Balancing power was deemed crucial to foster affective stress-free learning.

Keywords: antisocial/prosocial power, classroom discourse, gender differences, Libyan language teacher education, teacher power strategies

1. Introduction

In Libyan, and Muslim culture at large, teachers are very much esteemed by both students and society [1]. It is because of the knowledge they possess and convey to others that teachers are rendered superior over their learners [2]. Notwithstanding how teacher superiority, or teacher power (TP), is perceived, learners as recipients of power are somewhat sensitive to how it is exercised. While learners react positively to constructive comments, teacher praise, or encouragement, they are endowed with a sensitive threshold to power, that is perhaps embedded in their culture. Excess power, for example, coercion, criticism, or over-interruption can harm the less-powerful learners, hence causing increased anxiety and/or avoidance of further class contribution [3].

When teachers are conscious of the adverse consequences of power, they will be able to mitigate power to reduce anxiety and promote a relaxed classroom environment. Mitigating TP using “command softening” expressions has proven successful in the present study. Therefore, a conscientious understanding of how to manipulate TP, appreciate how affective learning and learner contribution are influenced is indispensable for EFL teaching practitioners. Therefore “understanding power use in the classroom is essential to setting up positive, pro-social learning environments and avoid abusing (or the perception of) teacher power” [4].

1.1 Related studies

Earlier studies on TP were largely quantitative and based primarily on students’ perceptions of exerted power (e.g. [5–8]). In particular, those studies reference the five power sources [9] as bases for TP measurement, which were not originally intended for classroom contexts and were founded on the perceptions of students, over whom power was exerted [5]. More recently though several qualitative case studies were carried out with emphasis on power relations and specific strategies of teacher power:

For example, a case study was undertaken to explore politeness strategies by Indonesian teachers and students in high school settings using video-recorded observations [10]. The results show that positive, negative, and bold forms of politeness, perceptions of teacher and students of power, as well as social distance all contributed to the politeness strategies used.

A later case study explored gender effects on politeness strategies by Iranian EFL teachers’ classroom interaction [11]. The researchers carried out classroom observations of ten classes involving five male and five female teachers. Frequencies and percentages of politeness acts were worked out and then compared. The results showed that students’ interaction and learning were positively influenced by the females’ politeness strategies; moreover, the females were more interactive and supportive of student’s mistakes; they asked more referential questions, complimented more, and used fewer commands. A direct relationship between polite strategies and learning processes was posited.

Another case study was conducted to examine Malaysian secondary school classroom discourse in which they used classroom observations and pedagogic discourse analysis [12]. It was found that discourse is characterised with teacher domination controlling discourse and student behaviour, e.g. in turn taking and in the types of questions posed.

An additional case study employed classroom observations of twelve EFL classes to analyse command strategies of Malay university teachers [13]. Their findings reveal that while lecturers do not always use directives, teacher talk dominates teaching and learning; the students on the other hand acknowledged adherence to teachers’ orders.

Power relationships among teachers and students were explored in Filipino private universities [14]. Eight teachers and eight students were interviewed using open-ended and semi-structured interviews. Exceptional and convergent experiences of power relations emerged from the thematic analysis used. Both teachers and students revealed that their experience of power or lack of power could be described in terms of differences in knowledge and expertise. Several limits to teacher power were identified by both groups.

A further qualitative case study on politeness was carried out to analyse the realisation and choices of politeness strategies in an Indonesian EFL teacher education

context [15]. The study used a framework of politeness strategies [16] to analyse the classroom discourse of thirty students and their teacher in two classes. The findings disclose positive politeness, negative politeness, and bald on record. Positive politeness was to maintain a close teacher–student relationship, negative politeness to minimise coercion, and bald on records to give explicit instruction. Sociological factors, e.g. distance, power, and degree of imposition, influenced choices of politeness strategies.

1.2 The gap

Whereas previous studies focused mainly on teacher power use in Asian countries, little emphasis was made on Arab EFL contexts. More specifically, to the authors' best knowledge, no research has been conducted in Libyan EFL teacher education or even higher education as a whole. This research, therefore, contributes to the field through a qualitative case study that explores the extent of teacher power use with particular emphasis on gender differences and the discursive strategies applied.

1.3 Research questions

Based on the underlying perspective set out thus far, three pivotal research questions have been posited to direct data collection instruments:

1. To what degree anti-social and pro-social power are exerted in the classroom discourse of Libyan EFL teacher educators?
2. What gender differences in anti-social and pro-social power are exhibited?
3. What are the students' perception of and reaction to anti-social and pro-social power?

2. Conceptual framework

2.1 Teacher power

The source of power is invariably traced to possession of knowledge [2]. Broadly speaking, power is an individual's capacity to influence the behaviour of another person or group of persons [17]. That is, teachers are capable of applying power over their students due to the knowledge they possess [18]. "Power", "influence", and "control" are treated as synonymous in the relevant literature [19]. The view that power is control of action and cognition is sustained [20]. This means that teachers not only have the potential to limit the freedom of students but also to influence their minds through cognitive learning. More specifically, power is perceived as one's capacity to make a person do something that he/she would not otherwise do has he/she not been exposed to power [21]. Hence, "the teacher is considered superior in terms of his/her knowledge, experience, and judgements, whereas learners are the 'lesser' partners in the interaction" [1].

Further perspectives consider teacher power as "the teacher's ability to affect in some way the students' well-being beyond the students' control" [5], rendering them unable to avert its consequences. More importantly, teacher power is exerted through classroom discourse, and consequently, its impact will be felt by students in multiple

facets, in their affective learning [5], motivation to participate in class activities [22], and in their academic achievement [23].

