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Preface

This book is a compilation of papers presented at the 2016 International Women's Issues Conference, "Transforming Women's Lives" with the sponsorship of the Women's and Gender Studies program at the College of Arts and Humanities from the University of Central Florida.

The conference invites dialogues surrounding Women's Issues about the areas of information and knowledge: power and leadership; education and policy; technology and infrastructure that affect women in the intersections of race, social class, gender and sexuality on intellectual and institutional perspectives, local and global forums, public and intimate spaces. This conference fosters the discussion of global issues affecting women directly or indirectly through education, the use of technology and the transformation of leadership skills.

We are here to promote a space for a save dialogue on women and girls around the world. It is our sincere hope that showcasing women's issues through a feminist lens will enable us as scholars to promote and offer a better understanding of leadership, education, literacy, technology, health, and policy among other topics.

Respectfully,

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The gender landscape of the Taiwanese public sector workplace

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Abstract

This research examines how structural opportunities are gendered and influenced by locality in the Taiwanese public sector workplace. It finds that gender's influence on civil servants' work-family balance and career trajectories differs according to the regions where they work, although these regional governments have similar organizational structures and human resource policies. In urban settings successful career advancement and transfers largely depend on good performance and professional networks. The urban lifestyle also encourages parents to outsource their family duties. Therefore married women are more easily detached from their family responsibilities and spend more time at work and on networking.

But in rural areas, people live in a more closely-bonded community in which their social network of professional groupings is intertwined with that of relatives. Career advancement and transfers are usually determined by whether you are backed by an *influential someone*, no matter whether your relationship to him/her is established in the private sphere or workplace. This network formation potentially disadvantages women, because their eligibility for senior positions is also influenced by how people perceive their domestic roles.

Introduction

This paper seeks to illuminate the complicated dynamics of gender relations in the Taiwanese public sector workplace with the focus on how locality affects women's everyday practice of work-life balance. According to Jill Rubery (2012), the public

sector influences gender relations in the labour market in three different aspects. It provides women with more open equal access to job vacancies, which increases women's participation in labour markets. The working conditions of public sector jobs are usually better than private ones and allow women to strike a balance between family and work duties. Most importantly, women's participation in public sector employment presents their potential in the workplace and sets a good empirical example of gender equality for the whole labour market. However, inequality between men and women still exists within the public sector labour markets (Rubery, 2012).

My research area, Taiwan, is a perfect example. The recruitment method of the Taiwanese public sector is mainly by paper-based examination and is comparatively gender-neutral. Many women-friendly measures have been taken in the public sector workplace, yet only 39.16% of Taiwanese public servants are women and these count for merely 27.17% of the upper level public servants (Ministry of Civil Service, 2013). This fact reveals that the gender inequality inside this labour market is more complicated than expected and needs further investigation to find the causal relationship between factors that contribute to this inequality. In addition, statistics shows that the gender composition of the Taiwanese central and regional governments differs, although both central and regional governments adopt the same human resource policy and have similar organizational structures. This phenomenon implies that there are factors other than gender that influence the dynamics inside the public sector labour market and cause the difference between local governments. Therefore, I analyzed secondary statistical data obtained from open source governmental archives and interviewed 93 people working in three chosen regional governments in order to fully understand the factors that contribute to the observed gender relations in the Taiwanese public sector.

These three regions can be roughly divided into two groups: urban (Taipei City) and rural areas (Kaohsiung and Changhua). Among the interviewees, there were 30 interviewees working in Taipei when these interviews were carried out; 32 in Kaohsiung and 31 in Changhua. Twenty-nine of these interviewees are men, and they account for 31.18% of the total. Among these male interviewees, 72.41 % (21 men) were married. The men with children or a child constituted 80.95% of married men, and none of the single male interviewees had children. Thirty-five out of 64 female interviewees were married, and only one of these 35 married women did not have a child.

The questions I will answer in this paper are as follows:

1. Do women have equal opportunities as men in the Taiwanese public sector workplace in terms of recruitment and mobility?
2. Which factors contribute to the observed gender patterns in the public sector labour market?
3. To what extent does locality influence the career paths of female civil servants?

This paper will start with a brief literature review, and then explain the context where this research is situated. In the final section I will answer the questions raised above.

1. Literature Review

In this section, I will quickly review relevant literature on everyday life as well as gender and work.

