En-Gender 2021
Interdisciplinary explorations of Gender Studies

edited by

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Paridhi Gupta is a postdoctoral fellow at the Institute of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies (ISEK) at the University of Zurich. She has a PhD in Gender Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), India. Her work focusses on the intersection of art, space and feminist resistance. Currently she is working on creative methodological interventions into the study of social movements. She is additionally also interested in visual regimes, human geography and digital humanities. It is her endeavour to create inclusive pedagogy in higher education institutes and founded the peer support group, 'The Rewrite Academy' (TRA). The aim is to make academia more accessible to scholars around the globe.

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Lucy is an Editor working for Emerald Group Publishing, working on making peer review and research more trustworthy and accessible. She holds a Master of Science in the History of Medicine from the University of Glasgow where she focused on asylum architecture in eighteenth century in France and England. Her interests include the intersections of mental health, gender, sexuality and politics, and was an Editor and co-conference organizer at En-Gender from 2020-2022.

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Leandro is a PhD Candidate at the Department of Indigenous Studies, Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University. His research focuses on connecting the decolonial/anticolonial work presented in the Colonial Project of Gender, by Prof. O'Sullivan, with the Modern/Colonial System of Gender, by la Maestra Lugones. At the same, putting in conversation the work being done in both continents. He is an editor for the EnGender! Online Journal, and a co-host of the podcast "En-Gender Conversations"

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Jasmine Pham is an English language educator and Ph.D student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE). She holds a B.Ed in Secondary Education from the University of Alberta and an M.Ed in Educational Leadership and Policy from OISE. She is currently a member of OISE's Student Experience Committee and a mentor for OISE's mentorship program. She also served as the Administrative Officer for the Comparative, International and Development Education Student Association. Prior to pursuing her graduate studies, Jasmine taught English as a Foreign language for two years at Miyang Elementary School in Seoul, South Korea. Currently, Jasmine works part-time as an Academic Coach and supports Ontario students with weak executive functioning skills while completing her doctoral studies. Her research interests include English language education, teacher development, native-speakerism, international education policies, culturally responsive teaching, anti-racist education, and gender socialization.

Ashley Thompson

Ashley has recently finished doing an MRes in History at the University of Glasgow, researching masculinities within the University of St Andrews at the end of the sixteenth century. She is hoping to do a PhD, looking at masculinities across all Scottish universities during the same period. Whilst doing her degree, Ashley has also been the Chair of the UofG Postgraduate Conference, which had 'Voice' as its theme this year and took place in June. Ashley has previously published with En-Gender! and taken part in their 2021 conference, exploring gender behaviours in the high medieval period: another passion area. When she's not dedicating her time to academia (which feels like most of the time) she can be found in her local Brewdog with pals, or reading fantasy books in her flat. She also runs a theatre company – Bottom's Up Theatre – with her husband, which explores history through the medium of theatre.

Paul Thompson

Paul Thompson retired from a Civil Service career in 2010, and immediately embarked on a scholarly journey. They achieved a 1st Class BA Honours degree in English Literature from the Open University, followed by a Master's with Distinction in Literature & Modernity from the University of Edinburgh. At the time of writing, Paul is close to submitting their Doctoral thesis, at the University of St Andrews, on the challenges of/to masculinity in cheap lesbian-themed novels of the mid-twentieth century. After this they intend – somehow – to become the "factory cat" there, and to haunt the corridors of Academe for ever…

Zoe Tongue

Zoe L. Tongue (she/they) is a Lecturer in Law at the University of Leeds and PhD Candidate at Durham Law School. They hold an LLM from Warwick Law School and an LLB (Hons) from Durham Law School. Zoe's PhD is on abortion, international human rights, and feminist theory, and she is also interested in reproductive justice, social movements, and science fiction. Zoe recently worked as a research assistant for the Cambridge Centre for Animal Rights Law, researching the animal rights movement as interconnected with other social justice movements.

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Magali Segovia is a graduate student finishing her Licenciatura in History thesis on the feminist paper "The Irish Citizen" with a gender studies approach. From this research arose her interests in the construction of global peripheries and in individual countries. As well as how people were and are racialized. She uses Decolonial Feminist, the Decolonial Turn and Philosophy of Liberation Epistemologies. She is a member of the research groups *Culturas letradas: publicaciones periódicas, revistas culturales y literatura memorialista en el siglo XX. De las redes intelectuales y políticas al libro y la edición* and *Desandando caminos en pos de nuevos sures: Reflexiones y praxis contrahegemónicas en clave interdisciplinaria.*

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International Affairs Graduate from the University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, and Masters in Gender, Society and Representation at UCL, Mónica M. Vázquez has specialized in Gender History through his research on topics such as the 1991 Swiss women's strike and women's repression during Spanish Francoism. Currently, she is exploring sex, gender and the body in Early Modern Spain, with a special focus on hermaphroditism. She regularly writes about gender history for divulgative publications such as *Bruxismo, Tibia* or *Polikracia,* and spends her free time making music and embroidering.

Ruth-Anne Walbank

Ruth-Anne Walbank is a PhD candidate at the University of Warwick, researching ecological hellscapes in the long nineteenth century. With a background in eco-theology in education following her time as a research associate at St Mary's University, Twickenham, alongside her specialism in Gothic literature from her MA at Lancaster University, her work uncovers the intersections of theology and environments in popular culture. Her other research interests include nineteenth-century women's writing, feminist geographies, and Gothic theologies. Ruth also co-founded the creative writing programme, the Literary Lancashire Award, has organised conferences such as 'EDI for the Modern University', and works as the Reviews Editor for Fantastika journal.

Introduction

by *Jessica A. Albrecht*

Welcome to *En-Gender 2021. Interdisciplinary Explorations of Gender Studies*. We are particularly proud to publish this volume and warmly welcome all our readers. This is the first edited volume by the *En-Gender!* collective, the loved outcome of our first conference in 2021. Like the conference, this piece of work is a collaborative conjuncture of various approaches and topics within the broad field of gender studies and its related disciplines, such as queer studies, gender history and post/de-colonial studies. We are very glad that we were able to put together such a vast variety of scholars and studies from different disciplines and countries in the world. We were aiming at creating two things with this volume. On the one hand, it highlights the scholarship of many postgraduate and early career scholars and enables new perspectives by putting them in relation. On the other hand, we, the En-Gender! team, also wanted to use this space as a place to reflect on our personal experiences with hosting a conference and putting this volume together.

Our conference *En-Gender 2021* took place online in August 2021. Even if it was our first conference, we were able to invite various special guests from almost every continent on this planet to enrich our conference with challenging and thoughtful workshops as well as top-of-the-notch keynote presentations. We were delighted that all of them wanted to become a part of this and helped us so much in creating the space we wanted to create. Moreover, our call for papers was responded to by so many amazing abstracts that our three-day conference was completely packed and we had to run two parallel panels throughout the days. This was not what we had intended in the first place, since we wanted to enable everyone to listen to all presentations they were interested in, but we decided that looking into our screens for 6 hours a day was quite enough.

Even though we might have dreamed about this outcome, we were very surprised by the size of the event and the immense positive feedback we received during the conference and in the weeks that followed. *En-Gender!* has had a short, but turbulent history. At the beginning of 2018, editor and co-founder Jessica met with five fellow students from the University of Glasgow, most of whom were studying Gender History, at a famous Glaswegian pizza place. During the course of lunch and much complaint about the work one has to put into a lot of writing at university without anyone actually reading the papers in the end, the idea popped up to create a platform for people like us who did not want their essays to disappear on the forgotten folders on their computers. Using the title *Engendering the Past*, 8 initial articles were published. However, the newborn went

back to sleep for a while – just to reappear in a more international and interdisciplinary format in spring 2020.

With it came a change in the editorial team. As the pandemic created a world more distanced and more connected at the same time, we built our new team of scholars from various parts of the world and disciplinary backgrounds. During the last years, the project was re-named *En-Gender!* and developed into much more than an online journal. Even though the core of *En-Gender!* is still publishing working papers, commentaries, and a blog, we started to host a podcast and used the energy sparked by the *En-Gender 2021* conference to create a network and a directory for resources on any scholarly topic related to gender. As with the working paper series, our general aim is to publish and present scholarship in the wide and diverse field of gender studies and connected fields, and, specifically, to highlight the work and research of postgraduate and early career researchers. Further, *En-Gender!* is a platform where we can share not only our research, but also our experiences and struggles we face being scholars affected by gender related difficulties in our institutions and being scholars looking at topics which are, still, often dismissed in our disciplines.

During the last years, the *En-Gender!* team has grown into a supportive, energetic and wonderful group of researchers and activists and it was a pleasure to expand this space during the *En-Gender 2021* conference. We were delighted to meet all those participating in *En-Gender 2021*, who shared this space of engagement, discussion, friendship and fun. We were able to learn with and from each other, being connected throughout the globe; we discussed a lot, laughed even more, and sometimes even shared some tears. We hoped that everyone felt welcomed, wanted and valued for who they are and for their ideas regardless of academic status, ethnicity, disability, gender, orientation, skin colour, religious background or financial background. Voices, ideas and personage matter! Inclusivity might be a topic often raised in academia, but much less actually carried out. Therefore, it was our main aim to take a step into the right direction of being open and welcoming and showing that scholarship can benefit from inclusivity – and lacks a lot otherwise.

In many ways, this conference in its international and interdisciplinary way was made possible only because we had to do it online. As much as we would have loved to meet all participants and listeners in person, the online format allowed us to make the space as open, inviting and inclusive as possible. It allowed us to reach out to both a larger pool of researchers as well as to a larger audience. The interdisciplinary aspect was very present both in the call for papers as in the construction of the different panels. We felt that having different backgrounds in the same panel was very important. When deciding on the panels, the first sorting was centered on general topics,

given by the presented papers, but not all of them necessarily came from the same field. It allowed us to play with the possibility of fruitful exchanges and perspectives.

We decided to host the conference in a closed environment rather than on an open video conference tool so that there was less chance of people crushing the presentations and to limit any hurtful content. English language live captures were available to accommodate abilities and foreign language sufficiencies. Furthermore, we did not record the workshops and panels to lessen the pressure. However, the video conference tool used allowed everyone to come back and review the commentaries in each panel and connect to the other researchers during the conference individually or even after the conference ended.

We encouraged everyone to take any break needed, since three days of sitting in front of the screen are long and exhausting. Everyone should be mindful of the fact that most of the presenters were giving a paper and conversing in English which is not their first language or even second. Since many people joined from their private homes, it was important to us that any interruptions, may it be children, relatives or pets, are/felt welcomed.

When we put out the call for papers for the conference, we left the suggested topics as open as possible - and were highly rewarded for it. As said before, our panels consisted of diverse topics ranging across many disciplines. As a result, the methodologies and theories differed a lot. Still, most contributors and discussants were interested in the topics and provided valuable feedback on the approaches presented by the speakers.

The same is the case in this edited volume. We did not confine the authors to stick to specific paper formats to accommodate the differing approaches of their respective disciplines. This is why they sometimes differ in style and form. Still, the papers were peer reviewed as well as reviewed by the editors so that each paper could benefit from at least one perspective from another field. We believe that the contributions became much richer because of it. The reviewing process was monitored by myself and when difficulties arose such as differing opinions of the reviewer and the author, I tried to settle them, stressing that it is always the author's last word that counts. In academia, we often complain about the reviewing process and the "harsh second reviewer". This volume should be different, also when it comes to the relationship between author and reviewer and the value that is put onto the text as being the product of a lot of work and love put into it by the author.

Language, Literature and Culture

The Impact of Gender on the Teaching Experience of Native English-Speaking Teachers

by *Jasmine Pham*

Due to our increasingly interconnected world, the importance of English and English education has resulted in the creation of English programs where international Native English-Speaking Teachers (NESTs) are hired to teach alongside local Non-Native English-Speaking Teachers (NNESTs) (EPIK 2022). South Korea's English Program in Korea (EPIK) alone has recruited thousands of English teachers since its inception in 2009 (Jeon 2009; Jeon & Lee 2006). Current literature that addresses the teaching experience of NESTs, though, often generalizes these teachers as young, white, and largely untrained male graduates hailing from predominantly white countries (Wang & Lin 2013; Jeon 2009; Ruecker & Ives 2015). These assumptions have raised questions on the professional legitimacy and development of NESTs (Wang & Lin 2013; Jeon 2009; Ruecker & Ives 2015). However, I have yet to find research on how this may impact male and female teachers differently.

Schools can be seen as sites that reinforce gender norms (Unterhalter 2008), and in many East Asian countries, the teaching profession is still seen as a traditionally "feminine" role (Chen & Rao 2011). Therefore, addressing how gender influences the interactions of NESTs with their colleagues is essential in understanding the professional development of English teachers who teach English in East Asia. In fact, despite the perception that the teaching profession is feminine, Rivers and Ross' (2013) study in Japan regarding parental preference for NESTs indicates that there is a "strong preference for White male teachers aged 30 to 35" (334). As a result, we often see the native and non-native dichotomy as white male NESTs who teach alongside local East Asian female NNESTs (Ahn, Choi & Kiaer 2020). The reason for this preference in male teachers, and how this impacts the professional development of female and male teachers differently, has yet to be investigated. Consequently, studies on the professional development of NESTs have largely centered on the white, male experience.

To cover this research gap, I examined the impact of gender on the professional development of NESTs with a focus on gender socialization, the social process by which individuals learn how to behave due to their gender identity (Orr 2011). My analysis was shaped by the following research question: How does South Korean gender norms and gender socialization impact the teaching experience of foreign male and female NESTs differently?

Gender Socialization

Research on gender socialization demonstrates that gendered norms play a large role in the formation of habits and behaviours among boys and girls and influences how they act with one another (Orr 2011). According to Orr, schools often act as institutes that promote gender socialization as children are "encouraged to participate in gender-typed activities" (272). In South Korea, a culture deeply influenced by Confucianism, this means young boys and girls grow up with a different set of expectations (Lin & Lin 2012). In fact, the traditional norm of son preference, where parents prefer having sons over daughters, is still prevalent in South Korea and heavily so (Hwang, Lee & Lee 2019). This is due to the perception that sons will carry on the family line, while daughters will leave their homes upon marriage and become mothers of their future husband's household instead (Lin & Lin, 2012; Hwang, Lee & Lee 2019). As a result, sons are usually encouraged to study, while girls often shoulder household chores and make time on their own for homework (Lin & Lin 2012).

Gendered activities and socialization developed at a young age may seem trivial, but these expectations and perceived differences continue to impact how people socialize as teenagers and adults (Baily & Holmarsdottir 2015). As South Korean men progress through life, they go from receiving encouragement to study hard, to receiving advice to enter fields with high economic returns or high social prestige. On the other hand, girls are encouraged to be obedient as children, then grow into women who are encouraged to enter fields that enable them to become better wives and mothers (Chen & Rao 2011). In other words, South Korean culture heavily emphasizes a difference in expectations between men and women both inside and outside of the household, which then translates to their expectations for schooling and future employment. According to Hwang, Lee, and Lee (2019), women are expected to obtain higher education because doing so will benefit their families and the overall community, not because it will allow them to make personal and private gains. As a result, a career in education, particularly primary and secondary education where teachers can get summers and other holidays off, are seen as the perfect profession for women. Unfortunately, this has led to the perception that women choose to be teachers because their feminine natures are better suited for the role (Hwang, Lee & Lee 2019). Meanwhile, men who choose to be teachers are perceived to do so because of their passion for education. As such, I argue that gender socialization and South Korean gender norms play a significant role in the gendered discrimination that both female and male NESTs face while teaching English in South Korea.

Methods

The qualitative interview data used for this study is part of a larger study that I carried out in 2020 regarding the professional development of novice and experienced NESTs who had varying teaching backgrounds and qualifications. The interviews were used to gain an in-depth understanding about the experiences that teachers of varying qualifications had with their professional development as well as their integration within their schools. While the questions did not focus on gender, different experiences because related to participants' gender emerged and have been extrapolated for further analysis in this paper.

My sampling design was a case study of NESTs who were a part of EPIK's 2016 Fall intake for public schools in South Korea. I limited my research to people with NEST jobs under the EPIK program and did not consider teachers in international and private schools or other programs such as TALK (Teach and Learn in Korea), as their working conditions and hiring requirements differ vastly. The EPIK program was also chosen due to the accessibility of EPIK teachers through online forums and Facebook groups.

Interview participants were selected from volunteers who had previously completed my online survey regarding their teaching experience with EPIK. To ensure I covered a wide range of experiences for both male and female teachers, I selected five female teachers and five male teachers of varying ages and of different ethnic backgrounds. While I recognize that gender is on a spectrum and that there are variations in sexuality, due to the conservative nature of South Korean culture, my participants worked under a heteronormative and binary environment, and so my data collection and analysis process also functioned under a cis-gender and heteronormative lens.

The individual interviews were approximately 60 minutes in length conducted on the online video conference platform Zoom. The interviews were transcribed and uploaded into NVivo for analysis. The analysis involved a descriptive coding process where each sentence was coded by a descriptive word. Upon completing the coding process, I then examined the data and extrapolated instances where gender played a role in the teaching experience of NESTs, be that with their professional development or sense of belonging.

Participant Details

Participant	Gender	Age Group	Nationality	Ethnicity
A	Male	31-35	American	Laos
B	Female	26-30	American	African
C	Female	26-30	American	Caucasian
D	Female	26-30	Canadian	Caucasian
E	Male	26-30	American	Latino
F	Male	36+	American	Caucasian
G	Female	26-30	English	Turkish
H	Male	26-30	American	Filipino
I	Male	31-35	English	Caucasian
J	Female	21-25	Canadian	Chinese

Findings

In this section the interview data is organized in accordance with the themes addressed in the original interviews and analyzed through a gendered lens.

Expectations and Professional Legitimacy

Over the course of the interviews, various participants, both male and female, mentioned there being a difference in expectation for teachers of different genders. Female NESTs were often perceived as being easy to work with, while male NESTs were perceived to be better at classroom management.

Participant J, a Canadian woman, mentioned her female co-teachers being "glad" that they got a female NEST as women were perceived to be easier to work with, but also lamented that classroom management might be more difficult without a man to help bring some "authority" into the classroom. According to Participant J, all but one of her co-teachers were women and her only male co-teacher oversaw the sixth graders. The reason? Because older boys were harder to discipline and did not listen to their female teachers. She found it weird that they assumed she would struggle with the upper grades and was appalled when they "eased" her into teaching by having her lead the third and fourth grade classes and stay back as an "assistant teacher" for the

fifth and sixth grade classes. Only after she proved that she was a capable teacher did she then get more autonomy with her fifth and sixth graders. Even then, she recalls her teaching experience with her male co-teacher with some disdain:

> *Maybe it was because I was a younger woman, but he was the only co-teacher who expected me to do all the printing and organizing while he led the class. Every other co-teacher I had split the workload evenly. I wasn't asked to do certain tasks because women are 'better' at it. But it could have just been his personality too. Who knows? I learned how to speak up though and by our second semester working together, the workload was quite even. I think he realized I had no trouble running a classroom on my own if it came down to it.*

Similarly, Participant C, an American woman, struggled to have her voice heard while teaching. As a new teacher, she would have questions about the curriculum and wanted to know how she could improve her classroom practices but would often get ignored or have her questions brushed aside. Her co-teachers and principal would say she was doing "fine" to placate her, but her questions were still left unanswered. Over the course of her career with EPIK, Participant C had 15 co-teachers, all women, and only one treated her like a "real" teacher. What set this teacher apart from the others was her focus on collaboration and treating Participant C like a teacher "here to stay" as opposed to a foreigner with "one foot out the door".

Conversely, Participant A, an American man, mentioned that he was involved with classroom management and lesson planning from the outset. Like Participant J, all his co-teachers were women except for one teacher. He mentioned that the teachers were all very supportive and encouraging. Even though Participant A was new to teaching and learning how to classroom manage on the fly, his co-teachers seemed to put a lot of faith in him. In fact, he had a wonderful experience with most of his co-teachers except for the male co-teacher who did not like having to share his classroom with Participant A:

> *He didn't really let me do much, but he was also a new teacher, so I think it had more to do with the fact that he was also really nervous and wasn't sure if he could trust me to run the class with him. Like, he had a lot to lose if he didn't do well. Other than that, though, I was surprised at how much trust and faith my co-teachers had with my abilities. I had no teaching experience before this. I was like a fish out of water.*

Despite his limited teaching experience, Participant A was treated like a professional educator and his suggestions and lessons were respected. Similarly, Participant F, who had prior teaching experience, was very involved with the classroom management and disciplinary side of teaching. He mentioned that he would often use his teacher's voice to help get the class to quiet down or

listen when they were not being attentive in class, especially if they were not listening to his female co-teachers. Overall, Participant F mentioned having an excellent co-teaching dynamic with his co-workers and often split the workload evenly.

When looking at the difference in expectations and professional legitimacy, it appears that due to gender norms, female and male NESTs are treated differently by their co-workers. Although teaching is perceived as a "feminine" job, the professionalism of male teachers seems to be legitimized from the outset while female teachers need to prove their abilities and advocate for themselves to have their voices heard.

Community and Sense of Belonging

When considering how NESTs integrated into their school communities, a pattern emerged showing that female NESTs developed a stronger sense of belonging within their schools than male NESTs did. When looking at the interviews, most female NESTs found that their co-workers were very welcoming and that they had a relatively easy time fitting in with their co-workers. In fact, all female participants except for Participant B mentioned the welcoming nature of their co-workers. Participants D, G and J highlighted that it was not just their co-teachers who were welcoming, but that the entire school including administrative staff welcomed them with open arms.

Participant D admitted that she "wasn't the most social person" but she would always try to reciprocate her co-worker's kindness and gestures. She brought up instances where other teachers would bring snacks to share with her, and she would try to do the same. Meanwhile, Participant G was often invited to go on hiking trips and visit museums with her co-workers. They would also frequently order take-out and dine in together during their breaks. She said it made her feel like she was a "welcomed part of the team". Likewise, Participant J's co-teachers were all extremely welcoming and always invited her to participate in teacher events. She was also close with the school nurse and other members of the teaching staff. According to Participant J, she would often plan outings outside of school related professional development and became great friends with several of her co-teachers. She stated, "I actually still keep in touch with a lot of my previous co-workers from Seoul even after moving back home to Canada last year. It was a really nice experience and I never really felt like an outsider."

Conversely, there was a pattern of isolation for several of our male NESTs. For Participant I, despite trying his best to learn the Korean language and converse with his co-workers, he often felt isolated and had a hard time fitting in with the other staff members at his school. He did not interact with his co-teachers, both female or male, and even felt like a nuisance whenever he had

questions related to lesson planning or classroom management. Likewise, Participant F mentioned that he felt physically left out and even discriminated against. Although Participant F had a good working relationship with his co-teachers, he did not feel like he was welcomed or belonged at his school. His co-workers were cordial, but they were not friends. He even recalls a time when his principal invited all the teachers out for lunch before the summer holidays and only excluded him. He had expected that being a foreigner would make fitting in difficult, but he did not foresee having to face that type of discrimination. It was a disheartening experience for him, but he loved teaching and remained at his school because he had excellent rapport with his students.

As for Participant A, he found that he did not have a hard time interacting and socializing with his co-workers, but it did feel hard at times being one of the few male teachers. A lot of the female teachers would share snacks and they would order food and have him partake in the eating of snacks, but then they would tell him to go rest when it was time to clean up and put things away. It was off-putting and made him feel awkward most of the time. He was not sure if this was because they assumed that he would not be much help cleaning the mess as a male teacher, or if it was because he was a foreigner.

Although the general pattern that emerged suggested that female NESTs had an easier time fitting into their schools, Participant E and B were outliers. Despite being a male NEST, Participant E felt very included at work and even formed an English club where he would meet up with his co-teachers and other staff members to play boardgames and converse in English. This English club was an excellent way for him to feel secure and he thanked his co-teachers for having been so welcoming. Participant E also recognized that his co-workers skewed much younger than some of his other NEST friends and believes that their interest in learning more about English and the United States also helped him with fitting in.

In Participant B's case, she mentioned trying to be friendly, but the other teachers would just shy away. Thinking it was because they did not want to converse in English, Participant B even took Korean classes to brush up on the language. However, her co-workers would still only reply with single word responses or avoid her altogether. Subsequently, as time went on, she would only talk to people when she absolutely had to. Although it was not her personality, she ended up being a "hermit" and felt like she was a "nuisance" whenever she needed to talk to anyone. While she does not want to say that the teachers were actively discriminating against her, she felt that perhaps her African American heritage was why they did not want to interact with her.

While the foreigner label was difficult for all NESTs, male NESTs often had a harder time blending in or feeling welcomed compared to female NESTs. It appears that in Participant E and B's cases though, their ethnicities as well as the age demographic of the South Korean co-workers could

potentially impact their co-workers' tolerance and willingness to welcome a NEST into their community.

Discussion

This study's primary focus was to examine the impact of gender socialization on the professional development of NESTs. The interview results indicated that female NESTs tended to have less professional legitimacy than male NESTs. My findings mirror a recent duo ethnographic study that compared the teaching experiences of Luke Lawrence and Yuzuko Nagashima (2020). Both NESTs taught in East Asia and their teaching experiences differed in that Luke was regarded with more professional legitimacy due to being "white, straight, and male" (52). In fact, this combination "created a perfect package that indicates power and privilege" for those who wish to teach in East Asia (52). Meanwhile, like the female NESTs in my study, Yuzuko struggled with proving her capabilities as an English teacher. It is also important to note that my findings focused specifically on the impact of gender, but Lawrence and Nagashima's study also examined the intersectionality of culture and race. So, while it is true that Yuzuko struggled with professional legitimacy this was compounded due to racist assumptions that perceive white NESTs as better English teachers than NESTs of colour (Ruecker & Ives 2015). So, in addition to her gender, Yuzuko's East Asian heritage impeded on her professional legitimacy

My findings also revealed that female NESTs had an easier time fitting into their schools while male NESTs struggled with their sense of belonging. This contrasts with research in gender socialization where South Korean and Japanese women have a harder time socializing at work than South Korean and Japanese women (Hwang, Lee & Lee 2019). The added burdens of having to be a good mother and wife often prevent East Asian women from socializing with their co-workers and participating in after work activities (Mukherjee 2015). However, current research on the impact of gender socialization tends to focus on women who work in male dominated fields. In the case of teaching, a traditionally female dominated field, the expectation to network and socialize after work hours are lower. As a result, socialization tends to happen during work or during professional development workshops. In the case of foreign NESTs entering South Korean classrooms, female NESTs will likely have an easier time fitting in because gender socialization paints women as more "agreeable" and easier to work with (Orr 2011). Moreover, in a culture where activities and hobbies are often gendered, it is also likely that female NESTs would be invited to teacher outings and asked to engage in discussions of a more "domestic" nature, while male NESTs would be excluded from such activities and discussions.

Limitations and Future Research

Although this study uncovers the difference in the professional legitimacy and sense of belonging for female and male NESTs, the data examined was a part of a larger study that compared the differences among novice and experienced NESTs. To uncover additional differences and investigate the reasons why this occurs, future research would benefit from having a larger sample size as well as follow up questions that expand on how gender plays a role in the teaching experience of NESTs who teach English in East Asia. Moreover, instances where race and culture impacted the professional legitimacy and sense of belonging for NESTs also arose. As such, future research could cover this research gap by addressing how gender, race and culture intersect in the professional development and experience of NESTs.

Although this data was extrapolated from a larger study, it is clear that a NEST's gender impacts the experience they have while teaching abroad. The original interview questions did not consider gender difference, but discussions around gendered discrimination came up without any prompting, nonetheless. Therefore, further research must address how gender socialization influences the teaching experiences of both male and female NESTs alike.

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Making of Adarsh Balak/Balika: Children's Literature in Colonial North India

by *Rajni Chandiwal*

Introduction

A good boy wakes up early morning, washes and goes to school. In school, he studies with diligence. He keeps his books and clothes in order. He does not fight with other children. A good boy does not lie or steal from anyone. He does not throw tantrums to get things. This is why everyone loves a good boy.[1] (Sharma, 1912)

In 2013, a new image of an "ideal" child became popular amongst the Hindi speaking audience and social media users when a young artist, Priyesh Trivedi, created a spin on the popular late twentieth century old 'Ideal boy/Ideal Girl' posters (Ladha, 2019, Verve). Soon after, the original prints of the *Adarsh Balak* poster also made an international appearance when a British comedian tweeted about it in 2019, after spotting one in the office of an Indian doctor in Britain (Scroll, 2019). This paper traces the historical journey of the concept of the "ideal" boy and girl in the Hindi Print sphere[2] in the first half of the twentieth century. It discusses the discursive construction of the idea of an ideal child through various stories and poems written for children in Hindi periodicals and tracts between 1910- 1940. By analysing the discourses and images of childhood through these primary sources, this paper illustrates how the construction of childhood was gendered and informed by the politics of anti-modern or non-western undercurrent in colonial north India. Through a reading of the children's stories, or poems and articles, this paper locates the nature of the childhood constructed through these magazines.This paper argues that these children's magazines and journals created 'child' as a separate category of public discourse and literature. Childhood increasingly came to feature in the concerns of the public, and children were seen as future adults and as the sole carriers of the tradition, values and virtues of their social milieu.

Colonial modernity brought new kinds of challenges to the notion of childhood (Nandy 2010). The history of traditional childhood remained fraught with instances of torture, neglect and infanticide during the onset of the modern age. Industrialisation in western Europe, with its new Calvinistic Protestant values, technological growth and colonialism built itself on the new idea of childhood (Aries 1962). The deplorable condition of the child in William Blake's 'Chimney Sweeper' along

[1] Pandit Ramjilal Sharma, 'Swachchta ki Pustak (Book of Cleanliness), 1912.

[2]Geographically, Hindi speaking area extended from Rajasthan or erstwhile Princely state of Rajputana, Bihar, Punjab, Garhwal, Central provinces and Berar, and Uttar Pradesh known as North Western provinces of Agra and Oudh. In this Hindi heartland, cities like Allahabad and Banaras are located.

with many other writings reminded us of how children were employed as labour force in the mines and mills of nineteenth-century Britain (Galbi 1996). It was explained as a process where children learnt the virtues of productive work, thrift, honesty, and discipline (Humphries 2010). On the other hand, the bourgeoise Victorian notion of childhood also disciplined the child as sexless, innocent and mannered being. (Aries,1965). In both the cases, childhood was considered an "imperfect transitive stage on the way to adulthood, normality, full of socialisation and humanness". Therefore, the history of childhood also remains the history of adulthood (Nandy 2010).

The colonial state saw the Indian child in opposition to the idea of a Victorian child.[3] It tried to 'correct' the 'delinquent juvenile' and 'criminal child'[4] who often came from the poor lower caste[5]/class backgrounds through Reformatory Schools[6]. Similarly, missionaries tried to 'rescue' and 'civilise' the children from marginalised sections and caste groups (Kannan 2021). But the 'terrain of childhood' was used as a 'projective device' because childhood was considered a transitive stage to adulthood where the child was an inferior version of an adult. Thus, childhood was geared towards the ideals of adulthood, maturity, growth and development. The family thus could use the child to project their inner needs to fulfil their desires and fantasies of self-correction (Nandy, 2010). This relation also reflected further with society and nation. The child was/is used as a projective device to attain the larger cultural and national goals.

The colonial government, the missionaries, the social reform movements and the anti-colonial struggle saw the children as agents who could fulfil their larger political goals. I argue that such goals also became clearly visible in various vernacular writings about children in early twentieth century north India where the ideal child became the symbol of the traditional and glorified 'Indian'[7] values.

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[3] The Victorian childhood marked the characteristics for children according to their social location. The poor as delinquent, Irish child as gypsy, girls as homosexuals, the adolescent kind as either plastic or innocent. This understanding was projected on the 'native child' of the colony but with its peculiar approach of native children as 'half devil and half good' (Aries 1962, Kipling 1901).

[4] A category of 'Criminal Tribe' was created by colonial Indian State for certain 'lower' caste groups. The whole community was branded as 'criminal by birth' by the State. The children of these castes were also treated as 'criminals' (Gaikwad 1992).

[5] In India the institution of caste has roots in ancient Varna system which divides society in various hierarchical order by birth. The 'higher' castes such as Brahmins, Khatriya, Vaishya had the right to read , rule and to do commerce but the rest-'lower castes' were only permitted to perform 'lowly' and dirty works. Inter-mingling of castes was considered a sin. With the colonial modern period, institution of caste has also witnessed many changes. The discussion of this theme is out of the purview of this paper.

[6] In 1876, Colonial State in India introduced the Reformatory Schools and Chief's Colleges in different provinces to civilize and correct the 'criminal children' from the poor classes in India (Sen 2005).

[7] Here Indian means -the upper caste and elite Hindus and what they thought were the 'correct' ethics and values of their glorified past. Most of the hindi public sphere writers belonged to the family of erstwhile zamindars or English educated clerks or upper caste communities since they were literate population and the moral crises which was created during the nineteenth century due to banning on traditions like sati where women were burnt on the funeral pyre of their husbands, or child marriage, widowhood, and illiteracy of women, ushered a new zeal for reforms amongst the

The anti-colonial movements in north India, saw an upsurge in the 1920s which also reflected in the literary realms of Hindi[8] print sphere. This pushed the writers who mostly came from the middle class, and upper castes to restore and recreate the 'traditional' in opposition to the modern and western values that were reinforced by the colonial administration through different ideas and institutions, most notably in, medicine and education. The traditional systems of knowledge distribution were also undermined by the colonial model of schooling which focused on the western model of education.[9] The colonial education system moulded the knowledge systems according to its own needs in the pursuit of creating students who would go on to become loyal subjects of the British empire (Kumar 2005). This paper argues that this institutionalisation of the English education created a moral crisis amongst the Indian population of north India. The creation of the figures of *Adarsh Balak* and *Adarsh Balika* was the result of this moral crisis, which tried to fulfil the void of that lost authority and legitimacy of the 'traditional' through a reconfiguration of ideas of childhood in these children's magazines.

Themes and Circulation

The print sphere saw a boom in the late nineteenth century in India. In north India, various Hindi publications[10] and newspapers started circulating in various parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan, Punjab, and also in Orissa, Bengal and Madras through translations in the respective regional languages. Although the readership of these magazines was only limited to literate population and the elites, they also published multiple picture stories which meant that they could reach beyond just the literate population.

Magazines such as C*ham Cham* which was published from Prayag during the 1930s by Pandit Ganga Prasad Upadhyay and Vishvanath Prakash, kept its fonts bold and published colourful images to appeal to children. *Jhun-Jhuna*'s editors Kapoor Chand Jain and Shivdutt Sharma tried

upper caste communities. For further readings see Francesca Orsini; 'The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism', Oxford University Press, 2002 and Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid; 'Recasting Women :Essays in Colonial History', Kali for Women,1989.

[8] For the debate around Hindi language and its history please see-Alok Rai; 'Hindi Nationalism', Sangam Books, 2002.

[9] In the English Education Act of 1835 which was part of legislative act of Council of Indian under the East India Company, a new Utilitarian policy was passed for the curriculum and medium of education of the Indian population where till now Persian and Hindi was the medium of instruction in traditional community schools and Madrasas. The act became famous for the minutes of British Whig Historian Thomas Babington Macaulay who argued for superiority of the western culture and the need to create a class of persons who was 'Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions , in morals and in intellect'. For further readings see, Gauri Viswanathan; 'Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India', Columbia University Press, 2014, Parimala V.Rao; 'Beyond Macaulay: Education in India,1780-1860,' Taylor and Francis , 2019 and Sanjay Seth; 'Subject Lessons :The Western Education of Colonial India', Duke University Press, 2007.

[10] By the beginning of Nineteen twenties, Hindi print saw magazines and journals on various genres and themes. Community and caste magazines, religious pamphlets, reformist literature, health magazines, medicinal and educational and language centric magazines to name a few were published in large numbers.

to attract the readership through its sonorous and onomatopoeic poems (Chandra 2001). These magazines including *Banar* (under editor Ramnaresh Tripathi) and *Shishu* tried to focus on pre-pubescent children, while magazines like *Kanya Manoranjan*, *Kanya Sarwaswa*, *Balak*, *Khilona*, *Bachchon ki Duniya*, *Baal Prabhakar*, *Baal Manoranjan, Baal Sakha*, *Balika*, *Baal Sansaar* tried to reach out to the adolescent age group.