An interrelationship of power with discourse is emphasised by advocating a “difference between knowing and teaching, and that difference is communication in the classroom” [24]. Power is then “linguistically expressed by teachers and presented in the classroom” [18]. Accordingly, teacher power discourse is expressed not only by content-knowledge alone but more specifically through the manipulation of discursive strategies: “We now realise that knowledge of content material is an insufficient condition to instruction; the practising teacher must learn the communication strategies that can control student behaviours requisite for learning” [6].

Since power is manifested through language, or put another way, language is power [25]; an assessment of teacher power must therefore be embedded in the discursive features employed by the teacher [1] instead of power as simply perceived by the students.

2.2 Teacher power strategies

Expressions of teacher power are identified through teacher power strategies (TPS) that embrace “behaviour alteration techniques” which teachers employ to control or modify student learning activities. When power strategies are not employed, or misused, the teacher’s potential to enhance student learning is diminished. Thus, managing power strategies is critical to teaching effectiveness and to classroom management [6]. A discourse-based classification of TPS typically used in classroom discourse has been compiled from relevant literature.

The following classification provides eight sources for TPS that have been used in this case study to evaluate how power is revealed through teacher discourse. These are as follows:

3. Command

As one of the most common forms of classroom power [13], this strategy is typically associated with the use of imperatives to issue instruction.

4. Questioning

Questioning is an essential classroom activity which teachers use to elicit information, check comprehension, or to evaluate students. A teacher “has the right to give orders and ask questions, whereas the students have only the obligation to comply and answer” [25].

5. Interruption

This strategy is typically used by people with high-power status as a “device for exercising power and control in conversation” to interrupt other speakers and thus control discourse [26].

6. Criticism

Teachers legitimately possess power to be critical of students. Criticism, however, may have negative outcomes, for it can “discourage and intimidate the learner and may even stop him answering future questions” [1].

7. Coercion

Coercive power is known to have negative consequences on learning [5]. It is based on learners’ expectations that they would be penalised if they do not adhere to requirements; thus “the strength of a teacher’s coercive power is contingent upon the student’s perception of how probable it is that the teacher will exact punishment for non-conformance” [5].

8. Politeness

Politeness involves using appropriate words in context, a tactic that is governed by social norms [12]. Hence, a teacher may mitigate power with forms of politeness to make learners feel more at ease.

9. Compliment

Offering compliment or praise is another strategy that reduces power. One common way of giving a compliment is positive feedback, which can “boost learners’ sense of confidence and simultaneously decreases their language anxiety which is very common in FL classroom” [3].

10. Reward

This form of power “involves introducing something pleasant or removing something unpleasant, if the student does comply” [5]. Teachers may also use reward power, e.g. grades, prizes, or privileges, in different ways to influence learners’ behaviour; however, that the influence of reward is associated with how desirable that reward is to students [27].

10.1 Anti vs. pro-social power

Teacher power exerted through classroom discourse can influence students positively or negatively [8]. A positive impact of power is attributed to pro-social strategies, such as politeness, complement, and reward, which have motivating effects on students [22].

ATP	1. Command	2. Questioning	3. Interruption	4. Criticism	5. Coercion
PTP	6. Politeness	7. Compliment	8. Reward		

Table 1.
Sources of anti and pro-social power.

Pro-social power is also said to assist in achieving learning outcomes [4]. Negative power, on the other hand, is associated with the exertion of anti-social strategies, e.g. interruption, coercion, and criticism, the overuse of which can lead to withdrawal from learning activities. Command, criticism, coercing, interruption, and questioning in various degrees do cause increased student anxiety [3].

Table 1 classifies TPS into anti-social teacher power (ATP; 1–5) and pro-social teacher power (PTP; 6–8).

11. Method

The research methodology for this study is based on exploratory qualitative case-study design. An exploratory approach allows researchers to explore an event or activity through a variety of methods [28]. Further, a case study is characterised by in-depth inquiry where data describes and explains the explored phenomenon [29]. The typicality of case (commensurate with a sampling frame in quantitative research) is significant in qualitative research and has been described in the sense of singularity that is “expected in some way to be typical of something more general; the focus is the issue not the case as such” [29]. That is why the present case study is explanatory qualitative, for in pursuit of improving practice it seeks to explore or narrate a story [30] of how Libyan EFL teacher educators exert power through a display of classroom discourse.

Concerning generalisation from a qualitative case (parallel to external validity in quantitative research), the researchers particularly find the argument; “generalisation is a process in research, as much or more than it is a product of research... Well-designed qualitative research can be just as useful for generalisation as well-designed quantitative research” [31] accommodating. Therefore, in accordance with this outlined methodology, the following data collection methods were pursued:

11.1 Classroom observation

Having obtained consent to carry out classroom observation, the researchers considered it necessary to initially conceal the exact purpose of the study. To guard against threats to internal validity, power behaviour needed to occur genuinely, not due to reactivity (e.g. [32]), otherwise known as the Hawthorne effect [33]; the process where subjects adjust their behaviour in response to being observed. It is recommended [34] that the Hawthorne effect is mitigated by gathering data through unobtrusive tactics such that participants are unaware of being researched as long as no harm is inflicted. When later debriefed, the case teachers confirmed they would have almost certainly moderated their power strategies in some way had they known the exact research purpose. Debriefing is the act of informing participants about the intentions of the study in which they just participated; during this process, researchers reveal any deceptions that occurred and explain why deception was necessary [35]. Following such debriefing, the case teachers consented to their transcribed data being anonymously reported.