1.1 Everyday life

Everyday life is the life people have continuously. It is woven from repeated events carried out by human beings accidentally or intentionally in the sequence of several specific time-space coordinates. It includes people's public and private side (Ztompka, 2008), and these two sides constantly influence one another (De Certeau, 1994/1998). There are some fundamental visible or perceivable elements that constitute the social performance of everyday life: people; place/space; and time. These elements are all associated with invisible factors that co-build the so-called everyday life (De Certeau, 1994/1998, Ztompka, 2008). Among these elements, people are the foremost factor of this performance, because human bodies physically take space (Tuan, 1977) and the completion of their actions need time, which adds spatial and temporal meanings to people's everyday life. The engagement of human bodies with everyday life happens not only via their physical presence at a specific spatial-temporal coordinates, but also through their gestures and movements that convey invisible messages, emotions, and meanings (Mayal, 1994/1998; Ztompka, 2008). In addition, all daily life events are included in a wider societal and cultural context. People always take a social role and play a social performance in a coordinated manner with others, if there are any, based on the cultural scripts that are tacitly understood or expected by the participants (Ztompka, 2008, 12; Goffman, 1971).

1.1.1 Spatiotemporal Elements of Everyday Life

Time and space do not only constitute the stage on which everyday life is played out, but also coordinate to build up the specific atmosphere on this stage. From the perspective of time, everyday life is 'a history at the halfway point of ourselves' (De Certeau, 1994/1998:3). Space is the reflection of human mentality and senses. Place gives space a 'geometric personality' (Tuan, 1977:17). Moreover, there is a duet

between place and time that place is an irreplaceable constitutive factor of time, because 'place situates time by giving it a local habitation' (Casey, 1993: 21). Thus, place is no longer neutral and contains meanings (Blair, 1981; Tuan, 1977).

There is a great deal of literature on the spatial aspect of everyday life. I will focus on the discussion about neighbourhood, as it represents the spatially intimate part of our everyday life.

1.1.2 Neighbourhood

Neighbourhood is where people locate their home and expand their reach, understanding, and use of the surrounding area.. Dwellers act and use the resources provided in this area (Hanson and Pratt, 1988) and know themselves to be recognized by 'the reciprocal habituation resulting from being neighbours' (Mayal, 1994/1998: 9). From this perspective, the neighbourhood is the space for forming and maintaining a social relationship (*ibid*., Hill, 1994; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook, 2001). The locally formed relationship is not limited to the daily interaction between people residing or acting in the neighbourhood. Instead, it includes the one between people and the social and physical world they are situated in *(*Mayal, 1994/1998). Continuity is an essential part of making sense of neighbourhood.

People who are born or move into that area are 'obliged' to consider the local social environment and to 'insert' themselves into it, fit in with the continuity 'in order to be able to live there' (Mayal, 1994/1998: 15-16). As a result, people should understand the local 'tacit collective convention' which is 'unwritten, but legible to all dwellers through the codes of language and of behaviour' and obey these codes (*ibid.*:16).

Another issue that relates neighbourhood, time and space/place is more dynamic and minuscule: the home-work balance. Home and workplaces are the two main sites where people spend their time, and each represents the private and public side of everyday life and the space used on a daily basis. In the modern industrial world, especially in the urban settings, people's workplace and home are usually apart and are treated as two separate spheres (Hanson and Pratt, 1988; Mond, 1992; Williams, 2000). Apart from work and domestic space, there are some daily chores, such as shopping and shuttling children to school and back, completed in the neighbourhood. Hence, Hanson and Pratt (1988) argued that the concept of home should not be confined to the exact site where people locate their household. Instead, this concept should expand both inwards to the interaction within the household and outwards to include the neighbourhood. Then we can fully understand how the home-workplace spatial relationship affects a household's collective work/residential decisions, and how the intra-household interpersonal relationship influences the work decisions of each family member (*ibid.*). The use of time at home and at work is different depending on the region in which people live, their gender, marital status, and so on (Andorka, 1987). People's everyday life can be presented in their spatial movement on the timeline. This movement is often a predictable pattern between home, working sites and places that fulfil other basic needs, such as weekly shopping. The time needed for the movement is often 'marked by the necessity of a spatiotemporal coercion that requires travelling a maximum of distance in a minimum of time' (Mayal, 1994/1998). This requirement relates to another issue: mobility, which is also measured in spatiotemporal terms, such as how far, for how long, and how frequently we can make a routine journey.

In short, from the most intimate perspective, everyday life is a mutual play between human beings, local space, and time, through people's everyday habitation and journeys between home and work, and other routines in the neighbourhood. They are immersed in the local culture, exclusively in a given area and constructed through the accumulation and formation of local memories during the process.