The content of these magazines reflected that Indian childhood was the product of colonial conversations that took place between wider structures of power- colonialism, race, class, caste and gender (Kannan 2021). Scholars writing about the 'Age of Consent' debates and other reform movements in the late nineteenth century have shown that these posed a crucial challenge to the making of a middle class and upper caste modernity, as the colonial state sought to restructure Indian social practices and customs (Mill 1817).[11] Such legislations helped the colonial state infantilize the Indians who, it was suggested, could not be trusted with their own governance as they were not 'civilized' and 'enlightened'. Missionaries empathized with the 'backward', 'ignorant', 'effeminate' and 'uncivilised' Indians, but for their own colonial bias and civilizational zeal where they ended up further disciplining the bodies of children.(Kannan 2021). Thus, while the discourses in these children's magazines defined and shaped the idea of an "ideal" child, what made a child "ideal" was also influenced by the major debates and discourses of the time.

Vidyarthi, *Kumar*, *Kishore*, *Chhatra Sahodar* were political in character, and regularly included columns discussing national and international affairs. *Chhatra-Sahodar* which was published in 1918 from Jabalpur by Pandit Matadeen Shukla published special issues such as 'Rashtriyaank' and 'Tilakank' with nationalist concerns, which sold out within a short span.[12] *Kishor* (1938), published from Patna by Ramdeen Mishra[13], strongly advocated Gandhian ideals and aimed towards increasing literacy. *Baalhit*, published by Kalulal Shrimali tried to bridge the gap between the school and the home through its contents.

The theme of ideal childhood consistently appeared in many of these magazines, in the form of stories, poems or instructional essays. The prevalent notions of childhood in north India were also revealed through stories where discipline and punishment were used as a regular practice. The 'didactic and adults approved world' of children presented itself through these essays, stories and poems, but the lived world of children remained distant from the adults and was reflected in the

[11] Age of Consent Bill of 1891, decided the legal age of sexual intercourse for married or unmarried girls to 12 years in colonial India. This created uproar amongst the upper caste Hindus because the earlier custom for this was 8/9 years. This bill was introduced when girl child named Phulmoni died during the consummation of her marriage. She was 9 years old at that time. The bill was seen as an attack on the 'home' and traditional customs of Hindus by the British. Please see-Kumkum Sangari and Vaid; 'Recasting Women'.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

letters by the children where they followed their heart most of the time and constantly tussled with their siblings, and offended their teachers and adults (Chandra 2001). But even then, the construction of this upper caste Hindu childhood, was not devoid of caste and class prejudices. The Dalit autobiographies tell us that Dalit childhood was very much different from the upper class and caste childhoods where getting up early morning did not mean school always but work with dirt. Struggles for food to live for everyday life and misery defined their childhood. (Gaikward, 2018)

Most of these periodicals had a subscription fee ranging between 2 to 4 annas per year. These magazines also enjoyed considerable popularity. In 1924, *Shishu* had a circulation of 1500. *Baalsakha* rose to 3500 from 2000 copies in 1931. In 1930s United Provinces children constituted forty per cent of the population and the overall literacy rate was five per cent. It is worth wondering then who did their readership comprise — primarily adults who in turn encouraged children to conform to these practices.[14]

Makings of an Ideal Boy: A Fit Body and an Active Mind

Ashis Nandy has argued that colonialism not only impacted Indian institutions, economy and society but also effected a "colonisation of minds" among the Indian people. (Nandy, 1983). The response of Indian middle classes, and nationalist leaders to colonial impositions were often guided by colonial stereotypes about Indians. For instance, the creation of the masculinized and athletic body of a male adult was a reaction to counter colonial propaganda against the trope of the 'effeminate' Bengali (Sinha 1995). The children's magazines of twentieth century projected this desired world of adults in their imaginings of an ideal boy. A (Hindu) ideal boy was described as one who was active and had a physically fit body. Bodily fitness was interlinked with an active mind. Many Hindi magazines explained how regular physical exercises can change the character of young boys from lazy, dull, unmindful and unproductive, to aware, conscious, industrious and productive beings. A chapter on *vyayam* (exercise) in the book *Baal Vinod* described that exercises and physical fitness were crucial.

> *Boys who exercise daily have a very active and powerful body. All their body parts are muscular. The boys who do not go out to the field to do some kind of exercise develop an unfit body. Even if they might look healthy, they lack physical ability. Moreover, they become synonymous with laziness. They are unable to run or wrestle. In short, they become unable to do any kind of physical labour. The bodies of those who do not exercise are loose and soft. (Singh, 1923)*

[14] Ibid.

The concepts of productivity and masculinity were a frequent subtext in these magazines which shows how ideas of childhood in India were informed by the virtues of modern industrial world, such as productivity and thrift (Max Weber 1904-05). Children in Indian middle class households were encouraged to be prepared for the modern world by imbibing such virtues. It was a way for the Indian middle class to redefine their identity, rectify their past (where they were called ignorant, effeminate, civilised and backward) and thus, be what their older generations could not be. Therefore, writers warned children in many ways to follow the prescribed regime of an ideal boy. It was suggested that there were repercussions like memory loss for those who did not pay heed to the advice.

Traditions and community played an important role in the making of the child's inner world (Kakar, 1982. The concept of the ideal boy was very much located in the Hindu philosophy and traditional norms. 'A sound health is a thousand blessings' was repeatedly mentioned as a mantra for an ideal body, but the notions of health (for a Hindu child) were very much rooted in Hindu imageries and concepts. Often the language of children's magazines was loaded with Hindu symbols and concepts.

> *A great sage has said that health is the basis of Dharma, economic pursuits, desires and even salvation. Religious (dharma-parayan) people consider the body as the root of Dharma. An ill person is unable to concentrate on anything, and not able to complete tasks. That is why some Muslim poet has said "a sound health is a thousand blessings." A wise man has said "body is the house of disease. (Singh, 1923)*

According to Sudhir Kakar, childhood is the time when cultural traditions are internalised in individual conscience. The perceptions of 'right' and 'wrong' which correspond to the social milieu to which a child belongs, get ingrained during the stage of childhood. He argues that a child's superego is constructed through the parents' superego. In Kakar's words, a child therefore becomes a "vehicle of traditions and of all the age-long values which have been handed down from generation to generation." While internally religion played an important role in shaping the child, externally this role was played by these magazines and children's books which taught the young children 'the right way of living according to the concept of dharma' (Kakar 1982). An ideal boy with both a fit mind and body had to be a rightful follower (dharma parayan) of the religion.

An Ideal Boy: A Clean Boy

The definition of a 'good boy' and a 'clean' boy merged in the first half of the twentieth century.' 'Goodness' was defined through a clean routine as well through habits that could prevent

corruption of the mind. The public debates around the theme of cleanliness not only discussed modern scientific ideas of hygiene, but also connected them with the local and traditional understanding of cleanliness. Therefore, the idea and practice of cleanliness went beyond the idea of corporeal and tangible dirt. Dirt was considered to harm the human body physically (causing diseases) as well as pollute human character andmind. Bidhichand (1851) explained this connection in his book *Shuddhidarpan*:

> *It is a well-known fact that a clean/pure mind and body provides all kinds of pleasure and impurity is a source of all kind of miseries. Therefore, it is deemed fit for people that cleanliness-a friend happiness should be imbibed and dirt which is the root of all gloom should be abandoned. (Bidhichand, 1851)*

Nirmalta, literally translated to "without dirt", but was a broader concept signifying that cleanliness had a symbiotic relationship with joy and content. *Mann* (mind) ruled the body and without a clean mind, cleanliness of the body was of no use. Bidhi Chand argued that only a clean mind and body ensured pleasures of this life and of the after-life. In this context, *nirmalta* was the connection between the *shranbhangur* (transitory) life and life after death-the *parlok*. For a clean body bathing was necessary, as was the time of the bath.

Bathing in the early morning determined the character of the child. How he behaved and acted. H.E.H Pratt, Inspector Education of Science explained it in his book *Saddharan Swashthya Shashtra Sambandhi Chitra aur Sthool Lekh*.

> *It's a good thing to take a bath in the morning. The best is to bathe before the sunrise. It benefits the body a lot and one is happy the entire day. The boys who wake up early in the morning, wash their limbs and face, exercise, take a bath and then begin some work, they always stay healthy and happy. (Pratt, 1919)*

Early morning bathing was emphasised because it could cleanse the body as well as the mind. It became an essential practice for making a child into a good child. *Sadharan Swasthya -Shashtra Sambandhi Chitra Aur Sthool-Lekh* also provided instructions on how to clean the body.

> *To keep the skin clean, one should take a bath every day. If you develop a habit of bathing from childhood, won't you be able to take a bath in any season, be it summers or winters? Taking a bath is not just pouring four to five mugs of water on yourself, one should bathe slowly while rubbing the body vigorously. (Pratt, 1919)*

Raja Uday Pratap Singh in his work *Prabodh Chandrika* (1907) extended the definition of cleanliness to *sucharitrata* — a good character. A good boy was someone who was free from anger and rage. Since human beings are susceptible to emotions thus purity/ *nirmalta* was of utmost importance.

But the writers of these children's magazines were aware that there would always be naysayers. Simple happy stories were not enough for children until the other side of the story was not presented to them. Thus, besides instructional essays, the readers were also presented with stories that painted a reality where these rules were not followed, which led to humiliation, discrimination and loneliness and exclusion from public spaces. The return to the 'normal' could only be achieved by accepting the norms of behaviour prescribed for an ideal boy. One such story was written by Zahoor Baksh in 1926 for the children's magazine *Chand*. It was about a boy named Kalua. Kalua was a dirty boy who never used to take a bath and was lazy. He was careless and dim-witted. He was always lazy in learning his lessons in class. Once when he entered the class late, his classmates jeered at him and greeted him with this song:

> *Here comes the filthy boy*
> *with him brings many flies*
> *His clothes stinks too*
> *Nobody gets close to him!*
> *(Baksh, 1926)*

The humiliation and call for ostracization changed Kalua's life forever. He learned the value of hygiene and started bathing regularly and wearing clean clothes. He became sharp in his studies and received appreciation from everyone. Kalua eventually transformed into 'civilized' Babu Kaluram. His social status changed and so did his name. The change in the name from Kalua to Kaluram itself had many connotations in the story. While dirty Kalua was suggestive of dark skin colour, hinting at the probability that he was from a 'lower' caste, clean Babu Kaluram symbolised higher status and respect; someone who could fight his social origin and poverty, and earn respect by disciplining himself into an ideal child. The stories and articles for children repeatedly mentioned how class and status were not impediments to becoming an ideal child. The child in these stories was presented as casteless and classless and could willingly choose to remain deviant or disciplined and happy by following the norms. Thus, these writers imagined the ideal child as an upper caste Hindu who did not have to face the problems of segregation and untouchability.[15]

[15] The childhood narrated in various dalit biographies and autobiographies reflects that violence, oppression, poverty, humiliation, ostracization in schools, unhygienic living conditions were shared experiences of children of 'lower' castes

The world of an Adarsh Balika/Ideal Girl

Wake up in the first hour, say a prayer,
Do your daily duties, bow to your mother,
Following her will, focus on house-chores,
Feed brother and father with delicious savours!
Gather things at home, Play and study there,
Learn this way of serving, Raise yourself higher!!

Keep the house clean, sew your own clothes,
Consume fresh water and food, take oaths,
Don't rebel, avoid fights, rows and enmity,
Play and let life be full of hilarity,
Take care of your mother, obey your dad,
Don't say anything that could be considered bad.
(Dayal, 1929)

Lala Bhagwan Deen Dayal, a regular author for the Hindi magazine *Balika,* wrote these poems in 1929, that provided a behavioural guide for girls. He suggested that home and kitchen were an ideal playground for girls. Contrary to the ideal boy, the ideal girl was not supposed to go for early morning exercises, or to school. Unlike him, the girl was not required to have an active mind or good memory. The right kind of education for an ideal girl child meant learning a variety of household chores from cooking a good meal to stitching clothes. Her task was to keep the house clean. Learning not to say no to others, and obedience to her parents and brother were important virtues to imbibe. Praying to gods early in the morning was important for both boys and girls, but helping the mother was the girl's first responsibility at home. The idea of the girl as a child was absent from the discourse altogether, instead what appeared was the idea of an adult. The girl was taught the ways of being an ideal homemaker or woman through the stories and poems. Moreover, in the late nineteenth and twentieth century, it would be difficult to circumscribe who was considered a girl child. The Age of Consent[16] controversy and debates have shown us that even pre-pubescent girls were often considered fit for marriage and in many cases for sexual intercourse. Thus, a menstruating girl was believed to have lost her childhood and was burdened with the duties of an adult. The Age of Consent Bill of 1891 which suggested the minimum age for girls to engage in sexual intercourse to be 12 years, was opposed by most Indians and was seen as a direct attack on the religious and social life of Hindus by the British (Jaswal 2007). It was considered that parents, and then the husband had ultimate rights over the girl child before and

across India (Kumud Pawde 1992, Arjun Dangle 1992, Baby Kamble 2008, Dr. Tulsiram 2012, Omprakash Valmiki 2009).

[16] Age of consent bill was introduced by the colonial Indian in 1891 after the death of Phulmoni (11) in 1889, and Kali Kahar 1862 during consummation. Both were child brides. A lot of times these consummation or rape of girl children resulted in physical disability or death. The Hindu intelligentsia opposed the bill vehemently and termed it 'an attack on Hindi home by colonial state'(Sangari and Vaid 1989).

after the marriage respectively. The mental universe of the girl child was constructed around being a good wife and a good mother in the long run (Bagchi 1993). The patriarchal structure of a Hindu household was completely dependent on the girl child.

Even the British Protestant missionaries tried to train girls from poor backgrounds into 'homely', 'feminine', and educated women in the colonial period. In their zeal to 'rescue' poor lower caste girls from upper caste violence and oppression, they subjected these children to another kind of violence where their childhood itself was subdued (Kannan, 2021).

The slippery Slope of Childhood: Bhagirathi and Chameli

> *Bhagirathi is from a rich family. She has many kinds of clothes. She wears so many jewels that they are heavy on her body. Bhagirathi is good-looking but incompetent in work. She always tries to avoid work. If you give her new clothes to wear, she gets them dirty immediately. Even her hair is full of dirt. Her head smells so bad that the person sitting next to her starts feeling queasy. Her arms and legs have got black marks due to her wearing jewellery. It seems like she never washes them vigorously. When she walks, she is so careless that she doesn't even mind her clothes. She throws her clothes here and there after taking them off. Bhagirathi does go to school but is not interested in studies. Her books are dirty and most pages get torn. When she sees Lalita sewing nice clothes for her dolls, she feels jealous. But what can she do, she doesn't even like holding a needle. Bhagirathi is always sick with one thing or the other. She is greedy about food. Girls, now you tell us, is Bhagirathi better? Who do you want to be like?(Bhartendu Harishchandra,1911)*

The above story was published in a magazine called *Bala Bodhini* in 1911. The storyteller in the text presented an example of a bad girl. The narrator weaved the traditional argument of obedience and discipline in the text. The writer implied the idea of beauty does not lie in adornments, but in cleanliness and simplicity. Many writers in the twentieth century wrote extensively on how the love for jewellery and fashion was a modern vice (Prem Chand 1931). The writer of *Bala Bodhini* very much presented that world in his writings. His ideas of *Adarsh Balika* were very much influenced by this discourse on women in colonial India where fashion and jewellery were considered a sign of vanity and not real virtue. The real virtue of an ideal woman lay in keeping the house and oneself clean since cleanliness was projected as an 'innate' characteristic of women. This concept was not peculiar to north India but prevalent everywhere (Hoy 1995). The story of Bhagirathi advised young girls that there was something fundamentally wrong with a girl child if she was not orderly, and not interested in household work, and "unclean" children and particularly "dirty" girls were not welcome anywhere. Even wealth could not buy them respect, friendships and health, if they did not discipline themselves. For a girl, it was

considered even more outrageous if she broke the rule and followed her own will. The writer proved his point by narrating another story of a girl named Chameli.

> ***Chameli*** *lives in Prayag. In the month of Maagh (roughly January) the Kumbh fair took place in Prayag. A lot of tricksters, criminals and thieves also come to the fair. Many people had gone to the fair from Chameli's neighbourhood. She also got hooked on going after seeing everyone. She started insisting on going. Her mother tried to make her understand that she shouldn't be throwing a tantrum, it is not suitable for children to go to the fair. But Chameli was very stubborn, so she wouldn't listen. The more her mother tried to convince her, the more she wailed. When Chameli didn't listen to her words, her mother punched her twice in the waist. Chameli kept crying in a corner, but kept wishing and murmuring "I will definitely go to the fair." This obstinacy proved very costly for her.(Harishchandra, 1911)*

Chameli's insistence of leaving the 'safe space of home' for visiting the unsafe space of public lands her into trouble. She gets lost in the fair and learns her lesson the hard way. Chameli served as the counter to an ideal girl. She exercised her free will and acted on her desires. She was not obedient and disciplined. She wanted to enjoy and see the world like everyone else. Chameli's mistake was that she was behaving like a child, while an ideal girl child was supposed to behave like an adult (Nandy 2010). In the first half of the twentieth century, the home was presented as the haven in a heartless world. Chameli was punished twice — first by her mother who physically beat her, and then by losing her way back home. Chameli's behaviour was a warning for other young girls. It justified the physical punishment and suggested how dangerous it was to behave like a child despite being one.

Writings on women in India have shown us that 'home' constituted the ideological ground on which gender differences were constructed and sustained. Ideals of motherhood, domesticity and nurturing were created within the boundaries of the household. Thus, the childhood of young girls was formed within the space of home by negotiating, resisting and accepting the norms of gender relations and patriarchy. The ideal girls were also ideal women. The writer employed Chameli's character as a reminder that the troublesome girl was the most crucial challenge for the family, and society,.

Conclusion

In 1885, 92 per cent of the population of then North-Western Provinces and Oudh (present day Uttar Pradesh) was illiterate. In Banaras, Prayag, and Kashi, which became the hubs of the majority of publication houses by the twentieth century, only about a thousand girls were going to school in 1924 which rose to 2000 by 1932 (Kumar 1991). The male upper caste literacy rate was 22 per cent in the United Provinces in 1911. Till 1911, there were less than three primary

schools for every ten villages. There were private schools, but they were reserved for the upper castes (Chaudhary 2009). Even if we consider this percentage to be higher, it is very clear that the number of people who could access and read these magazines and journals was very less. The statistics would have been even lower for children. There were definitely images that could be directly read or observed by the children but apart from that, the children were not the primary readership for these periodicals. Then, who was the target audience of these magazines and journals? Certainly, it was the parents who were given the responsibility of making their sons and daughters "ideal". But this was not the only world of stories for children. The folktales and mythologies also contributed to this process of *making* an "ideal child" (Ramanujan 1995). There was also reciprocity between these textual and oral traditions. Both tried to sustain certain hierarchies and institutions through stories that instructed children to be disciplined, obedient, clean, masculine or feminine within the purview of tradition. Together they served to create discursive ideas about an "ideal" childhood in the early twentieth century.

The creation of these images was also part of nationalist agenda where tradition in itself became the antithesis to western or modern. By the 1940s, the ideal boy and ideal girl were both required to follow certain practices and observe certain behaviours which were defined by class, caste and gender relations. The gendered notions of what constituted 'ideal' childhood was, thus, engendered through these children's magazines which created a separate public audience and category of 'children' for the first time in the Indian Print sphere. The child emerged as an important character and agent shouldering the burden of the future of the emerging nation.

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‘She Quietly Replied’: Silencing and Silence(s) in Edith Eaton’s Short Stories ‘The Wisdom of the New’ and ‘Its Wavering Image’

by *Viola Nassi*

“Does not everything depend on our interpretation of the silence around us?”
— Lawrence Durrell, *Justine*

In the late 19th century, Edith Eaton (1865–1914) – who was also known by her Chinese pen name Sui Sin Far – became the first Chinese American[1] author to write earnestly of Chinese Americans within the setting of North American Chinatowns (Chapman 2012, 263). In her short story collection *Mrs Spring Fragrance and Other Writings* (1912), Eaton’s focus on Chinese American women voices the double problematics they faced on account of their race and gender while navigating life in America (McMullen 2003). Although critics have focused on how Eaton’s works break the silence around the treatment of Chinese American women (Wang 2008, 245, 246, 258), through her stories Eaton also undertakes a sharp examination of the very silencing and silence(s) experienced by them. In this chapter, I will compare Eaton’s short stories ‘The Wisdom of the New’ (‘Wisdom’) and ‘Its Wavering Image’ (‘Image’). In these two stories, Eaton portrays two women protagonists: ‘Wisdom’ presents Pau Lin, a Chinese immigrant who joins her husband in the US and therefore has to adjust to a new country and culture together with her young son, whilst ‘Image’ introduces Pan[2], the daughter of a white American woman and a Chinese man. Pan is a bicultural girl who lives in San Francisco’s Chinatown and is seduced by a white American man during the course of the story. Pau Lin and Pan are silenced by the white hegemonic society within a linguistic and a cultural dimension; namely, each of them is subjected to both practical/linguistical and cultural forms of silencing. However, the stories’ endings are drastically different: ‘Wisdom’ closes in tragedy, as Pau Lin fatally poisons her child so that he cannot be ‘contaminated’ by the white American culture anymore; on the other hand, ‘Image’ ends with Pan rightfully reclaiming her identity as a biracial and bicultural woman. Within this chapter, I argue that this is due to Eaton’s skilful treatment of silence, as she explores it both as an issue and as a value. Through the three interconnected evaluations of practical silencing, cultural silencing, and silence(s), I aim to show how Eaton articulates the unique condition of Chinese American women

[1] In *Tell This Silence: Asian American Women Writers and the Politics of Speech*, Patti Duncan uses the term ‘Asian American’ to indicate people with Asian origins who live in the US (Duncan 2004, 4). I here follow her broader approach.

[2] Pan appears in another of Eaton’s best-known short stories, ‘Pat and Pan’, wherein Eaton explores Pan’s and her brother Pat’s childhoods, putting to the forefront their experiences of racial discrimination as biracial children in the San Francisco of the early 20th century.

in the US. In order to undertake these examinations, I employ a blend of close reading of Eaton's stores and insights from intersectional and decolonial feminist theory and philosophy.

Although Amy Ling writes that Eaton's themes are universal (Ling 1983, 292), the problematic of silencing presents a very localised targeting. Contemporary feminist philosopher Alessandra Tanesini contends that some instances of silencing occur when '[marginalised] individuals are in some contexts wrongfully and systematically deprived of the ability to perform some kinds of speech act' (Tanesini 2019, 749). The epistemic injustice Tanesini considers is overtly represented by the continuous exclusion from participation in discourse that Pau Lin suffers throughout 'Wisdom'. Before Pau Lin even enters the narrative, Mrs Dean, Pau Lin's husband's white American godmother, asserts '"his wife can neither read nor write"' (Eaton 1912a, 53). Eaton sets up clear expectations for the reader through this instance of indirect racial silencing: Pau Lin is immediately understood as an individual incapable of communicating effectively, although this is always assumed by third parties and Pau Lin's voice is never heard in this regard. Furthermore, once Wou Sankwei, Pau Lin's husband, introduces her to Mrs Dean and her niece, Adah Charlton, he tells them: '"She cannot understand you"' (55), further consolidating the deprivation of Pau Lin's ability to communicate. If not communicating directly, which would be complicated at first due to the inevitable language barrier, Wou Sankwei's friends and Pau Lin could at least attempt to communicate through Sankwei, who speaks fluent English. As the narrator deliberately remarks that '[t]he American women could not, of course, converse with the Chinese' (66), Eaton demonstrates how Pau Lin is inherently prevented from speaking with Mrs Dean and Adah. Although Pau Lin does speak in multiple instances (59, 64, 68), these are usually brief, and she never voices what troubles her, as she is shown "saying" within herself: '"It is for the white woman he has done this"' (63). As Pau Lin is significantly forbidden to express "the bitterness in her heart" (64)' (Grasso 2005, 27), the reader never encounters 'the testimony of the wom[a]n's voice consciousness' (Chakravorty Spivak 2010, 293). By depicting Pau Lin's systematic silencing, Eaton amplifies a multidimensional power struggle that does not only concern husband and wife dynamics, but also underlines the tensions between Pau Lin and the new Western culture she is prevented from properly understanding.

Contrastingly, 'Image''s biracial protagonist Pan is evidently able of expressing her stance, as she replies, protests, answers (Eaton 1912b, 89) and bids (90) when talking to her white lover, Mark Carson. Despite Carson's evident racialist attitude towards Pan, he never practically silences her the way Pau Lin is silenced by other characters in 'Wisdom'. Rather, it seems as if Pan actively refuses to be silenced, as when Carson tells her, '"You have no right to be here"', and she immediately counters '"I was born here"' (89). Nonetheless, Pan is not exempt from suffering silencing, although it takes place on a different level: it is 'Image''s narrator who perpetuates it.

Throughout Section I of the story, 'Image''s third-person narrator excludes Pan's testimony from the narrative, recounting that, '[s]he did not speak to him, nor he to her' (85), '[a]nd Pan, for the first time since he had known her, had no answer for him' (Eaton 1912b, 88). The most evident effect of this choice is the reader's inevitable impression that things are being omitted from the story itself. Thus, this is a silencing aptly crafted by Eaton within the narrative dimension: by choosing to prevent Pan from speaking in the story's first part, Eaton presents a narrator whose voice undoubtedly reflects Carson's standpoint, underlining how 'with delicate tact and subtlety [Carson] taught the young girl' (87). As a result, this deliberate silencing highlights the white man's opinion of Chinese American women as 'lesser than'; from Carson's point of view, Pan's direct expression is not a necessary component of the story. Although Bo Wang points out that in Eaton's work, '[b]y speaking out, the narrator refuses to accept the humiliating remarks made by racist whites' (Wang 2008, 256), it is exactly by doing the opposite that Eaton successfully denounces white racial attitudes towards Chinese American women in 'Image'. Hence, more than 'dramatising' Pan's humanity and showing the 'complexity of her "motives and impulses"' (Diana 2001, 174), Eaton's choice of a biased segment of narration subtly but perceptively shows how pervasive and nuanced the silencing of Chinese American women can be.

The issue of practical silencing leads to an evaluation of the cultural silencing of Chinese American women: accordingly, Carson's effective and direct silencing of Pan happens in this dimension. Pan's biculturality is presented in the description of her as 'a Bohemian, exempt from the conventional restrictions imposed upon either the white or Chinese woman' (Eaton 1912b, 86). Still, it becomes explicit how Carson attempts to strip Pan of her right to have the rightful possibility of deciding upon her cultural identity and heritage. Vanessa Holford Diana argues that in 'Image', Carson 'forces [Pan] to choose one racial self-identification' (Diana 2001, 172); still, the issue at hand goes even further, as Carson actively silences Pan's identity as a bi-racial woman. Carson adamantly tries to push Pan towards accepting what he deems is her 'true self', implying that Pan *must* settle on one of her 'two identities', and accept that she is white: "But they do not understand you", he went on. "Your *real self* is alien to them" (Eaton 1912b, 89), and then again, 'Why should a white woman care about such things? Her *true self* was above it all' (93).[3] By insisting on the fabricated idea of a real/true self, Carson silences Pan's bicultural identity, not even taking into consideration her own cultural standpoint as a Chinese American woman born and raised in San Francisco's Chinatown. Moreover, Carson's remarks such as, '[s]o well did she learn this lesson that it seemed at times as if her white self must entirely dominate and trample under foot her Chinese' (Eaton 1912b, 87), accentuate Eaton's narrative awareness of white men's presumed knowledge of biculturality. As Spencer Tricker notes, the interesting aspect of

[3] Emphasis added.

Carson and Pan's racial dynamics – and thus about his silencing of her cultural identity, is that Carson downplays Pan's biculturality 'which is presumably one of the things that attracts Carson in the first place' (Tricker 2020, 248). In fact, Carson's contradictory attitude highlights the hegemonic demand that Chinese American women align with the former's racialised assumptions about them. Since Pan, who identifies as Chinese, defies the 'demure Chinese lady' stereotype, Carson infers that she simply *cannot* identify as Chinese and should instead accept her 'true' identity as a White woman. As a result, Eaton successfully uncovers the disingenuous white supremacist's cultural silencing in its subtlety.

Annette White-Parks notes that Eaton's women characters usually 'confront the dual challenge of adjusting to a foreign environment and maintaining cultural identity' (White-Parks 1989, 35). This is indeed Pau Lin's case, although she is not properly allowed to explore her cultural identity in her new environment. Pau Lin's cultural perspective as a recently immigrated Chinese woman is silenced by others as ignorance: regarding Wou Sankwei's troubles with his wife's 'jealousy', Mrs Dean reflects, 'Such bigotry and narrow-mindedness! How sad to think of! […] here was this man's wife opposing him with her ignorance and hampering him with her unreasonable jealousy. Yes, she had heard that too' (Eaton 1912a, 68–69). This description of Pau Lin's attitude comes to Mrs Dean's ears as something 'she had heard'; nothing about Pau Lin's cultural identity comes from Pau Lin herself. By being described as a bigoted, ignorant, narrow-minded person, Pau Lin's cultural standpoint is merely assumed and silenced by the white characters in 'Wisdom', according to their Western perspective. Pau Lin's true motive, her reasonable fear of Americanisation, is a subject nobody even attempts to understand. Furthermore, the continuous assumptions about Pau Lin's adherence to Western stereotyped images of Chinese women (53, 70, 78) are heavily reflected in Adah Charlton's cultural silencing of Pau Lin. Although S.E Solberg contends that Eaton 'never acquired the control of style necessary to deal with her subjects in depth or at length' (Solberg 1981, 35), this is quickly disproved by looking into the multiple sides of cultural silencing within 'Wisdom'. In fact, Adah's silencing appears even more insidious than the ones previously analysed: when speaking to Sankwei about the issues he has been facing, Adah asserts, 'I do understand, even though I cannot speak to your wife nor find out what she feels and thinks' (Eaton 1912a, 77–78). This superficial show of empathy towards the 'Other' masks Adah's presumption and condescension, as she assumes that she does *know* Pau Lin's situation – whilst she has no idea about Pau Lin's cultural viewpoint. Accordingly, Adah is as guilty of culturally silencing Pau Lin as her aunt is, as she ponders, '[n]ow, for all her ignorance, I can see that the poor little thing became more of an American in that one half hour on the steamer than Wou Sankwei' (Eaton 1912a, 70). Whilst she addresses her 'ignorance' and calls her a 'poor little thing', Adah tries to force on Pau Lin an Americanisation that she actually repudiates,

implying that the sole journey to reach her husband in America has begun to culturally shape Pau Lin.

Although Pau Lin and Pan's characters are surely different, they both suffer practical and cultural silencing. Still, the stories' endings are opposites. To better understand why these dynamics take place, I come to the evaluation of Eaton's notion of silence, as she examines the tension between silence as value – as can be understood in Chinese culture – and the criticism of it from a Western perspective. As noted by King-Kog Cheung, silence does not have the same meaning in American and Chinese cultures: the word 'silence' is usually the contrary of 'speech' in the English language. In Chinese, however, 'the most common ideogram for "silence", 靜 is synonymous with "serenity" and antonymous with "sound", "noise"'. The result is that, while in America silence is usually looked upon as passive, it 'traditionally signals pensiveness, vigilance, or grace' in Chinese culture (Cheung 1993, 127). Pau Lin, being a Chinese woman, 'observed faithfully the rule laid down for her by her late mother-in-law: to keep a quiet tongue in the presence of her man' (Eaton 1912a, 56). Her initial silence can hence be understood in the frame of her culture, as she sets out to maintain Chinese conventions. Even though Pau Lin's silence would be acceptable in China, culturally speaking, the kinds of silencing she is subjected to in America inevitably prevent her from properly adapting her conception of silence to her new, alien environment. Pau Lin's general silence, assumed as submission and passivity in the US, cannot develop itself into the authentic silence as value perceived in China: therefore, Pau Lin's silence turns sour in America and 'Wisdom' ends in tragedy, as before poisoning her child, Pau Lin 'stroked silently the head of the little reader, and seemed lost in reverie' (82).

On the other hand, Pan's silence acquires a radically different meaning. At first, Pan's silence is misinterpreted as 'shyness' (Eaton 1912b, 86) by Carson, as his editor tells him that Pan 'could tell more stories about the Chinese than any other person in this city – if she would' (Ibid.). In 'Image', Eaton thus firstly emphasises the white gaze's association of silence with passivity and coyness, only to then completely reverse this very impression. When at the end of the story Pan calmly asserts, '"Because I am a Chinese woman"' (94), the most poignant section of that scene is the quietness that precedes this statement. Carson makes a series of remarks regarding the offensive reportage of Chinatown he published in the newspaper he works for, wherein he exploits and twists Pan's explanations of the area:

> *"And there was no word of you, dear. I was careful about that, not only for your sake, but for mine." Silence. "It is mere superstition anyway. These things have got to be exposed and done away with." Still silence*[4] *(Eaton 1912b, 86).*

[4] Emphasis added.

Patti Duncan explains that Asian American women have often used silence as a 'means of resistance to hegemonic power' (Duncan 2004: 2). As a matter of fact, Pan employs silence as a weapon: the most powerful one against the white man; returning to Cheung's argument, Pan resorts to silence as 'pensiveness and vigilance'. She can refer to silence as intended in Chinese culture because she is in her element, able to defeat the silencing she has suffered, and hence reclaiming the identity she, as a Chinese American woman, *chooses* to embrace.

Although Eaton's stories have been analysed as presenting 'strong Chinese women who take on traits of the American (Occidental) New Woman' (Birkle 2006, 336), her women protagonists do not simply fall into this category: my analysis of the issue of silencing as the intersection between racial and gender problematics brings to light the multidimensionality of the situations that Eaton puts forward in her short stories. As explored in this chapter, I believe that it is through the examination of silence both as an unresolved issue and as a cultural value that we can ultimately understand the different outcomes of the silencing presented in the two stories. Accordingly, if Pan's silence represents Chinese American women's way of protesting and resisting (Duncan 2004, 30), Pau Lin's silencing prevents her from adjusting herself and her values to the new country. Through the layered, nuanced depictions of Pau Lin's and Pan's different silencing and silences, Eaton gives voice to these localised struggles, as she effectively writes the very history of Chinese American women into literature (viii).

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Finding Amy Levy's Feminist Cities and Urban New Womanhood in Gendered Spaces

by *Ruth-Anne Walbank*

The emergence of the New Woman as a cultural concept in the late nineteenth century directly challenged notions of women's social position in the city. As feminist geographer Leslie Kern emphasises, 'women have always been seen as a problem for the modern city' because they transgress the woman's traditional residency in the domestic sphere by entering public spaces, making it 'increasingly difficult to discern [their] status' (2019, 2). One such problematic urban woman was late-Victorian writer Amy Levy, whose fiction pre-empted the New Woman's emergence but mirrored her transgression of patriarchal social expectations and expedition into British city living. This chapter considers how Levy's New Woman figures created female spaces, allowing women to move freely and live independently within her fictionalised London's city spaces.

I found this chapter a unique writing experience, culminating personal experiences with public events and literary studies in perhaps a more ethnographic, self-reflexive style than is my usual mode of working. However, I found that speaking from a place of insider knowledge of what womanhood is and becomes in urban spaces was inseparable from the literary subject matter.

At the time I commenced this research, I read a newly published report from the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) and UN Women UK on the Prevalence and reporting of sexual harassment in UK public spaces (2021). The report revealed that 71% of women in the UK had experienced sexual harassment in public spaces, with 56% citing the street as the most common place to experience sexual harassment (APPG 2021, 6; 12). In the same few weeks, the news of Sarah Everard's horrific kidnap and murder, the headlines that followed, such as 'Woman pinned to ground at Clapham vigil' in The Guardian (Robinson 2021), and the outrage in the subsequent protests briefly made those statistics from the APPG report a vivid and pressing reality in the public eye before the news cycles swiftly moved on to the next story. I found these events deeply unsettling on a personal level, recognising that uneasy feeling of moving through the city and knowing that it was a space not built for me or with my safety in mind while reflecting that these events are only one example of the violence women and other minority groups face daily. My experiences of gender discrimination are limited as a white, cis-gendered woman, and I wish to acknowledge my privilege in writing about these topics.