11.2 Teachers’ interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six Libyan EFL teacher educators (three males and three females). The purpose of the interviews was to understand their perceptions of power, and it is employed in teacher education classrooms.

Appropriate consent was obtained to record and anonymously report responses. Each of the interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 40 minutes.

11.3 Focus group discussion (FGD)

Seven focus group discussions were conducted involving 47 second-semester students who attended the observed lectures. Each FGs was associated with a particular skill subject taught (reading, writing, grammar, listening, vocabulary, and speaking). All the students volunteered to take part and consented to audio recording and having their responses reported anonymously. The discussion themes addressed students' perceptions of power and how anti- or pro-social power concern their emotional well-being and how they participate in class activities.

12. Results and discussion

A mixed-method approach to data analysis was adopted. Observed incidents of TPS were categorised as anti- or pro-social power, according to TP classification (**Table 1**), which were then transformed into percentages. TPS data (frequencies, per cent, and ratios) were compiled from observation data for each educator. On the other hand, content analysis was used to highlight relevant extracts from the teacher interviews and students FGDs, both of which were reported verbatim to preserve language competency and style. Where applicable, insertions in square brackets are added to clarify intended meaning; exclamation marks in square brackets indicate redundant words.

12.1 Background data

Table 2 summarises the educators' background data including age, experience, subjects taught, and the hours observed. To maintain anonymity, the teachers are referred to alphabetically from A to F.

What follows is a discussion of observed power in 22 hours of classroom discourse. The flow of discussion addresses the research questions posed by the study: the extent and the proportions of manifested power, gender differences in power use, and the student-teachers' perception of and response to exerted power. The terms

Teacher	Gender	Age	Teaching experience	Subject taught	Hours observed
A	Male	57	33	Reading	3
B	Male	47	1	Writing	4
C	Male	57	35	Grammar	4
D	Female	34	5	Listening	3
E	Female	31	7	Vocabulary	4
F	Female	43	19	Speaking	4
					22

Table 2.
Background data on the case teachers.

teacher-educators, educators, and teachers are used as synonyms; the same applies to students and student-teachers (other alternatives though not used in this study are pre-service teachers, trainee-teachers, or trainees).

12.2 Observed teacher power

Table 3 illustrates the case teachers’ observed antisocial teacher power (ATP) contrasted with pro-social teacher power (PTP). The power strategies are displayed in descending order along with the ensuing TP ratio.

12.3 Anti-social power

Overall, the case teachers (males and females) exhibited a higher degree of anti-social (69.3%) with respect to pro-social power (30.7%), which works out at more than twice the ratio (2.3:1). Antisocial power was predominantly exerted through command (36.7%), i.e. using imperative forms, a finding that is consistent with previous studies, e.g. [13, 15].

- Command power was typically applied to issue classroom instruction, with which the students complied. However, the teachers’ interview data revealed inconsistency with their practice. Teacher A (male) had claimed a preference for politeness over command, yet he was observed to exert the highest level of command power (68.2%).

I prefer to ask my students politely. This [does] not mean that I do not give imperative[s], but sometimes. I prefer to ask politely; [for example] could you please answer this question (Teacher A; male).

Further, he advocated balancing command power with polite instruction, which, again, did not materialise in his classes:

TPS		f	%	Cum%	Ratio
ATP	Command	615	36.7	36.7	2.3
	Questioning	442	26.4	63.1	
	Interruption	75	4.5	67.6	
	Criticism	22	1.3	68.9	
	Coercion	7	0.4	69.3	
	Subtotal	161	69.3	—	
PTP	Politeness	343	20.5	20.5	1
	Compliment	167	10	30.5	
	Reward	5	0.2	30.7	
	Subtotal	515	30.7	—	
Total		1676			

Table 3.
Anti- and pro-social power ratios.

I do not agree [like] this way (commanding) because some students feel sense [sensitive] from this way. Maybe the teacher must... mix between these ways, imperative and the other way [politeness] because some students need to make [follow] your way by strong [force]...other students [are] against that, so he must make [use] both ways not command only (Teacher A; male).

Teacher C (male) also expressed opposition to the use of pure command. His claim is to accommodate for students' emotional needs:

I do not agree [like] this way [using commands] because some students feel sense [sensitive] from [to] this way. Maybe the teacher must mix between these ways; imperative and the other way [politeness] because some students need to make [follow] your way by strong [force]...other students [are] against that so he [the teacher] must make [use] both ways not imperative only (Teacher C; male).

That a teacher's behaviour contradicts his/her retort can only be attributed to "response bias", e.g. [36], where respondents attempt to portray a positive impression for themselves. The anticipation of such phenomenon was one reason for initially concealing from the case teachers the exact purpose of the study. The other reason is reactivity; the likelihood of participants altering behaviour upon being observed (see Method).

- Questioning (26.4%) was the second most frequent ATP used mainly for pedagogic purposes. Open-ended questions were posed more often than yes/no questions to engage students, who mostly responded in short phrases or sentence fragments.

This questioning excerpt is from Teacher C's (male) grammar class. The topic involved negative imperative construction:

1. T: *How can you form the negative form of imperative?*
S1: *Not.*
T: *Yes, but what comes before not?*
S2: *Do not!*
T: *Thank you! Do not or do not. Give me an example.*
S2: *Do not come late.*
T: *Very good, thank you.*

In a questioning routine by Teacher F (female), she followed through with probing questions to elicit appropriate responses. The topic under discussion was forms of life in the future, and she came up with a good idea herself:

2. T: *What do you think life will be in future?*
S1: *Changing in technology.*
T: *OK, change in technology in terms of what?*
S2: *New style of living?*
T: *Good!...like what?*
S2: *How people communicate...*
S3: *New video phones.*
S4: *Maybe no mobile phones...use hand watch.*

T: You mean wristwatch!