1.2 Gender

Gender is 'the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women', while sex is a set of 'biological and physiological characteristics' used to define men and women (WHO, 2002, for similar definitions see also Connell, 2002, 2009). Therefore, gender means both a set of inborn biological traits which contemporary literature has described as sex, and a socially constructed 'achieved status' of people based on their perception of their biological sex (West, 1987: 126). It is one of the most fundamental human traits that help people define their own identity and a message that can be communicated immediately on all social occasions (Goffman, 1979; Jhally, 2009). Goffman (1979:7) described it well: 'femininity and masculinity are in a sense of prototype of essential expression'. Hence, the meanings of femininity and masculinity have been expanded to an abstract level and are detached from the physical presence of men and women and even their biological traits. In summary, the concept of gender is twofold. It indicates a set of traits that directly relates to people's biological sex. It is also used to express the impression that relates to these traits. My discussion will include these two layers of meanings. I will start with the relationship between place and men and women.

1.2.1 The Place for Men and Women

The spatial implication of men's and women's routines is significant, because the spatial pattern of their everyday life reflects the power relations and societal structure (cf. Rose, 1993). As stated in the previous discussion, peoples' lives can be spatially divided into public and private space. The public space often relates to employment; the private one is associated with domestic, intimate relationship inside the home. Men have a private side and a public side of their life. By contrast, women's social identity is perceived as being confined in the private sphere, namely home (cf. Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987; Williams, 2000), and domestic work is widely perceived as women's main responsibility (Becker, 1985; Hanson and Pratt, 1991; William, 2000). Therefore, the separation between public workplace and private home space mirrors the gendered social separation: the waged labour in the public sphere being mainly for men and the unpaid domestic labour in the private sphere reserved for women (cf. Mond, 1992; William, 2000). This dual separation not only represents the social expectation of female presence in the private place, but also links femininity to home and masculinity to workplaces; in other words, it genders the space, especially for the middle class. Peck (2000) further states that 'home' and 'work' are two spheres that interpenetrate each other and this significantly conditions both men's and women's 'job-market behaviour'.

The home-work separation and women's fixity at home also limits their mobility. Working women have much smaller commuting ranges and spend shorter time in transit than working men (Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Johnston-Anumonwo, 1992; Sermon and Koppelman, 2001). Women are sensitive to the work-trip distance and more easily stressed by commuting (Roberts, Hodgson and Dolan, 2011). Women's family duties, especially childcare, are regarded as the cause of these observed phenomena (Sermon and Koppelman, 2001; Roberts et al., 2011; Williams, 2000).

Childcare is a time- and energy-consuming investment of children's human capital, which is at the cost of the parents' career progress (Hill & Stafford, 1985). When searching for a job, women, especially those married with children, tend to take into consideration the physical proximity between home and workplaces and timetabling that suit their need to take care of domestic tasks (Hanson and Pratt, 1991, 1995; Williams, 2000). In short, the difference of women's and men's commitment to their family is reflected in their mobility between the public (workplace) and private (home) spheres in terms of distance and time. The difference between the mobility of men and women emerges when job transfers occur and spatial relocation is needed. Married women tend to avoid career advancements that require relocation of their home, but will go with their husband when his promotion comes with a residential move, even at the cost of their own career progress (Williams, 2000). It means that women are more inclined to suffer from coupling constraints, whereas men more easily obtain career success by 'making the right moves' (*ibid.,* 2000 :75).

1.2.2 Home-Work Balance of Men and Women

The gendered dual separation between residential and working location also relates to another phenomenon: gender division of labour. The gender division of labour has a two-fold meaning. It describes a family where the husband is the major breadwinner and the wife is the main carer and also denotes the occupational segregation, such as female-majority nurses and male-majority doctors. Occupational segregation is usually associated with some cultural construction of masculinity or femininity (Alvesson and Billing, 2009). The stable well-paid jobs in the primary sector are usually held by men while the female-majority occupations are usually low-paid secondary sector jobs (Barron and Norris, 1976; Craig *et al*., 1985; Wharton and Baron, 1987).

Many theories have been constructed to explain what causes gender division of labour, such as human capital theory, labour market segmentation, preference theory, and patriarchy. Here I will put special focus on human capital theory and preference theory.

1.2.3 Human Capital Theory

Human capital is competencies that workers accumulate over time and that can produce economic value (Reder, 1967). These competencies include skills, and knowledge. Workers invest time and energy to cultivate their human capital in order to increase the possibility of obtaining a better job with a higher income.