These events and publications correlated with my reading of Amy Levy for the first time. As a proto-New Woman writer in the 1880s, Levy was writing about women living, working, and moving around London, demonstrating that many of the issues I saw the UK facing in 2021 were

just as current in the nineteenth century.[5] However, in Levy's writing, there remained hope and excitement in approaching city spaces, in their potential for economic independence and defying a woman's expected domestic role for middle-class Victorians. Therefore, I sought to frame my literary analysis of Levy as a reflective exercise to see what we, in the twenty-first century, might learn from Levy's excursions into urban spaces in the hopes they can help us envisage new resistance pathways and safer spaces for women.

This chapter focuses on two works by Levy: the novella *The Romance of a Shop* (1889), for its cast of sisters finding economic independence as photographers in London, and her poetry collection *A London Plane-Tree and Other Verse* (1889), for its imagining of female residency and travel in urban settings. In structuring my analysis into three sections, this chapter considers how Levy's female protagonists find space, move in, and occupy urban spaces. I will first expand on my methodology, exploring the connections between gendered space in Kern's geographical approach and nineteenth-century conceptions of New Womanhood.

1. The gendered city and New Womanhood

Many social geographers and spatial theorists have long held that space, the dimension in which we live and occupy, mirrors cultural ideas of gender. For example, feminist geographer Doreen Massey argued that the 'whole history of the division between private spaces and public places, has been really crucial in the long history of gender difference between men and women' (1992). The divisions that Massey identifies between 'private spaces and public places' stem from the Westernised, patriarchal stereotypes of 'men [as] the breadwinners, women the domestic labourers', leaving women associated with interior spaces like homes in contrast to men with public workplaces and communal spheres (Space, Place, and Gender 1994, 193). The ongoing reports of violence and harassment towards women in public spaces demonstrate this critical viewpoint in practice; women's movement in public spaces transgresses their culturally expected position in domestic spheres, leaving them vulnerable to violence.

As cultural ideas of gender inform conceptions of space, the problem moves to how women can find space outside of their historical confinement in domestic spheres, especially in urban spheres. I turn to Kern's publication, *Feminist City* (2019), which offers a vision for equally accessible and occupied urban spaces.[6] In arguing that the 'patriarchy does not operate solely at the scale of the household or the family' but 'also permeates broader economic and political

[5] I say "Proto-New Woman" here to distinguish that Levy pre-dated the New Woman's emergence; see section one.

[6] Kern and Massey are two critiques in a wider, established field of feminist geography and spatial theory, which I have selected for their pertinence in reading Levy's work. See Gillian Rose's *Feminism & Geography* (1993), Caroline Criado-Perez's *Invisible Women* (2019) and Silvia Federici's Re-*enchanting the World* (2018) for more information.

structures', Kern emphasises how cultural notions of gender permeate all aspects of lived experience, including space in urban architecture and structures (2019, 669). She emphasises her personal experiences of city spaces, speaking from a position of insider knowledge while recognising the need for intersectional approaches that consider not just gender but 'race, sexuality, and more' (2019, 176). Kern states:

> *As a woman, […] [m]y gender identity has shaped how I move through the city, how I live my life day-to-day, and the choices available to me. My gender is more than my body, but my body is the site of my lived experience. (Kern 2019, 8)*

Kern highlights that these lived experiences of cities, interacting with other people and facing gendered barriers in accessing male-only spaces, make gendered space more than theoretical. It is a limiting, discriminatory experience faced by women globally every day that differs depending on the body as that 'site of [lived] experience' Kern identifies to encompass race, age, and sexuality, among other characteristics.

Responding to such gendered barriers, Kern envisions a feminist city, moving away from Massey's binary division between masculine and feminine spaces and allowing women the space and autonomy to transgress those stereotyped domestic roles. Kern declares 'the feminist city' is 'the city that values women's relationships, decenters the nuclear family, and lets women and girls take up space and make relations on their own terms' (2019, 86). She continues that this 'aspirational project' is 'one without a "master" plan' but rather 'an ongoing experiment in living differently' (2019, 176). Kern's criteria for the feminist city to be 'ongoing' emphasises it is not enough to create the space; women must have the freedom to move and occupy the space autonomously until that spatial transgression becomes normative and they safely retain that freedom.

In understanding how cultural conceptions of space are gendered against women's free, autonomous movement and how Kern proposes an alternative feminist city, I now turn to the New Woman as a nineteenth-century cultural concept of non-conformist womanhood, arguing for its relevance in building the feminist city Kern envisions. Lois Rudnick defines the Anglo-Irish New Woman as 'a revolutionary social ideal at the turn of the [nineteenth] century that defined women as independent, physically adept, and mentally acute […] on a par with men' (Rudnick 2005).[7] Meanwhile, Chris Baldick writes that this social idea developed 'a body of fiction and

[7] While this research focuses on the Anglo-Irish New Woman, as initially termed by Sarah Grand in 1894, the New Woman was not geographically constrained to one country. It appears in English, American, and Germanic literature, and contextualised feminist movements in the 1920s across countries Korea, China, and Japan, among others. See Jin

drama concerning the "New Woman"' and 'public debates about marriage and women's rights' (Baldick 2014). The New Woman is both a social figure and literary force, pinpointing the emerging middle-class working woman and erupting debates around marital rights in the late nineteenth century, demonstrated by the Married Women's Property Act 1882, which enabled married women to 'be capable of acquiring, holding, and disposing' of property under their own name (s. 45 & 48 Vict., c.75).

City spaces, especially in London, played vital roles in the New Woman's independence. London's extensive population, affordable housing, and developing public transport allowed women to live, work, and move more independently than ever. Judith Walkowitz expands that in 'the 1880s, marginalised groups – working men and women of all classes – repeatedly spilled over and out of their ascribed, bounded roles […] imaginatively revamping certain features of urban spectatorship to accommodate their own circumstances' (2013, 41). Walkowitz argues that the late nineteenth century's social and cultural shifts were not limited to gender roles but economic class and social mobility. For the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on how these broader changes in urban living and employment opened opportunities for women's rights, as exemplified by New Womanhood.

However, the New Woman's urban life did not come without gendered boundaries and limitations on their newfound independence and mobility. Carol Senf expands, the New Woman 'was never an entirely coherent construct, being characterised either as overtly sexual or inversely as a "mannish" woman' (2017, 115). As women defied their gender boundaries, Senf encapsulates the negative press reaction as the press attempted to categorise the New Woman within the existing gender binary; a process that closely parallels the twenty-first century news cycles cited in this chapter's introduction. For instance, in one cartoon from the satirical magazine *Punch* in 1894, a woman asks if she can carry a man's bag while walking down the street, with the caption 'what will it soon come to' as an expression of shock and dismay at such a transgression of gendered norms (1894, 90). Similarly, another cartoon from 1858 where women must remove their crinolines to fit on the city's omnibus, a Victorian horse-drawn bus (Punch 1858, 133). There are strong parallels here with Kern's analysis of how gendered space prohibits women's urban movement, asking the rhetorical question 'Why doesn't my stroller fit on the streetcar?', raising similar questions of women's mobility on public transport that persist into the twenty-first century (2019, 8). Hence, while the New Woman was in some ways a liberated figure of newfound urban freedom, she still faced boundaries geographically and socially in transgressing binary gender divisions in similar ways to women in the twenty-first century.

Feng's The New Woman in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction (2004) and Hu Ying's Tales of Translation (2000) for more information.

Before commencing my analysis of Levy's fictional New Women, it is essential to note that applying Kern's feminist cities and New Womanhood to Levy's work can only be done retrospectively. Baldick highlights that 'the term [New Woman] was coined in an article in March 1894 by the feminist novelist Sarah Grand' (2014), five years after Levy's death. However, Levy was an important forerunner to feminists like Grand, which S. Brooke Cameron and Danielle Bird highlight, stating her writing 'suggests that there was not an immediate transition from the "Old" to "New" Woman', but situates 'the city as a liminal space in which women might form new relationships' (2014, 84; 76).

Levy's biography alone advocates her proto-New Woman candidacy in lived experience and literary genre. Levy was the first Jewish woman to attend Cambridge, and she struggled with depression and increasing deafness. Furthermore, many literary critics such as Ellen Ross have speculated her 'unrequited loves (many for women)', allowing cities to read her in feminist, mobility, and queer studies, among others (2007, 117). In this context, Levy's lived experiences as a disabled, potentially queer, Jewish woman were unique, offering an intersectional perspective on urban life. The following sections examine Levy's prose and poetry as precursors to the New Woman's narrative form and cultural construct, using Kern's criteria for the feminist city to evaluate how Levy creates and sustains female space in London.

2. Finding space in the city

If cultural ideas of gender limit a women's role to homemakers, then the feminist city's first criteria, as Kern conceptualises, is decentring the nuclear family to permit women's entrance into urban areas. Kern expands that feminist cities 'don't rely on the family or men as sources of economic […] protection', 'they recognise the importance of allowing people to create and nurture their own kinship structures' (2019, 175). In Levy's novella, *The Romance of the Shop*, this phenomenon manifests in the death of persons representing the "old" system, making way for the new. The novella opens with four sisters, Gertrude, Lucy, Phyllis, and Fanny Lorimer, in an 'unforeseen calamity', where the 'sudden loss of fortune, [is] immediately followed by the sudden death of their father, crushed by the cruel blow which had fallen on him' and leaves them with only 'about £500' (1889, 6; 7). The misfortune first affects the father; it has 'fallen on him', making no provisions for his family and leaving them in financial precarity. However, the death forces the sisters to refigure their family relations, enabling their new philanthropy and financial independence.

One sister, Gertrude, advocates they 'start as professional photographers' for their means of economic independence and forming a new kinship structure (1889, 8). She states, 'we should all

keep together', a first-person plural pronoun emphasising their sisterhood in contrast to the singular masculine pronoun 'his' used in their father's financial loss (1889, 8). Their business' primary aim is allowing the sisters to stay together, making kinship at the centre of their new economy rather than the pursuit of great wealth, arguing 'if we fail, we should be very little worse off than before' (1889, 8). While not as radical as Kern's vision for 'people to create and nurture their own kinship structures' (2019, 175), Levy uses existing familial relations and reconfigures them to create a female-centred democracy where every sister can vote on their venture, with Gertrude asking, 'What have you others to say to it?' after proposing the idea. As such, the Lorimer sisters create a new business and family structure, allowing them to enter London's urban spaces independently for the first time (1889, 8).

While the sisters have not entered London at this stage, their conservatory setting foregrounds their potential for growth from their old way of life. The narrator describes how 'the great glass structure would have presented a surprise to the stranger expectant of palms and orchids. It was fitted up as a photographer's studio' (1889, 6). Subverting the expectation of female cultivation in the domestic sphere, it is clear the Lorimer sisters will use their spaces in radical new ways. Stephanie Russo and Lee O'Brien emphasise this conservatory as a 'domestic sign of male money […] physically altered to affect the representation of a new kind of growth' (2021, 49). This 'growth' is professionalism, with 'a nondescript heap of professional litter' and a 'white-painted canvas' symbolising their unformulated potential for business (1889, 6). The Lorimer sisters start their philanthropic journey with a blank canvas, creating a new space for innovation, and allowing them to reconfigure their space in a non-traditional way. Gertrude reflects this attitude, describing businesses as 'progressive; a creature capable of growth; the very qualities in which women's work is dreadfully lacking' (1889, 8). Personifying photographic work as a 'creature' almost creates a new family member, replacing the loss their deceased father represents. Gertrude's negative observation of women's usual employment highlights the newness of their endeavour as something to cultivate together in their new sisterhood.

The task of finding a space to live in London is one of relative ease. After selling their father's remaining effects, the sisters are 'the joint possessors of £600' and begin giving 'immense zeal and devotion into the absorbing business of house-hunting' (1889, 23). Upon finding their new studio at '20B, Upper Baker Street', the eldest sister, Fanny, advocates that they will require 'plain living and high thinking', demonstrating their pragmaticism in developing a new spatial paradigm (1889, 27; 29). There is significance in Levy's choice of city location for the Lorimer sisters. Their location creates a female-centred Baker Street, contrasting a twenty-first-century reader's association of this street with the male genius from Sherlock Holmes. Arthur Conan Doyle's first Holmes book, *A Study in Scarlet* (1887), was published two years before Levy's novella. This

choice may reflect Levy's own experiences of living in Bloomsbury in the late nineteenth century, which Ana Pareji Vadillo notes saw the area experience a 'profound spatial transformation' from 'a monumental upper-class neighbourhood to a more transgressive one' containing 'London's most radical spaces for women' (2005, 44-53).

Having moved to London, the Lorimer sisters quickly start engaging in spectatorship, 'looking into the street' through their 'window' as a way of observing city life and the local people's customs (1889, 49). Levy explores this theme further in her poem 'A London Plane Tree', where the poetic speaker observes a tree through their window, stating:

> *Green is the plane-tree in the square,*
> *The other trees are brown;*
> *They droop and pine for country air;*
> *The plane-tree loves the town.*
>
> *Here from my garret-pane, I mark*
> *The plane-tree bud and blow,*
> *Shed her recuperative bark,*
> *And spread her shade below.*
>
> *Among her branches, in and out,*
> *The city breezes play;*
> *The dun fog wraps her round about;*
> *Above, the smoke curls grey. (1889, l. 1-12)*

This poetic speaker looks from 'my garret-pane', reclaiming the once confining interior, domestic spaces as a safe place of observance to reflect on the tree's growth in the urban climate. The possessive adjective 'her' genders the tree female, describing the tree's growth with new 'bud[s]'. Contrasting the 'other trees' which 'are brown', the female tree's flourishing in the urban space allows her to 'spread' leaves and occupy more space (1889, l. 2; 8). In turn, the tree nourishes the city's air, taking 'in and out' the 'dun fog' in the photosynthetic process where trees produce clean oxygen (1889, l. 11). The city benefits from the plane-tree's presence, clearing the air, offering her 'shade' and 'recuperative bark' (1889, l. 8; 7). In turn, she 'loves the town', indicating her enjoyment and flourishing in this urban climate. As a metaphor for the New Woman's place in the city, the plane-tree suggests that allowing women to find and occupy space is of mutual benefit; in giving women spaces to dwell, they nourish the areas they occupy and help the city grow.

3. Moving in the city

In discerning historical gender divides, Massey emphasises 'the limitation of women's mobility, in terms of identity and space, has been in some cultural contexts a crucial means to subordination' (Space, Place, and Gender 1994, 179). When examining female space in the city, it is crucial not only to consider how women enter the space but how they move and, as Kern says, 'take up space and make relations on their own terms' (2019, 86). These mobility questions are equally prevalent in the New Woman's urban living, when public transport was relatively new to London, enabling women's independent movement.

In *The Romance of a Shop,* Gertrude radically sits on top of an omnibus, defying women's conventional place sat indoors: 'Gertrude came careering up the street on the summit of a tall, green omnibus, her hair blowing gaily in the breeze, her ill-gloved hands clasped about a bulky note-book' (1889, 45). The noun 'summit' describes Gertrude's position outdoors, connoting height and grandeur. Her transportation is more than a practical means of mobility; it reflects her freedoms as an entrepreneurial New Woman. Additionally, while Levy uses 'careering' in its verb form, meaning to move swiftly, its definition as a noun refers to an occupation. Levy's word choice subtly captures Gertrude's agency to travel and her professional occupation. The personification of her 'hair blowing gaily' indicates her contentment, and her 'bulky note-book' evokes the New Woman's literary presence. Isobel Hurst recalls how 'Levy herself was one of the first to reject the convention that women should travel inside an omnibus', creating parallels between Levy and Gertrude (2021). However, Gertrude does not elude criticism in her mobility, as her Aunt Caroline stands in 'speechless horror' at her niece on the omnibus, whose dismay leaves Gertrude with a humiliated 'sinking heart' (1889, 45). Despite such criticism, the Lorimer sister's fictional existence and narrative mobility are essential in reflecting the radical new ways women traversed London.

The New Woman's destination is as equally important as their transportation methods. Gertrude reveals to her Aunt Caroline that she's been 'to the British Museum' (1889, 45). Within the 1880s, her destination is significant because, as Vadillo highlights, Levy herself was known for 'forging a network of intellectual and literary connections through the British Museum Reading Room' (2005, 3). Here, Levy uses those real-world geographic locations of female intellectual gatherings in her fictionalised London, foregrounding women's relationships and urban transportation as their means for transcending their previously restrictive gender roles.

Furthermore, Levy reflects on how public transport offered a new mobility for women in her poem 'Ballade of an Omnibus' (1889). Levy's poem envisages 'a wandering minstrel' recalling in the song-like ballad form their contentment with public transport through the refrain: 'An omnibus suffices me' (1889, l. 6; 8). The poem's first-person speaker, indicated with the pronouns

'me' and 'I', means the reader only knows the minstrel's occupation, not their gender. The anonymous speaker traverses London by omnibus, describing:

> *The city pageant, early and late*
> *Unfolds itself, rolls by, to be*
> *A pleasure deep and delicate.*
> *An omnibus suffices me. (1889, l. 21-24)*

The minstrel faces no temporal restrictions, traversing the city 'early and late'. The repeated commas create a fast-paced structure, mimicking the omnibus' swift travel, while the enjambment on 'to be' leaves the city's potential momentarily open and free. Before the ending refrain, the description of how London 'unfolds itself' implies the city is an open space, self-revealing to the speaker in an inviting and 'pleasure'-filled way.

In the minstrel's free observation of the city, Levy's poetry evokes the female flâneur, a debate that Kern similarly contemplates. Kern defines the 'figure of the flâneur, emerging prominently in Charles Baudelaire's writing, [as] a gentleman who is a "passionate spectator" of the city' but highlights how 'Feminist urban writers have been divided' on whether the flâneur could be female (2019, 24).[8] Kern continues: 'Moving comfortably and silently through the city, […] was a cherished pursuit. For women, however, being the flâneuse is fraught. To enjoy being alone requires respect for personal space, a privilege that women have rarely been afforded' (2019, 88). Kern's analysis of the flâneuse indicates the dangers women face when alone and anonymous in urban spaces, as demonstrated in the APPG report quoted in the introduction, citing issues of sexual harassment on public transport. In retroactively reading Levy's 'Ballade of an Omnibus' through the figure of the flâneur/ flâneuse, perhaps Levy's speaker offers an idealised construction of female identity in public spaces; an anonymous and ambiguous figure who is not primarily characterised by their gender but through their capacity for free, uninhibited travel.

Levy's poem 'Between the Showers' continues this exploration of female identity in the city, demonstrating that the space must contain a capacity for change to enable women's transgression from domestic spheres into the city. Naomi Hetherington and Nadia Valman describe Levy's poetry as building an 'identity that is located in/on the liberating ambiguity of the "changeful" city', indicating the importance of the city space itself in contemplating how women move through it. (2010, 163). 'Between the Showers' exemplifies this ambiguous selfhood and "changeful" city

[8] See Aruna D'Souza and Tom McDonough's *The Invisible Flaneuse?* (2004) and Lauren Elkin's *Flânuese* (2016) for further reading.

interact with one another, opening 'Between the showers I went my way' (1889, l. 1). The speaker situates themselves in a liminal position, temporally between two rain-showers and spatially in their unspecified 'way'. While their physical location or destination remains unknown, the speaker emphasises their concrete will. The first-person subject pronoun 'I' and the possessive adjective 'my' in the first line enforces the speaker's articulated desire for movement and autonomy within the city, contrasting the other people who move 'hither and thither' and 'chased the changeful hours', lacking spatial or temporal direction (1889, l. 8; 9).

Unlike Levy's other poems, which use a mixture of gendered pronouns, there are no gendered pronouns throughout 'Between the Showers'. There is only the 'I', asserting their 'way' through the streets and another anonymous person. The speaker addresses this figure as 'you, you passed and smiled that day, | Between the showers' (1889, l. 10-11). The repeated second person 'you' indicates the speaker's close observance and this figure's freedom to pass in the street. Emphasising both figures' movement within this liminal point '[b]etween the showers' creates an anonymous, transitory encounter from which they 'smiled' and take enjoyment, highlighting autonomy to move freely within the city. If the flâneuse is the ideal for women's urban mobility in Kern's feminist city, allowing them to move 'comfortably and silently' (2019, 88), then Levy offers an imagined vision for how this freedom might look and feel. Hetherington and Valman argue Levy's 'resistance to fixity is also a resistance to an intelligible sexual, racial, or gender identity' (2010, 171). In reading this transitory encounter as an escape from the confines of defined social identity, Levy utilises ambiguous identities to enable people to 'take up space and make relations on their own terms', as Kern's feminist city proposes (2019, 86). 'I went my way' asserts a self-made identity with a clear will, marking a different kind of movement through space, where people are not judged by a single characteristic of their identity, including gender.

4. Occupying the city

Earlier in this chapter, I stated that to build the feminist city Kern envisions as that 'ongoing experiment in living differently' (2019, 176), women must have the freedom to move and occupy the space autonomously until that spatial transgression becomes normative and safe. Levy's poem 'London in July' contemplates women's ability to occupy urban space. The poem opens with an anonymous speaker posing a rhetorical question:

> *What is it ails the place,*
> *That all the people in the street*
> *Should wear one woman's face? (1889, l. 2-4)*

Their question uncovers a fear that the city transfigures the New Woman into 'one woman's' homogenous identity, with the verb 'ails' introducing negative connotations of affliction or trouble. Here, Levy's speaker critiques the singular feminine identity afforded women in a patriarchal model for normative gender roles, a reductive binary view of womanhood that the New Woman speaks against. However, the anonymous speaker finds relief from this anxiety in that they 'may meet' their 'love, she dwells in London town' (1889, l. 12; 7.). While the speaker's identity is not gendered, their focus on a female love introduces a unique female identity distinguished from the city's 'wild waste' (1889, l. 10). While it is beyond this paper's scope to debate how Levy's own sexual identity may have influenced these gendered pronouns, I want to highlight the female lover's importance within the city's space as the only figure in this poem with the capacity to occupy space. She 'dwells' in the city, giving her permanence and allowing her to occupy London, even if unknowingly under the anonymous speaker's gaze.

The importance of an ambiguous identity in creating female space also manifests in *The Romance of a Shop's* epilogue. The narrator recounts that since the Lorimer sisters' departure, '[t]he Photographic Studio is let to an enterprising young photographer, who has enlarged and beautified it beyond recognition' (1889, 130). Like the poetic speakers in 'London in July' and 'Between the Showers', the new photographer's gender identity remains ambiguous. Cameron and Bird note that this 'genderless photographer hints at this possibility of a new cityscape marked by […] gender indifference', indicating that the feminist city's goal is for all people to occupy the city space without judgment for their identity or other characteristics (2014, 93). The only information offered is that they are 'young', suggesting a potential for growth reflected by the studio's space (1889, 130). The studio becomes 'enlarged', growing as the Lorimer sisters did from their blank canvas beginnings, changing 'beyond recognition' (1889, 130). The continued development and growth reflect Kern's notion that building the feminist city is 'an ongoing experiment in living differently', requiring repeated change and growth before the city becomes a space for everyone. Read retrospectively as a microcosm for Kern's feminist city, the Lorimer sisters' photography studio develops beyond the social and literary concept of the New Woman to accommodate an inclusive and diverse vision for urban spaces.

While some literary critics view *The Romance of the Shop's* ending as overly conventional, I argue that the Lorimer sisters' different outcomes create a diverse range of female identities for its time, expanding from the anxiety of all people wearing 'one woman's face' from 'London in July' to create a complex and diverse portrait of New Womanhood (1889, l. 11). The epilogue details the sisters' fates. Fanny marries with 'the absence of children' and 'continues to flourish', while Lucy is married with two children, and her 'photography […] has not been crowded out by domestic

duties' (1889, 129). Gertrude marries and becomes the 'Lady Watergate', hoping her child 'will prove to have inherited his father's scientific taste, or the literary tendencies of his mother', implying that Gertrude continues her literary career (1889, 129). Phyllis perhaps has the most controversial fate, as the only sister to not survive after becoming ill following her attempted elopement, fulfilling the New Woman's sexually promiscuous characterisation. While all three remaining sisters are married, they exhibit various choices in having children and careers. As Massey states, the aim 'is not to substitute a "feminine" view for a "masculine" one […] but rather to problematise the whole business' (1994, 13). So, while marriage is a somewhat conventional ending in conforming to patriarchal norms, the sisters' do not lose their female identity; rather, having grown through their New Womanly enterprise, each remaining sister enters relationships and maintains their individuality.

This chapter's purpose was to demonstrate how writing can inform an understanding of women's entrance to, movement through, and occupation of a public cityscape assumed to be male in cultural constructions of gender. Following this analysis of *The Romance of a Shop* and *The London Plane-Tree and Other Verse,* several aspects of Levy's New Womanhood could help inform the feminist cities that Kern, and other feminist geographers envision. For instance, entering typically masculine urban public spheres can come from reformulating ideas of a nuclear family away from those binary divisions of male and female gender roles, as the Lorimer sisters demonstrate through a revitalised familial model of sisterhood. Equally, once in the city, Gertrude exemplifies the importance and empowering nature of creating safe public transportation, allowing her urban mobility in radical new ways. This inclusiveness can benefit urban spaces in turn, as Levy articulates in 'A London Plane Tree', demonstrating the connectivity between space and the people allowed to occupy it. Through these examples, I have shown how Levy's New Women challenged those narrow definitions of femininity as interior and domestic to become radically independent, illustrated through the Lorimer sister's varying fates and the capacity for Levy's poetic speakers to move through city life without identifiable gender identities. Levy's areas of concern, such as public transport, housing, and mobility, are topics still prevalent in twenty-first-century feminist discourse, exemplified in Kern's *Feminist City* and the reports on women's safety in London during 2021. While Levy's conceptions of New Womanhood, female independence, and gendered space were fictional spaces and products of her era, finding Levy's feminist cities and New Womanhood reopens resistance pathways that could help us imagine the inclusive spaces our cities still so desperately need.

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Gendered Bodies

Feeding Mothers: The Formation of Pregnant Identities in a Sri Lankan Immigrant Community in the UK

by *Kumeri Bandara*

Introduction

This chapter follows a group of female Sinhala Sri Lankan immigrants—and their friends and family—who experienced pregnancies while living in the UK. I show how these women experienced nostalgia for culturally sensitive food, kin, and care during pregnancy. The women grew up in Sri Lankan villages or small towns where they vicariously experienced how upon pregnancy, women undergo a change in their social perception and own sense of identity, alongside a biological change. By "change in social perception," I reference a shift in how society perceives and treats pregnant women. Loved ones attend to and cook special dishes for pregnant women. Female kin, such as a pregnant woman's mother or mother-in-law, perform different acts of caring. In a foreign context with an absence of immediate kin and familiar cultural structures, food and food practices play a huge part in enabling pregnant women to fully embody their pregnant personhood and allowing fellow immigrants to step in and play the caring roles of kin. This research corroborates findings from an emergent body of literature exploring cultural dimensions of immigrant women's pregnancy experiences. Further, it shows how food, kin, and gendered care practices play an integral role in creating a pregnant woman's social identity in a diasporic setting and in ensuring a fulfilling pregnancy. Here, I use "diaspora" to refer to the link that migrants have to both the place they occupy and the place they come from (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996). This chapter, using a limited empirical data set, suggests that continuing this research with a larger sample size can shed light on cultural aspects that help immigrant women experience healthy and fulfilling pregnancies, and reveal the different kinds of care work that preoccupy the personal lives of immigrant women.

Most existing research on experiences of pregnant immigrant women living in different regions across the world can be traced in medical and sociological investigations. Some such research focuses on factors that affect the well-being of pregnant women and foetuses; including nutrition and physical health (Miani 2018), risks of sexual violence (Martinez et al. 2016), and access to medical care (Kim and Son 2020). Such work implies that healthy pregnancies for immigrant women are dependent mostly on the nutrients they take, their access to safe living conditions and access to professional medical care. Meanwhile, other studies explicitly focus on women's racial and ethnic identities—in both immigrant and non-immigrant populations—such as pregnancies as sites of racial reproduction (Bridges 2011), correlations between race or ethnicity and teenage

pregnancies or medical conditions (Aparicio 2014, Borders et al. 2015, Tsai et al. 2017), and racial discrimination in prenatal care (Gadson et al. 2017, Palmer 2020, Sauvegrain et al. 2017, Slaughter-Acey et al. 2019). This research investigates how economic and social structures related to race and ethnicity can shape experiences of pregnant women and their newborns. While medicalised and racialised lenses provide vital insight into immigrant women's pregnancies, these lenses fall short of capturing relevant cultural dimensions that shape these women's experiences.

There is only a limited number of studies that explore cultural elements affecting immigrant women's experiences of pregnancy. A literature review exploring "the perceptions of pregnancy, childbirth and motherhood, and lived experiences of migrant women in their new home country" highlights that most women had expectations of pregnancies that differed from those found in their host country (Benza and Liamputtong 2014, 575); the women missed familiar support, diets, and care practices they would have experienced in the home country. A study on Bengali immigrant women in New York shows that receiving support via culturally sensitive advice, food, and care from local social networks—of people of shared ethnic backgrounds—and transnational social networks is paramount in fulfilling "physiological as well as emotional needs" of pregnant immigrant women (Chakrabarti 2010, 365). While Chakrabarti's (2010) study provides a helpful overview of the informal support that immigrant women receive from local and transnational personal networks, there is space to further understand the connections between food, care, and other people's roles in the formation of the pregnant subject. Through this chapter, I corroborate most findings from the emergent literature on cultural dimensions and lived experiences of pregnant immigrant women, investigating connections between food, kin, and gendered care practices in a diasporic setting to show how they come together to create a pregnant personhood. In doing so, I also add to a growing body of literature exploring different kinds of care work undertaken by immigrant and migrant women around the world (see Arora et al. 2020, Anderson and Shutes 2014, Sahraoui 2019, Constable 2017).

Methodology

Fieldwork

In Autumn 2019, I conducted participant observation with a Sri Lankan immigrant community for two months. I connected with the group via a friend from Sri Lanka, my home country, who put me in touch with a Sri Lankan family living in a small market town called Albion off South London.[1] A middle-aged couple, Mahesh and Nayanathara, led the host family I stayed with for

[1] All names of people and places are pseudonymised for anonymity.

two months. During this time, I conducted participant observation and informal interviews with them and their friends in domestic settings. While my main host family and some of their close connections lived in Albion, they also had ties to friends in Anoun—a seaside town about 300 km from Albion—and family back in Sri Lanka. This geographically dispersed community kept in touch with each other and shared cultural knowledge via video calls and phone calls.[2] While everyone in the community did not know each other personally, in most cases, they knew of each other—a phenomenon that might be called "imagined community" (Anderson 1983). I met and spoke with twenty of the community of around fifty people. Of them, four had first-hand experience of being pregnant in the UK, and the others were involved in caring for these women. I recorded data by taking field notes of observations I made and conversations I had with people during fieldwork. I kept most conversations open-ended. After collecting data, I used open coding and thematic analysis to analyse the findings.

Demographics

While the community comprised Sinhala and Tamil people, the pregnant women whose stories I share in this paper happen to be Sinhala,[3] which is the majority ethnicity in Sri Lanka. Most of the first-generation Sri Lankan immigrants I worked with in Albion were care providers in private nursing homes. They were largely from middle-class backgrounds. Some came to the UK following a nursing degree in Sri Lanka; others had no prior experience working in the caregiving industry. Some of my correspondents were women who accompanied their husbands who came to the UK for undergraduate degrees, couples that made it to the UK after receiving European visas in Italy, and in a few cases, asylum seekers who had fled the Sri Lankan civil war. Regarding the correspondents in Anoun, most had a nursing degree from Sri Lanka and have since joined the UK's National Health Service (NHS), working as theatre scrub nurses or associate nurses. Many of these people chose to come to Albion and Anoun because they had relatives or friends living there (see also Bloch 2002) or found it easier to get jobs there owing to Sri Lankan contacts in the nursing homes. Most immigrants I worked with had arrived in the UK of their own volition and were actively looking to integrate into local cultures. They manifested "homing-desire" as opposed to "desire for homeland" (Brah 1996, 180) or a wish to experience a home away from home rather than a wish to return home (Rabikowska 2010). Individuals' homing-desire will

[2] See Chakrabarti 2010 for Bengali immigrants' similar use of telephones to maintain transnational connections.

[3] For context on waves of migration of Sinhala, Tamil, and Muslim ethnic groups from Sri Lanka to the UK since the 19th century, please consult the following: Anderson 2001; Daniel 1996; Daniel and Thangaraja 1995; David 2012; Deegalle 2013; Holgate 2005; Jazeel 2006; Orjuela 2011; Kabir and Stirrat 2018; Maunaguru et al. 2018; Siddhisena and White 1999.

become even clearer through this chapter as I show how they recreate customary practices related to pregnancy in a foreign setting.

Positionality

Being Sinhala and having spent the first twenty years of my life in Sri Lanka, I shared a common background with my correspondents; even though I had grown up close to a city and was familiar with a middle-class lifestyle, I was versed in village dialect, humour, and body language through family relatives. Over the weeks, my female correspondents felt more comfortable spending time with me and communicating with me because interactions within like-gender groups were considered more appropriate than those across gender.[4] Further, domestic chores were gendered, and women were the most involved in the food world, which enthralled me and fed my hunger for research data. Had I been a man, I would not have had the same access to these spaces.

The following articulates the findings from my ethnographic research, illustrating how some immigrant women reconcile yearnings for cultural elements that are important for a fulfilling pregnancy and the realisation of their pregnant subject.

Nostalgia

I met Irangani when accompanying my host family to Anoun for a gathering organised by two families living there. She had worked as a nursing assistant for older people when she had first arrived in the UK, and was presently a lecturer in economics at a local university. She lived in Anoun with her Caucasian British husband and three children, all of whom she had in the UK. Irangani gave the following account of her pregnancy in the UK:

> *When I got pregnant, I became desperate for Sri Lankan company. You know how it is in Sri Lanka… pregnant women get special care and attention. Everyone takes the first bit of the best dishes they make to the pregnant women in the village. I saw my parents do that when I was growing up. […] Did you know? In the past, it used to be that when a woman was suspected of being pregnant, her mother or mother-in-law would take her to a special hut called a thimbiri ge (hut made of thimbiri wood) to do a pregnancy test.*[5] *There would be a woman there who would collect a urine sample from the woman and then put it into a vial. She would then fill another vial with water. She would add mustard seeds to both and leave the seeds to germinate overnight. In the morning, the mustard seeds soaked in the water would be germinated, and those in the one with the pregnant woman's urine would not. There is apparently a hormone that inhibits the growth of other organisms in pregnant women's urine that prevents the growth of the seeds […] My husband and his family are*

[4] The use of binary-gendered and heteronormative language echoes that of my informants.

[5] *Timbiri* refers to the gaub tree, *Diospyros malabarica*.

white British, and I didn't know any Sri Lankans here when I got pregnant. I tried explaining to my mother-in-law how things are in Sri Lanka, but she just brushed things off. Her attitude was that everyone goes through pregnancy; that's just how it is, deal with it. I was craving Sri Lankan food, anything Sri Lankan. I couldn't cook then. I became so desperate that I postered around town saying that I was Sri Lankan and looking to get in touch with any other Sri Lankans. Jeevaka saw my poster and called me, and that's how I got in touch with him and Mallika. I got to know everyone else here through them.

Irangani's anecdote captures the essence of other pregnancy stories I heard while collecting data. The stories all touched on feelings of nostalgia about food, kin, and care around pregnancy. As her anecdote clarifies, Irangani expected a culturally specific kind of care (including being cooked for) rooted in Sri Lankan history, which she failed to receive from her husband's family. The nostalgia that Irangani experienced manifested in her interest in learning more about apparent traditional forms of caring for a pregnant woman in Sri Lanka. She explained that she had learned of the use of mustard seed tests in the *thimbiri ge* through the lectures of a Sri Lankan archaeologist, Raj Somadewa, on YouTube.