S4: Yes, wristwatch... wristwatch phone.

T: Perhaps wrist-mobile.

- Teachers' interruption, criticism, and coercion power (4.5%, 1.3%, and 0.4%, consecutively) together constituted a minor proportion (6.2%) of total antisocial power. Interruption was used primarily to correct students' grammar and pronunciation.

Being a grammar instructor, Teacher C (male) displayed maximum interruption power (13.5%); extracts 3–5 are cases in which he interrupts to correct or indicate errors:

3.S: *This word uncorrect.*

T: uncorrect?

S: Sorry! incorrect.

T: Good, so this word is incorrect.

4.S: *She is coming from France.*

T: Shouldn't it be in the present simple.

S: She come from France?

T: She come?

S: She comes.

T: Correct.

5.S: *This one match.*

T: Add "es".

S: Matches.

T: Thank you.

In (3), Teacher C interrupted by highlighting the wrong word (uncorrect) with emphatic stress. The student reproduced the correct form. The teacher initially ignored the missing verb "be" (is) as he focused on the word form, but later reiterated the sentence correctly, placing slight stress on "is". In (4), a student produced the present continuous form inappropriately. The teacher interrupted by asking the student to use the present simple instead; however, the verb "come" was missing an "s" which made the teacher re-interrupt. In (5), the teacher interrupted to correct the form of present simple.

Although error correction is viewed as a controversial issue in terms of immediate versus non-immediate or delayed correction, Teacher C (male) revealed a kind of response bias regarding interruption for he claimed a belief in letting students express themselves without being "cut off" [interrupted] to sustain the flow of information:

[The] teacher must not interrupt... [he] must be [follow] step by step. If he asks [a] question to [a] student, [he] must leave him [to] complete his answer because if [the] teacher does this thing, the student in front of him will cut off [disengage]; let the information distributed [flow] or [it will be] destroyed (Teacher C; male).

- Criticism at a low 0.4% was apparently used by Teachers A, B, & C (males) in association with a perceived lack of progress and failure to engage in class discussion:

6. *I think I've done [a] big effort but without any benefit (Teacher A; male)*

7. *You are university students... you aren't high school students (Teacher B; male)*

8. *You are not with us; you are sleeping (Teacher C; male)*

Teacher A praised himself for “doing big effort” (6) and criticised the class for lacking progress (without any benefit). Despite such unconstructive criticism, the students did not object or argue; they appeared to endure criticism in silence.

Teacher B (7) criticised his class for low competence by comparing them with high school students. Though the students were dissatisfied, they did not contradict the teacher, for he possessed the authority to criticise, be it unconstructively.

In (8), Teacher C caught a student “daydreaming”. He asked her a question, and she looked in bewilderment. Her classmate tried to help by whispering something, but it was too late; the teacher had delivered his verdict. In all three cases of such criticism, the students protested in silence.

To a certain extent, tolerance or compliance to teacher power is by convention embedded in the Arab culture; students traditionally show respect by remaining silent and only speak when asked [37].

The reported incidents of criticism (6–8) appear unconstructive. They lacked a well-reasoned opinion and gave negative personal comments in a non-friendly manner. Such unconstructive criticism is associated with irresponsible teacher behaviour and can “harm the teacher–student relationship and fuel retaliation by the students as a response” [38]. Unconstructive criticism could also lead to “reduced motivation and limited engagement with future feedback” [39].

- Coercion was observed only in the case of Teacher A (male):

9. *You are playing with your phone... looking at your photos. You'll be doing [repeating] Reading Two next semester.*

10. *I'll fail you all. Next semester you'll be doing Reading Two.*

11. *If I come to class, and [you] ask me [I/you] need [a] pencil, I may throw you from the window.*

In (9) a strong, perhaps unwarranted, form of coercion (repeating Reading 2) was applied to reprimand a student who was looking at photos in her mobile phone during the lecture. Quite embarrassed, she put her phone away and looked down silently.

In (10), as the class failed to answer a question (What is the next word?), the teacher resorted to unwarranted coercion; this time to “fail all”. The students objected silently, for premeditated silence can be interpreted as protest [40]. Silent protest meant the students withdrew from further class interaction.

Coercion recurred on a third, less harmful occasion; being thrown “from the window” if they do not bring their pencils (11). Grinning at each other, the students took this with some sense of humour (perhaps “humorous coercion”).

12.4 Pro-social strategies

The pro-social strategies displayed by the case teacher (30.7%) suggest a moderate level of positive power.

- Politeness (20.5%) was affected with expressions, such as *please/ can/ could/ would you?* which helped to reduce the impact of command. According to Teacher A (male), who exhibited a low rate of politeness (3.1%), politeness can be applied in a pragmatic fashion:

It depends on the type of student; some students need to be ordered... some of them, but most of them prefer to be treated politely (Teacher A; male).

Such differential treatment by teachers may give the impression of unfairness or injustice.

Teacher B (male) expressed preference for using politeness, which he claims to apply, but at 24.7% rate of politeness power, this claim was unrealistic:

I like to be more polite [when I] to use [use] these [this] power. As you know, they (the students) are adults and they need high respect. (Teacher B; male).