Gary Becker (1985) constructs the models of people's investment of human capital, energy and time in unwaged housework, leisure and waged work. Acknowledging that housework is tiring and people have limited time and energy, he argues that married women spend less energy and invest lower human capital on their paid-job compared to married men. The relatively low salary simply mirrors women's lesser contribution to the paid work. Moreover, married women will 'economize on the energy expended on market work by seeking less demanding jobs' (Becker, 1985), and these jobs pay less in recognition of the lower investment embodied by these female workers. In short, married women are disadvantaged by their housework responsibilities, because they spend less time and energy on the cultivation of their human capital.

Human capital theory is very persuasive. However, the underlying assumption that people individually invest in their own human capital ignores the fact that some significant human capital investments are done by others, such as childcare and parents' selection of schools for their kids. These decisions are beyond individuals'

control and may be influenced by cultural norms and gender stereotypes. For example, Yu and Su's study (2006) finds that in Taiwan the tradition of son-preference leads many parents to invest most of their resources in sons, especially the first, to facilitate sons' cultivation of human capital. As parents' investment in their offspring's human capital is usually the first and most fundamental investment of all, such discrimination will influence the future career paths of their sons and daughters.

1.2.4 Preference Theory

Catherine Hakim uses preference theory, to achieve similar conclusions with the human capital theory. She argues that women can be divided into three kinds based on their choice of lifestyle: work-centred, adaptive and home-centred (Hakim, 2000). Among these three categories, adaptive women, who count for around 60% of all women, negotiate work and family responsibilities and do not prioritize either of these two tasks. Women are heterogeneous because adaptive women are the majority and each of these adaptive women has her own preferred combination of job and family duties. By contrast, most men are work-centred (60%), which means men have a more homogenous nature. Therefore, men will remain the main working force and hold the majority of top level positions in society because these positions are highly competitive, thus work-centred people, who are mostly men, have a better chance of getting these types of jobs. However, some empirical research, such as that conducted by McRae (2003), disagreed preference theory. In addition, several studies also have suggested the dilemma of double burden is not exclusive to women (e.g., Frone, Russell and Cooper, 1992; Kmec, 1999), but men and women may adopt different strategies to manage it due to cultural norms (Mennino and Brayfield, 2002).

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In general, preference theory and human capital theory argue that women's home-centred choices lead them to hold a large share of flexible low-paid jobs, because they 'choose' to be a committed carer at home instead of an 'ideal worker' (Williams, 2000) at work. They accurately describe women's double burden and point out the possible linkage between gender divisions of labour inside and outside the home. But their explanations of gender division of labour are merely plausible. Both theories stress that the gender division of labour or choice of lifestyle is made through individuals' rational calculation and according to people's own willingness, whereas how social context constrains people's choices has been underplayed. The importance of opportunity structure on men's and women's employment and career trajectories, is ignored as well. Other than opportunity structure, network also influence people's career development (Kanter, 1977).

1.3 Network

Social networks provide people with 'a sense of belonging', the understanding of others' expectations of them, as well as resources, information, and career opportunities (Gray *et al*., 2007; Podolny and Baron, 1997). They are a significant factor for people's inter-organizational and intra-organizational mobility (Gray and Kurihara, 2005; Podolny and Baron, 1997). Recent research suggests that while most social networks have strong social homogeneity, women's social network contacts differ from men's in terms of gender composition, range, and geography (Gray *et al*., 2007; Hanson and Pratt, 1991). People tend to form a gender-homophilous network, which means they prefer to network with people of the same sex as themselves (McPherson *et. al*., 2001), especially men in an organization where the number of men largely overrides that of women (Ibarra 1992). In addition, men have greater mobility than women and thus tend to have spatially wider networks (Hanson and

Pratt, 1991). This gendered formation of social networks differentiates the social capital and the information men and women receive from their networks.

Although people are particularly likely to establish networks of information and support with those who have similar job titles or are at the same level in the workplace (Ibarra 1992), men have more chances to network with other men at a higher level, because they are still the strong majority at managerial level. Metz and Tharenou (2001) find that mentor support, networks, and career encouragement are more useful than human capital for advancement at senior managerial level, especially for women. However, the underrepresentation of women at the senior level and men's strong tendency to form a gender-homophilous network provide women with fewer chances for promotion than their male counterparts, as suggested by Kanter (1977). Gray and Kurihara (2005) had the same conclusion and found that men used their social networks more often than women for job obtainment and promotion.

2. Background

Taiwanese economic development is characterized by government intervention in economic matters and issues, export orientation, and a relatively small public sector (Kuznets, 1988). Only around 10% of people with jobs work in the public sector. The Taiwanese government categorizes public servants into the following subgroups: elected or appointed government agency chiefs; government agency employees; employees of state-owned enterprise; medical personnel; and police officers. I will only discuss the more narrow definition of public servants, with particular focus on government agency employees.