According to Somadewa (2018, 31:58-37:42), in Sri Lanka, while an entire community took care of a pregnant woman by giving her the best food they had, different kin had respective obligations and roles to perform toward her.[6] The mother or mother-in-law would take the woman suspected of being pregnant to the *naachchile* or *vinnambu amma* (the equivalent of midwife) for the mustard seed pregnancy test. Close male kin would source *thimbiri* wood to build a birthing hut called a *thimbiri ge*. He stated that *thimbiri* wood has air purifying qualities and that once the hut is built, it is left for a week so that the air is saturated with antiseptic volatile matter. This ensured that wounds were protected from infection during delivery. The closest male kin fetched the wood because there was a worry that someone else paid to do the job would resort to building the hut using other wood, thus causing infectious wounds and tetanus in the pregnant woman. Somadewa argues Sri Lankans "[…] used to have a system that was sympathetic, collective, and environmentally friendly" (Somadewa 2018, 38:52-40:16). He then mentions an apparent deterioration of such local values.

The scenarios Somadewa describes are idealistic and nostalgic. In contemporary Sri Lanka, neither the *thimbiri ge* nor the mustard seed tests exist as common practice. However, the communal spirit of care and obligation toward a pregnant woman remain. Relatives and friends cook special dishes rich in coconut cream for pregnant women. A pregnant woman's cravings or *dola duka* are recognised as being special. Further, the mother or the mother-in-law would cook

[6] Somadewa had a clear political agenda of getting locals to recognize and appreciate Sri Lankan, and particularly, Sinhala ancestors' technological prowess and vast base of knowledge. Nota bene, he often conflated Sri Lankanness with being Sinhala.

for and feed the pregnant woman nutritious meals and comfort food. Even though Irangani knew that the *thimbiri ge* was mostly a figment from the past, she still saw the Sri Lankan attitude of giving special care to and idolising pregnant women as lost values in her move from Sri Lankan society to British society. It seemed that she was selective in what she fed into her nostalgic narrative. The relative lack of care in contemporary Sri Lankan society that Somadewa (2018) acknowledged is left out of her cultural imagination.

Irangani's connection between a selective cultural imagination of the past and the present aligns with Marilyn Strathern's (1995) concept of "synthetic nostalgia", which is a nostalgia based on an imagined-irreparable separation between the past and present that is longing for a lost utopian vision. Irangani, as a follower of Somadewa's videos, then progressed this synthetic nostalgia as she identified the lost utopia not just in the break between the past and the present but also in the geographical break between Sri Lanka and the UK.

Irangani reinterpreted the Sri Lankan meal such that it substituted all that for which she was nostalgic. After a few attempts to explain to her British mother-in-law—but without success—how pregnant women are taken care of in Sri Lanka, she resorted to postering around town, looking for any Sri Lankans, hoping to have a Sri Lankan meal cooked for her. She told me that the one meal Mallika and Jeevaka cooked fulfilled her nostalgia for the continuous care and kin obligations she imagined she would have received had she been in Sri Lanka. Ranjana Chakrabarti (2010, 368) similarly notes how Bengali immigrants in New York used imagination to keep alive memories from home, which help in coping "with the demands of everyday life and pregnancy in an unfamiliar setting."

Food

Similar to Irangani, another informant, Lalitha, wanted someone else to cook her Sri Lankan dishes. Her mother in Sri Lanka sent her rice packets wrapped carefully in banana leaves and packaged into aluminium foil bags that once contained milk powder. She sent the packets through Lalitha's husband, who had been visiting Sri Lanka.[7] Each packet contained rice, slow-cooked jackfruit curry, spicy dhal curry, tempered coconut sambal, sweet and sour ambarella curry, and mango curry, all rich in coconut milk. Pregnancy, in Sinhala culture, warrants special dishes rich in coconut milk to be prepared and some ingredients to be avoided. As Somadewa (2018)

[7] The practice of sending transnational gifts of food is hardly unique to Sri Lankan immigrants. Chakrabarti (2010) observes similar trends where parents send gifts of food to pregnant Bangladeshi or Indian daughters living in the US through people travelling between the countries.

mentions in his lecture, a pregnant woman is expected to be careful about the things she eats. For instance, young papaya and young pineapple are best avoided.[8]

Lalitha's mother was not present in-person to continue the supply of special food and to perform any of the practices of care that a mother would perform to a pregnant daughter. When Lalitha had a *dola duka* (craving) for more mango curries, ambaralla curries, and other sweet and sour curries, it was my host Nayanathara who cooked dishes to satisfy cravings. Being cooked certain dishes by people in the community who are familiar with pregnancy customs is part of what it means to be a pregnant woman in a Sinhala community in Sri Lanka. So, even in a diasporic context, being cooked these very dishes by fellow immigrants was an important step in fully embodying a pregnant personhood. As Chakrabarti (2010, 366) similarly points out about Bengali immigrants in the US, cooking for pregnant women was a way to show care and help relive familiar memories of home through familiar flavours: "Most women mentioned how badly they missed the simple but delicious preparations of mothers and grandmothers, which taste good to pregnant women."

For Sinhala communities, like many other South Asian communities (Chakrabarti 2010), giving and consuming food create social roles and relational identities, especially in many ritualistic contexts—a fact corroborated by Rita Langer's (2019, 530) work on how food can possess a "creative and transformative power" in ritual contexts in Sri Lanka. She particularly focuses on the case of *kiriammala* or milk mothers, who are ordinary women playing a special role in a ritualistic context. The ritualistic context is one where a family fulfils a vow to the goddess Pattini "who is associated with fertility, childbirth and childhood diseases, but also more generally with prosperity and health" (Langer 2019, 530). Seven women who are mothers of good moral conduct in a given community are invited for a pre-dawn breakfast or almsgiving, known as *kiriammadaana*. The reasoning behind inviting groups of seven, or multiples of seven women comes from a representation of "Pattini in her seven incarnations" (Langer 2019, 532). The invited women are transformed into milk mothers through their consumption of specially prepared dishes containing milk or coconut milk. Here, milk "creates the necessary ritual frame and, from an ayurvedic perspective, has the power to transform mothers into milk mothers" (Langer 2019, 530). Those who prepare these dishes follow specific rules and customs, thus playing a significant role in the creation of milk mothers:

> *The milk rice and other milky food offered to milk mothers primarily effect a transformation in the recipients—they transform mothers into milk mothers. This is not to say that the*

[8] Such food taboos exist elsewhere in the world, including in South Asia (Chakrabarti 2010, Dentan 1965, Placek and Hagen 2013; Placek, Madhivanan, and Hagen 2017), Pacific Islands (Henrich and Henrich 2010), East Africa (Demissie, Muroki, and Kogi-Makau 1998), and Southern Africa (Chakona and Shackleton 2019). Some contending theories about the origin of such taboos include the believed protection for pregnant women and foetuses against abortifacients (Placek, Madhivanan, and Hagen 2017) and other harms (Dentan 1965, Levay et al. 2013).

> *donor remains unchanged. Milk mothers as representatives of the sevenfold Pattini (satpattini) effect positive change by bestowing the blessing of the goddess on the donors (Langer 2019, 539).*

In the less formal and more protracted ritualistic context of a woman's pregnancy, her complete transformation into a pregnant woman mirrors the formation of milk mothers. Embodying pregnancy constitutes more than the physical changes a woman undergoes. The food she eats and the gifts of delicious, appropriate dishes she receives from her kin and community contribute to her pregnancy transformation. To fully embody the experience of being a pregnant woman, a woman must be able to receive relevant forms of care through offerings of special food from the people around her. Conviviality, sociality, and the creation of human bodies are interlinked (see Ewart 2008).

Van Daele's (2018) work on food "assemblages" gives us a theoretical framework to understand how people and dishes come together to constitute a sociocultural experience of pregnancy in the homeland. Van Daele (2018, 85) sees food in Sri Lanka as an "emergent resultant of heterogeneous aspects with which it is deeply entangled and by way of which it turns into a potent agent shaping life". According to Van Daele (2018), the spatial and temporal context in which people come together to make a meal determines the significance of the meal. Langer (2019, 541) too points out that food "is carefully matched to the recipient, occasion, and time of the day, which requires interpretation and knowledge of Theravada Buddhism". The meaning of a dish is determined by way of the larger assemblage of food, people, and ritual of which it is a constituent. The meal, in turn, shapes the lives of the people involved in it. In a similar fashion, a combination of the dishes cooked, the feeding practices, the words expressed, and the presence of a pregnant woman together create an assemblage of heterogeneous aspects that together index a socio-culturally familiar experience of pregnancy.

The newness and vagueness of the diasporic space allowed its members to reinterpret assemblages in personal, unique ways. When my host, Nayanathara, had been pregnant in Sri Lanka, at one point, she had been fed up by the continuous waves of food packets that her mother-in-law had made her. She had also found it to be a burden that she always had people visiting and cooking food for her. However, in a foreign context where such attention was hard to come by, any offer as such seemed appreciated by pregnant women. A new space allows for the redefinition and renegotiation of most values that were taken for granted before. In the words of Krishnendu Ray (2000, iv), "For the […] migrant all the trouble with food has to do with two things: it is about home; and it is about authenticity. And both are about defining one's self in terms of a place and a past." A new space allows for the redefinition and renegotiation of most values that were taken

for granted before. Both Lalitha and Irangani used meals that were cooked for them by friends to experience the forms of care from kin that they would have received in Sri Lanka.[9]

Kin

In a diasporic context, other close community members step in to fill the roles that kin would normally perform. Lalitha once asked Nayanathara whether she could "*walang pihala kavanna*" or wipe up the pots and feed her. "Just like my mother does," Lalitha added. Lalitha referred to wiping up a pot, an act often performed by women in Sri Lanka, especially when they cooked food in clay pots. One would add a bit of rice into an empty pot to wipe up the remaining gravy and then eat it—similar to using bread to wipe up sauces remaining in dishes in other parts of the world.[10] Next, Lalitha particularly wanted to be fed by Nayanathara.

There is a cultural significance behind the act of being fed. Many Sinhala people have a special attachment to being fed by their mothers, such that even later in their lives, when asked what they miss the most about their childhood, home, or food, some say it is "*Aaah* being fed a mouthful of rice by their mother"—or in Sinhala, *ammage athen bath katak kana eka*. When a baby first begins to eat, the mother—if she is right-handed—would carry the child in her left arm, hold the bowl in her left hand, and use her right hand to feed the baby. For children, there is a separate language associated with feeding. "*Aaaa",* children say, pushing their wide-open mouths in the direction of the plate from which they are fed. At times, the mother too would say "*aaa"* to get the child to open the mouth. There is a whole corpus of senses associated with the feeding act. The child watches. A mother methodically takes a bit of each viand and piles it on top of a bit of rice. The fingers of her right hand move briskly in a routine-like manner. You could hear her wedding ring clink against the bottom of the plate as a mother balances it on her left hand. The amounts of each viand mixed in with the rice and the combinations of viands vary depending on the person doing the kneading. The intensity of the kneading also changes from person to person.

The feeding rituals of childhood reappear in young adulthood. When a couple is courting, they sometimes share one plateful of rice and feed each other. During Sinhala weddings, the couple follows a ritual of feeding each other milk rice, and at times even wedding cake. On *Avurudu* or New Year's Day in mid-April, the *gruhamuulika* or the head of the household—a title commonly designated to the father or grandfather, and in his absence to the oldest man or woman in the family—feeds everyone else the first mouthful of milk rice. Perhaps as an extension of this

[9] In talking about Polish immigrants in London, Marta Rabikowska (2010, 396) says that familiar rituals, habits, and "contemporaneous habits" help a migrant transform a new space into a home.
[10] For instance, Italians use the expression "*Fare la scarpetta"* to refer to this action.

practice, on birthdays, the person celebrating their birthday feeds a piece of cake to everyone gathered around to celebrate. The rest of the cake is cut and shared afterwards. This practice took place at two of the birthday parties of the diasporic community I stayed with as well.

As the above examples show, within a context defined by other cultural factors, the act of feeding is a marker that someone is either a mother, father, partner, head of the household, or person whose birthday it is. Similarly, in the case of feeding Lalitha, Nayanathara momentarily turned into the role of the mother. It was not just the pregnant woman whose personhood was made through food consumption practices but also the personhood of the person performing an act for her.

Care

As corroborated through Somadewa's (2018) talk and conversations with some of my informants, the responsibilities of cooking and caring for pregnant women take priority in Sinhala communities in Sri Lanka. This sentiment pervades the diasporic space of my informants as well. In fact, failure to cook special food for a pregnant woman in the diasporic context where there are not many people who can provide food-centred care invited criticism. For example, a member of the community, Jayanthi, was considered stingy for not wanting to cook for a pregnant Lalitha. The importance of caring for a pregnant woman at the expense of one's own wellbeing is captured in the following anecdote. Nayanathara mentioned a time when another friend called Nadini suffered from swine flu during pregnancy. Apparently, people kept away from her, fearing contagion. At one point, Nadini had called Nayanathara, saying she could not eat most things and that she craved milky jackfruit curry, mango curry, and dried fish. Nayanathara made the food and visited Nadini. Mahesh had steered clear of the house and asked Nayanathara to do the same. Nayanathara had responded that if she were to get sick, she would gladly sleep outside the house or go to the hospital.

The obligation to cook for a pregnant woman stems from an obligation to care for her. I use the word care here in the sense of showing concern and in a more nuanced sense that borders on the kinds of care that Lisa Stevenson (2014, 2) identifies among the Inuit people of the Canadian Arctic. She defines care "as the way someone comes to matter and the corresponding ethics of attending to the other who matters." Such a view of care allows us to go beyond a limiting understanding of the term as "good intentions, positive outcomes, or sentimental responses to suffering" (*Ibid*). By looking at ways in which someone comes to matter, we can develop a more complicated understanding of the care that factors in "both the ambivalence of our desires and the messiness of our attempts to care" (*Ibid*). In the Sri Lankan context, this kind of care can be

seen in how people contribute to the forming of a fellow community member's socio-cultural identity. Such a definition of care also resonates with Jarrett Zigon's claims that a "moral way of being-in-the-world" (Zigon 2014, 20) is entwined in a network of relationships within which an actor is both relational and affective.

Discussion

This chapter corroborates existing research showing how pregnant immigrant women who miss familiar support, diets, and care practices in a foreign context receive much needed support from transnational and local networks through food and food practices. The chapter also shows that these food items and practices help realise a woman's pregnant personhood. As the above sections on nostalgia for food, kin, and care have shown, for the Sri Lankan immigrants who became pregnant abroad, what it meant to be pregnant was linked with how their community cared for them through food practices. A diaspora implies that its members have a shared territorial identity (Dahlman 2004), with which they maintain material and imaginative connections (Blunt 2007). While people feel at home in their settlement area—for instance, through using "home-making practices" (Blunt 2007, 689)—they also continue to associate with their previous territorial identities. Collective imaginations of their own identities allow for them to use products—and practices—as symbols of identity (Sutton 2001). Receiving care and special food and being fed are not simply a way of resolving nostalgic feelings but also forming one's pregnant personhood.

The above sections also show how food practices related to pregnancy in a diasporic context rely on and encourage gendered labour. For one, it was mostly female informants who often did the cooking required to care for a pregnant woman. This gendered practice echoes how in rural South Asian Buddhist societies, women held knowledge regarding food preparation and rules of cooking for special occasions (Arnold 2000). More generally, the gendered practice also reflects how the responsibilities of managing or executing domestic chores in Sinhala households in Sri Lanka (De Alwis 2002) as well as abroad (Jazeel 2006) fall on women. Van Daele (2018) who studies a Sinhala village in Sri Lanka explains that while preparing food is by default the women's responsibility, men step in if the daily rhythm of household duties and chores are disrupted by a surprised visit from a guest, or seasonal changes in chores. The author gives an instance of how men in the house made tea for a guest to buy enough time for the women to cook enough food to feed all the mouths in the house. Understanding that alterations to gender roles are being made by some Sri Lankans to maintain a daily rhythm around meals is useful in understanding the context in the immigrant households in Albion and Anoun. Men played a more active role in the kitchen than they did in Sri Lanka. Given that both spouses did jobs—either night shifts or day

shifts—the chores around the house needed to be shared to be able to maintain a regular rhythm. In some families, husbands took care of making breakfast, and at times dinner. While women still prepared most regular meals and special meals for customary occasions such as pregnancy or an almsgiving, husbands sometimes took over the kitchen to cook fried rice, chicken devil, and other such "fancy" dishes for dinners with friends. Further, while in the traditional Sinhala customs that Somadewa explains, it was men who played a role in sourcing *timbiri* wood to build the *thimbiri* hut, in most of contemporary Sri Lanka, such forms of care do not exist. Therefore, in the diasporic context, men had no specific role to play in caring for pregnant women. It was mostly women who stepped in to substitute the roles otherwise performed by female kin. These findings add to the growing list of seemingly invisible, unpaid, gendered, and taken-for-granted care practices that immigrants perform in professional and personal spaces around the world (see Arora et al. 2020, Anderson and Shutes 2014, Sahraoui 2019, Constable 2017).

While this study has its merits, it also has its limitations. The empirical data with which I worked in this chapter were inherently limited and limiting. I collected the data used in this paper over two months, and the data includes a limited sample of stories of pregnant immigrant Sinhala women. During this time, I was able to build a strong relationship with my main host family. My rapport with other correspondents did not compare in robustness. As a result, some correspondents were not as forthcoming. The stories I share and the co-created knowledge I present in this literature are biased accordingly. During the two months I conducted fieldwork, I mainly focused on first-generation immigrants. This was partly due to ethical considerations of working with children under eighteen. Intergenerational research could provide helpful insight in developing a richer understanding of how pregnancy is perceived by second-generation immigrants, given that children may assimilate to host cultures to varying degrees and may choose to accept or reject different cultural practices of their parents. It would be worth conducting further research into how the gendered dynamics related to caring for pregnant persons changes when migrating to other countries. Extended fieldwork with a more diverse immigrant community, including different ethnic and religious backgrounds and sexual and gender orientations, would enhance this study's understanding of pregnant identity formation through food, kin, and care, which are cultural dimensions that existing literature shows to be common to many immigrants' pregnancies. Such further exploration could better inform research on pregnancies in immigrant contexts. It could also provide insight to healthcare structures on how to best support immigrants—especially recent immigrants with limited social networks and support—to experience culturally sensitive and fulfilling pregnancies in foreign settings. Additionally, it could expand on the kinds of invisible and gendered care work performed by immigrants within personal relationships.

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"Imitators of Women": An Exploration of Masculinity at the Court of Henry I of England

by *Ashley Thompson*

The chroniclers Orderic Vitalis – based in Normandy – and William of Malmesbury – from England – are crucial to a modern understanding of western European events during the twelfth century. There are limited sources for this period, due to both the low literacy rates and low survival rates of texts, making these relatively comprehensive chronicles key sources for gaining insights into the workings of western European twelfth century society. Both authors write of a fashion trend which took place during the reign of King Henry I of England where men grew out their hair and wore it long; both chroniclers heavily criticise this fad. The discussion of the men's appearance is a rare example of masculine behaviour being directly analysed by contemporaries and provides an insight into masculine relationships at the time. This paper will explore both Orderic Vitalis' and William of Malmesbury's depictions of the trend, analysing their criticisms and demonstrating that clergy criticising this fashion is significant, pointing to complex gender dynamics between men of different social groups in the early twelfth century.

The research for this paper is source-based, analysing the implications of the criticisms of both men, but especially those of Orderic Vitalis as he dedicates more space to this episode. He creates a scene where Bishop Serlo – the exiled bishop who defected to Henry from Robert Curthose – berates the king and court for the length of their hair; a critique which is situated within a larger political treatise supposedly delivered by Serlo at Easter Mass in 1105 (Aird 2008, 228-231). Malmesbury, by comparison, simply states that the hair length was a trend – using the character of a knight to personify it a little – and then moves on to narrate a different, unrelated episode, which concerns the death of Pope Honorius and the subsequent papal election (Malmesbury 1955, 6). When reading through both chronicles, the mention of the hair trend stands out as a direct critique of a certain masculine style, with detailed description of how those who were criticised reacted, which greatly contrasts the way other stories or reports are framed. Other stories are narratives of political events from which the authors are more divorced – such as the reports of royal succession in France (Malmesbury 1955, 10) – or are elaborate tales which demonstrate key ideals that the authors want to emphasise – such as Orderic's account of Melaz and Bohemond during the crusades (Vitalis 1975, vol. 5, 359-379). By contrast, this anecdote reports a real trend and then takes it apart, both from the viewpoint of those involved and from the authors' perspectives who both reject it as ridiculously flamboyant and also, more seriously, as sinful. By analysing the trend and the criticisms in the sources, then linking these views to other

known opinions regarding men's appearance at the time, we see patterns emerging which point to various masculinities, which sometimes complimented or contested each other.

Both chroniclers criticise the men taking part in this trend by comparing the men to women. Using images and associations of women to criticise men is a common technique at this time, but Orderic is very harsh in his comparison. He writes:

> *By growing their hair long they make themselves seem like imitators of women, and by womanly softness they lose their manly strength and are led to sin, and often fall wretchedly into hateful apostasy (Vitalis 1978, vol. 6, 65-67).*

This short, yet severe, criticism layers several ideas that Orderic has woven together for his insult. Firstly, he states that men who wear their hair long appear to be imitating women. As women were considered, both biologically and theologically, to be 'subject to man' due to it being 'the nature of the universe for men to govern' (Bullough 1994, 32), this was a demeaning blow for any man as his natural state was to be superior to women. Orderic emphasises this when he argues that this fashion 'is not seemly for you who are made in the image of God' (Vitalis 1978, vol. 6, 65-67). It was understood at this time that there was a clear hierarchy of God, then man (who was made in God's image), and then woman (who was made from man) (Bullough 1994, 33). For man to imitate woman, therefore, was subverting the natural hierarchy ordained by God. Secondly, he invokes the then-common idea of 'womanly softness' which was antithetical to the strong, protective and virile masculine ideal (Bullough 1994, 34). Bullough writes that men were seen as more rational and superior from a biological standpoint whereas women were perceived as inferior; ideas which were drawn from Classical authors such as Aristotle and accepted into Christian doctrine (Bullough 1994, 32). She convincingly argues that it was far more acceptable for women to display masculine qualities – in certain situations – as they were seen as aspiring to a higher standard of behaviour, whereas 'males who demonstrated any feminine qualities could only be looked down upon' (Bullough 1994, 32), due to the inferior position that women held. This can be seen in the chronicle *Gesta Stephani*, when the anonymous author writes about Queen Matilda, King Stephen's wife:

> *The queen was admitted into the city by the Londoners and forgetting the weakness of her sex and a woman's softness she bore herself with the valour of a man; everywhere by prayer or price she won over invincible allies… (Anonymous 1976, 127).*

Here the queen, who kept Stephen's campaign going against the odds, is described as having 'the valour of a man', which is seen as superior to the default inferiority and 'softness' of a woman (Crouch 2013, 184-188). Clearly here, some women can seem to possess manly attributes in a positive way, which greatly contrasts the way that Orderic compares the men of Henry's court to women. However, it must be pointed out that this reference is to a noblewoman and queen. Most references to women in twelfth century writings concerned elite or holy women, creating a skewed perspective in twelfth century texts, as the largest groups of women (peasants, and town dwelling women) are not represented (LoPrete and Evergates 1999, 1-2). In addition, although as a woman Queen Matilda would have had little power compared to her husband, she was able to exert agency and power in many ways, which means that it was most likely easier for her to positively assume masculine qualities than for many other women, who did not have as much power or agency[1].

Malmesbury also asserts that for men to behave like women is to subvert the natural order, as he describes them as 'wearers of long hair who, forgetting what they were born, enjoy transforming themselves to look like women' (Malmesbury 1955, 5-6). Through this we see the gender binary rigidly upheld, and the complete separation of men and women's behaviours. It is clear here that biological sex was seen to determine gender practices and that for men to behave like women goes against the 'natural' way men are supposed to be. This is emphasised through his remarking that the men 'vied with women in the length of their locks' (Malmesbury 1955, 6), invoking censure over vanity and competition. 'Women' is used here as a continuing antithesis to men, and Malmesbury, like Orderic, has no qualms in harshly comparing the two. However, just like Orderic, Malmesbury ascribed some masculine behaviours to specific women in a favourable manner. He famously described Empress Matilda in a positive way as a '*virago*' (Malmesbury 1955, 24), again indicating that it was more than acceptable for some women to display manly behaviours, but that it was not at all acceptable for any man to act more feminine or wear female-associated fashions.

The 'womanly softness' articulated by Orderic is framed as a gateway into actual sin, indicating that women – unlike men – are intrinsically linked to sinful behaviour. Orderic greatly elaborates on this subject throughout his works. One notable example is his report of the behaviour of the wives of William the Conqueror's knights. After the Norman Conquest of 1066, the wives – who, unlike their husbands, had stayed in Normandy – wrote letters to their husbands demanding that

[1] Some useful works for understanding the power and agency noblewomen and royal women could display are Heather Tanner's 'Queenship: Office, Custom or Ad Hoc? The case of Matilda III of England (1135-1152)' in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, ed. B. Wheeler and J Carmi Parsons (London: Palgrave, 2002), pp.133-158 and Kimberley LoPrete's 'The gender of lordly women: the case of Adela of Blois' in *Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women: Pawns or Players?*, ed., Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless (Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd, 2003), pp.90-110.

they return to fulfil them sexually (Vitalis 1969, vol. 2, 221). The women, 'consumed by fierce lust', threatened to seek sexual pleasure elsewhere, potentially risking their lands and children's inheritances; infidelity overturned many societal norms, which depended on clear lineage and honourable behaviour (Vitalis 1969, vol. 2, 221). Orderic is scathing toward both the women and the knights, who 'returned to Normandy to oblige their wanton wives' but points out that in doing so, they lost any land in England that had been awarded to them by William (Vitalis 1969, vol. 2, 221). Not only are the women condemned for their sinful behaviour, but their husbands lose material wealth as a result. In Orderic's eyes, the knights are led to sin by their wives, resulting in their receiving both divine and earthly repercussions. However, in the case of the hair trend at Henry's court, Orderic takes this one step further; he argues that men who grow their hair long will begin to act like women, and then fall into 'hateful apostacy'. To participate in this fashion is, apparently, to cast yourself out of the faith and alienate yourself from society. Through the display of feminine fashions and behaviours, men risk both eternal punishment in Hell and the punishment of being social outcasts in life. Orderic also employs the use of many biblical images and visceral descriptions to show his scorn for the men, such as 'Long beards give them the look of he-goats, whose filthy viviousness is shamefully imitated by the degredations of fornicators and sodomites…' (Vitalis 1978, vol. 6, 65). When criticising the king and his men in front of the rest of the court, Orderic uses contemporary biblical imagery and harsh, spiritual-based censure, displaying a level of disgust that strikes a modern reader as unusually severe and captious.

What, then, was the preferred look? According to Orderic, after lecturing Henry in front of his court, Serlo cuts off Henry's hair and then proceeds to do the same to prominent men of his court, effectively and simply removing the offending locks (Vitalis 1978, vol. 6, 65). Malmesbury also has his subject – an unnamed knight – quickly cut off his hair once he dreams 'that he saw someone strangling him with his own tresses' (Malmesbury 1955, 6). However, it is unlikely that these men removed all of the hair, indeed Malmesbury writes that the knight 'cut off all the *excess* of hair' [my emphasis]. Andrew Holt's paper, 'Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades' (2010, 185-203) offers fascinating insight into what members of the clergy would have wanted men to look like. His paper focuses on Bernard of Clairvaux's writings, in which Bernard espouses similar ideas to Orderic regarding appropriate fashions for men, specifically warriors (such as King Henry and his knights) (Holt 2010, 185). Holt posits that the argument over warrior fashion was 'reflective of a much broader divide between secular and clerical notions of masculinity', with 'humility, chastity and non-violence' contrasting the knightly and strength-based values upheld by other men (Holt 2010, 185). He argues that, with the creation of the Templars and the idea of the holy warrior fighting in Crusades, in the eyes of the clergy, the flamboyant and fashion-conscious knight had no place being a warrior of God (Holt 2010, 186). Modest and practical dress, short, unwashed hair and the look of being an

experienced fighter were ideal for Bernard, and were always preferred to 'the prevailing pomp of the secular knighthood' (Holt 2010, 191) [2]. Holt points out that many authorities within the church across western Europe shared this ideal, with Pope Eugenius III denouncing those fighting on a holy mission wearing flamboyant dress (Holt 2010, 191). Although we cannot apply the same fervour that Bernard displayed to Orderic, we can assume that this image of the warrior was one Orderic approved of, and indeed, that he held a similar standard when writing of the fashion trend of Henry's court. These men were not going on Crusade or fighting a holy war, but they – especially the king – were expected to be righteous, pious men, committed to upholding Christian values and providing a good example. Indeed, Orderic echoes this when he has Serlo say,

> *So, glorious king, I beg you to set a praiseworthy example to your subjects; let them see first in you how they ought to prepare themselves (Vitalis 1978, vol. 6, 67).*

Therefore, there is a clear image of what clergy members – even less politically involved figures like Orderic Vitalis or William of Malmesbury – believed men should look like, and they were willing to enforce that image in their writing, even, in the case of Bishop Serlo, in their sermons to the king.

It is significant, however, that clergy members (especially monks, who were to varying degrees separated from society) passed such judgements on secular elite men. Jo Ann McNamara, in her hugely influential paper 'The Herrenfrage' (1994, 3-29), points to a gender crisis in the early twelfth century, due to the various social changes which occurred. Most significantly, she argues that the 'ideological struggle between celibate and married men for leadership of the Christian world' (McNamara 1994, 3-29) helped to create an identity crisis for men. I do not have the space to debate the already well-trodden so-called identity crisis of the twelfth century, but some elements of McNamara's theory are relevant here. McNamara points to the domination of new positions which had sprung up in education and government by celibate, religious men. Although she focuses on the occlusion of women in these spaces, this domination will have had a significant effect on male relationships, especially for those in government and at court. Despite literacy being on the rise amongst nobles in twelfth century England – Henry I placed great emphasis on education – the day-to-day running of affairs was mostly left to educated, competent men. These men were usually members of the clergy (such as Bishop Robert of Salisbury who was Chancellor under Henry I and King Stephen (Crouch 2000, 19; 122)) rather than secular warrior men like Henry I and the members of his court. Learned, celibate, religious men could – and did – become

[2] See page 190 for descriptions of dress.

very powerful in secular circles, some having the power to enact change on a national level. The dominance of clergy in the running of the country can be seen in King Stephen persecuting several bishops who he believed had gathered too much power and influence under Henry's and his rule (Crouch 2000, 95-97). These men were not only holy men, but they were also wealthy landowners who yielded vast amounts of influence and power, both in and outside the church. Another example is Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who was King Stephen's brother and who was heavily involved in both spiritual issues and national governance, whilst owning vast swathes of land in England (King 2004). The dependence of secular authorities on clergymen who did not fulfil the contemporary secular masculine ideal – and the exploitation of that dependency by churchmen - created shifts in power dynamics and contestation between clergy and elite men, despite the different values and displays of masculinity both had. That Serlo immediately cuts the king's hair in front of the rest of the court, with apparently no complaint from Henry who 'consented in a mood of elation' (Vitalis 1978, vol. 6, 67), speaks to the power held by the bishop, and a certain level of acceptance by Henry and the court, of the bishop's criticisms. Not only do they accept these criticisms, but they are happy for the bishop to do something to rectify them, even in a public setting.

Orderic and Malmesbury display similar power in their writings, as they assume a position of authority in their judgement over these men, despite their being monks without official positions in either clerical or secular circles. Unlike Serlo, they were not bishops or landowners; they held none of the traditional markers of power. However, throughout their works they both assume a certain level of authority and are enthusiastic (to say the least) in their roles as judgemental commentators. This indicates that the dominance of new positions in government and education affected not just bishops, but other clergy members too. The power that these monks exercised can be seen in the relationships that clerical authors had with patrons, such as William of Malmesbury with his patron Robert of Gloucester. These works functioned as propaganda pieces and could be very influential (Thomson 2004).

But what of the liminal position within gender identities that clergy members held? It seems odd for this group of men, whose values and displays of masculinity so contrasted with those of secular men, to be passing judgement on elite gender practices. There has been a lot of debate amongst historians around whether clergy represented a 'third gender' (Thibodeaux 2010, 4) during this period, and to what extent they can be seen as contemporaneously masculine. McNamara argues that the implementation of celibacy took away a key masculine trait from churchmen, and that the increasing identification with celibacy by the church helped to precipitate the identity crisis that she believes men faced (McNamara 1994, 5-6). However, as Thibodeaux argues, there were clear reasons for celibacy to be imposed on the clergy. This was

due to increasing fears around the pollution of the sanctity of the Eucharist, in addition to the number of parishes and benefices which were passed down from clergy to their sons – as well as the large dowries that they gave to their daughters (Thibodeaux 2010, 5). Passing down benefices in a hereditary manner isolated control of these offices and undermined the way in which the church wanted to operate (Thibodeaux 2010, 5). With these reforms came the desire to 'elevate and differentiate the clergy in status from ordinary men' (Thibodeaux 2010, 6), creating – or rather, solidifying – a standard of masculine behaviour which differed from secular masculinities. Thibodeaux argues that whilst elite men may have viewed clergy as unmanly for not adhering to their own codes of masculinity, clergy will have felt the same in return (Thibodeaux 2010, 7). Indeed, there was even a shift where clerical standards of masculinity influenced secular masculinities, as celibacy and pious living began to resonate with non-clerical men. McNamara points out that in the eleventh century sexual abstinence was a trait that was associated with kings (McNamara 1994, 10): the masculine practices of clergymen were clearly informing secular practices. Thibodeaux is quick to write, however, that these standards of behaviour do not mean that clergy would 'perform masculinity identically' (Thibodeaux 2010, 6). Differences in social status, education, contact with the outside world, and examples of behaviour given by mentors will have all contributed to creating varied and nuanced masculine behaviours within clerical circles. William M. Aird's work on Bishop Gundulf is a good example of this, as he argues that by being a clergyman, Gundulf could display feminine-assumed characteristics (such as weeping in public) whilst also adhering to traditional masculine behaviours, through exercising power over women and being involved in politics at a national level (Aird 2011, 63; 72; 75). I posit, therefore, that clergy members had different masculine standards of behaviour to secular men, but that these did not make them less 'manly'. However, despite being accepted as masculine themselves, clergy also operated in a space where they could display certain behaviours which were criticised in other (secular) men. Aird shows that whilst Henry I was shamed for grieving for the death of his son in public, Gundulf wept openly regularly and was not condemned for it (Aird 2011, 69).

The critique of men's hair length at the court of Henry I by Orderic and Malmesbury is an excellent gateway into exploring masculinities in the twelfth century, and for gaining a better understanding of the complexity of gender practices and identities, especially between clergymen and secular nobility. Traditionally, clergymen have been thought to not adhere to masculine standards in the high medieval period. However, I argue for an approach that sees the different behavioural values that clergy and secular men had as varying types of masculinities that both clashed and complimented each other at different times. By analysing criticisms from clergymen of their secular contemporaries, and comparing these with their projected masculine values (as detailed in Holt's work on warrior dress), we are able to see what gender practices clergymen did approve of, and those they did not. We are then able to draw comparisons with secular

masculinities, identifying where there are similarities and where they clashed. The shifting power dynamics between different groups of men at this time are complex and varied, and are often overlooked in comparison with the study of the occlusion of women in official roles and capacities. Thibodeaux writes that 'Masculinities are [constantly] subject to definition and negotiation' (Thibodeaux 2010, 1) and this has to be consistently borne in mind when approaching gender practices in historical case studies. This can be difficult, as historians instinctively look for continuity and patterns when approaching sources; it is hard to accept that there might be none, or that there may be patterns where you least expect them. There has been a big shift towards acknowledging and better understanding the nuances and complexities of gender in historical sources; taking into account how people presented masculinities, as well as femininities. This is a hard task, as the views of writers in the twelfth century make it difficult to see past rigid gender roles and behaviours, as they themselves worked within binaries and used women as 'the Other' to critique and analyse themselves and others. Hopefully more gateways, like the example discussed in this paper, are discovered, and we can broaden our understanding of male identities and relationships in this period further.