The highest rate of politeness among the case teachers was demonstrated by Teacher D (female) at 30.2%. She confirmed:

I want to give instructions with politeness or to see [the] difference between giving orders and giving polite structures. So, could, may... I like to use them a lot in my teaching, to be honest. (Teacher D; female)

- Teachers' total complement power (10%) was used primarily to praise and motivate students, e.g. *good; that's good; thank you; well done; excellent*. When used, forms of praise encouraged the students to take part in class discussion/ activity without worrying too much about mistakes. Teacher E (female) acknowledged linguistically incorrect responses without bothering to correct. Teacher D (female) frequently used compliment to encourage contribution regardless of quality:

I want you to answer questions with no worry; do not worry if you answer wrong way [wrongly], just try to express yourself (Teacher D; female).

Error tolerance by teachers did encourage student contribution; it reduced anxiety and facilitated stress-free learning [41, 42]. Other teachers, e.g. Teacher A, rarely offered compliment (1.8%). A lack of complement, coupled with unconstructive criticism, raises anxiety and may harm affective learning [3].

- Though reward power (0.2%) was seldom used by the case teachers, it was offered in a bizarre manner by Teacher A (male):

12. *If you tell me [the] right topic, you [can] go to Reading 3 from now.*

13. *I think I [will] let you pass to Reading 3.*

The students were “promised” to pass to the next level of reading and “from now” if they could guess the topic for a given paragraph, which is neither practical nor acceptable.

A more pragmatic way to apply reward power was used by Teacher E (female); she offered extra marks to encourage student participation:

14. *You'll get ten marks for class participation (Teacher E; female).*

Teacher F (female) also followed a similar reward tactic:

15. *If you need to collect more marks, you have to discuss and speak (Teacher F; female).*

12.5 Teacher Power and gender

Table 4 demonstrates antisocial power and pro-social power by male and female teachers. It reveals case teachers' individual power strategies (A%–F%) and percent-ages (sum%). “Ratios” (across) represent TP ratios for each teacher.

Remarkable gender differences in TP have emerged. Anti-social strategies were applied less frequently (59.2%) by females than the males (77.6%). This finding is in agreement with previous studies, e.g. [13, 15, 43, 44]. Moreover, the females exhibited higher pro-social power (40.8%), which is almost twice as much as the males (22.4%). That is, the female teachers displayed a tendency to use more politeness, complement, and reward strategies than their male counterpart. This inclination towards positive pro-social power helped reduce learner anxiety and created a relaxed classroom atmosphere for the student–teachers, hence attracting active involvement [45], an observation that was less evident in the male classes.

Figure 1 highlights gender differences concerning antisocial power strategies.

Commanding by the male teachers was more evident (49.3%) than the females (19.8%). The female teachers also mitigated command power through what was termed “command softening” by introducing attenuating expressions, such as *try to*

TPS		Male Teachers				TP Ratio	Female Teachers				TP Ratio
		A%	B%	C%	Sum%		D%	E%	F%	Sum%	
ATP	Command	68.2	41.8	37.6	49.3	3.5	20.7	16.4	32.6	19.8	1.4
	Questioning	22.1	25.5	12.2	19.1		32.2	22.1	32.6	34	
	Interruption	0	0	13.5	4.5		0.6	0.8	12.8	4.3	
	Criticism	1.8	5.1	0.7	2.3		0	0	0	0	
	Coercion	2.1	0	0	1.0		0	0	0	0	
	Subtotal	94.2	72.4	64	77.6		53.5	39.3	77	59.2	
PTP	Politeness	3.1	24.7	21.2	15.3	1	30.2	19.1	11.9	25.8	1
	Compliment	1.8	2.9	14.8	6.3		16.3	40.2	6	14	
	Reward	0.9	0	0	0.3		0	1.3	0.4	0.2	
	Subtotal	5.8	27.7	36	22.4		46.5	60.6	18.3	40.8	
	Ratios	16.2:1	2.6:1	1.8:1	3.5:1		1.1:1	0.6:1	4.2:1	1.4:1	

Table 4.
Male versus female teacher power.

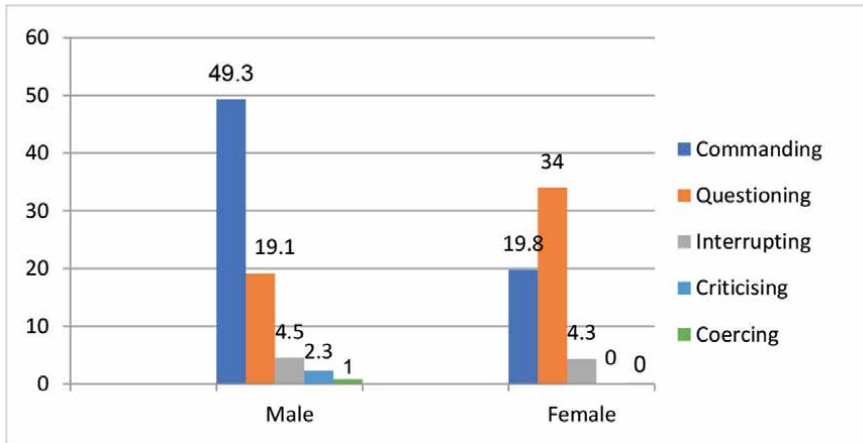


Figure 1.
ATP contrast by male and female teachers.

and *just...*, which helped to mitigate the impact of command power, a technique that was not detected in the male teachers’ discourse.