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"There is Nothing Wrong with it": Ann Bannon's Bodies

by *Paul Thompson*

> *Why the modern binary – normal/abnormal – must be maintained is a complex question. But we can begin by accounting for the desire to split bodies into two immutable categories: whole and incomplete, abled and disabled, normal and abnormal, functional and dysfunctional.*[1]

Between 1957 and 1962, Ann Bannon, a young and apparently conventional American housewife, wrote six novels for the paperback market. Along with the countless, cheaply-produced, original novels and paperbacks of all genres, hers could be found across the USA, on newsstands, in drugstores, in railroad and Greyhound bus stations, in fact anywhere but in bookshops. Five of her novels, which featured lesbians as their principal characters, went on to become underground successes with both out and closeted lesbians. While Ann Bannon herself returned to higher education, eventually becoming a professor of linguistics, those five novels had second, third, and fourth lives, being republished in the 1970s, 1980s, and 2000s. My research project at the University of St Andrews, uses close reading of the text as its main methodology, and looks at masculinity in the lesbian-themed novels of the 1950s and early 1960s, including Bannon's. My study considers the human body in relation to gender, sexuality, and normality, and this chapter emerges from that consideration.

Bannon's language, typical of how gender was understood in the late 1950s, is strictly binary. Harsh social dichotomies inevitably feed into the fiction, producing an either-or taxonomy – heterosexual and homosexual, white and black, able-bodied and disabled, male and female. There is narrative tension involving "abnormal" bodies, and "abnormal" behaviour within "normal" bodies, despite Bannon's efforts on behalf of her lesbian and gay principals. In this chapter I examine four of her characters, and what can be understood from them about the body. The first character is Page Pringle, from Bannon's novel *The Marriage* (1960), the only novel in the corpus which has not been republished. Although its narrative is bracketed by Laura and Jack Mann, gay characters in a marriage of convenience from her other novels,[2] the principals are a heterosexual

[1] (Davis 1995) 129.

[2] They marry at the end of *Women in the Shadows*, and are a married couple with a child in *Journey to a Woman*.

couple, Page and Sunny. The second character I evaluate is Beebo Brinker, whose masculinity and "abnormality" I compare to Page's. Beebo, Bannon's fantasy butch figure, appears in several of her books, and is one of the twentieth century's most famous fictional butches. The third and fourth characters are Vega Purvis from *Journey to a Woman* (1960), and Tris Robischon from *Women in the Shadows* (1959). I assess both Vega, whose body is ravaged by illness, and Tris, who is a woman of colour, through the critical lens of Audre Lorde's *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982). The chapter concludes with an assessment of how the various abnormalities of these characters sit within the hegemony of post-WW2 white privilege in the USA.

Page and Sunny – "normal" as a shattered ideal.

Page and Sunny Pringle, more than any other couple in Bannon's novels, represent what is "normal," if only superficially. As the word "normal" occurs repeatedly in Bannon's writing, it is worth looking at what it actually means, before applying the concept of normality to bodies. Medievalist Karma Lochrie devotes an entire chapter of her book, *Heterosyncrasies: Female Sexuality When Normal Wasn't* (2005), to discussing how the word acquired its modern sense. Lochrie points to how "normal" had the original sense of "standing at right-angles," derived from the Latin word "*norma*" meaning a carpenter's T-square.[3] According to Lochrie, it is only after the relatively modern discipline of Statistics formed, that the word took on a different meaning, referring to the perpendicular line which runs through the apex of a bell curve to the base of a graph. Lochrie says:

> *It was not until the nineteenth century – 1840 to be exact – that the word was metaphorically extended to mean "constituting, conforming to, not deviating or differing from, the common type or standard," and as "regular or usual." This is where the trouble with normal begins [...] Norms represented an entirely new way of thinking that one might call majoritizing, that is, a way of thinking geared toward measurement that would naturalize certain qualities, behaviors, and groups at the expense of others, and anchoring this naturalization in the authority of numbers.*[4]

Referring to the work of Belgian astronomer and statistician Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874), Lochrie observes that he "transformed the mean value of the normal curve into a type, a model of perfection derived from its greater statistical frequency, while everything else on the descending arms of the curve represented imperfections."[5] Canadian philosopher Ian Hacking notes how the word changed radically, to imply what is desirable and robust, when he states that "[normal]

[3] (Lochrie 2005) 3.

[4] (Lochrie 2005) 3.

[5] (Lochrie 2005) 7.

stands for what has been, good health, and for what shall be, our chosen destiny," and calls it "one of the most powerful ideological tools of the twentieth century."[6]

It is indeed as an example of the healthy, the robust, and the desirable that we first meet Page Pringle – or rather, that his future wife Sunny meets him. As Sunny crashes through the underbrush after a lost ball, she finds him "naked as a winter tree," drying himself after bathing in the lake.[7] Both Page and Sunny are unembarrassed by his nakedness, and she says to him, "You're beautiful." Their encounter is reverse-Edenic, as a clothed Eve encounters a naked Adam; Bannon's wisecracker and fixer Jack Mann – an unlikely serpent – leaves them to it, tossing the ball he has found to Page, for the latter to then hand it to Sunny. The counter-metaphor to Eve's giving the fruit to Adam is blatant. Page is described as "a good looking boy […] over six feet, blond, clean cut,"[8] and Bannon mentions pointedly that both Page and Sunny are blond and green-eyed,[9] recalling sci-fi writer E.E. "Doc" Smith's fetish for his history-traversing characters with their "gold-flecked, tawny eyes […] red-bronze-auburn hair,"[10] and "look of eagles."[11] When they meet, Sunny is seventeen and Page is twenty-eight, and thus they form a conventional male-older-than-female couple.[12] Bannon's novels frequently employ a stereotype of men using their physicality to control women, and Page is no exception. By force, he stops her from getting out of his car;[13] in an embrace "he [bends] her fiercely against him;"[14] on another occasion he seizes her by the wrist and drags her roughly into the kitchen;[15] and in a melodramatic, filler episode, in which they are stranded in the desert, it is his physical strength that saves her, as he tows her to shade on a makeshift sled.[16]

However, is Page "normal?" I mentioned the comparison with E.E. "Doc" Smith's sci-fi principals deliberately. Page's rugged, manly heterosexuality certainly stands for normality in the narrative, but when one considers that his height, strength, and beauty must exceed the average implied by the perpendicular dropped from the apex of the bell curve of male characteristics, he must be regarded as abnormal. If we compare, for example, the figures in the cover art of the issue of

[6] (Hacking 2004) 169.

[7] (Bannon 1960) 13.

[8] (Bannon 1960) 11.

[9] (Bannon 1960) 14.

[10] (Smith 1997) 26, and (Smith 1975) 10

[11] (Smith 1997) 26. *Triplanetary* was published as a novel by Fantasy Press in 1948, but had appeared in the magazine *Astounding Science Fiction* in 1939

[12] (Bannon 1960) 14.

[13] (Bannon 1960) 16-17.

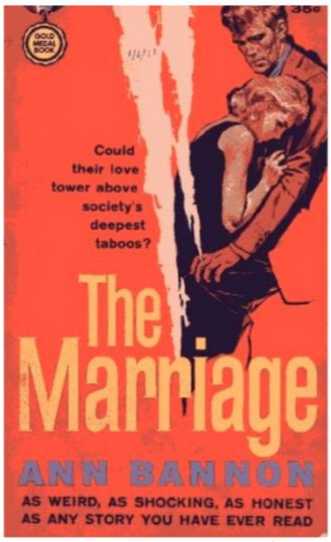
[14] (Bannon 1960) 28.

[15] (Bannon 1960) 107.

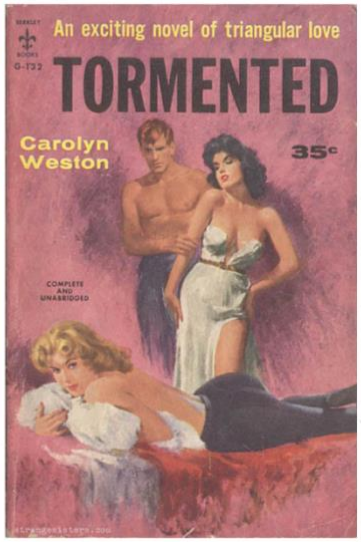
[16] (Bannon 1960) 172.

Astounding Science Fiction in which Smith's novel *Grey Lensman* first appeared in 1939, with those on the cover of *The Marriage* or of Carolyn Weston's *Tormented* (1956), we see a broad-shouldered, clean-shaven, firm-jawed, Caucasian masculinity. This phenomenon is not a portrayal of a norm, but of an ideal, the All-American-Man, uncannily cognate with the centuries-long eugenics of E.E. Smith's *Lensman* fiction or indeed with the Third Reich's factual *Lebensborn*.

Artwork by Hubert Rogers



Artwork possibly by Baryé Phillips



Artwork by Lu Kimmel

In the context of the narrative of *The Marriage*, the ideal of the handsome man in his prime and the pretty, younger wife stands for normality, or at least for aspiration; "normality" imagined, as it were, in the realisation of an ideal. The societal norm – what Monique Wittig calls "compulsory reproduction"[17] within the "forced political regime"[18] of heterosexuality – is extended when Sunny becomes pregnant. Shortly afterwards in the narrative, however, Page and Sunny discover that they are brother and sister, and their normality seems overturned in one of society's most egregious taboos. Their story is told to and re-told by Ann Bannon's gay "Everyman" figure Jack Mann; Jack is one half of a "marriage of convenience" with Laura, one of the main lesbian characters in Bannon's novels. Even after Page and Sunny's incest is known, Laura asks Jack, "How come two inverts like us can make a marriage work, and two normal people […] can't?"[19] Despite the incest, Laura still calls Page and Sunny "normal" and refers to herself and Jack by the term "inverts."

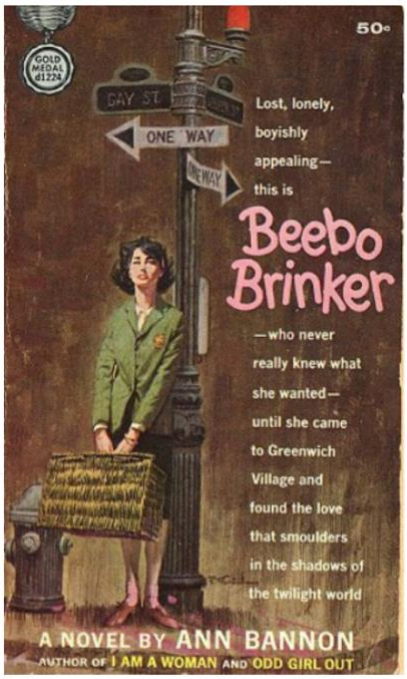
[17] (Wittig 1992) 6.

[18] (Wittig 1992) 47.

[19] (Bannon 1960) 9.

Beebo Brinker – "fantasy butch" or "invert?"

It may seem strange that Bannon uses a word that has its origins in nineteenth-century sexology, and by which Radclyffe Hall referred to herself – Bannon described Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) as "the grimmest, dreariest book ever written about two women in love."[20] Nevertheless, it is easy to see how Richard von Krafft-Ebing's description of "the masculine soul, heaving in the female bosom"[21] could be applied to Bannon's most famous character, the butch Beebo Brinker. Beebo is not based on a real person, but is entirely a fantasy figure, "a sort of blend of Tarzan star Johnny Weissmuller and classic beauty Ingrid Bergman" in Bannon's mind.[22] Beebo first appears, as an adult with an appalling chat-up routine, within Bannon's second novel *I am a Woman* (1959), but is given a back-story in Bannon's last novel, *Beebo Brinker* (1962). Our first sight of her is on the cover of the latter; on this note, Bannon's readers, past and present, have often criticised the cover art, declaring that the artist obviously had no idea what a 1950s butch lesbian looked like. However, the artwork is based fairly accurately on descriptions in the text of Beebo as a new arrival in New York City.[23] Her face, though Bannon imagined it comparable to Ingrid Bergman,[24] was "in many ways the face of a boy."[25] Beebo gives an account of a visit to a cattle show in her teens, for which she has borrowed her brother's clothes and has had "a real man's haircut."[26] She is taken for a cub reporter and given access to business areas. This instance of "passing" illustrates what Suzanne Kessler and Wendy McKenna noted in 1978: "Attributions are almost always made in the *absence* of information about genitals,"[27] and that "[m]ost of the cues people assume play a role in the attribution process are really *post hoc* constructions."[28] This contradicts one of the commonest assumptions of the hard-line binary sex/gender model that was current in 1970s radical feminism, and that has resurfaced in recent years.



Artwork by Robert McGinnis

[20] (Bannon 2012)

[21] (Krafft-Ebing 2011) 264.

[22] (Craig 2009) 38.

[23] (Bannon 2001) 3, 10.

[24] (Johns 2011) 72.

[25] (Bannon 2001) 18.

[26] (Bannon 2001) 53.

[27] (Kessler and McKenna 1978) 17, my emphasis.

[28] (Kessler and McKenna 1978) 6.

However, Kessler and McKenna go on to say that "most people do not change their gender attributions even if they discover that someone does not have the "appropriate" genitals."[29] It is interesting to note that this statement was made in the 1970s, during the currency of radical feminism. Today the statement is still brusquely challenged in some quarters, and it certainly was in the period about which Bannon is writing. Young Beebo appears to fall ill at the cattle show, and when a doctor discovers that it is the onset of her first period, she is banished from the premises.[30] She spends most of the rest of the corpus between her menial job as an elevator attendant – which she holds down in order to be able wear pants in public – and the bar where she does her hard drinking.

There is a tension between Bannon's inversion narratives and Beebo's boyish body. To Jack Mann, that body exists whether Beebo is gay, straight, transmasculine, or whatever. He declares "there's nothing *wrong* with it,"[31] despite Beebo's body's statistical "abnormality" in height, build, bust size, etc.. Only once in the corpus does Beebo express any desire to be natally male – "I'd sell my soul to be an honest-to-God male. I could marry Laura! I could marry her. Give her my name. Give her kids…"[32] – in an outburst that is doubly ironic, since Laura has vowed that she could never marry a man,[33] which she eventually does when she enters into the marriage of convenience with Jack. To Bannon herself, this outburst is not sufficient to support the idea of actual inversion; Beebo, she said, "loved the swagger and the flouting of conventional expectation, but she didn't have the conviction or the motivation to be trans."[34]

This did not stop the most recent – and thoughtful – study by Melina Alice Moore, who sees Beebo, and Bannon's narrative of her life, in the following light:

> *Bannon's work brought a revised version of the nineteenth-century's invert's plot into the mid twentieth century. In doing so, she managed to dissociate the story of feeling "trapped-in-the-wrong-body" from a literary tradition shaped through the pathologizing and clinical model of the case study – constructing a trans subject who […] speaks for herself and finds ways to stylize her masculine body […]*[35]

Thus, abnormality: we have two characters, two bodies, two masculinities, immersed in a culture which simultaneously regards one as both an ideal and an embodiment of normality – and therefore as "right" – and the other as being a "freak" (by the assessment of movie director Leo

[29] (Kessler and McKenna 1978) 17.

[30] (Bannon 2001) 54.

[31] (Bannon 2001) 51.

[32] (Bannon 2002) 27.

[33] (Bannon 2002) 2.

[34] Private email, 4th October 2017.

[35] (Moore 2019) 593.

Bogardus, in *Beebo Brinker*),[36] and as needing a friend's reassurance that there is "nothing wrong" with its abnormality.

Despite Jack's reassurance, Beebo remains, for most of the corpus, an unhappy alcoholic in a menial job. Her unhappiness reinforces Audre Lorde's observation about Bannon's work, to the effect that it "never even mentioned the joys" of the lesbian lifestyle of its era.[37] Writing in 1983 about Lorde's assessment of Bannon, Tricia Lootens notes:

> *[…] it is impossible to read Bannon's series without setting it next to Audre Lorde's Zami; it seems both fitting and ironic that the author whose work most points up the series' limitations should also have formulated the statement that most nearly sums up their strength: "My silences did not save me. Yours will not save you."*[38]

Two "abnormalities" – colour and disability.

Bearing that assessment in mind, it is worth looking at two of Bannon's important secondary characters in the light of Lorde's biomythography, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*, and considering how the former approaches abnormality in regard to colour and in disability.

What makes people of colour abnormal in Bannon's writing, as in the vast majority of the lesbian-themed paperbacks to be found on the newsstands and in the drugstores, has nothing to do with any demographics outside fiction. It has more to do with their invisibility in narratives. To have an important secondary figure who is not white is abnormal in itself.[39] Tris Robischon, in *Women in the Shadows*, is introduced to us in a shop, thus:

> *The girl turned around and looked at her out of jade green eyes. Laura stared at her. She was black-haired and her skin was the color of three parts cream and one part coffee. In such a setting her green eyes were amazing. There was a tiny red dot between them on her brow, Indian fashion, but she was dressed in Occidental clothes. She gazed at Laura with exquisite contempt.*[40]

[36] (Bannon 2001) 209.

[37] (Lorde 1982) 213.

[38] (Lootens 1983) 20.

[39] To find a non-European principal character in this genre, see *A Special Passion* by Arthur Adlon, *Sisterhood of the Flesh* by Dale Greggsen, or *Duet in Darkness* and *How Dark My Love* by Rea Michaels.

[40] (Bannon 2002) 30.

Laura assumes she is an assistant in the shop, to which Tris answers "It's all right […] I'm not a clerk, she said. "I'm a dancer."[41] Bannon, voicing Laura's thoughts, describes Tris as "[…] very demure and distant. But she was also very lovely, and Laura had a brief vision of all that creamy tan skin unveiled and undulating to the rhythm of muffled gongs and bells and wailing reeds."[42] Laura's assumption of Euronormativity places a person of colour in a socially inferior role, but Tris's prepared defence is to set herself in an artistic context, which in itself then conjures up a stereotypically orientalist image in Laura's mind. Beebo's reaction to Tris is more overtly racist:

> *[…] Tris finally said coldly, "Perhaps you object to dark skins."*
>
> *"So what if I do?" Beebo said casually, grinning.*
>
> *Tris gasped. "Some people," she said sharply, "think that all non-whites are inferior. Perhaps you are one of those."*[43]

Beebo's cynical retort, "I like that color […] On you it looks good,"[44] reduces colour to a matter of whether she finds it erotic. Beebo's interactions are crass throughout the corpus, and this deliberate attempt to make Tris feel uncomfortable is exacerbated by her subsequent action – forcing a painful, bruising, non-consensual kiss upon her whilst at the same time physically blocking Laura from coming to her aid.[45]

Eventually it becomes clear to Laura that Tris is African-American[46] and is passing as Indian, even to the extent of altering her everyday name – Patricia Robinson – in an attempt at faux exoticism, in order to avoid the most obvious form of American racism. This bears comparison with the experience of the protagonist's mother in Audre Lorde's *Zami*, who passes as "spanish" at work,[47] until her husband arrives at her work-place, which leads to her dismissal. The young Audre wonders why she can't choose to be "white same as Mommy."[48] Similarly, it is the arrival of Tris's husband that removes her faux ethnicity. In Beebo as a boy reporter, Tris as a South Asian, and Lorde's mother as Hispanic, we see that passing is precarious; one may choose to veer towards

[41] (Bannon 2002) 31.

[42] Ibid.

[43] (Bannon 2002) 82.

[44] Ibid.

[45] (Bannon 2002) 83.

[46] (Bannon 2002) 99.

[47] (Lorde 1982) 9. Lorde always expresses nationality and skin colour with an initial lower-case letter, except for "Black." In this context, could "spanish" equate to what is commonly called "Hispanic" – Central or South American?

[48] (Lorde 1982) 58.

the patriarchal or towards an ethnicity that might open an extra door, but when that passing slips, one is consigned to perceived abnormality, and to being an exotic outsider.[49]

Nevertheless, Tris and Laura are able to compare the aesthetic qualities of each other's skin;[50] but the aesthetics of skin are overturned in the person of Vega, whose body bears scars from unsuccessful surgery. Beth's impulse of desire for Vega is checked when she opens her dressing gown:

> *She was a complex of scars that twisted every which way over her chest, like yards of pink ribbon in snarls. She had no breasts, and the operation to remove her lung had left a bad welt that Beth returned to once or twice with a prickle of revulsion. Even Vega's dainty little abdomen had its share. And the bones, the poor sharp bones without the ordinary smooth envelope of tender flesh that most girls take for granted and even rail against when there's too much. Vega's bones were all pitifully plain and frankly outlined.*[51]

Bannon describes Beth's reaction as one of horror,[52] encountered with "brutal suddenness," as Vega's body is deemed "repellent" and "pitiable,"[53] ugly and sickening.[54] Several critics have studied common reactions to disability and disfigurement; poet Cheryl Marie Wade, for example, describes (her own) disability as "a sock in the eye with a gnarled fist."[55] A disabled person's sexuality is, will they nill they, negated in the opposite of sexual objectification – they become, in effect "asexual objects"[56] imbued with "rolelessness."[57] Rosemarie Garland-Thomson calls the disabled body "the object of the stare"[58] – the "most baroque stare" at that – but one that evokes our turning away, extinguishing the possibility for mutual recognition, a "momento [sic] mori of our most dreaded fate."[59] Still, Beth does not turn away, but rather she puts trembling hands over her mouth, stifles her horror, and bursts into tears.[60] Neither does Vega's disfigurement stop Beth

[49] As Lorde felt in New York's lesbian bars and clubs. (Lorde 1982) 177.

[50] (Bannon 2002) 102-103. For a complete contrast, see the passage in Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room*, where David gazes at the sleeping Joey. (Baldwin 2001) 14.

[51] (Bannon 2003) 71.

[52] ibid.

[53] (Bannon 2003) 73.

[54] (Bannon 2003) 74.

[55] (Wade undated)

[56] (Hahn 1993) 222.

[57] (Fine and Asch 1981) 233.

[58] (Garland-Thomson 1997) 26.

[59] (Garland-Thomson 2009) 79.

[60] (Bannon 2003) 71.

from having sex with her, notwithstanding Beth's subsequent asexual objectification: "*Jesus, I wanted to make love to a woman, not a carved-up scarecrow!*"[61]

According to Tatiana Prorokova, the "whole" body that Beth craves can be seen as a heteronormative construct,[62] whilst, to Suzanna Danuta Walters and Christopher Nealon, Vega's body is the product of self-hatred,[63] and to Elizabeth J. Donaldson of psychological mutilation.[64] Bannon portrays Vega as an active participant in her disfigurement, not simply for her willingness to undergo repeated surgery, which may well have been life-saving, but also for the clear hint of anorexia being prominent in her character.[65] To Prorokova, Vega's abnormality of body and her self-hatred – exceptional in Bannon's writing – attaches to lesbian sexuality in general; Bannon's graphic portrayal "explicitly connects lesbian desire and disability. In a society where heterosexuality is viewed as the only norm, lesbian bodies are deviant bodies."[66] I wonder whether Lorde had Bannon's Vega in mind when she wrote this wonderful rehabilitation of the disfigured lesbian body:

> *In the circle of lamplight I looked from her round firm breast with its rosy nipple erect to her scarred chest. The pale keloids of radiation burn lay in the hollow under her shoulder and arm down across her ribs […] She took my hand and placed it there, squarely, lightly upon her chest. Our hands fell. I bent and kissed her softly upon the scar where our hands had rested.*[67]

Not only does Lorde purge the disfigured body of asexual objectification, she also banishes self-hatred; this passage was written after Lorde herself had been diagnosed with cancer and had undergone surgery. It is therefore a passage of self-tenderness, and well deserves to be considered a critique of Bannon's Vega. Lorde's protagonist finds joy where Bannon's does not. It is ironic that both Vega and Lorde's character were drawn from life.[68]

[61] (Bannon 2003) 75. Italics in original.

[62] (Prorokova 2018) 135.

[63] (Walters 1989) 88. (Nealon 2000) 760.

[64] (Donaldson 2018) 6.

[65] Vega "ordered food, and ate one bit." (Bannon 2003) 20.

[66] (Prorokova 2018) 134.

[67] (Lorde 1982) 167.

[68] Bannon confirmed that Vega was based rather harshly on someone she knew. Personal email 8th December 2021.

The removal of (some) abnormalities?

All Bannon's characters dealt with in this chapter are abnormal; but, to mishandle George Orwell, some are more abnormal than others. As Julian Carter says:

> *No amount of disidentification with racial and sexual norms allows Bannon's overtly racialized characters to protect themselves from public display, humiliation, and scorn. In contrast, whiteness allows Page and Sunny, like Laura and Jack, the social protection within which their individual affective adjustments to their queer passion can become significant.*[69]

Carter's use of the term "norm" here goes well beyond the statistical, and takes on Hacking's idea of desirability, in this case the desirability of partaking in the hegemony of white, heterosexual privilege of a particular time and place. The norm has become "a configuration that arises in a particular historical moment."[70] Physical, ableist standards can also be slotted into Carter's assessment, to stand in contrast to that privilege. Vega follows and eventually confronts Beth with a gun – Prorokova calls this image "emancipatory," but from a woman who emancipates herself despite her disfigurement, her despairing choice of suicide rather than murder turns her into "a symbol of destructive power."[71] It is probably simpler than that. Her presence was necessary for tension in the narrative – a melodramatic effect if you will – whilst her removal facilitated Beth's eventual move to a potentially stable relationship with Beebo. Similarly, the removal of Tris from Laura's life, in *Women in the Shadows*, allowed her to eventually marry Jack. The reader and the critic are entitled to draw lessons and inferences from Bannon's fictions, but we must remember that Bannon was using her imagination to create something that was easy to pick up and read casually. The gradations of abnormality, if it is possible to speak of such things, are, after all, products of the culture and society in which Bannon lived.

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[69] (Carter 2009) 602. Bannon suspected that a few people who wrote to her were African American, saying, "Sometimes the use of a few linguistic markers can suggest a particular ethnic background, but it's not always certain." Personal email, December 28, 2020.

[70] (Davis 1995) 49.

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Dangerous Subjects and Discourses of Childhood: 'Child as Method' for Analysing Section 28 (1988) and LGBT and Trans Action Plans (2011, 2018).[1]

by *Luan Carpes Barros Cassal*[2]

"*Birmingham school stops LGBT lessons after parents protest*" (The Guardian, 4th Mar 2020)[3]

"*Ruling limiting under-16s puberty blockers overturned*" (BBC, 17th Sep 2021)[4]

Childhood has become, in past years, the centre of polemic disputes on LGBTIQ+[5] rights, especially regarding inclusive education and trans healthcare – all threatening the cis-heterosexual matrix and, therefore, crystalised ideas of sex and sexuality. However, children have been the object of those discussions for a long time. With this paper, I seek to show how discourses of childhood, fear, gender, and sexuality are connected through ideas of risk and danger. Children are presented as potential victims of what I call here, 'dangerous subjects', as inspired by Foucauldian and Butlerian analysis. I am interested in showing how abstract images of child and childhood can justify discourses of protection, conditioned inclusion, and exclusion, according to different political goals and agendas[6]. If nowadays inclusive education and healthcare are challenged, these discourses have precedents and grounds in Section 28 (1988) and LGBT Action Plans (2011; 2018). As we will see, the figure of a child has been framed as an alleged victim of dangerous adults or from themselves, therefore needing protection for an

[1] I would like to acknowledge the advice given by my PhD supervisors – Prof Erica Burman, Prof Jackie Stacey, and Dr Deborah Ralls – for a draft version of this paper. Also, I am grateful for the comments by anonymous reviewers. Finally, special thanks to the PhD researcher Parise Carmichael-Murphy who kindly made a final review.

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[3] https://www.theguardian.com/education/2019/mar/04/birmingham-school-stops-lgbt-lessons-after-parent-protests

[4] https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-58598186

[5] I choose to use LGBTQI+ (standing for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Questioning, Intersex, and other current and future possibilities), as a more inclusive and open acronymous, although recognising the limits of politics of identity, which can exclude as much as include. Additionally, I acknowledge this choice might become outdated by novel academic and political discussions in this field. As you will notice, I will adjust the acronymous and expression accordingly to official documents or historical facts whenever mentioned – especially for the 'LGBT Action Plans' and quotations of them.

[6] This paper is part of a broader PhD research project using Child as Method (Burman, 2019) to analyse discourses on childhood and development regarding gender recognition in the UK. Besides, some information might be outdated since this paper was written in 2021.

improved future. Nonetheless, images of childhood are used whether they or adults are objects of regulation.

The dangerous subjects

Child, or perhaps the imagery of childhood, is an important resource for understanding social relations, expectations, and anxieties of politics, citizenship, imagination, and the future. Following Erica Burman's (2019) suggestion of 'Child as Method', discourses of childhood in specific contexts show us the efforts and strategies for keeping childhood as a fixed and universal category, but also its use for the broader governing of lives and deaths. Child as Method maps and discusses images of childhood appearing as discourses, practices, lived experiences, or bodies. Whether way, this method is suspicious of childhood as a stable or universal category. As she discusses, childhood has been engaged as justification for policies, practices, technologies, institutions, legal apparatus, and knowledge, mobilising fears, desires, and expectations for the future. Inspired by poststructuralist authors, Burman also reminds us that politics of regulation are open to cracks, failures, repetitions, and transformations, which I seek to understand here.

Concerns about childhood and deviant sexualities are not a novel topic. Michel Foucault (1990, 2016) presented his understanding of what some might call 'pure childhood' as a strategy used for establishing a deployment of sexuality from the 18th century on[7]. As Foucault (1990; 2016) explained, a series of events in Europe (such as demographic transition, urbanisation, and industrialisation) contributed to the organisation of populations' regulation, distribution, and reproduction through several discourses and practices focusing on individual and collective levels – or, as Foucault calls, power over life, or biopower (Foucault, 1990; 2016). Such regulation expects to foresee, identify, explain, and prevent threats (for instance, of sexual deviants) whether through their incorporation or destruction.

Some specific strategies focused on childhood and sexual regulation. More specifically, the pathologisation of sexual practices and the fear that children and sexual deviancy threatened the sanctity of heterosexual matrimonies. Even if not previously connected, they became unified under ideas of nature, norm, and development: "The nineteenth-century homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a *childhood*" (Foucault, 1990, p. 43, emphasis mine). On the

[7] Although I acknowledge feminist critiques of Foucault's work, such as his lack of engagement with feminist production, the absence of empowerment as a political category, and an androcentric perspective of historical processes and analysis (Devaux, 1994). On the other hand, despite his biased discussions, Foucault's analysis of power relations has been influential for poststructuralist feminists who denounce imperial and colonial gazes (Amigot & Pujal, 2009). In this paper, I have dialogued mostly with queer and feminist scholars who highlight Foucault's limits while also discussing further relations between power, gender, and sexuality (i.e., Butler, 1993; Preciado, 2020; Burman, 1991; 2019).

one hand, the heterosexual and reproductive couple (and cisgender I must add) was framed by medical, political, and social sciences as the ideal and only acceptable expression of sexuality. On the other, the homosexual adult was seen as a flawed character who should be marked and corrected. Therefore, a system of knowledge and practices was set for children to supposedly prevent them from becoming homosexual adults.

Following Foucault's analysis, I understand that prohibitive discourses have a productive capacity, creating what they claim to repress[8]. In other words, dangerous subjects (whether the allegedly adult homosexual or the deviant child) are created as categories for disciplining and regulation. The more we speak about something forbidden, the more it is illuminated or spotlighted – not as a naïve 'desire of transgression', but literally through the sound of announced prohibitions. Thus, a series of practices were created to contain and solve the problem of dangerous sexual practices and embodiments while feeding its production or, in other words, to keep the figure of a criminal as a reason and product of a system of justice and punishment (Foucault, 1979; 1990). Foucauldian deconstruction can be a methodology for challenging established truths while also being suspicious of confessional practices (Martin, 1982). Discourses on sexuality have then been marked as shameful, filthy and a threat to children in the UK (Moran, 2001). As we will see below, ideas about dangerous subjects have been engendered recently in specific ways – whether involving adults or children.

Discourses do not exist in a different plane of reality (although their time may not be the same as the lived experience [Butler, 1993]), therefore they produce and engage materiality, or ways of living and dying. Regarding deviant childhood, gender and sexual norms produce a complex context in which children are targeted by medical, pedagogical, and psychological knowledge and practices (amongst others), producing exclusion, suffering, violence, and elimination (Preciado, 2020; Schérer & Hocquenghem, 1976). Schérer and Hocquenghem (1976) had confronted normative narratives of childhood seeking coherence and stability, while Preciado (2020) cried against the injustice of those who cannot survive the torture of a cis-heteronormative system spread through institutions such as schools, families, and psychiatry. In both cases, we can see the effects – and limits – of discourses connecting childhood, gender, sexuality, development, and normativity.

Combining Child as Method with a Foucauldian reading of discourse analysis (Foucault, 1981; Burman, 1999; Parker, 2005), I will follow events in two specific contexts of British public policies involving childhood, gender, and sexuality to understand how ideas of dangerous subjects could be engaged in name of childhood. The chosen events are the *Section 28 – Local Government Act*

[8] See also Parker (2005) and Burman (1991).

(1988) and the *LGBT and Trans Action Plans* (2011 and 2018) by the British government. Despite the genre difference and approach (drawing on large scholar production for the former and excerpts of text for the latter[9]), both documents reveal social, historical, and political processes through their discussions on children and childhood.

Section 28 (1988): homosexual adults as dangerous subjects for innocent children

During the 1970s and the early 1980s, left-wing local authorities implemented equality practices and positive discriminatory policies following demands from civil rights, feminist, and lesbian and gay[10] movements. London local authority, in particular, conducted and supported projects and local groups that focused on the school environment and sexual diversity experiences of teenagers. The Labour Party sought to reach the so-called 'pink voters' by consolidating their hegemony in lesbian and gay communities, however reviewing their position later because of the political cost of such support (Ellis, 2007; Sanders & Sprags, 1989). Indeed, the 'New Right' – coalition of neoliberalism and neoconservative perspectives in the 1980s – used those projects as reasoning for legal and social backlashes, promoting moral panic of threats against children (Ellis, 2007; Wise, 2000; Sanders & Sprags, 1989). Discourses on sexuality were marked as shameful, filthy and a threat to children in the UK (Moran, 2001) – and perhaps they have not stopped to be seen like that. That position had guaranteed a victory for the Conservative and Unionist Party in the 1979 general election, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher (who was prime minister from then until 1990). Their campaign was based on nationalist discourses of shared culture; where generations of immigrants from former colonies could be legally recognised as British citizens (having access to nationality rights), but not be seen as a representation of the (allegedly) 'real people' of the nation (Stacey, 1991; Moran, 2001; Burridge, 2004). Gender and sexuality were at the core of her politics around fear and danger for the nation and, more specifically, for childhood, as we will see below.

The Conservative government created legislation to regulate sexual rights, allegedly defending defended the (British) family as the core of the society, while many anti-gay discourses[11] were happening in schools and universities. Conservatives used lesbian and gay rights to discredit the

[9] This methodological choice is justified by the large scholarship already available about Section 28, while a discourse analysis of the LGBT and Trans Action Plans produces novel discussions on this topic. As this is a work in progress, readers might notice a discrepancy in the deepness of analysis in each situation. However, analysing LGBT Action Plan explains discourses present in discussions about Section 28, improving the analysis here presented.

[10] As they were called at the time.

[11] Once again, I choose to use the expression used at time. Additionally, Greenland and Nunney (2008: 244) recalled the role of the press in raising a moral panic about teaching LGBT rights in schools, including spreading stories that were "were exaggerated, misleading and sometimes wholly false. Many of the stories carried descriptions of texts or videos that were alleged to be circulating in schools or stocked by school libraries".

previous Labour government, and the AIDS crisis during the 1980s further intensified homophobic[12] attacks and discourses. Indeed, morally conservative discourses drew on protecting children from those referred to as 'queer rioters' during this time (Stacey, 1991; Moran, 2001; Burridge, 2004). Lesbian and gay movements and people were taken as scapegoats, while the government reduced social protection and imposed law-and-order policies, weakening collective safeguarding and reaction

In 1988, after some failed attempts, Thatcher's government approved a law change for the Local Authority Act, Section 28, prohibiting public authorities to "promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality" as well as "teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship" (Sanders & Sprags, 1989; Stacey, 1991; Rahman, 2004). This was in response to projects supporting lesbian and gay young people's rights. In mainstream understanding, Section 28 would prevent a group of adults from supposedly promoting threatening discourses against children. These words deserve further attention. Section 28 would prevent (creating and regulating the threat) a group of adults (such as teachers and activists) from supposedly promoting threatening discourses (i.e., supporting homosexual rights) against children (allegedly asexual or, perhaps, naturally heterosexual[13]).