Interruption power was applied almost equally by both sexes (4.5% by males; 4.3% by females). Whereas criticism, unconstructive at that, was exercised 22 times (2.3%) by the male teachers, it was absent from the females’ discourse, i.e. zero criticism. The same was also true for coercion power (zero coercion). This “uncritical non-coercive” tactic minimised female teacher power and created an increasingly relaxed and stress-free learning environment that supported active participation.

Contrasting male and female pro-social power (**Figure 2**) reveals more politeness strategies (21.5%) by the female teachers (14.8%), which is consistent with findings in [13, 42, 43] endorsing decreased female power.

Instead, the female teachers appeared to apply a much higher proportion of complement strategies (14%) than the males (6.3%), a result that conforms to those in [11, 43, 44]. Reward power was negligent and almost similar for both males and females (0.3% and 0.2% consecutively).

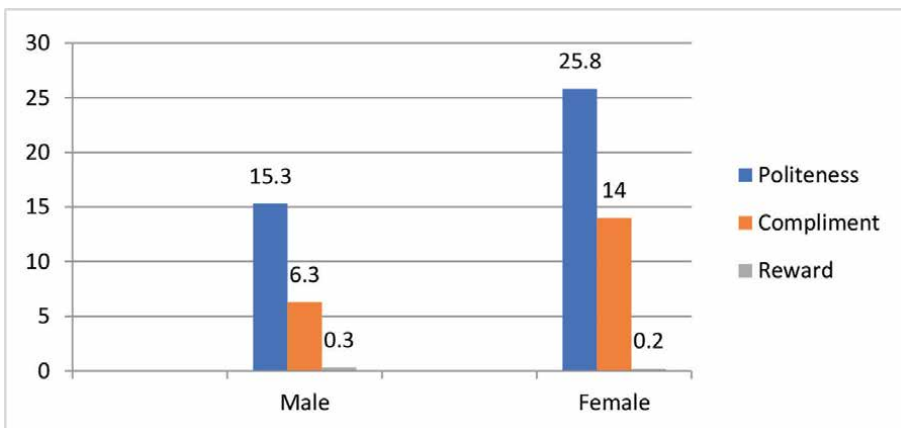


Figure 2.
PTP by the male and female teachers.

Based on TP ratios (**Table 4**), it is apparent that the females adopted a far more balanced approach to teacher power than their male counterparts did. Remarkably, female Teacher D was the only one who manifested a higher rate of pro-social than anti-social power (0.6:1).

Teacher F (female), nonetheless, broke the pattern of female pro-social power dominance. She had displayed a higher anti-social power ratio of 4.2 to 1 by exerting a high level of command (32.6%) and interruption (12.8%).

Gender differences in teacher power as outlined in the findings could be explained in terms of masculine versus feminine discourse features. The male teachers tend to adopt a more masculine style of discourse demonstrated through the exertion of command power, which stretched to a relatively high 49.3% in contrast with the females' 19.8% (**Figure 1**). Moreover, the female teachers employed compassionate feminine features of discourse notably through expressions of politeness (25.8% against 15.3% for males) and compliment (14% as opposed to 6.3% by males) as **Figure 2** demonstrates.

12.6 Student: teachers reactions

The student-teachers' perception of and reaction to teacher power are discussed in terms of ant-social and pro-social power. Concerning antisocial power, tolerable and intolerable forms were discussed. When applicable, the number of students (out of 47) who preferred a particular aspect of power is included.

12.6.1 Tolerable anti-social power

Unanimously, the student-teachers acknowledged ATP and accepted that teachers have a privilege to exercise command, questioning, interruption, criticism, or coercion but at an appropriate tolerable level. The students believe that antisocial power can be tolerated when used for the following purposes: accomplish pedagogic objectives or maintain discipline (S1, S5, S8), get attention (S2, S5), issue instruction (S3, S5, S6), pose questions (S7), maintain respect (S8) or, to a certain extent, interrupt students (S6). The following excerpts reveal some of the students' attitudes to ATP:

S1: [The] teacher must control students because there have [has] to be discipline in the class. [A]teacher without power, his students will not take him seriously.

S2: Power of teacher is very important to make students focus; [so that they] do not get to lose [lost] in the lecture.

S3: Sometimes power is good when it is about the lesson (giving instruction). [In that case] It is good. It is not bad.

S4: I think it's [asking questions] the key for understanding. If [the] teacher does not have [ask] any questions, the students will have the same thing [knowledge]. It's my opinion.

S5: I would prefer high power. It helps learning in class when [the teacher has] high use of power or authority. It will help [when] we are forced to concentrate, focus, grab your [our] attention...leads to better understanding.

S6: It [interruption] helps to give information; sometimes it is good when [a] student say[s] something wrong just to explain this point; maybe to correct your answer and put another idea for your answer so [to] help.

S7: Teacher power is [a] good idea to control the class. Students must be control [controlled] and maybe [make them] love [the] subject...to answer it [questions] in [the] final...to respect [the] teacher like dads and sons.

12.6.2 Intolerable anti-social power

All the students opposed excessive use of anti-social power. For them, overuse of power (expressed as “power” or “high power”) was unacceptable; it deeply harmed their emotional well-being, e.g. feeling afraid (S10, S11, S12); scared (S11, S12, S13); discouraged (S8); uncomfortable (S8, S9); unconfident (S10, S11). More importantly, excessive anti-social power affected students’ cognitive development (S9, S12), keeping up with lecture (S8); asking questions (S9, S10, S11, S12); expressing opinions (S10); participating in activities (S8, S13):

S8: High power will make us uncomfortable in [when] asking questions and in thinking [keeping up] with him [the teacher] and sharing ideas. It will affect [us] for sure, especially for [in] English learning.

S9: The teacher that has high power can make me feel afraid to speak and ask questions; afraid to say my opinion. It makes me hard [uneasy] to feel confident when speaking.

S10: It will be hard to ask questions to the teacher that have [who has] high power and hard to feel confident to talk with the teacher; [I] feel scared... afraid he will not accept my question.

S11: I think it [high power] will affect participation. It makes students scared to ask questions. If so afraid [to ask], they will not learn.

S12: If [the] teacher was very powerful on [over] his students will be negatively affected by the teacher.

S13: When the teacher uses power too much, [he/she] becomes scary [and] of course, students will not participate; [they] will feel frightened. He should be [in] command but in a formal way, not over-control [over-powerful].

Specific strategies of anti-social power, e.g. command were rejected by most students (39). Instead, they preferred a modified or mitigated version of command:

S14: The student should feel being asked to do something not being ordered and that would make [a] difference.

S15: I do not like [the] teacher when [he/she] say[s] ‘do that’, ‘not to do that’. I think ‘please’, ‘could you’, ‘do you mind’ is more politely [polite].

Teacher interruption power was a thorny issue. A majority of the students (39) disliked being interrupted for no reason, especially when frequent. It could lead to a loss of focus and withdrawal from an activity.

S16: When the teacher interrupt[s] anyone [it] is not polite and I'll not be comfortable with [the] teacher who interrupt[s] me all the time. Ok, I will not focus, and I will not say anything.

Teacher interruption for cognitive aims was nevertheless tolerated by most students (32), e.g. to supplement or rectify a response (S18), or to correct grammar/pronunciation mistakes (S19).

S17: Sometimes [it's] good for teachers, maybe to correct an answer and put another idea to help [the] student; to give him some words to him keep going. Sometimes [a student] [is] feeling shy, so interrupt[ion] maybe [may] help the student.

S18: I like [the] teacher when [he/she] correct[s] my grammar mistakes. I want [to] improve grammar to be [a] good teacher. Sometimes [the] teacher correct[s] pronunciation. In speaking, pronunciation must be in [a] good way.

However, being interrupted for non-cognitive purposes, e.g. when making a presentation, expressing an opinion, or when engaged in an open activity or conversation was equally disliked by a majority of students (42), for they lose the point or ideas (S19, S20, S22), get confused (S19, S20), lose confidence (S20), feel unimportant (S21):

S19: Teacher interruption confuse[s] me; I lose the point. That happens with me many times. [It] make[s] me confused.

S20: When [the] teacher interrupted [interrupts] that will interfere in our way; [the] students will not feel confident.

S21: It [interruption] makes me feel [that] what I say is not important and I do not have to participate again.

S22: When you talk about something and [the] teacher interrupt[s] you, your ideas going [vanish] and you cannot say anything else.

One student praised her (female) teacher who encouraged her students to speak freely without paying attention to mistakes. Such attitude of error tolerance was praised by all students:

S23: I like her way (Teacher D). She said we should speak with no worry about [the] mistakes we do. Now I feel confidence [confident] to speak in her class.

Criticism was a sensitive issue for students. Now, criticism overlaps with interruption; a teacher may criticise immediately by interrupting a student while speaking, or later through delayed criticism. In either case, (immediate or delayed) criticality can be constructive or unconstructive, a topic of interest under corrective feedback. Whatever the case may be, a large majority (45) hated immediate criticism to the point of complete withdrawal, especially in front of peers:

S24: I do not like [it] when [the] teacher criticise[s] me in front of [the] class. I feel embarrassed; it's not good for me if [the] teacher [is] critical all the time; I stop talking.

The students also thought that the teacher should have ample space to listen to them first, then criticise later (delayed criticism):

S25: The teacher has got enough time to criticise or when he wants to say something. The teacher has to listen carefully and then respond and interact with the students.

Criticising students for improper behaviour was deemed a teacher's duty by all students, so long as he/she deals with in a professional non-provocative manner.

In response to Teacher A's coercive power, the students reacted to two types of coercion. One was unwarranted (threat of being failed) which they met with silent resistance on two occasions and withdrew from further contribution, a counter-productive consequence to coercive treatment. Keeping silent was the only form of resistance whilst maintaining respect for the teacher. On a third coercive incident, a humorous variety of coercion (the threat of being thrown out of the window if they do not bring their pencils) emerged. The students took this unlikely threat with a sense of humour.

12.6.3 Pro-social power

Contrary to the students' views on high or anti-social power, they unanimously favoured teachers who exercised pro-social power more often, e.g. politeness and complement. Instead of exerting control purely to impose authority, they expected teachers to come down to students' level. The students argued that teacher politeness and praise make them feel less anxious and more motivated to participate. Such pro-social approach to power manifestation created a friendly and relaxed atmosphere (S27; S28; S30), facilitated a positive learning environment (S27; S28), and encouraged active participation (S28; S29).

S26: Teachers who minimise [power] are better; this makes you love [the] teachers more and appreciate and respect them more.

S27: Less power helps to feel relaxed in the lecture, [the result of which is] asking and understanding more.

S28: Politeness is very good to use because [it] make[s] [the] teacher have [a] relationship like father and sons. I like this teacher to learn and participate with.

S29: The students will feel comfortable with the teacher and they will not get embarrassed because they will feel relaxed; the students feel being asked to do something not ordered and that would make [a] difference.