This threat described by conservatives would not be about sexual practices, but the allegedly recruitment of new generations to the homosexual community (Rahman, 2004; Stacey, 1991). Fear of children's homosexuality and queerness was an image used for justifying moral panic, which made lesbian and gay movements take a step back in discussing gender, sexuality, and childhood (Sedgwick, 1991). This could sound as if the law was protecting children from a pre-existent threat however, Foucault's (1990; 2013) reflections about sexuality and childhood support a different interpretation. We can see homosexual teachers/activists, as a newly created category of 'dangerous subjects', in opposition to the idealized 'good citizens'. For Conservatives, Section 28 prevented the existence of (allegedly) threatening discourses by some activists, rather than targeting indiscriminately every homosexual person (Burridge, 2004; Stacey, 1991; Moran, 2001). This is reflected in the law's vague wording, open to multiple interpretations, and expanding fear and intimidation. 'Promoting homosexuality' which might be seen as a threat that could not be properly named, could also be anywhere, everywhere (Sanders & Sprags, 1989; Epstein, 2000).

[12] Although this term might reinforce individualised and pathologized understandings of violence, besides highlighting cis-homosexual (mostly male) experiences, I have chosen to keep it as used by the mentioned authors and in use at the time.

[13] See Halberstam (2018) and Sedgwick (1991).

Through the idea of danger, this piece of legislation banned discourses and practices, while also reducing Local Authorities' power and autonomy (Moran, 2001; Ellis, 2007; Lee, 2019; Nixon & Givens, 2007; Epstein, 2000; Sanders & Sprags, 1989). Although children's behaviours were not the object of regulation for this law – rather, it regulated adults – children's safety is part of the discursive frame legitimating its existence, strength, and reach. We can discuss with Burman (2019) that the imagery of childhood can activate discourses of fear and insecurity, justifying policies and power relations, despite the absence of discourses and experiences by exactly those marked as children.

Section 28 was enforced until the year 2000 in Scotland, and until 2003 in the rest of the UK[14]. Its repeal, however, was not free from contradictions. Some politicians had defended maintaining Section 28, both in Scotland and in the British parliament, to allegedly protect children's innocence. Protection also was engaged for its repeal by the 'New Labour' government (prime minister Tony Blair) as part of a broader image of a modernized Britain (Rahman, 2004; Moran, 2001; Taylor, 2005; Wise, 2000). Even if discourses on children's protection were still present for defending Section 28, perhaps the public idea of protection was changing, supporting its repeal. Nevertheless, repealing a piece of legislation does not mean extinguishing a set of discourses – we can still follow its effects.

The repeal of Section 28 was followed by consequences and concessions. First, new guidelines for sexual education based on heterosexual relationships (Moran, 2001) were published just after the repeal, keeping an ideal of relationship although not prohibiting other models anymore. Second, the effects of silence and fear still have been felt in schools as fear, self-censorship, and avoidance of 'coming out' by teachers. Those still happen in educational contexts due to a lack of reparative and transformative actions after the repeal (Lee, 2019). Finally, the repeal was part of the New Labour government's broader strategies for internal union against external enemies – especially important for the 'war against terror' in the early-2000s. Indeed, both Thatcher's and Blair's governments seemed to be interested in militaristic discourses and practices, although identified different enemies (Stacey, 2011). Children, nation, and future[15] would be then protected by an active State, which could also be inclusive for (British) LGBTQI+[16] people.

[14] Scotland had the autonomy to repeal Section 28 (named 2a) because of their then newly devolved administration. See Taylor (2005).

[15] See Burman (2019; 2021).

[16] I use a longer acronymous here to acknowledge the recognition of other identities in social movements and public policies. The approval of the Gender Recognition Act by Blair's government in 2004 can be seen as an important expression of their articulation for unifying – and regulating – other groups. For longer discussions, see Grabham (2010) and Sharpe (2009).

Section 28 was proposed to protect and defend children from dangerous homosexual adults. However, its repeal followed an argument of individual freedom and praise of internal diversity towards union. The New Labour government kept intact the discursive structures previously built which produce and regulate gender and sexuality through processes like war, nationalism, internal unity, and children's innocence (Stacey, 2011). Efforts for union and marking an external threat are present in further policies involving childhood and LGBTQI+ rights, as we will see below.

LGBT and Transgender Action Plans (2011, 2018): Children as dangerous subjects within

In this second moment of analysis, rather than a stable external subject (the adult homosexual), the threat is within childhood. In more recent discourses, children are pictured as a threat to their own development, in at least two ways: 1) some (queer[17]) children could be harmed by their peers, in reason of gender and/or sexuality; or 2) some (queer) children could make imprudent and harmful choices for themselves, compromising their own futures as full developed citizens. Either way, children would be dangerous subjects for themselves, and therefore in need of regulation. In the next pages, we will see some of those aspects present in the text.

In 2011, the Coalition government (Conservative & Liberal Democrats[18]) made a public commitment to the LGBT community by publishing the first LGBT Action Plan, titled Working for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Equality: Moving Forward (GEO, 2011a). If Section 28 promoted fear and censorship (through noise and authority), the LGBT Action Plan 2011[19] points out a path to modernisation. Despite the change of government, there is still an evident effort for framing the LGBTIQ+ community as an integral part of British society, rather than internal enemies as before. The first section in this plan speaks of "early years, education, and social mobility", recalling ideas of childhood which deserve further analysis. The Action Plan seeks to change the path toward the future, as we can see in the extract below:

> *Children's early years and education have a **profound influence on their life chances**. Schools should be a safe and supportive environment for children to learn in. Tackling homophobic and transphobic bullying in our schools will not only improve the lives of **victims**, but it will help to challenge prejudiced views*

[17] Rather than using LGBTIQ+ children, which could lead to discussions about whether they use those words for identification, I prefer to follow Paul Preciado's (2020) use of 'queer child' as a category which disrupts expectations for gender and sexuality and suffers disciplinary consequences of such disruption.

[18] Prime Minister David Cameron (Conservative) and Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg (Liberal Democrats), from 2010 to 2015.

[19] Although the year is not part of the official name, I kept it each time for avoiding mistakes with a further LGBT Action Plan published by the government in 2018.

> *and behaviour early on, helping to ensure that* ***our society becomes more tolerant****. As part of our drive to promote* ***good behaviour*** *in schools, we will ensure schools have access to sound and authoritative guidance, which* ***empowers teachers to tackle bad behaviour and bullying*** *in schools, including help to identify and tackle homophobic and transphobic bullying (GEO, 2011a, p.2, emphasis mine)*

If Section 28 had aimed to prevent the alleged promotion of homosexuality, here homophobic bullying[20] should be tackled. If both scenes show an alleged concern for children's integrity and their future, the dangerous subjects might not be the same. Here, children are subjects of the policy's goal of 'promoting good behaviour', in order to improve society. Children are portrayed as dangerous subjects or threats against themselves. Children, seen as a whole group, would have some of them (aggressors) who would harm some others (victims), becoming a case of internal violence to be managed. Additionally, each child might harm themselves with prejudiced views or bad behaviour, stalling their expected own potential.

Rather than claiming to prevent the promotion of homosexuality like Section 28, the LGBT Action Plan 2011 suggests improving 'life chances' by promoting tolerance. In one or another situation, the worries refer to consequences for the future rather than the current experiences of those marked as children. Childhood then is the repository for society's aspirations and anxieties of progress and heterosexual reproduction (Edelman, 2004; Sedgwick, 1991; 2003)[21]. Moreover, while the allegedly innocent children would be protected by Section 28, measures for tackling anti-LGBTIQ+ bullying confront aggressive subjects, again in opposition to peaceful children (Moran, 2001). In summary, there is an image of childhood as an object, not only for protection but also for investment towards the future. Finally, we can notice a focus on individuals – victims, good and bad behaviour, bullying, and teachers' responsibilities for this challenge. Presenting some children as victims, the Action Plan keeps them as passive subjects against an external power. In addition, education, in this plan, would correct deviant behaviours. Just like the disciplinary power discussed by Foucault (1979), disciplinary measures would be justified, reproducing an endless system of delinquency and punishment, not stopping to identify what it seems to prevent.

The legacy of Section 28 is partially responsible for what the LGBT Action Plan 2011 seeks to achieve. The same professionals who could not speak positively about homosexuality for over a decade have now been struggling to undertake a culture of fear and silence. Rather than adults

[20] For critiques of bullying as a concept that hides violence and inequities, see Formby (2015).

[21] Although I am aware of conceptual disagreements between these two authors, I bring their points in common for this short piece regarding anxieties about normativity in childhood. For a longer discussion about those authors, see Zanghellini (2019).

(teachers and activists) pointed out as dangerous subjects by Section 28's debates, the current 'dangerous' subject would be allegedly bullying authors (or children). In dialogue with Foucault's (1990; 2016) analysis of discourses and power relations on sexuality and childhood, we can see a movement from marking an adult as a danger[22] toward an inner danger in children[23]. With practices and specialisms, adults would have to take care of children so they would not hurt themselves. If the LGBT Action Plan 2011 presents violent pupils as a threat to others (and the reason for teachers' action), I would like to stress that the government have not addressed, so far, their historical debt due to Section 28[24].

The same tone can be found in the Transgender Action Plan (GEO, 2011b) *Advancing transgender equality: a plan for action*, published months later. If the idea of moving forward and the subjects covered in this text are very similar to the LGBT Action Plan 2011, we can nonetheless notice very specific actions, especially for making public services more trans inclusive and updated according to current regulations. In general terms, the project for education follows the same principles (and even wording) as the LGBT equivalent:

> ***Children's early years have a profound influence on their life chances****. (…) Tackling transphobic bullying helps to* ***address unacceptable behaviour*** *and ensure that our society becomes more tolerant (…). We have already issued anti-bullying guidance* ***to support head teachers in tackling all forms of bullying****, including transphobic bullying. (GEO, 2011b, p. 6, emphasis mine).*

Following this extract, we can understand that children who enact bullying would be the dangerous subjects to be regulated by teachers. Victims, in their turn, would have nothing to say. Nevertheless, teachers are still targeted by this public policy as responsible for taking measures for reducing 'bullying' and discrimination. Such a vague idea of bullying, in which transphobic practices are just a case, hides processes and regulations involving gender (and nonetheless sexuality). Exclusion and discrimination of trans people is not an effect of inaction, but a product of active discourses and practices, including Section 28. The image of childhood may be helpful to understand this convenient forgetfulness: before just a motif, now the subject of planned action, but never the one to act or speak. Children, these now dangerous subjects, should be the object of teachers' intervention and correction.

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[22] For instance, the status of 'sexual abusers' as a type or a character to be assessed and analysed by justice and psychiatry seeking explanation and prevention (Foucault, 1990).

[23] Just like the 'masturbatory child' regulated by doctors and pedagogues in the 19th Century to prevent moral and physical sickness (Foucault, 1990; 2016).

[24] See Lee (2019) and Nixon & Givens (2007).

Corrective technologies might be in place while marking some specific subjects as dangerous, to regulate populations and the future (Foucault, 1979; 1990; 2013). However, it is not a matter of censorship for such topics, but a regulation of 'correct' discourses – and their material conditions of emergence and repetition (Burman, 1991; Foucault, 1981; Parker, 2005) about gender, sexuality, and childhood. In other words, regulating associations between LGBTQI+ discussions and childhood might offer more effective outcomes than a broader restriction such as Section 28. Under Section 28, the Conservative concern referred to homosexuality as supposedly harmful for children. Now, we can see the fear of children not achieving their expected potential despite gender and sexuality issues. If children could be seen as enemies within (as authors of bullying), they should also be observed and pushed toward good behaviour and a better future.

Following national surveys and reviews on LGBTQI+ people's lives undertaken in the UK in 2016[25], 2017[26] and 2018[27], the next Conservative government[28] published a new LGBT Action Plan (GEO, 2018b), *Improving the lives of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender people*. The ministerial Foreword (GEO, 2018b, p. 3) recognised the achievement of the past decade, including the right to same-sex (gender) marriage and the first Transgender Action Plan[29]. Once again, the image of a 'correct' path was stressed as a combination of individual and collective future:

> ***We will act so that every child and young person feels safe in education, and can achieve their potential.*** *Our survey found that our education system is not preparing LGBT young people for later life, and that homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying is a problem we still need to tackle. (GEO, 2018b, p.4, author's emphasis).*

Moving from children as dangerous subjects to each other (authors and victims), now children are dangerous subjects for themselves (as lost potential). However, discourses produce those very subjects which they try to describe or explain (Foucault, 1979; 1981). Even if the events named as bullying are facts, the use of that label is a specific choice, framing the possibility for answering it. The response comes in a logic of promoting diversity towards a future potential – once again, reinforcing expectations invested in childhood.

[25] See Hudson-Sharp & Metcalf (2016).

[26] See GEO (2018a).

[27] See Stonewall (2018).

[28] Led then by Prime Minister Theresa May (2016-2019).

[29] Interestingly, there is no review of previous Action Plans before setting up the next goals. On the other hand, one could think the government's current action refers to the previous plan.

On a similar tone, Lawrence and Taylor (2019) analysed the LGBT Action Plan 2018[30], media coverage, and public speeches at the time. As highlighted by them, the government's political strategy for the LGBTQI+ community is based on ideas of progress through meritocracy, failing "to cohesively address (in)equalities across key lifecourse spheres across and beyond the UK" (Lawrence & Taylor, 2019, p. 17). Seen as incomplete subjects, children should be protected and regulated. If 'gay kids' (Sedgwick, 1991) were an object of fear in the 1990s, now they could be recruited according to a certain ideal of society. These policies will receive deeper analysis in further publications; for now, I would like to state that they are presenting a certain project of childhood based on being unfinished and therefore an issue for the future (Burman, 2021). Children's allegedly incompleteness would make children dangerous subjects (either for each other or for themselves). However, we might be suspicious of discourses of threats; rather than protecting individuals, they could be defending certain systems and rules.

Final thoughts

"Who defends the queer child", asked Paul Preciado (2020) in response to demonstrations held in Paris in 2013 opposing marriage and adoption for LGBTQI+ families. Rather than silence about children, Preciado had claimed dissident experiences of gender and sexuality as an object of regulatory discourse and practices. Inspired by his question, this paper then presented how dangerous subjects were engaged as a reason for defending children through prevention and regulation. In the 1980s and 1990s, discourses 'promoting homosexuality' were forbidden by Section 28, an achievement of Thatcher's Conservative government. The dangerous subjects were adults (teachers, activists, and policymakers), having their actions regulated by this piece of law in the name of childhood. This law was repealed in the name of rights, seeking national unity against external enemies (in Blair's New Labour Government). In the 2010s, on the other hand, Cameron's coalition government (Conservative and Liberal Democrats) and May's Conservative government published LGBT and Trans Action Plans framing children as dangerous subjects – either for each other (bullying) or for themselves (loss of potential).

The figure of a child is, therefore, a powerful target of discursive investments, either as an alleged victim of perverse adults, which Section 28 would be supposed to prevent; or as a life to be regulated, avoiding pitfalls towards a better – and socially productive – outcome, as LGBT Action Plans tries to establish. Discourses of 'dangerous subject' might aim to create and regulate their targeted groups; additionally – and here lies my contribution with this chapter – they also create

[30] Although Lawrence and Taylor (2019) mention the Trans Action Plan, they did not address the previous LGBT Action Plan 2011 in their analysis.

and regulate images of children and childhood, whether they are the main target. In other words, social rules regulate children without speaking with them, and even without speaking about them. 'Dangerous subjects' positioned as threats, must be regulated, in the name of society. It may not be evident, but this means that everyone should go through regulation in name of protection (Foucault, 1979, 1990, 2016). Childhood is produced as imagery to regulate adults – both current ones (such as teachers and activists) and those projected to become (since children are expected to grow up).

A final word about the idea of a dangerous subject. Both scenes analysed here promote the idea of a government defending children, despite any harm made by their positions. Similarly, Preciado (2020) sees how institutions can promote torture and terror for producing cis-heteronormativity. Nevertheless, governments can portray themselves as heroic and well-succeeded in their objectives: "**The UK has a proud record of defending and extending LGBT rights both at home and abroad.** We continue to be recognised as one of the best countries in Europe for LGBT rights by ILGA-Europe" (GEO, 2018b, p.21, author's emphasis)[31]. The recent past of enforced silence (with Section 28 amongst other pieces of legislation) would then be forgiven and forgotten. Therefore, the dangerous subject, or the adversary to be changed, is someone else.

This critical analysis of 'dangerous subjects' also carries a warning. This piece analysis documents published by governments, acknowledging the leaders at the time. However, pointing out their authors (politicians and lawmakers) as dangerous subjects would be risky for at least two reasons: 1) reinforcing discourses of safety, prevention, and regulation, as I have shown, however marking another category, politicians; 2) preventing those recognised as children[32] from joining public and democratic processes of decision, reinforcing their silence. Hence, I stress my suspiciousness of identifying specific targets, either as individuals or groups. I have been naming government leaders for addressing time, context, and leadership, but it does not mean that they are solely responsible for the ideas here analysed. Discourses are produced in systems of relations, regardless of intentions – or even despite those (Foucault, 1979; 1990; Burman, 1991; Butler, 1993). Following Burman's (2019) suggestions, 'Child as Method' is a helpful approach to see how images of childhoods are produced and reproduced in the name of political projects, creating the threats allegedly described. Section 28, LGBT and Trans Action Plans work on the idea of childhood to create dangerous subjects. Hence, the imagery of childhood might be the object of our further analysis and deconstruction. Otherwise, we risk just replacing one allegedly

[31] Analysing ILGA-Europe reviews is one of the objectives of this research project, which will be addressed in a further paper.

[32] For discussions on the imagery of childhood and children's recognition as subjects, see Burman (2019) and Canella & Viruru (2004).

dangerous group with another, perhaps even more useful for discourses of safety, regulation, and silence.

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Politics

Researching Friendship in Pandemic Times: Methodical Considerations

by *Clara Rosa Schwarz*

The Covid-19 pandemic halted many aspects of lives all over the world. In Germany and the United Kingdom, where my research is located, social distancing measures prohibited in-person meetings, particularly meetings of more than two people. However, video conferencing platforms, or VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) swiftly substituted many routes of personal and professional communication. A tool that had long been discussed in the social sciences, to ambivalent conclusions (cf. McCoyd and Kerson 2006; Nehls, Smith, and Schneider 2015), became one of few safe and legal ways to conduct social research in many European countries. Because most people necessarily became acquainted with VoIP, the usability and practicability of it grew substantially. As the pandemic exacerbated experiences of isolation, the locus of many friendships shifted to digital spaces: video calls, "zoom pubs", "zoom birthdays", online game nights and the like accompanied many pandemic experiences. More and more friendships began relying on technology to sustain their bonds, and some people started meeting new people and making new friends through virtual spaces. These changes to how friendships developed created increased opportunities for those researching friendships to make use of the technology.

Aside from the use of VoIP for qualitative research, two other methodological aspects will be considered in this chapter: first, the use of pre-existing friendship groups for group discussions[1], and second, using *friendship as method* as a key methodological concept. Using pre-existing friendships to recruit for and conduct focus groups, as was studied by Chandria Jones et al. (2018), carries some practical advantages such as saving recruitment time, but it also prohibits a controlled setting, regarding the space of the group setting for example (Jones et al. asked the recruiter to act as host, too). In the pandemic, the shared experience of isolation required increased levels of care: *Friendship as method* is a methodological approach introduced by Lisa Tillman-Healy (2003) that centres a caring research praxis and aims to approach the research situation and the participants with friendship in mind, thus foregrounding an imperative of mutuality and reflexivity. As new possibilities for research emerged and innovative approaches define the research-scape in pandemic times, the ambivalently received approaches of both VoIP

[1] Group discussions are sometimes also called focus groups, especially in English speaking research. They are used as a tool to study collective experiences (Bohnsack 2014). However, focus groups tend to be used for market research, though they do find use in social research as well (Jones et al. 2018). Especially in German language research, this differentiation is essential (Steinhardt 2018). In this text, though, I use 'group discussions' for my own research and 'focus groups' for Jones et al.'s (2018) research. I use the terms somewhat interchangeably because the logistical aspects are comparable.

and *friendship as method* deserve to be re-evaluated and put in relation to one another. Approaching the research with *friendship as method* raises concomitant questions about ambivalent practicalities regarding research ethics and professional distance. The intimacy transported with *friendship as method* contrasted with the power imbalance (Whitaker 2011) inherent in the research situation delineates the discussion. I argue that it is precisely the ambivalence of *friendship as method* that challenges the distance between researcher and participant, thereby offering a tool to bridge a personal and professional divide that accompanies participants and researchers alike. Crucially, the consideration of these three methodical and methodological concepts in relation to one another as well as in the context of the pandemic offers useful perspectives for friendship research. In this chapter, I begin by considering *friendship as method* and examining some of its critiques. Then I discuss the use of friend groups for group discussions, and finally I address the advantages and disadvantages of using VoIP. To conclude, I pull together these discussions by considering the role of reflexivity for the combined use of *friendship as method*, friends as groups and VoIP.

The considerations in this chapter developed from observations I made about these research methods in an ongoing study of the state of queer friendship groups during the pandemic in Germany and the UK. Participants were recruited via social media as well as calls put out through a variety of queer organisations. The sample consisted of 34 participants distributed over 12 group discussions of pre-existing friendships groups with a manageable size of three to five participants (cf. Williams et al. 2020). Recordings were later transcribed and analysed using the intersectional multilevel analysis (Winker and Degele 2009) which analyses the relation of social structures and systems to identities and symbolic representations (Winker and Degele 2009; Ganz and Hausotter 2020). My study aimed to understand the impact of the pandemic and the political measures to contain it (furlough, vaccinations, social distancing etc.) on the dynamics and interactive processes of queer friendships. Queer interpersonal relationships outside of the couple norm suffered under these measures: in Germany, for example, partners and families were excluded from curfews, while friends were not. This rule has subjected queer people, singles, as well as people in non-monogamous relationships to heteronormative standards and further isolated queer people from chosen families and friends (cf. Trott 2020; Haritaworn 2020). Starting from the premise that a large proportion of friendships have shifted a significant amount of their interactions to the digital sphere (Watson, Lupton, and Michael 2021; Karampampas 2020), and queer culture shifting online[2], I decided to conduct friend group discussions using VoIP. When I began my research, in January 2021, both Germany and the UK were in full lockdown, with indoor meetings of more than two people and/ or households and/or meetings

[2] For example, queer cultural event and parties as those hosted by *Queer Culture Club* and *Queer House Party*.

indoors being prohibited. By this point, I was acquainted with various types of VoIP software, having taught and attended seminars online, meeting my friends almost exclusively via video call, and having attended a handful of "zoom birthdays" and online house parties in 2020. Facilitating friend group discussions online allowed me to gain insight into the familiarity of my participants with the technology, as well as the workings of their friendship groups. Wanting to meet my participants in the locked-down situation, rather than waiting for a then-unknown possibility of a "Freedom Day" (as the UK delivered on 19th of July 2021), I decided to use VoIP to meet the groups where their friendships had adapted to naturally unfold (though this was not the case for all groups).

Friendship as method

Early on in my research of queer friendships during the pandemic, Lisa Tillman-Healy's (2003) *friendship as method* emerged as an indispensable pillar. My study developed from my very personal yearning for sociality in socially distanced times, hence why I was clear on foregrounding an ethic of care and friendship. The ethic of care, here, "suggests that personal expressiveness, emotion, and empathy are central to the knowledge validation process" (Hill Collins 2000: 215) and invites these aspects into the research setting (Tillmann-Healy 2003). I aimed to create a space for friend groups to interact and discuss their experiences openly while allowing me to study the effect that Covid-19 had on their relationships. Tillman-Healy (2003) positions friendships and research relationships both as relationships that shift and grow, that require mutuality and relationality. To behave towards research subjects as one would towards friends, "with an ethic of friendship", is to behave caringly and justly. Investing in relationships with research participants is an investment in the research project itself. In the case of the friendship groups participating in my study, I similarly found that inviting the friends to behave naturally in their friendships allowed the research setup and the friendship encounter to integrate.

If the researcher is positioned in solidarity towards the researched community, using *friendship as method* allows them to become profoundly allied to the researched community, not necessarily as outsiders to the community – researchers can be insiders, too, of course – but rather in their privilege as researchers. Similarly, the group discussion setting positions the researcher as participant-observer (Whiting et al. 2018). However, the alliance and solidarity that might accompany such a research relationship must not conflate a professional distance between researcher and researchers, instead, a distanced reflexivity should underpin an allied relationship. It is this ambivalence that bears the potential of *friendship as method*. Nevertheless, it is precisely this ambivalence that has invited critiques for potentially problematic power

relations – after all, as with most research, the researcher remains the one with the voice, being able to write about their perspective, while the participant is heard only through the researcher's voice (de Regt 2015). While friendship is often based on solidarity, it does not stand outside of power relations (Whitaker 2011). In my research, the integration of the researcher as participant-observer and of friendship as method did not always work equally well. However, in some groups, the setting became a space for the groups to discuss issues they had been meaning to address or a way for them to connect over a new experience collectively. In one group, a participant jokingly proclaimed to the group that they should do "more of these" (group discussions), that it could become a hobby for the group. Using *friendship as method*, then, to approach a sample that often centred around experiences of isolation, by operating the tool that supplemented many friendships during the pandemic (VoIP), might help mitigate the prevalent loneliness while simultaneously enabling a caring and fruitful research setting.

Tillman-Healy discusses the ethical dilemmas of *friendship as method*, but has been critiqued for not considering economic and affective inequalities that may come with the research relationship when the researcher is economically privileged over the participant, who in this case might also be their friend (de Regt 2015). The complexity of friendship in research situations has furthermore been questioned with regard to how participants might feel after an interview (Kirsch 2005). For instance, a participant might feel misunderstood or even betrayed after an abruptly finished interview. Gesa Kirsch (2005) points to the strategic motivation of friendliness in a research situation, arguing that participants feel that they share personal stories with a friend, who in turn scrutinises, analyses, and ultimately publishes their experiences. A process of validating the material with the research participants can be utilised to mitigate misunderstandings and increase cooperative research (cf. Winker and Degele 2009). Communicative validation, that is to discuss aspects of the analysis with the participant, aims to ensure the validity of the results (Ganz and Hausotter 2020). Additionally, Kirsch (2005) suggests that the researcher regularly reminds the participants of the constraints of friendship and friendliness in the research situation. As not every researcher-participant-relationship will culminate in a deep bond, Kirsch proposes that researchers adjust their own expectations, too. To ensure a caring research praxis, then, which Tillman-Healy proposed but which also feeds into Kirsch's suggestion, a critical and transparent reflexivity, using methods such as communicative validation, must accompany the researcher when utilising *friendship as method*. Having explored the collaborative foundations of *friendship as method*, I next consider the use of pre-existing friend groups for group discussions.

Friends as groups

While focus groups often aim to use participants who do not know each other beforehand (Jones et al. 2018), the group discussions conducted for my study used pre-existing friend groups. Jones et al. (2018) studied the feasibility of using pre-existing friendship groups for a focus group study. They approached individual women between 20-50 years and asked them to recruit five to seven participants for a focus group. The concerns held by the authors before the study included difficulty ensuring confidentiality as well as concerns regarding participants' levels of comfort discussing sensitive topics with the group. The authors were also concerned that using friendship for recruitment might result in demographically homogenous focus groups as friendship groups are often demographically homogenous. The issue of diversity was projected on the diversity of opinions, too – the researchers expressed concern about participants influencing each other and discouraging the expression of dissenting opinions. However, following the study, the authors stated that participants did leave space for a diversity of opinions, while also "demonstrating agreement in many instances" (Jones et al. 2018).

Jones et al. 2018 also asked the recruiter of the friend group to host the focus group, thereby giving control over the research environment to the recruiter/host/participant. This approach was perceived negatively by the authors. However, for a *friendship as method* approach, giving control over some aspects of the setting to the participants could provide more agency to the participants, and reduce the power that the researcher has in terms of facilitating the conversation. The shared control over the research environment could in this sense be construed as a symbol of mutuality and shared responsibility. To be noted, though, is that this asks participants to provide unpaid labour, as getting participants to host group discussions would be a way of outsourcing the researchers' responsibilities without financial compensation.

The interactive processes of friendships, including dissenting opinions and performances in the group setting, can be uncovered by using pre-existing groups for group discussions (Jones et al. 2018). Furthermore, using pre-existing groups can exhibit collective experiences of the group and thereby offer direct understanding within and about the group (Bohnsack 2014). Hence, for the study of friendships and friend groups, the use of pre-existing friend groups constitutes a suitable setting for observing the friendship as it unfolds. The groups not only allow me to listen to what they have to say but also to observe how they interact: the exploration of interactive processes is aided by using friendships for group settings.

Studies that explicitly "explore interactive processes" in friendships are still rare in the field (Blieszner, Ogletree, and Adams 2019). An example of such a study is Emma Heron's (2020) study of student experiences in higher education. Heron put friend pairs in a listening booth. The friend pairs, provided with (recorded) privacy and probing cards, then proceeded to discuss their

experiences of university life openly and honestly. The method removed the researcher from the participants, save a briefing and debriefing phase of respectively 15 minutes, thus allowing for conversations among friends that were guided but not managed by a researcher. Heron concludes that these private conversations provide deeper and more personal insight into student experiences, as friendship loosens the inhibitions students may have to speak of their experiences. To gain deep insight into friends' experiences, the use of pre-existing friendship groups for group discussions constitutes a suitable setting, especially to understand these interactive processes. To allow for this in pandemic times, I suggest the use of VoIP, as I lay out below.

Debating VoIP

Friendship as method as well as using friendship for group discussions both aim towards exploring interactive processes of friendship. The VoIP setting allows for the study of interaction in friendships, especially regarding the shift of friendships to VoIP technology during the pandemic. Becky Self (2021) argues that the pandemic led to more familiarity with digital communication, therefore VoIP has become an increasingly suitable instrument for researching in pandemic times. Self suggests that interviews and other social research using VoIP might run more smoothly than before the pandemic, as a wider range of the population has become acquainted with software like Zoom, depending on occupation and internet access. Therefore, in contrast to conducting video interviews before the pandemic, the "sample of participants is less likely to be biased" (Self, 2021; cf. Bampton & Cowton, 2002) towards those who know how to use VoIP and have access to the relevant technology. In certain contexts, however, "the problem is now arguably as much one of whether people are available as to whether they have the technology" (Bampton and Cowton 2002). Roberta Bampton and Christopher J. Cowton wrote this in 2002, while I am writing towards the end of 2021, as Covid-19 yet again infects high numbers of the population in both the UK and Germany. Their claim, then, that the technology is widely available, is increasingly applicable at this time and for my study in particular, making VoIP a highly useful tool for exploring interactive processes of queer friendships during the pandemic.

However, access issues remain. In my study sampled from LGBTQ+ communities in Germany and the UK, the most relevant access issue has been reaching people in higher age groups through technology. As was shown with regard to mental health services for aging populations, the aim to shift to digital solutions during the pandemic could "exacerbate existing digital divides" (Smith, Steinman, and Casey 2020) – an issue that could also apply in trying to reach participants for research. Regarding the diversity of a sample, Self (2021) points to the relevance of occupation in

familiarity with VoIP technology. I encountered issues with using VoIP technology for an interview with three men between 40-60, all of them working in the hospitality sector, who had difficulty using the software. They were in the same place, planning to video call me together, but neither their hardware nor software worked. After several telephone calls back and forth and persisting issues with the software, we decided to postpone the group discussion. This experience discouraged the participants from the digital format, and they asked to meet in person instead, which was possible because of our shared location. We made plans for an in-person meeting, however, this possibility was removed as soon as infection numbers increased and the meeting did not yet take place. Furthermore, Self (2021) notes that while VoIP interviewing increases accessibility for some groups, including (some) marginalised and (some) disabled participants, it might exclude certain populations with no access to the internet and tech devices, which can include unhoused people and refugees.

The privacy of the home can have ambivalent effects on the accessibility of digital interviews as well. For some participants, the home might provide comfort and safety, thereby enabling meaningful and personal exchange, while for others, such as minors and otherwise dependent or closeted LGBTQ+ individuals, participating in such a study in the home might pose risk to their safety. The diversity of experiences and demographics is necessarily impacted by these factors. A dilemma occurs, thus, with ensuring the safety of participants and researchers, while at the same time aiming for a demographically diverse sample.

While accessibility and usability are important regarding the practicability of using VoIP, concerns about building rapport with participants as well as being able to perceive the participants fully, in terms of body language and surroundings, persist. Mary Bayles' (2012) paper discussing the possibilities of using Skype for psychoanalysis, from her perspective as both practitioner and patient, concludes that on one hand, Bayles' own experience of Skype-based psychoanalysis is rather positive, with an increased sense of affective connection owed to the focus on the interlocutor's face. On the other hand, Bayles describes a sense of being scrutinised, increased anxiety due to the sense of being watched very closely, and not being able to hide in a peripheral view. Building rapport, which is an important factor in achieving a fruitful group discussion, might become more difficult considering the increased anxiety as described by Bayles (Bayles 2012, cf. also Lechuga 2011).

Ryan Horn and Tara Behrend's (2017) study of performance in video job interviews suggests that picture-in-picture technology leads to increased self-awareness. However, "it is well established that increased self-focused attention causes attentional conflicts", thus creating a higher cognitive load that may negatively impact the interviewees' performance in a job interview. This study explicitly researched performance in evaluative settings, which differ from the research interview

or group discussion setting. However, the participant's knowledge of the research process (and that the conversation will later be analysed), could impact their behaviour in the research setting.

The literature presented thus far, though not extensive, has illustrated the complexities of using VoIP for qualitative research, and indeed, Self (2021), Bayles (2012), and Horn and Behrend (2017) all remain ambivalent towards the use of VoIP. The technology does offer practical solutions for accessibility, as well as time- and cost-efficient alternatives to face-to-face interviews, and of course, provide the safest way to conduct research during a global health emergency such as the Covid-19 Pandemic. At the same time, questions remain about the quality of the digitally collected data – which, as Self (2021) has shown, will have increased in the wake of Covid-19, as participants and researchers have become increasingly familiar with the technology and researchers will thereby have acquired a necessary skill set to interpret VoIP interviews, too. The small though growing body of literature on using VoIP since the pandemic is showing more promising results and demonstrates a crucial social shift that impacts the feasibility of using VoIP for qualitative research (e.g. de Villiers et al., 2021; Self, 2021; Watson et al., 2021).

This shift to socialise in virtual spaces is the starting point of my study researching the development and changes of queer friend groups during the Covid-19 pandemic. In my study, two groups demonstrated a strong sense of familiarity with each other within the digital sphere. Both groups had come to know each other during the pandemic. While some individuals already knew one another offline, the group as such formed during a phase of lockdown, thus the group initially got to know each other exclusively online. The group met at queer socials, in which they ended up getting involved and some began facilitating their own sessions, such as an online book club. One of the participants even proclaimed a preference for meeting new people online. She described discomfort in having to attend events on her own, and, having not had a queer group of friends before, that was what she had been planning to do in 2020, before the UK went into lockdown. The swift transfer of many events to digital formats allowed her to attend a variety of online events and find a group of queer friends. Her comfort with digital events was evident in the group discussion, too. She took initiative when there was a technical issue with the call and offered to be the first to introduce herself. With groups like this, who spend their time as friends online, though they also met increasingly in person when the lockdown was eased, using VoIP does present a viable option.

The camera, friendships, and reflexivity

Related to the video aspect of researching friendship in pandemic times, Ruth Holliday (2000) describes that video diaries[3] that are recorded in the company of friends are "full of performances" indeed. This might raise difficulties for group discussions with real friend groups, as they perform for and with each other. Contrastingly, I argue that the aspect of performing with each other should be considered an interactive process of friendship, which is precisely that which I wanted to study. The familiarity between friends, the shared habits, and in-jokes were offered to me by the groups, allowing me to gain insight into the friendships. These conversational and habitual rites of communication cannot be translated directly into a digital sphere, a knowing glance or shared snicker might be lost due to the inability to share eye contact on VoIP. The non-verbal cues that may get lost in translation and the efforts to adapt them to the digital were invaluable observations to study the development of friendships within the restrictions of the pandemic. Indeed, utilising the setting of friendships to understand the evolution of queer friendships in pandemic times, with the methodological instruction of *friendship as method*, works precisely because of the spatio-temporal location within the pandemic. Thus, the contextualisation and location of the research, methodologically, must accompany the video call-based research.

Reflexivity, as that which must characterise a study instructed by *friendship as method*, emerges in an increasingly literal sense for friendship research during a pandemic. Picture-in-picture technology ensures a level of self-awareness that would unlikely be present in an analogue setting (Horn and Behrend 2017). Thereby, reflexivity, as "involving an ongoing self-awareness during the research process which aids in making visible the practice and construction of knowledge within research in order to produce more accurate analyses of our research" (Pillow 2003), becomes differently approachable with the presence of picture-in-picture technology and with the possibility to record the video call. Picture-in-picture creates a reflection of myself, a mirror to reflect myself back to me, and the participants back to them, respectively. Thus, for the use of *friendship as method* as well as for conducting research in times of Covid-19, both increasing the need for reflexivity in the research setting, the use of VoIP constitutes a suitable option for social research.

[3] Video diaries as used by Holliday (2000) are, like diaries, regular recordings in which research participants record themselves on camera speaking to the camera, without the researcher (necessarily) being present.

Conclusion

It is clear from the literature that *friendship as method*, using existing friend groups for group discussions, and the use of VoIP have been ambivalently received by social researchers (cf. de Regt, 2015; Horn & Behrend, 2017; Kirsch, 2005; Self, 2021). However, having re-evaluated the discourses around these methodical and methodological approaches, in light of the Covid-19 pandemic, it appears that in this particular research setting – that is, a distanced and digitalised setting – the ambivalence of the discussed approaches encourages a re-imagining of friendship research in pandemic times. To caveat this potential of *friendship as method* in many of its forms, I must specify that this paper looks at the research situation dominated by the Covid-19 pandemic and findings might not apply after a return to a (new) normal. The study informing the considerations in this paper has the added benefit that friendship instructs the method but also constitutes the object of this research. It is also important to note the bias of using pre-existing friend groups toward recruiting participants who have friends or friend groups, therefore alienating potential participants who have less stable social networks as well as people who do not interact with their friends digitally. This can lead to biases in a range of related issues (Heron 2020), such as mental health and feelings of isolation (which have been shown to be improved in people with more stable social networks, cf. Kellezi et al., 2019). Future research may want to consider the use of VoIP for reaching isolated individuals as well as the potential of group discussions with a *friendship as method* approach, without using pre-existing friend groups – that is, to study the interactions that occur in random groups.

For researching existing friendships, nevertheless, the potential is indisputable, especially in pandemic times: VoIP platforms as well as the use of existing friendship groups for group discussions allow for a low-cost, accessible, and organic setting to invite both the friendship dynamics and the research situation to integrate. Additionally, *friendship as method* allows the researcher to provide a caring space for research and friendship to integrate in a time of increased isolation. Ultimately, a *friendship as method* methodology, supplemented with using VoIP and pre-existing groups, aids the research objective of exploring interactive processes of the friendship during the pandemic, while ensuring a responsible and caring research praxis for the study of friendships, particularly in pandemic times.

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Problematizing the *Lado Intermedio/Ambigui* in European Peripheries[1]

by *Magali Segovia*

Introduction

This chapter has, as its route guide, the possibility of thinking and re-thinking the power relations within Europe, using as a starting point the critique to *modernity* made by the Filosofía de la Liberación (Liberation Philosophy) and the Giro Decolonial (Decolonial Turn) (see footnotes 3 and 4). We will focus our attention on pushing forward the idea of the existence of peripheries in this geopolitical space. In order to accomplish that we will draw from the theoretical framework of the Sistema Moderno/Colonial de Género and the categories that comprise it, as postulated by Maria Lugones.

We have separated this work in two big discussions. For the first one we will review and expand on the constituting elements of the Sistema Moderno/Colonial de Género. A first step is developing the way that the categorization of the "Woman" occurs and how it is confronted by the feminine/female that allows us to understand the workings of the *lado claro/visible* and the *lado oscuro/oculto*. In the second discussion, we object to the universal meaning of Europe as a monolithic, unequivocal, and closed center of power. By unraveling this preconception, we can close up on a transcending moment that would allow us to view European peripheries. We will introduce some examples of the various types of peripheries. As well as recognizing the existence of peripheries in the centers, emphasizing the need to think both constructions as plural elements. To aid us in this purpose we will present the historical process of Ireland as a possible case study for the application of the methodological tool of the *lado intermedio/ambiguo* (intermediate/ambiguous side) due to the historical relationship with England and its Empire. We also expect to accomplish a new perspective on Europe from a non-modern point of view.

Gender: A modern category?

Decolonial feminism invites us, as researchers, to dismantle the categories we apply in Gender Studies. In that way, they problematize the sense and meaning behind some of the main

[1] All translations from the Spanish are my own. When translation is not given we follow Lugones's position: "As I speak to you in the many incarnations of my native tongue […] I feel isolated from you as if by a thick wall. *Pero no lo hago para romper la pared lo hago tan solo para reconocerla*. My intention is not to break the wall down, just to recognize it. This recognition is a first step to an honest understanding of ethnocentric racism and of the connections between the two" (Lugones, 2003, 45).

classifications we utilize. Words such as "woman", "man", and/or "male/female" take up other meanings through their lenses. My first encounter with Lugones's work was during my first steps into the fields of Gender Studies and feminism in general, and the Latin-American stream in particular. In her work "Colonialidad y Género" (Coloniality and Gender) (2008), I was confronted by a complex set of ideas for the understanding of the concepts I had at the moment. The main question that arose from that encounter was that the very concepts I was beginning to incorporate were not entirely appropriate, and that the oppression suffered by women were not at all the same. Although I had achieved a grasp and understanding of the complexities implied by the intersectionality, I had not reflected on mental, cultural and social connection that came attached to both "Woman"[2] and to gender. Both categories had an inaccurate meaning, that was attached to a hegemonic understating of the terms. Their origin came, and was substantiate, by the modern thought[3]. We will deal with this concept later on.

For us to be able to trace and identify the ample spectrum of racialization that operates in the European space, we need to look into the Sistema Moderno/Colonial de Género[4]. This very system is produced by the logic of modernity, and, as such, organizes the world ontologically by homogenous, atomic and separate categories (Lugones, 2011, 106). This process of categorization enabled the creation of social identities (white, indigenous, black, African, European, etc.), as well as delineated geo-cultural zones (America, Africa, Europe, Center, Periphery). Parallel to this construction, they were given a hierarchical order, marking them as superior or inferior, establishing a hierarchical dichotomy. The later formulation has a double meaning, we are referring to the ways in which the individuals are marked and differentiated.

The process by which we can visualize such distinctions is the constitution of both sides of the Sistema: the *lado visible/claro* (visible/clear side) and the *lado oscuro/oculto* (the dark/hidden side). The first side is concerned with patriarchal power relations that were stablished between men and women, the domination of the latter by the first. These unequal relations are carried out

[2] The capitalization of the word from here on refers to the implicit hegemonic meaning of white heterosexual middle class woman.

[3] The Filosofía de la Liberación, particularly the work of Enrique Dussel, postulates the beginning of *modernidad* from the moment of the *colonization* and *covering up* of the Americas. According to the author, the *ego cogito* was preceded by an *ego conquiro* of the "same", that was quickly transformed and covered as the "other". Thus giving way to the "mito de la modernidad" (myth of modernity) (Dussel, 1994).

[4] Lugones explains that this analytical tool helps us understand the differential organization of gender in racial terms. For her study, the author used as a starting point the *patron de poder global capitalista* (global capitalist pattern of power), formulated by Aníbal Quijano. He explains that in the eurocentered world pattern of power, the power is structured in relations of domination, exploitation and conflict between social actors. The focus of these fights is over the dominion of the four basic spaces of human existence: sex, work, collective authority, and subjectivity/intersubjectivity, their resources and products. The pattern is organized in two axis: coloniality and modernity, which organize each dispute. Coloniality of power (colonialidad de poder) introduces the social and universal classification of the world's population in racial and hierarchical terms. To the Coloniality of power we must add other categories such as Colonialidad del Saber (Lander), Colonialidad del Ser (Maldonado Torres) and, the Colonialidad de Género (Lugones). These four categories function together (Lugones, 2018; Quijano, 2007).

by individuals racialized as white. Until this point we could be referring to the analysis made by the hegemonic white feminism (Espinosa Miñoso, 2014). However, decolonial feminism theorists, and Lugones in particular, go further into their critique by including colonized women of colour and the specific forms of oppression they suffered and suffer to this day. The domination over colonized women of colour was not imposed on them because of their belonging to "womanhood". The subjugation of people racialized as colored came from their lack of humanity, and gender. They were marked, exclusively, with sex, and were, therefore, non-humans. This comprises the *lado oscuro/oculto*, which reveals the colonial mark, the distinction between human and non-human; between holders of gender (white men and women) and the *other*, identified only by sex. The binary process, dichotomic and hierarchic forged by the conquest of America, unveiled a norm that justified the submission of native people.

At the same time, it builds a pyramid, in its pinnacle we find the white heterosexual middle class man; just beneath him we can find white heterosexual middle class woman. Both considered human and, therefore, possessing gender. However, the colonized native became *non-human* by *not-being-man*, their humanity was denied by the sole reason of being different to the white man, only complete human. The female colonized natives found their humanity denied by *not-being-not-man* (Lugones, 2011, 107). We will go further into this colonial mark on the female native. If we take their point of view, we can envision a double negation of their human status. The first negation relates to the stripping of their humanity, by not being compared to the white man, only fully human. The second negation, that is the subjugation inside the non-human space, came from not being the colonized male. For the native women the characterization as animals was deeper and more complex than that of their male counterparts.

Following the explanation, we can comprehend the intention of decolonial feminism of showing the racist sense of "Man" and "Woman". The mention of any of those constructions refers to the dominant element in this modern logic: it is the white heterosexual man or the white heterosexual woman. This way of viewing and thinking crosses us until these days, as coloniality is a current issue. Therefore, Lugones asserts:

> *Solo al percibir género y raza como entramados o fusionados indisolublemente podemos realmente ver a las mujeres de color [...] el termino <mujer> en sí, sin especificación de la fusión no tiene sentido o tiene un sentido racista, ya que la lógica categorial históricamente ha seleccionado solamente al grupo dominante... (2008, 82)*[5]

[5] The critique on white feminism by decolonial feminist focuses on this precise point. While the latter's main concern was the oppression over white women by the white men. It never concerned itself with the domination and exploitation of non-white women.

> *Only by perceiving gender and race as interweaved or inextricably fusioned, we can truly see women of colour [...] the term <woman> itself, without specifying the fusion has no sense or has a racist sense, since the categorical logic, historically, has selected only the dominant group...*

Thus far, we have only developed the *lado visible/claro* and the *lado oscuro/oculto*. However, besides both sides, Lugones slips the possibility of thinking on a third side. She wonders about those women who might have clear skin, but are not racialized as white (the dominant group) nor as colored. The author presents, in this way, the *lado intermedio/ambiguo* (intermediate/ambiguous side) (Lugones, 2008, 99). By using this third side we can avoid the modern mind and bypass the binary. It enables us to overcome ontological and homogeneous definition, and be able to identify beyond the binary racialization of white/colored. We can capture the spectrum of racialization that work behind said racial binary.

How could we re/discover the position of Europe?

Before answering the question heading this section, we must first make other enquiries. What is Europe? What meaning do decolonial theories give such construction? How did it configure itself and its population?

Philosopher Enrique Dussel asserts that the year 1492 represented, with the beginning of the conquest and colonization of America[6], the moment in which Europe stablished itself as the hegemonic colonizer of the rest of the world. Europe as an entity, emerges then as a product of the colonial[7] experience. With the conquest of America, its exploitation, domination, and colonization, Eurocentric hegemony begun. This process is what Dussel names the *mito de la modernidad* (the myth of modernity). We could connect this myth with initial moments of the construction of the *lado oscuro/oculto*.

The process of conquest and colonization constituted the first stage on the formulation of the myth. Once it developed, it builds itself with three assumptions, that had the character of absolute truths. The first alleged truth was that the European colonizers were superiors to the native population. Dussel elaborates:

[6] The author problematizes the historical process developed in *Nuestra* America, with its particular situation, differentiating it from the anglo-french conquest.

[7] It is important to clarify the difference between colonialism and coloniality. Even if both are intimately related, they have separate meanings. Colonialism implies the colonial relationship, the domination of a people or nation over another. While colonialism precedes coloniality, the latter survives it to this day and is more complex. Coloniality is built from the coloniality of power, of being, of knowledge and of gender (Maldonado Torres, 2007, 131; Quijano, 2007, 93).

> *…ese Otro no fue des-cubierto como Otro, sino que fue en-cubierto como "lo Mismo" que Europa ya era desde siempre […] 1492 será el momento de nacimiento de la "Modernidad" como concepto, e momento concreto del "origen" de un "mito" de violencia sacrificial muy particular, y al mismo tiempo, un proceso de "en-cubrimiento" de lo no europeo (1994 ,8)*
>
> *…that Other was not dis-covered as the Other, but was covered as "the Same" that Europe already was […] 1492 was the moment of birth of the "Modernity" as a concept, the precise moment of the "origin" of a "myth" of a very particular sacrificial violence and, at the same time, a process of "cover up" of the non-European.*

The second moment arises with the formulation of Europe as the colonial center of the rest of the world. The myth of this narrative was to consider that the historical process could not yield any other result than Europe being a dominant center. This historical process being the hiding of the fact that it became a center, because of the extraction and colonization of the emerging American periphery (Dussel, 1994, 11-12). Both these formulations gave legitimation to the third one that would finish establishing itself in the XVIII Century with the Enlightenment and the colonizing project in Africa and Asia. The "civilizatory mission", the European destiny of "civilizing" the rest of the "primitive" world, was completed. In this second stage, modernity finishes its build up and the modern logic becomes hegemonic. As we have mention before, not only were social and geo-cultural identities constructed, but eurocentrism, as way of knowing, lineal objective and evolutional, becomes universal. At the same time, it becomes the only legitimate knowledge (Quijano, 2007). For these reasons we maintain that modernity is an entanglement formed by the coloniality of power, being, knowledge and gender. By its hand, modern logic constructed ontological categories that were homogeneous and detachable. Some of these categories were the constructions we discussed in the previous section.

The main elements for this section are "Center" and "Periphery". As we explained at the beginning of this subheading, Europe builds itself as a universal unity: closed, given, and as monolithic civilizatory center. The main argument of this "center" was to be without the influence of the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2007). That is, the dichotomic hierarchies of the power relations, that could be found in the periphery, had no influence in the "center".

Having established that this idea of unique center was a construction made by the very own colonizers, and using a decolonial perspective we can break our own modern perception and break the very idea of Europe as a singular unity. From this standpoint we can question the absence of the coloniality of power from its mist. Several questions emerge from this reversal of conceptions. Can we think of the existences of periphery and/or peripheries in the so called center? Are these peripheries crossed by the colonialities of power? Adding to this, would we be

able to utilize the *lado intermedio/ambiguo* as an analytical tool to give answers to the previous enquiries?

Breaking down the brain of modernity

By having broken the myth of modernity we can contend that parallel to the global periphery we can find a periphery of the "European center". We intend to break the modern categorical logic of binary oppositions, by rupturing the monolithic entity that is supposed to be Europe. In this way, we can distinguish the existence of peripheri**es** in the sense of identifying individuals subjugated by the racial/gendered classification emerged from the coloniality in the European zone. At the same time, we can comprehend how the division also created a configuration of space, that constructed its own peripheries. The latter can present themselves in two distinct ways. On the one hand, in a macro sense we can expose the periphery inside Europe, that is the difference between countries. The ones marked as "superior" are completely European in a hegemonic sense, which we can match, for example with western European countries. In opposition to them we can find eastern and southern European countries, whose population was racialized as inferior[8]. With this first disassemble of the alleged unity, we can see clearly how the modern logic separates between superior developed and completely white countries and underdeveloped, inferior countries, whose population are racialized as colored or hybrid. We will further develop this point later on. There exist other divisions inside of Europe that not necessarily encompass this division between east and west, but due to a constrain of space we shall move on with our argument. On the other hand, we can find peripheries that are internal to each country. This segmentation come from the way each country has constructed its own spatiality. We are thinking of the emergence of marginalized neighborhoods, were people racialized as colored or hybrids are usually relegated. As well as, the power relations, domination and exploitation that were imposed on the Saami population in the Scandinavian north (Svendsen, 2021)

At this point it has become necessary to establish what we mean when we say racialized as hybrids. Its construction is closely related to the sides of the Sistema, particularly with the *lado intermedio/ambiguo* and its importance to comprehend power relations, exploitation and domination in the European peripheries. Hybrid, in the *lado intermedio/ambiguo*, refers to those individuals that are not racialized as white but neither as colored. Mainly, is useful to understand the ample spectrum of racialization that cannot be positioned inside the *lado visible/claro* or the *lado oculto/oscuro*.

[8] We build here from analysis that have identified the construction of Otherness in Eastern Europe (Keskinen, et al, 2009; Buchowski, 2006; Krivonos & Näre, 2019).

Ireland as a possible case study for the application of the *lado intermedio/ambiguo*

The historical development of Ireland enables us to identify that such country was, and is, pierced by the entanglements of the colonialities of power, being, knowledge, and gender. The English occupation and the posterior domination of the Island was an early phenomenon, that started in the XII Century, and was a process of long duration. Even though the English colonization consolidated itself in the XVIII Century, we can assert that it was in the XIX when the structure of English domination was decisively stablished and consolidated (Alonso, 2001; Kenny, 2006). At the same time, this period represented a first inclusion of racial construction of the Irish. Some of these elements have been developed and discussed in a study on English discourses in a travel diary. There we were able to identify how a *colonialist imaginary* revealed "racial markings" of the Irish (Segovia & Wallace, 2021). We must also acknowledge that Ireland was the first English colonial laboratory, where the domination generated a chain of discrimination, exploitation and submission over the Irish (Pašeta, 2003; Jackson, 2005; 2006; Ohlmeyer, 2006, 7). From this brief historical recollection, we can maintain, emerging from our epistemic perspective, that we are dealing with an European country that was subjected to colonialism and gendered modern coloniality. If we follow the words of Quijano: "El color de la piel fue definido como la marca 'racial' diferencial más significativa…"[9] (2007, 120), we maintain that Ireland presents a population that was not racialized as either colored or white. It becomes a good space to apply the *lado intermedio/ambiguo* to analyze its situation as one of Europe's internal peripheries. We are aware that more work is needed to sustain this affirmation, work that will be constructed in the near future[10]. Here we intend to establish a precedent to be able to further analyze the Irish case.

Final thoughts

As a conclusion to this chapter, we have established that Europe does not constitute a monolithic closed entity. In that sense, the *Mito de la modernidad* imposition of Europe as a universal homogenous unity is erroneous. We can also assert that this center not only has a periphery, but that is plural in its nature. Thus, we propose a future second problematization: the existence of peripheries.

At the same time, each country applies hierarchical segmentations of their own space. Such exercises of coloniality and racialization, could be found in the marginalized neighborhoods, but are not limited to these spaces. Finally, we presented Ireland as a possible case study for the

[9] "Skin colour was defined as the most meaningful differential 'racial' marking…"

[10] As possible research start we can explore the constructions we mentioned from a social and cultural of the various media outlets. In this way we can focus in the different moment Irish people demands their sovereignty.

application of the *lado intermedio/ambiguo*. Through this first approach we could visualize how the Irish population was racialized in a way that does not fit in both antagonist sides. However, as we explained early in this chapter, the inequalities and oppressions are deeper and structurally different for the *lado oscuro/oculto*, making the *herida colonial/colonial wound* more entrenched and solidified.

Finally, we considered that by utilizing the theoretical-methodological tools emerged from the Filosofía de la Liberación and the Giro Decolonial, we approach the European geo-cultural space from a different perspective. As a consequence, we put forward the re-signification of concepts, and a different perspective on center/s and periphery/ies.

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Feminist Movements for Abortion Rights

by *Zoe Tongue*

Introduction

In December 2020, Argentina's Congress decriminalised abortion and legalised abortion on request up until 14 weeks' gestation (*Ley de Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo* 2020).[1] In September 2021, the Mexican Supreme Court ruled unanimously to decriminalise abortion in the states of Coahuila and Sinaloa, with broader implications for the criminalisation of abortion across the country (Diaz and Gottesdiener 2021). In the same period, however, Poland's Constitutional Tribunal ruled to further limit the country's already restrictive abortion law by holding that abortions in cases of foetal impairment were unconstitutional (Tongue 2020). At the time of writing, there is a case before the US Supreme Court which could overturn the constitutional right to abortion which was set out in *Roe v Wade* in 1973 (Liptak 2021).

In achieving abortion liberalisation and resisting restrictive regimes, judicial intervention and the influence of human rights norms are important (Fine, Mayall, and Sepulveda 2017, 70). However, feminist scholarship has sought to highlight how feminist movements worldwide have been the key pathway to gender justice (Al-Sharmani 2013). For effective and long-term legal reform, social change is necessary to negotiate attitudes towards and public perceptions of gender-based rights (Cotterrell 2005, 61; Staggenborg 1991, 4). Feminist activism is integral to achieving this social change, particularly in relation to issues such as abortion which are often strongly contested by governments and the public. As Bloomer, Pierson, and Estrada Claudio (2018, 88) have argued, activists have played a central role in advocating for access to safe, legal abortion. This includes legal challenges, lobbying, protests, research, and awareness-raising efforts aimed at law reform, but also the work of seeking, providing, and funding abortions outside of the medico-legal framework (Bloomer, Pierson, and Estrada Claudio 2018, 88).

This chapter will consider some contemporary examples of feminist movements for abortion rights in Ireland, Argentina, and Poland, both in relation to abortion law reform and in resisting abortion prohibitions through the provision of medical abortion pills through alternative routes. These three countries have been selected as recent examples of feminist mobilisation around abortion rights. In the final section of this chapter, I will address how feminist activism can translate into gender-based rights claims and protections. These feminist movements are

[1] Throughout this chapter, the term 'decriminalisation' indicates the removal of abortion as a criminal offence and 'legalisation' refers to the permitting of abortion in certain circumstances. In many countries, abortion is legal on various grounds but nonetheless remains a criminal offence.

successful through civil society efforts rather than legal mechanisms, and often this success is despite the law and lawmakers. Highlighting the importance of feminist social movements in reforming law and human rights standards, which are often underestimated, my chapter aims to create more space for the role of feminist activism for abortion rights to be explored in further research.

Campaigns for Abortion Rights

Ireland

Prior to the passing of the Health (Regulation of Termination of Pregnancy) Act 2018, abortion in Ireland was illegal except where the life of the pregnant person was at risk.[2] The Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act 2013 imposed a fine or a prison sentence of up to 14 years for illegal abortion (Section 22). The 8th Amendment to Ireland's Constitution was passed in 1983, as a result of concerns that abortion could be legalised through a judicial decision in a similar way to *Roe v Wade* in the US. The 8th Amendment equated the protection that should be afforded to the life of the foetus with that afforded to the life of the pregnant person (Article 40.3.3°). As amending the Constitution requires majority support by referendum, litigation and lobbying strategies for law reform were effectively closed off. To achieve the majority support necessary to repeal the 8th Amendment required significant mobilisation by the abortion rights movement.

Prior to the passing of the 8th Amendment, Muldowney (2013, 43) notes that there was 'little evidence of conscious pro-choice activity in Ireland'. However, in the decades that followed, feminist activists consistently mobilised in protest of this near-total ban on abortion (Graham-Harrison 2018). In 2012, a woman named Savita Halappanavar died of sepsis after being denied an abortion. She was miscarrying, but as the foetus still had a heartbeat, doctors refused to induce her (Holland and Cullen 2012). Following Savita's death, the pro-choice movement was spurred into 'renewed levels of activity' (Field 2018, 613) and grassroots collectives such as the Abortion Rights Campaign, Lawyers for Choice, and Doctors for Choice were formed. In addition to lobbying efforts, which put pressure on political parties to support abortion law reform, and public protests, the 'Repeal the 8th' movement adopted creative strategies to increase and retain public support. The mediums of art and social media were used to raise awareness of the harms of prohibiting access to abortion. NicGhabhann (2018, 564) identified the role of social media as a key tool for 'enabling connectivity and the creation of a shared space' in the Irish abortion rights movement, as activist voices and personal stories of abortion were shared online. Art exhibitions,

[2] I use the terms 'pregnant person' and 'pregnant people' to be inclusive of all those with the capacity to become pregnant, in addition to cisgender women.

the creation of the iconic 'Repeal' sweaters, and the painting of murals also drew attention to the campaign (Enright 2020; Brooke 2018; NicGhabhann 2018, 561). Enright (2020, 108) highlights how the use of art in the campaign served the function of making abortion-seeking pregnant people visible, with the potential to unsettle hegemony and provoke action.

Notwithstanding the limitations of public polling, there appeared to be a positive relation between the Ireland's abortion rights campaign and public support for access to abortion. In 1997, just 14% of people polled thought that abortion should be permitted where a pregnant person's health was at risk, but this figure had risen to 70% by 2013 (Collins 2013). A poll in January 2018 revealed that 65% of people were in favour of repealing the 8th Amendment (Loscher 2018). Feminist activists were successful in pushing for a referendum, and on the 25th May 2018, Ireland voted in favour of repeal by a majority of 66.4% (Pierson 2018). While it took over 35 years to change the law, that this was achieved by grassroots feminist activism was a significant triumph. Further, though the law was subsequently changed to permit abortion on request up to 12 weeks' gestation, the new legislation is limited as abortion remains largely prohibited after 12 weeks and many Irish pregnant people continue to travel to Britain for abortion services (Holland 2021). Feminist activists and groups such as the Abortion Rights Campaign thus continue to push for greater access to abortion and future law reform.

Argentina

Argentina previously had a slightly less restrictive abortion regime than Ireland, but it was restrictive nonetheless. Abortion was only permitted where the life or health of the pregnant person was at risk, where the pregnancy resulted from rape, and where the pregnant woman had a mental disability (Argentine Penal Code 1984, Article 86). There was a criminal penalty of up to four years imprisonment for illegal abortion (Articles 85; 88). Within this context, between 486,000 and 522,000 unsafe abortions took place each year, and unsafe abortion was estimated to account for over 20% of the country's maternal deaths (Fernández Anderson 2020, 60). Pregnant people from already marginalised backgrounds were particularly impacted by Argentina's abortion prohibition. Those from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to have unsafe abortions due to resource limitations. Fernández Anderson (2020, 35) also highlighted how those seeking emergency healthcare for complications from unsafe abortion at public hospitals were more likely to be reported to the police than those able to afford private healthcare.

The National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion, formed in 2005, focused largely on these public health and social justice dimensions. Argentine feminist movements linked

access to abortion to wider feminist struggles, class inequality, and poverty, recognising that abortion was 'threaded together' other forms of systemic violence against feminised bodies (Gago 2020, 100-101). The strategies used by the Campaign included protests, litigation, awareness raising, and attempts to pass the *Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo* Bill (henceforth the 'IVE Bill'). The Campaign first presented a version of this Bill to Congress in 2007, but it was not until 2018 that the Bill was debated for the first time (Sutton 2020, 1; Allori 2018, 35). Getting abortion on the agenda required working over a relatively long period of time to secure support from politicians and change public attitudes towards abortion.

In addition to the public health and social justice arguments for access to abortion, activists also appealed to the government's international human rights obligations. This human rights framing had a particular resonance in Argentina in light of the human rights violations of the country's military dictatorship of 1976-1983 (Sutton and Borland 2019, 32). Human rights language had already been employed successfully on other fronts, and the decriminalisation of abortion was framed as a 'debt of democracy' owed to Argentinian pregnant people (Sutton and Borland 2019, 37, 45; Morgan 2015 142-143). As with Ireland's Repeal the 8th movement, aesthetics played a role; the Argentine Campaign was able to link the abortion rights movement to the history of the dictatorship by adopting a green triangular kerchief as a symbol. This mirrored the white triangular kerchief of another group, the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, representing the mothers of those forcibly disappeared by the dictatorship (Sutton 2020, 3). As with the Irish movement, abortion law reform was the result of tireless activism over a long period of time. The IVE Bill was presented to Congress for over a decade, before it was finally passed in 2020, representing a landmark win for feminist activism. Of course, the fight for universal access to abortion in Argentina is far from over, as socio-economic inequalities, disparities in access to healthcare, and limitations on the availability of medical abortion pills create challenges for implementing the new law (Belski 2021).

Subverting Abortion Bans

While the case studies of Ireland and Argentina demonstrate the key role of feminist activism in securing abortion rights, it is also important to highlight how abortion rights movements face difficulties when faced with a determinedly anti-abortion government. Over the last few years, attempts by the right-wing Polish government to pass legislation further restricting the already narrow grounds for a legal abortion failed in light of mass protests. In 2016, an estimated 100,000 people mobilised across Poland dressed in black, as though attending a funeral, to mourn the loss of their reproductive rights after the government proposed a draft bill which would have imposed a total ban on abortion (Cocotas 2017). As a result of these 'Black Monday' protests, the bill was

withdrawn. In 2018 and again in 2020, the government introduced another draft bill to prohibit abortion on the grounds of foetal impairment (Hussein et al 2018, 14; *Eşençay 2020)*. On both occasions, people across Poland mobilised in response and the bill failed. However, in October 2020, the Polish Constitutional Tribunal ruled to ban abortion on the grounds of foetal impairment and despite mass protests which continued months after the ruling, the ban went into effect in January 2021 (Walker 2021).

This is not, however, a failure of feminist activism as the abortion rights movement also functions to subvert the country's restrictive abortion law. In Poland, an estimated 80,000 – 200,000 abortion takes place each year (Mishtal 2016, 230-234). Clandestine abortion services can be pursued through newspaper advertisements (Mishtal 2016, 230-234), or with the assistance of abortion networks such as Abortion Without Borders, a collective of six organisations working across multiple European countries to help Polish pregnant people access abortion services (Abortion Without Borders). Informal abortion networks have existed wherever abortion has been criminalised. In the US in the late 60's, before abortion was legalised by *Roe v Wade*, a group of women in Chicago formed a 'loose network' of doctors willing to perform illegal abortions. This network, the Abortion Counselling Service, also provide pre- and post-abortion counselling and raised funds to assist those that could not afford to pay (Kaplan 1995, 13).

Modern abortion networks no longer rely on finding doctors willing to provide safe, clandestine abortion services. In the late 1980's, the drug misoprostol, primarily developed to treat gastrointestinal ulcers, was discovered by pregnant people in Brazil to be a safe and effective abortifacient which could be easily obtained in pharmacies (Bloomer, Pierson, and Estrada Claudio 2019, 37; Costa and Vessey 1993, 1258). Misoprostol is now recommended in combination with the drug mifepristone as a safe, effective, and acceptable method of abortion in the early stages of pregnancy (WHO 2021, 50; WHO 2012, 3). The use of these pills outside of the medico-legal system has improved the safety of clandestine abortion practices; the use of misoprostol in Latin America has been linked to a reduction in the maternal mortality rate associated with unsafe abortion (Jelinska and Yanow 2018, 86). Scholars now refer to the use of one or both of these abortion pills outside of the medico-legal system as 'self-managed abortion' (Erdman, Jelinska, and Yanow 2018; Prandini Assis and Larrea 2020; Pizzarossa and Nandagiri 2021) in order to uncouple this relatively safe practice from the narrative of the dangerous backstreet abortion.

Abortion rights activists have played a key role in ensuring the safety of self-managed abortion through the provision of information and support on how to take abortion pills. For example, Socorristas en Red is a collective of groups operating safe abortion hotlines across Argentina. Prior to the decriminalisation of abortion in the country, Socorristas en Red played an important

role in sharing information on safe self-managed abortion, referring to themselves as 'feminist lifeguards' as they helped pregnant people avoid the risks of unsafe abortion practices. Following the decriminalisation of abortion, Socorristas en Red continues to operate to support pregnant people requiring access to abortion services and guarantee the provision of abortion in line with the new law (Socorristas en Red). Similar hotlines operate worldwide, such as Samsara in Indonesia and Abortion Without Borders in Europe (Women Help Women; Abortion Without Borders). This is not just a strategy of harm reduction where the state does not provide safe, legal abortion services, but can be the best option even where abortion is legal (Prandini Assis and Larrea 2020, 38). Pizzarossa and Nandagiri argue that these actors also normalise and validate abortion experiences (2021, 3) providing a supportive, care-centred, and non-judgmental approach which is often absent from the medico-legal paradigm. Where abortion is legal, it may continue to be stigmatised and barriers such as conscientious objection by healthcare professionals, medical racism, transphobia, and socio-economic disparities in access to healthcare services make self-managed abortion the preferred option.

In addition to localised groups facilitating self-managed abortion, the online provider Women on Web posts abortion pills worldwide to any pregnant person living in a country where abortion is unavailable (Women on Web). Women on Web also provides counselling and information on how to take the abortion pills safely, the risks involved, and how to seek aftercare. Its sister organisation, Women on Waves, sails a ship to countries where abortion is illegal to provide a range of sexual and reproductive health information and services, including abortion (Women on Waves). Dr Rebecca Gomperts, who founded the two organisations, recognised that vessels must follow the laws of the country they originate from; a ship travelling from the Netherlands, a country with permissive abortion laws, could pick up passengers from countries with restrictions on abortion and allow them to have a safe, legal abortion at sea (Donegan 2021).

While this resistance to the criminalisation of abortion is not specifically targeted at legal change, Mishtal (2016, 238) argues that circumventing the law in this way is a form of civil resistance. Abortion rights movements have sought to ensure that abortions taking place outside of the medico-legal system are as safe as possible. It is often stated that abortion will happen regardless of the law, and feminist activism has played a key role in subverting inequalities in access to abortion care worldwide. The provision of safe abortion services where there are legal prohibitions on abortion is a fundamental aspect of the abortion rights movements. Feminist movements highlight how it is not enough to focus solely on legal change as a long-term goal, as pregnant people need access to abortions regardless of the law.

Human Rights and Abortion Rights Movements

Feminist movements have been central actors in relation to law reform on human rights issues such as gender-based violence and reproductive rights. The international human rights system does not guarantee an explicit right to abortion, but the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (henceforth 'CEDAW') contains the rights to health (Article 12) and the right to freely decide on the number and spacing of one's children (Article 16(e)) which have been interpreted to include abortion. Several rights contained in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights have also been interpreted to include abortion (Zampas and Gher 2008). Current international human rights standards on abortion require States to legalise abortion where there is a risk to the life or health of the pregnant person, or where the foetus has a fatal impairment, and decriminalise abortion in order to prevent unsafe abortion (Human Rights Committee 2019, para. 8).

However, the enforcement mechanisms of human rights treaty bodies are often limited, particularly in relation to gender-based rights where there is resistance. Numerous States made reservations to CEDAW, so that certain rights would not be implemented, including reservations to Article 16 (CEDAW 2006). Malta, the only European country to have a total prohibition on abortion, specifically entered a reservation in relation to Article 16(e) insofar as it would have required the State to legalise abortion (CEDAW 2006, 20). Further, in countries with anti-abortion governance, States have been reluctant to follow the decisions of human rights treaty bodies in case law. In the case of *L.C. v Peru* (2011), the CEDAW Committee found that the denial of abortion in cases of rape amounted to a violation of numerous Convention rights. The Committee directed the Peruvian government to amend its law in order to permit pregnant people to access abortion services on the grounds of rape (*L.C. v Peru* 2011, para. 12(b)(iii)). Abortion in Peru remains legal only where the pregnant person's life or health is at risk, after Congress voted against a bill to legalise abortion in rape cases in 2015 (Moloney 2015).