12.6.4 Balance of power

The students clearly disapproved of excessive teacher power. It raised anxiety and negatively affected class contribution. Surprisingly, however, a high degree of pro-social power was unfavourably perceived. It emerged from the focus group discussions that a balance of power was appropriate. Teacher power should neither be too high to depress and dissuade active participation nor too low to drop teacher respect:

S30: When [a] teacher does not have power, I will not understand or I can understand but not like one [who] has power in teaching. At the same time over of power [overpower] it [!] will not help the student; so [it should be] in the middle.

S31: Not too low [power], not too high level, because I need to feel that person in front of me is a teacher and he deserves respect because of his position.

S32: I hate [it] when [a] teacher become [becomes] closer [too close] to students because they would not be so polite with him; he will lose place [status].

S33: I prefer the medium between them [anti and pro-social power], because eventually he is a teacher, and he is on the top of students [has higher status]; I think he should be in the middle.

13. Conclusion

Teacher power manifestation, overall, was loaded with anti-social power more so than pro-social power, resulting in over double the ratio (2.3:1). Command (36.7%) was the most commonly used power to give instruction and maintain control, questioning rated second (26.4%) with more open questions to engage students. Interruption appeared much less (4.5%) mainly to correct mistakes. Occasions of unconstructive criticism (1.3%) and unwarranted coercion (0.4%) were unwelcome and confronted with silent protest.

Remarkable gender differences emerged. The females revealed far less anti-social power in terms of command, but employed questioning techniques that motivated student interaction. The impact of female command power was mitigated by “command softening”. Little gender differences occurred regarding interruption or reward. On the other hand, a higher ratio of politeness and compliment was observed which. In combination with zero criticism and zero coercion and a tolerance for error, notably reduced student anxiety and facilitated livelier class participation.

The findings align with those by [46, 46] who assert that females utilise feminine communication strategies, e.g. hedging, polite forms, and question intonations. In contrast, men dwell on a masculine style of discourse where they use less polite language and are insensitive about question intonation. Therefore, to enhance teacher–student communication and inspire positive learning environments, it is strongly recommended that teachers, males in particular, revise their classroom practices of power use and their perceptions of how power strategies influence learning.

The students acknowledged the teachers’ privilege to exercise power, e.g. command and questioning to facilitate instruction. Interrupting was welcome to augment response or correct mistakes, but not while engaged in dialogue or a presentation.

The students tolerated endured unconstructive criticism and unwarranted coercion with silent resistance. Whereas excessive anti-social power discouraged contribution, teachers with low power risked losing students’ respect. Teachers should therefore balance their act of power in such a way that it is not too anti-social to trigger anxiety and discourage participation, nor should it be highly pro-social to lose control.

14. Implications

Libyan EFL teachers and educators are encouraged to undergo a shift in attitudes from traditional and inefficient teacher-centred approaches to learner-centred pedagogy that is based on “students’ needs and shared power relations” [47]. Since teacher power strategies are critical to effective teaching [6], teachers should employ them consciously to facilitate learning and advance learner cognitive development. Accordingly, teachers must self-monitor their teaching styles and how they exercise power in order to facilitate not dominate.

According to the notion of affective filter hypothesis [48], factors such as anxiety, motivation, and self-confidence influence learning. Therefore, teachers are advised to minimise anti-social power, e.g. unnecessary interruption, unconstructive criticism, and unwarranted coercion, which hinder learner motivation and self-confidence. Using command softening techniques to mitigate power also reduce anxiety and contribute to creating positive affective learning. It is not how frequent anti-social power occurs that is consequential; it is the impact on students’ emotional state of well-being that is at stake. Silent resistance, commensurate with Libyan Arab culture, in response to unconstructive criticism or unwarranted coercion, is a point in case.

Notwithstanding the apparently frequent mistakes reflected by the students’ verbatim quotations, a tolerance for error in EFL teacher education is an issue of concern since the objective is to produce competent language teachers. While error tolerance has been shown to encourage stress-free engagement in speaking lessons, it may be argued that tolerance for grammar errors, particularly in the teaching of grammar, can be counterproductive since the student–teachers are expected to teach grammar after graduation.

Therefore, a skill-oriented error tolerance approach could be tuned to harmonise with certain teaching activities. For example, in teaching speaking, students are infrequently interrupted, but not so in teaching grammar or writing. In the latter case, students are often required to respond in short target-structure form; hence, teacher interruption does more good than harm.

15. Limitations

The authors acknowledge the fact that the case study is based on a small number of teachers (six). Arguably, a case study typically entails a small sample of participants within a reasonably controlled environment [49], where “the experiences, features, behaviours, and processes of a bounded unit” are understood in context [50]. More specifically, case study research pursues to answer questions of “how a phenomenon is influenced by the context within which it is situated” [51], an issue that cannot satisfactorily be answered through quantitative enquiry. Additionally, this study investigates, for the first time as it happens, how teacher power is truly manifested through Libyan EFL teacher educators discourse. Research is invited to expand the scope and reliability of the current findings to encompass other faculties of education and/or pedagogy contexts within Libya or beyond.

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By focusing on “new materiality,” this edited volume offers new optics on the affordance of women’s physical and objective body. The interdisciplinary essays assembled in the book interrogate the concepts of corporeality and embodiment by interpreting them as material enactivism of a woman’s physical body geared toward performance and demonstration, respectively. The book situates body/ bodily movements as agentic initiatives to make sense of women’s bodies (in) motion. Although flesh in its constitution, a woman’s body is the very material entity that does not only perform what it is expected to do (for its many audiences as in spectacle) but also its corporeality imputes a demonstrative kinetics hitherto associated with the objective body in recent social theorizing.

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