While human rights bodies may struggle to put pressure on States to comply with their international human rights obligations, abortion rights activists can be significant human rights actors. Engle Merry proposed, and developed with Levitt, the idea of the 'vernacularization' of human rights whereby feminist movements translate gender-based rights ideas into the local vernacular (Engle Merry 2006; Engle Merry and Levitt 2017). This framing describes the development of human rights concepts at the localised level in a way which resonates with socio-cultural and historical contexts. This can be a more effective route for human rights implementation than the top-down approach by international human rights bodies, as activists can respond to specific issues, have local impact, and avoid the potential issue of cultural

imperialism (Engle Merry 2006, 225). This process can be seen in the Argentine abortion rights campaign, through the use of human rights language, which was framed in a way that resonated in that context through linking abortion rights violations to the country's history of human rights abuses. The Argentine movement relied upon international human rights standards on abortion, and as a result, the new legislation makes specific reference to human rights conventions including CEDAW (IVE 2021, Article 3). In contexts where human rights bodies may have a limited impact on law reform, activists can adopt human rights standards to strengthen their campaign and push for abortion rights.

In addition to the use of existing human rights standards within social movements, Luna coined the term 'revolutionary domestication' to highlight how social movements often go beyond those existing standards to make more radical human rights claims (Luna 2020, 17). This concept differs from the idea of vernacularizing human rights, as this process concerns the adopting of a radical human rights discourse rather than just engaging in the process of translation (Luna 2020, 18). Luna (2020, 18) highlights the Reproductive Justice movement, developed by Women of Colour in the US, as a key example of revolutionary domestication. The collective SisterSong defines Reproductive Justice using human rights language, as 'the human right to maintain personal bodily autonomy, have children, not have children, and parent the children we have in safe and sustainable communities' (SisterSong 2021). This human rights claim goes well beyond the current reproductive rights standards set out in the international system to present a progressive human rights discourse. There is also evidence of this revolutionary domestication in relation to the Argentine movement, as the Campaign went beyond the existing human rights standards to push for abortion on request and the explicit recognition of accessibility issues for already marginalised groups. Luna's concept is important in bringing to the fore how feminist activists not only play a significant role in the implementation of human rights standards, but are also key actors in the development and progression of human rights discourse. These processes of vernacularization and revolutionary domestication by feminist movements is therefore fundamental in ensuring the recognition and advancement of gender-based rights, in the face of governments that are resistant to change and international bodies with the limited power to enforce human rights obligations. Efforts to reform abortion laws should therefore be focused around the civil society efforts of feminist and abortion rights groups, rather than relying primarily on political representatives or the courts to effect change in the absence of this pressure.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the pivotal role of feminist activism in securing abortion rights, highlighting examples of abortion rights movements that have successfully resulted in progressive abortion law reform and continue to push for improvements in access to abortion services. This is not, however, the only way in which abortion rights movements can be successful. In countries such as Poland, where an anti-abortion government has further limited access to abortion despite the strong presence of abortion rights campaigning, the subverting of the law by enabling abortion outside of the medico-legal paradigm is a significant aspect of abortion movements. Abortion rights collectives across the world offer advice on safe abortion practices, facilitate the obtaining of abortion pills, and fund pregnant people to travel abroad for a legal abortion. Improvements in the safety of self-managed abortion have been achieved by feminist networks, and in addition to transforming abortion care, this activism serves a political function. Finally, this chapter sought to highlight how abortion rights activists play an important role in the implementation and radical progression of human rights standards. Feminist movements should be seen as key actors in the human rights sphere. While the efforts of non-governmental organisations and civil society movements are generally given insufficient weight in relation to shaping international human rights law, it is important that we do not rely solely on governments and international human rights bodies to effect change. Rather, this change happens because of civil society efforts.

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Antigone's Daughters: The Biopolitics of Women's Repression During Early Francoism

by *Mónica Morado Vázquez*

Born out of a Civil War, generalized violence, and fear of a new belligerent conflict, Francoism was established with blood and fire (Cayuela 2014, 29; Chaves Nogales 2013). Regarding the previous Second Republic as an illness they had to eradicate, Francoist forces made women specific targets of their repressive machinery. In their view, they were in most need of disciplining to go back into traditional female roles after the specific progressive social position they had enjoyed during the Second Republic (Ruiz 2007). Yet, despite the violent imposition of the regime, it should be acknowledged that Francoism lasted almost 40 years and only ended because of the dictator's death. This begs the question of what other, innovative repressive mechanisms were used to achieve that stability and acceptance among the female population (Abad, Heredia and Marías 2012, 7; Cayuela 2014, 16). Despite the relevance of women in Francoist discourse and within its repressive machinery, the regime's gender ideology is generally analysed as an isolated or secondary element. This chapter therefore aims to stress the important role women's repression played in the regime as a whole, especially during the so-called Early Francoism (Gómez Fernández 2012, 162). In this sense, 'repression' will be understood as mechanisms exerted by the established power to control and sanction social conducts, whether through physical or psychological violence (Egido 2011, 26).

As an original contribution to current scholarship on Francoism, this chapter not only relies upon broad secondary literature about women's repression and about the regime in general, but also upon primary archival documentation, consisting of official documents and photographs, that has been accessed to complement existing literature. Primary materials will be used as visual historical resources that support the analysis, in spite of the still existing archival censorship and the extensive amount of documentation that was destroyed by the regime or that is poorly preserved (Hernández 2003, 15; Espinosa 2013, 38). Through their integration in the text, the symbolic dimension of images as ideological constructs is made palpable (Núñez 2003). Furthermore, pictures in this chapter also have a political connotation, as their depiction of Francoist violence may lead to political awareness and renewed activism in our own time (Linfield 2010). Finally, images have also been included as a visual metaphor of what Francoism meant for most Spanish women, whose lives remained like photographs frozen in time due to the regime's repression (Hernández 2003).

Methodology: Foucauldian Biopolitics

Michel Foucault's (1991; 1998; 2003; 2007) theory of biopolitics will be used as the normative and methodological framework, because of its innovative conception of governments and power. Using biopolitics to process existing information on women's repression during Early Francoism is meant to connect the regime's gender ideology with broader theories of power, unveiling the importance of gendered power mechanisms in Franco's regime.

As such, this chapter will attempt to recover Foucault's understanding of biopolitics as described in *Discipline and Punish* (1991), *History of Sexuality Volume I* (1998), and during his lectures at the *Collège de France* between the years 1976 and 1979 (Foucault 2003; 2007; 2008). Biopolitics will therefore be conceived as a combination of power technologies, applied through mechanisms intended to guide the conduct of humans as individuals and as populations. At the same time, a particular form of governmentality situates them in space and time (Cayuela 2014; Foucault 1991). In his works, Foucault does not view power as embedded in the traditional sovereign-subject relationship. Instead, he develops a methodology of the so-called micro-physics of power, in which power is understood as capillary and present in every social relation, regulating people's behaviours and discourses, constituting them as subjects (Foucault 1991; 1998). Foucault delineates the shift in technologies of power throughout history and identifies two main types: disciplinary and regulatory (Gutting 2005).

Disciplinary Technology of Power: Anatomopolitics

Based on the Hobbesian sovereign right to 'take life or let live' that emerged in the 17th century, this technology of power targets individuals as bodies, making them the focus of a series of disciplinary interventions, the end goal of which is to render them docile (Foucault 2003, 242; Gómez 2014, 133). To achieve this, the individualization of bodies and their subsequent scrutiny and schooling are central steps towards their control and internalization of particular practices (Foucault 1991, 167). Therefore, discipline attempts to dissolve the multiplicity of humans into individuals that can be more easily trained, controlled, and punished (Foucault 2007). For this, techniques of spatial distribution, hierarchization, and surveillance, together with the presence of strict rules and norms, are central (Guerra-Barón 2017).

This 'anatomopolitics' of the human body is also organized around various forms of deduction of goods, services, freedom, and even lives. In this sense, the loci of disciplinary techniques of power are usually institutions of confinement, such as hospitals or prisons, in which these methods of organization and control are easier to establish. Out of these institutions, Foucault presents Bentham's panopticon prison as the paradigmatic location for the efficient functioning of

disciplinary techniques, as the possibility of constant surveillance effectively ensures the inmates' internalization of knowledges and behaviours (Foucault 1991; Kristensen 2013, 32). Acknowledging these effects, Foucault's claim regarding disciplinary power is that, apart from eliminating and repressing, it also has positive and productive potential, as it creates knowledges, truths and subjects (Foucault 1991, 194). By constituting conceptual frameworks and spatial routines, discipline not only secures the body's political subjection but also enables the increase of its economic productivity (Lemke 2011, 36).

However, the incapacity of this anatomopolitics to effectively deal with the demographic and economic transformations brought about by the modern era, contributed to the creation of a different form of power that complemented disciplinary power and was centred in regulating life: biopolitics (Lemke 2011, 35). 18th century's industrialization, the demographic expansion and the growing importance of medicine and scientific knowledge, were some of the historical transformations that rendered existing disciplinary mechanisms less effective, precipitating the entry of life as an element into the workings of power (Lemke 2011, 35). The sovereign right over death was permeated and complemented by a new technology focused on organizing, ensuring, and cultivating life (Foucault 2003, 242). In contrast to the anatomopolitics of the human body, this new biopolitical technology of power intended to foster life and health for the population as a whole (ibid, 244). As such, it involves the inclusion of matters concerning life into the order of power, knowledge, and politics (Foucault 1998, 141–2). After seizing control over individual bodies through anatomopolitics, non-disciplinary techniques thus aim to control the human population through mechanisms of regulation (Foucault 2003, 244). Turning life into an adjustable variable, norms and standards are determined by the state with the goal of lowering mortality, increasing the birth rate and life expectancy, and improving the health of the human species as a whole (ibid, 5). Both anatomopolitics and biopolitics use mechanisms that operate at different levels in society and so both technologies usually work together, blurring the boundaries between them (Collier 2009).

Regulatory Technology of Power: Biopolitics

Because the goal of biopolitical societies is to ensure the existence of the social body and not that of the sovereign, biopower finds an ally in racism, as it provides the state with the necessary technologies and justifications to legitimate an intromission in the population's life, organizing and hierarchizing it (Rabinow and Rose 2006). Furthermore, this hierarchization also establishes which parts of the population are considered a threat to the optimal development of society, creating the 'break between what must live and what must die' (Foucault 2003, 254). Hence, the first function of racism in biopolitical societies becomes to divide the population's biological

homogeneity as a prerequisite for exercising the old, sovereign death-function (Foucault 2003, 258). Nevertheless, this is not enough to protect the social body against the degenerate and abnormal, as blood contamination will remain an issue despite biological purification.

This is why in normalizing societies, another central factor remains that intersects with racism, namely sexuality (Kristensen 2013). On the one hand, its corporeality has historically promoted the establishment of surveillance mechanisms and disciplinary controls, to steer individual sexual behaviour through the path of 'normality' (Gómez 2014, 137). On the other, disciplinary technologies are complemented by regulatory ones when it comes to controlling sexuality at the macro level of the population. Because of its relevance for procreation or pandemic infections, sexuality is also controlled in the name of the race's health (Gómez 2014, 136). This goal of achieving a healthier, purer, and more numerous population thus posits sexuality at the point where the social and the individual body intersect, uniting both technologies of power (Foucault 2003, 252; Lemke 2011, 38). All these elements contributed to Foucault's assertion that absolutist and racist regimes like Francoism, centred around the figure of a leader, could be identified with biopolitics. Furthermore, this technology of power also put women in the centre of its workings, due to their relevance both in the preservation of the race as in the growth of natality (Rabinow and Rose 2006, 11).

Anatomopolitics of Women's Repression under Francoism

> *'Ventas Prison, marvellous hotel*
> *full of hygiene and with all comforts;*
> *Where there is no water or bed or food*
> *and you would rather be in hell.'*
> (García-Madrid 2003, 71)

Francoist ethnic nationalism performed an ideological function that redefined the regime's gender relations, aiming to constitute a transcendent and eternal feminine Other that severed republican gender transformations from the root (Campos 2018, 55).

To achieve that eradication and the imposition of the new order, transgressive women who were thought to bear republican collective memory were to be the focus of a drastic social purge (Campos and González de Pablo 2016, 11; Ramblado 2008, 129-37). Emulating Foucauldian ideas about racism, Francoist ideology developed a female deviation pattern fundamentally rooted in pseudo-psychiatric and biological ideas to establish the 'New State' (Ramblado 2014, 407). This

process was supported mainly by Vallejo-Nájera's theories, which connected biopsychic traits with democratic or communist ideologies, and thus created a biological apology to justify repression (Campos and González de Pablo 2016, 53; Egido 2011, 31). This medicalized power-knowledge in which the expert, masculine gaze established psychological patterns of (ab)normality over women reached its maximum representation with the figure of *la roja* or the 'red woman' (Novella 2016, 95). Following the eugenicist rationale, an anatomopolitical distinction into obedient and disobedient women in regard to the regime was made, and the red woman was demonized as an evil figure who had transgressed her 'natural' role during the Republic and the Civil War. Furthermore, red women were blamed for not having been able to fulfil their duties as wardens of family morals by allowing men to be corrupted by Marxist ideology (Campos 2018, 66; Vallejo-Nájera 1937, 399; Vinyes 2002, 59). Additionally, they were also singled out due to the Francoist perception of the female sex as intellectually inferior and therefore more inclined to evil and pettiness (Fernández 2012, 341).

Such vilification of red women as 'Eves' in contrast to Nationalist 'Virgin Marys' implied the necessity to segregate, treat, and redeem them to improve the Hispanic race (Campos 2018, 66). Epitomizing the Foucauldian idea that in disciplinary societies the criminal was punished instead of the crime, red women would be disposed of their womanhood and humanity through such technologies (Foucault 1991). Additionally, the vast Catholic influence contributed to the understanding of punishment as a method of social cleansing and individual purification, which was also reflected in the juridical power-knowledge framework upon which Francoist anatomopolitics was based (Egido 2011, 30). In this sense, through the implementation of bills such as the *1939 Law of Political Responsibilities* (later *Law on the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism*) or the *1940 State Security Act*, any republican participant in the Civil War or opposer to the regime was retroactively considered to be committing a crime against the state (ibid: 30). With the application of this legal framework, social segregation became a state policy, with the penitentiary system as the repression's backbone (Vinyes 2003). Perfectly representing the workings of Foucauldian anatomopolitics in which institutions of confinement allow for a better control and punishment of the population, the prison became the main icon where the battle of good versus evil was staged (Foucault 2007). In contrast to the propagandistic portrayal of such institutions as charitable centres for moral reformation, the penitentiary microcosmos was utilized as a laboratory to try out the population's permeability against ideological bombardment and governmental action (Núñez 2004, 20-3; Ramblado 2014, 413).

In prisons, repression reached its peak during the post-Civil-War period, in which the massive incarceration of the losers and other dissidents led to chaos, overcrowding and horror (Egido 2018, 162; Lorenzo 2011, 2). Those first years were especially significant because, at a time

defined by uncertainty and improvisation, the new penitentiary system was configured as a measure intended to prevent and eliminate dissidence (Ramblado 2014, 414). Reaching the historic number of thirty thousand female political prisoners in 1940 – one thousand of them being sentenced to death –, it could be stated that never in Spanish history have more women been deprived of their liberty (Di Febo 1979; Duch 2011).

Furthermore, even though imprisoned women had different experiences and every institution had specific functions and workings, all penitentiary centres belonged to the same carceral universe. As such, they responded to Francoist power mechanisms that determined social and human relations inside the prisons, and nowhere where these repressive devices more palpable than in Madrid's Ventas prison (Vinyes 2002, 13). Probably the most populated prison in Spanish history, the Ventas penitentiary was especially representative of Francoist repression for a number of reasons. Due to the many opportunities for receiving an education and for joining political associations that could be enjoyed in Madrid, the number of Madrilenian women who were involved in the fight against Francoism was especially high. This, together with the common perception of Madrid as the anti-fascist and resistant city, contributed to the exacerbation of repression within Ventas, as the regime's forces felt they were targeting a bastion of resistance (Egido 2011, 34; Hernández 2003, 284). As a result, it became the prison with the highest number of inmates, having capacity for five hundred women but reaching around eleven thousand in 1940, although these numbers are only approximate, due to the lack of official documentation (Vinyes 2002, 31; Yagüe 2007, 83).

The fact that not all women were affected by Francoist repression in the same way is reflected in the prisoner's backgrounds. Class played a huge role in female experiences during Francoism, mirroring the intersectional nature of repression. Generally young and vaguely accused of socio-political crimes, the overwhelming majority of female convicts came from humble families (Egido 2018). This is noticeable in Figure 1 (Yubero 1942), in which Ventas prisoners kneel down to presence a religious act. Their bare faces, unelaborated hairstyles, and the apparently old and simple clothing suggest a modest social background. Yet, the regime's discourse homogenized the figure of the red woman, regarding all female dissidents as prostitutes or militiawomen and labelling them guilty: all women were Antigone (Aróstegui, Marco and Gómez 2012, 15).

Figure 1: Ventas prisoners by Santos Yubero, 1942, ARCM

Furthermore, gender also functioned as an axis of differentiation in regard to repression, and so female experiences greatly differed from those of men (Fernández 2012, 345). In accordance to their perceived connection to morality, women were not blamed for their material implication in the civil conflict, but for allegedly inciting men to become rebellious (Sánchez 2009, 211). Ironically, this idea of women as conspiratorial masterminds who sent men to fight implicitly endowed them with an intellectual capacity that contradicted the regime's official vision of them as incapable of thinking for themselves (Egido 2011, 28). Nonetheless, similar vindictive feelings also permeated the general population, who took advantage of the arbitrary system to denounce neighbours or acquaintances, due to personal quarrels or ideological differences. As a result, a panopticon-like society was created in which the sense of constant surveillance and the threat of incarceration moulded social behaviours (Duch 2011, 319; Egido 2018, 38).

To enforce such social disciplining, public and private punishment was used to assert the force and power of the state, especially in prisons (Foucault 1991). Apart from leading to the visible and active exclusion of women from society, imprisonment also implied physical punishment within the prison walls (Ramblado 2014, 402). In the case of female prisoners, insults and head shavings were the lightest examples of institutionalized torture and humiliation. Through the deprivation of the foremost symbol of femininity, long hair, their bodies were marked according to the Francoist conception of red women as antithesis of femininity. Furthermore, and following the historical association of head shaving with the insane or sexually ill, such ritual also entailed mental and moral connotations (Hernández 2003, 123; Ramblado 2014, 424). Public physical branding, therefore, also served to re-signify femininity within the framework of the regime's

discourse and to establish an evident differentiation between winners and losers of the war (Abad, Heredia and Marías 2012, 86). On many occasions it would be complemented by the forced intake of castor oil and subsequent public and involuntary defecation, which symbolically embodied the anatomopolitical idea concerning the purification of the criminals also present in Francoist discourse (Foucault 1991; Hernández 2003, 124).

This punitive culture was further mirrored in the use of rape as both the materialization of the loser's humiliation and the demonstrative power that men exercised over women. The stigmatization of red women as transgressors of the traditional socio-sexual roles led to their portrayal as prostitutes, which was constantly reinforced by gang rapes, aiming to symbolically lower them from their status as political prisoners (Egido 2018, 178; Núñez 2004, 22). Additionally, raping red women usually in front of other female inmates was not only a means of ideological dispossession, but also one of denigrating republican manhood (Abad, Heredia and Marías 2012, 84).

More sophisticated torture methods included brutal beatings in which the prisoner's identities as women, republicans and mothers were attacked. Assisted by Gestapo officials on how to best use pain as a power mechanism, women were systematically beaten until they were disfigured, crippled, dead, or intimidated into commiting suicide (Egido 2018, 55; Núñez 2009, 61). Electric shocks, cuts, or beatings in their sexual organs were common punishments, together with drownings or insults. A crude but representative testimony of such tortures is the one of Antonia García, a Ventas prison inmate:

> *They wanted to connect electric currents to my nipples but, as I was only 17 and barely had any chest, they put them in my ears instead and my eardrums burst and I was disturbed for a month (Cuevas 2004, 101).*

Such procedures, which followed the Foucauldian logic of rendering individual bodies docile through bodily discipline, aimed to gain information towards dismantling political resistance, and to punish the Republic through the repression of the female body (Abad, Heredia and Marías 2012, 76; Foucault 1991; Ramblado 2014, 419). The maximum expression of such logic could be found in the treatment pregnant inmates received, which also echoed the racist connotations of repression. Often pregnant due to rapes during their detention, these women were beaten until they were forced to abort, and were generally left sterile while the torturers celebrated there was 'one less red person' left alive (Abad, Heredia and Marías 2012, 76). Such gender-specific torture not only highlights how women were a primal target of Francoist repression due to their

childbearing function, but also how the racial and anatomopolitical pursuit of social cleansing was above any consideration for human life (Núñez 2009, 61).

Additionally, the daily psychological torture of witnessing the assassination of peers by the firing squad and the fear of being next was a central piece in the repressive machinery (Egido 2018, 62). In Ventas, the execution of a group of young women later known as 'the Thirteen Roses' has transcended as the paradigm of impunity and cruelty during the Early Francoist regime. Almost all of them underaged, these women were assassinated for belonging to socialist and communist political organizations (JSU and PCE), and for allegedly planning Franco's assassination (Egido 2018, 63; Ramblado 2014, 422). Despite failing to prove the latter, their trial proceeded full of irregularities, and their execution was later regarded by academics such as Romeu (2002) as the 'paradigm of Francoist repression' (213).

A further repressive element that could only be found in women's prisons, and especially in the Ventas penitentiary, was the presence of children. Particularly during Early Francoism, children under four years would be arrested with their mothers if no one else could take care of them (Barranqueiro and Eiroa 2011, 125; Egido 2011, 30). Thus inmates also experienced the emotional blackmail of seeing their offspring suffer and die under the prison's subhuman conditions concerning subhuman conditions of hunger, lack of hygiene, and infection:

> *Every day you could see the bodies of 15 or 20 children lying on Ventas' ground, almost all of them having died of meningitis because they had been breastfed by women whose milk was toxic due to the beatings and fear of torture (Cuevas 2004, 353).*

As this testimony shows, the arduous living conditions led to daily casualties that were at odds with the pro-natalist official discourse. Thus, as the regime's strict Catholic values prevented the mass murder of dissidents in the Nazi fashion, they found indirect ways to carry out the Foucauldian logic of making die and letting live (Ramblado 2014, 420).Such contempt for the lives of infants was also due to the regime's eugenic ideas. Believing in the existence of a 'red gene' that could be passed on through contagious environments, penitentiary authorities regarded inmates' children as potential republicans who had to be either eliminated or re-educated (Egido 2011, 30). This indoctrination was carried out by the prison's personnel, consisting mainly of nuns (Yagüe 2007, 94). Thus, children were also made a part of the penitentiary indoctrination programs, despite their mothers' frequent reluctance.

To eliminate such resistance and following the idea that to name is to possess, imprisoned infants were also forcefully baptised, which in turn facilitated illegal adoptions meant to separate them from their contagious red mothers (Egido 2018, 186; Vinyes 2002, 72). Thus, as children were

not allowed to remain imprisoned after the age of four, many were handed over to the state, a practice that affected more than twelve thousand minors in 1943 alone (Duch 2011, 321). As many of the adopted children later disowned their biological parents with shame, such institutionalized practice served to establish a structural division between loyalists and dissidents, and to homogenize society ideologically (Vinyes 2002, 99; Vinyes, Armengou and Belis 2002, 60-9). It could therefore be said that punishing women by dispersing their families was one of the strategies the regime used to discipline dissident individuals as well as the republican collective identity. Following Foucault's (1991) ideas, segregation, enclosure, and forced ideologization intended to steer the war's losers towards the national cause.

To complement the corporal punishments, other disciplinary mechanisms, such as the total control of time and movement, were in place (Vega Sombría 2003). As mentioned in the previous section, anatomopolitical power is organized around deductions of resources, services, and lives. This, together with spatial segregation, surveillance, and other mechanisms of classification, are intended to dispossess subjects of individuality and facilitate their domination (Foucault 1991). In the case of the Ventas prison, such power mechanisms were established through the regulation of hygiene or food and the supervision of every detail of the prisoners' individual identity, such as their clothing (Vinyes 2002, 127). Further disciplinary practices included compulsory attendance at religious rites, singing Francoist hymns, or doing the fascist salute when passing by the *caudillo*'s portrait, as can be seen in Figure 2 (Yubero ca.1940). In it, uniformed inmates do the Francoist salute before the start of a mandatory religious service.

Figure 2: Francoist salute before mass in Ventas by Santos Yubero, ca.1940, ARCM

Additionally, forced manual labour, such as sewing uniforms for the regime, achieved the double purpose of imposing traditional gender roles through gender-coded activities on the one hand, and of regenerating the economy through free work on the other. In general, such practices reinforced the biopolitical idea that the life and health of the Spanish was sustained by the repression of the Anti-Spanish (Egido 2011, 32). This is depicted in Figure 3 (Yubero 1943), in which female Ventas prisoners sew under the supervision of nuns. Both the religious element and the extreme overcrowding of the room are especially noteworthy. In this sense, strict rules, routines, and constant supervision aimed to turn prisoners into docile and profitable subjects, endorsing the Foucauldian understanding of power as productive (Foucault 1991).

Figure 3: Sewing in Ventas by Santos Yubero, 1943, ARCM

Conclusion

To sum up, the female body functioned as a political and sexed receptacle of Francoist disciplinary mechanisms meant to redeem the prisoner's soul through surveillance and punishment (Egido 2018, 162; Vinyes 2003, 39). These were supported by a juridical power-knowledge moulded on the basis of racist ideas, and which dehumanized dissident women to legitimize further violence (Lannon 1999, 79). By targeting their bodies and sexuality, women were punished both as women and dissidents. This resulted in a 'sexed repression', according to academics such as Joly (2002), centred around physical-symbolic punishment and with society-wide goals despite being performed on individual bodies (Fernández 2012, 339). Among these goals were the

consolidation of sexed power relations, symbolized by the domination of the manly tormentor over the female victim, as well as the redemption, through the inmates' forced participation in the national project, of the historic and public guilt that Francoism attributed to republicans (Abad, Heredia and Marías 2012, 17; Vinyes 2002, 100).

Many women managed to transform their repression into an exercise of identity reconstruction, creating counter-narratives and fostering the conscious remembrance of such experiences (Ramblado 2014, 420). Echoing the Foucauldian idea that capillary power also leaves room for resistance, female prisoners appear as figures with the capacity to understand their oppression and take advantage of any occasion to assert their identity, turning it into a political act (Vinyes 2002, 14). Nonetheless, even those who left the prison without any permanent injuries would forever carry its mark: 'the prison is something you always carry inside you, in your dreams and manners, in the way of looking and of understanding' (Vinyes 2002, 32).

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Personal experiences and concluding words

Paridhi Gupta

I joined the *En-Gender!* team during the pandemic. During the time, I was in desperate need of one amidst the final year of my doctoral degree. I could not have known then that it would become a close-knit community of scholars and friends who supported each other through academic obstacles and personal tribulations. As academics, isolation is stated as our de-facto state, then to find a group of people who share your passion for research, and building solidarities is bliss. It was perhaps why, being part of the organizing committee for the conference was even more important to me, I wanted others to find the joy of not being alone in academic spaces. The frantic process of planning had somehow felt smoothed, or I perhaps only say it retrospectively, suppressing the chaotic mapping of different zones. In all seriousness, our planning meetings were joyful, filled with laughter and friendships, even if digital.

When we received the abstracts, it had dawned on me the absolute honor and pride in being able to create inclusive spaces for diverse voices. We were able to bring gender scholars from around the world in a truly interdisciplinary fashion. The foundation of this conference has been ethics of care displayed by not just the team, but every participant in their presentation and engagement with works of other scholars. It has been a true delight to be part of creating something that challenges the corporate style of networking and fosters peer-support and extension of gender scholarship. As many from the team, this was my first conference and it taught me how to work better as a team, and the feats we can achieve if we work together. This is something that I not only carry with me everyday, but something that gives me hope about our future as academics.

Lucy Threadgold

Planning your first conference is always going to be nerve-racking but as soon as the conference began, I was so swept up in the talks, workshops and discussions of the first day that I didn't realise until I closed my laptop that day that we had actually done it! The conference we had planned over the summer, struggling to find time zones that worked for everyone, practicing using Teams so we would know how to work it, and writing introductory bios for presenters, well it was all real and most importantly, people seemed to like it.

When a conference centres on gender research, you know there's going to be a lot of difficult conversations, very personal and potentially triggering topics, and yet the way the participants gave each other space and respect to explore these discussions with the least amount of harm possible was extraordinary. Each panel and workshop emphasised the need for care, support and compassion in academia, and the figure of researcher that we all embodied transformed over those three day, shaped by the experiences of all of those involved. It was the first academic conference where I left feeling a little lighter, more hopeful for the future of academia, and the future of gender studies in academia and beyond. It was an honour to be a part of and to continue to share on social media once the three days were over. I hope that this volume gives you an insight into those feelings, and you come away a little hopeful too.

Leandro Wallace

The months of preparations gave way to three days of enjoyment instead of stress and worrying. While there were still some parts of nervousness and attentiveness, those moments quickly turned to enjoyment and learning opportunities. Intentions transformed into realities, as we wanted a safe environment for all the people involved. At the end of the day, that is the most important aspect of all, and also one of the most forgotten ones in academia:the people involved, the people doing the research, the people we research. It is the human in Humanities, and the social in Social Sciences.

The intention of objectivity in academia forces those that are getting initiated in it to leave many key elements needed to do proper research out: empathy, connection, sentiments, emotional thinking and intelligence. without them we fail, we do not connect. The core value I want to thank everyone involved both in the COnference, as well as in this Edited Volume, is this engagement with the person next or in front of them. Engagement done with respect for the other's place and reality, Connection with their ideas, and thought processes. We, at least I, set out to make a Conference that united and was centered on the people. We succeeded. As a follow up, I know this Edited Volume will continue the essence of those three days of august. I invite you to read these pages with the same spirit of empathy, receptiveness, openness, and recognition, without missing the critical perspective needed. They are not mutually exclusive.

Jessica A. Albrecht

Some on the *En-Gender!* team have described the project as "my baby". Even though it kind of has been so all along, it only felt like this more and more while preparing the conference. Suddenly, it felt as if there really was a community in process: a community for support, exchange, and inclusiveness – all of which is usually not part of academic life and work.

This is why the pressure was even higher when preparing the opening and closing remarks. Because it was "my baby", it was unanimously decided that I had to take on those parts of the conference. Even though I have had some experience of presenting and even moderating on on-site and online conferences, I have never organised one before – let alone be the "face" of it. Of course it was as rewarding as it was exhausting. At the end of the three days, I got such a big of a migraine that Leandro had to take over my moderation of the last keynote. But it was worth it! The network which came out of it, the positive feedback we got – one being that they never felt as welcomed at any conference before – and the willingness of so many to write for this special edition made me feel so proud of what we have accomplished. There was no other way than to make this an annual thing!

Experiences of Presenters

Paul Thompson

Academic conferences started to take on a new look and feel almost as soon as I became involved. My first ever was at the University of Cardiff, and was in-person, involving as lengthy a journey, timewise, as it would have done to cross the Atlantic. My second was just after pandemic lockdown and was fully online. By the time I presented a paper at En-Gender this was the norm – Microsoft Teams, PowerPoint slideshows, heads in little rectangles on the screen. Will we ever go back to mingling over strong coffee, vol-au-vents, and brioche? Given the scope for international involvement that online conferences brings, I doubt it.

En-Gender was a special conference for me. The papers I heard presented held my attention throughout, and my word were they varied! It seems almost unfair to single one out, but the paper on the repression of women during the régime of Francisco Franco by colleague Mónica Vázquez

meant a lot to me. I was born only thirteen years after *Els Fets de Maig*, read all I could about revolutionary Spain as a teenager, and visited Spain during the lifetime of *El Caudillo*. Mónica's paper revealed aspects of the era of which I had been unaware.

But as I said, every paper led me down paths I hadn't wandered before, and for that I must thank all of my colleagues, and the organisers for making the experience possible. I might not have a paper or you in future, but I am going to do my best to attend any future En-Gender events.

Ashley Thompson

When I first saw that En-Gender! was holding a conference in 2021, I wasted no time in filling out the application form and submitting an abstract. I had published an article with En-Gender! earlier that year, based on a section of my undergraduate dissertation, and my experience had been hugely positive. As it was my first publication I had been quite nervous, but the En-Gender! team supported me, and had very much demonstrated their ethos of opening up academia to younger, less experienced, academics. I felt that any conference organised by this team would be a great learning experience and would also be an inclusive, and respectful one; I was not disappointed!

My paper was based a section of Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica* which detailed Orderic's reaction to a fashion where men wore their hair long (a story which is also written about in William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella*). I had come across this in my research for my undergraduate dissertation but was unable to fit it in to my thesis. Instead, I shelved the story for another time and this conference seemed like the perfect time to dive in deeper to the complex masculine relationships of the early twelfth century. My abstract was accepted, a bottle of prosecco was poured, and I got started with researching and pulling together my presentation.

It can be quite difficult trying to thoroughly research a topic for an academic audience without access to a university's resources. At the time of researching and presenting I was unaffiliated with a university and so was unable to physically access a university library. However, I had online access to the University of Glasgow's library and so was able to use digitised sources there. I had also been comprehensive in my research for my undergraduate dissertation and found that some of the material I needed was in my notes. A good friend of mine who was a student at the University of Glasgow graciously went and took notes from some twelfth century chronicles that I needed (I offered to buy her a drink as payment). Between these different approaches, I was able to get the material I needed, however, throughout this year, not being associated with a university

has been a big barrier to my doing research for projects. These projects have been a priority for me this year, as a way of keeping me within the academic sphere in preparation for further study, and so the lack of access became a familiar obstacle to circumnavigate.

I had spoken at another online international conference earlier in the year year so I had some idea of what to expect when it came to the En-Gender! conference in August, and, more importantly, I had some experience of navigating Microsoft Teams! I found though, that it wouldn't have mattered if I had no previous experience of presenting at an online conference, as the En-Gender! team gave detailed information on the etiquette they wanted everyone to follow (I was nervous at the idea of making a Microsoft Teams faux pas so this was very helpful!). They also gave us a comprehensive programme and an encouraging welcome presentation on the first day, which made clear that this was an inclusive and casual, yet focussed, event. I was reassured by this, especially as it was made clear that the inevitable intrusion of our lives – in the form of small children, pets or a knock at the door – was more than acceptable; something which I often find lacking in the slightly stuffy halls of academia. The more casual atmosphere suited me as I am disabled and find that when it comes to events like this, I am unable to commit to attending each event offered. I resolved to attend as much as I was able, but to not worry about attending everything, especially as I was working in my full-time job during some of the conference. I think the welcoming and inclusive environment meant that even if you didn't take part in everything, you still felt like part of the wee community and that was something I very much enjoyed.

When it came to presenting, I was nervous but excited. I was intrigued by the other papers in my panel ('Gendered Bodies: Within the Binary'), especially as I was the only person presenting on the medieval period. The papers were diverse and each was interesting in its own way, but I especially enjoyed Aradhana Singh's 'Feminine and Masculine Ideals in Early India: Tradition and Transgressions' which made me rethink how to approach the Karma Sutra. The differences between the papers really helped to emphasise how gender identities and relationships can be hugely nuanced, yet strikingly similar issues are – or were – faced by many across the world, as there were common themes throughout each paper, despite them varying from looking at early India to the historiography of Anglo-American eugenics. I felt that I presented well, although as my fiancé (who was silently supporting me from across the room) pointed out afterwards, I could always speak more slowly – he ignored my squeaky protestations that I had improved during my practices. I was asked a few questions in response to my paper – which is always a good sign – and we had an engaging group discussion which was light-hearted but gave each presenter some time to elaborate on a few points (I tried to limit my enthusiasm to only saying a few extra things). I walked away – or scooted away on my office chair – feeling happy with my contribution and pleased to have been part of such an interesting panel.

To anyone reading this who is debating getting involved in a conference, I would say don't hesitate. This was the third conference I had presented at, all before I had even started my Master's degree, and I'm proud to have mustered up enough courage to give them a go. You are only limited by your ambition, and with a supportive and inclusive team like the En-Gender! crew, you can't go wrong. I am very grateful to them for the opportunities they have opened up to me and others, and I am looking forward to working with them again in the future!

Acknowledgements

Last but not least, there is only one more thing to do: A big, warm, and loving thank you to all the presenters, keynote speakers, workshop conductors, moderators and the *En-Gender!* team. Thanks to all our contributors to this fantastic volume. Thank you for helping with the peer review and being so kind to the other authors, exchanging your ideas and enabling the atmosphere we want to establish in academia!