These government agency employees enjoy a life-long job with better-than-average benefits. For example, they are allowed to attend part-time Master's and PhD

programs with partial funding from the government. Their children are subsidized throughout their education, an advantage that parents working in the private sector cannot get for their children. In addition, according to the Act of Gender Equality in Employment (2002), they can ask for parental leave of less than two years with financial support that equals six months' of their salary, and this parental leave can be extended for another year if needed (Civil Service Employment Act, 1949). In contrast, in 2012 only 42.7% of private sector organizations allowed parental leave (Council of Labour Affairs, 2012).

These sought-after public sector jobs are only available to those who pass extremely difficult exams. The examinations are mainly paper-based and rarely include interviews. This is believed to avoid prejudice against the applicants' backgrounds. These exams are for all citizens between 18 and 50 years old who have obtained a certain degree; those who pass the exam qualify to be a public servant. They will receive a list of job vacancies (only job titles and workplaces are provided) and draw up a 'wish list' of these vacancies based on their preferences. They are then accordingly assigned to their future workplaces. The preferences of those who get higher scores are considered and fulfilled earlier than those who perform worse. The agencies they are assigned to cannot intervene in people's placement. These newly-recruited public servants need to work for a certain period of time before they are allowed to apply for, and transfer to, another public sector position outside their initial workplace In the public servants' initial transfers and their subsequent placement, both the employees and the potential employers have the right to choose their future job or subordinates.

This kind of procedure for recruitment and placement is a modified version of the Chinese public administration tradition that can be traced back to imperial China (So

and Li, 2011). The significant difference between the traditional and the contemporary recruit-by-examination methods is the participation of women; in imperial China these examinations were open to men only.

2. The Big Picture of the Taiwanese Public Sector Labour Market

In this section, I try to analyze women's proportion at recruitment and on each hierarchical level. Then I compare men's and women's tendency to change jobs to investigate the gender patterns in the Taiwanese public sector labour market.

2.1 Recruitment

Based on the obtained statistical data shown in Figure 1, women form the majority registering for the junior entrance exams which asked for the lowest academic qualification, and the parentage of female applicants has kept between 67.11 and 73.31%. Their proportion is smaller in the intermediate entrance exam registration, but women still took larger shares (between 51.5% and 69.62%) than men between 1978 and 2013. The situation reverses in the senior entrance exams, regardless of the fact that the percentage of female applicants has soared by four times, from 14.21% in 1978 to 57.09% in 2013. Not until 1992 did female applicants reach 50% of the entire population of those who registered for the exams, and the women's proportion has remained between 47.17% and 58.17%, and never exceeds 60%.
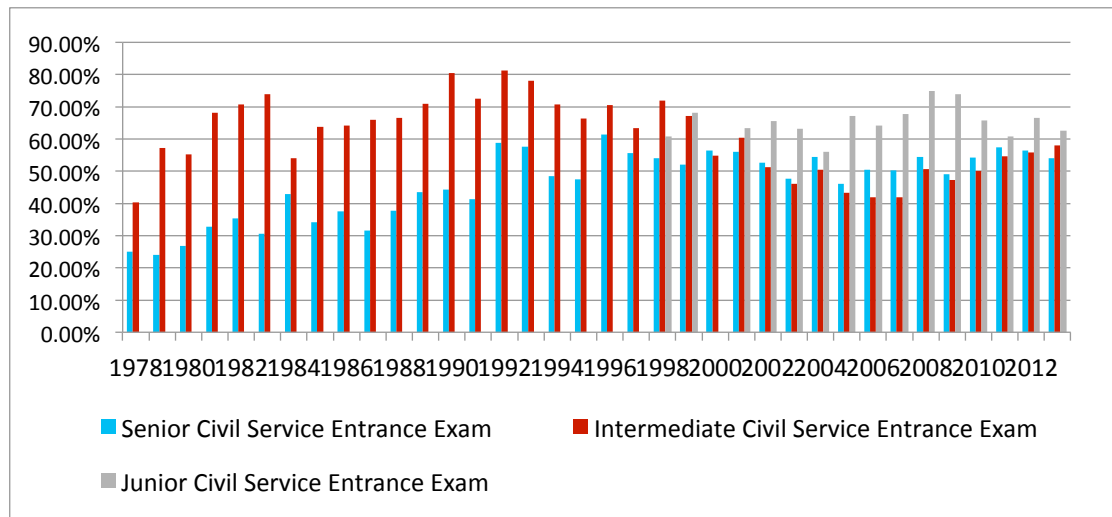
Figure 1. The Proportion of Women registering for the Exams
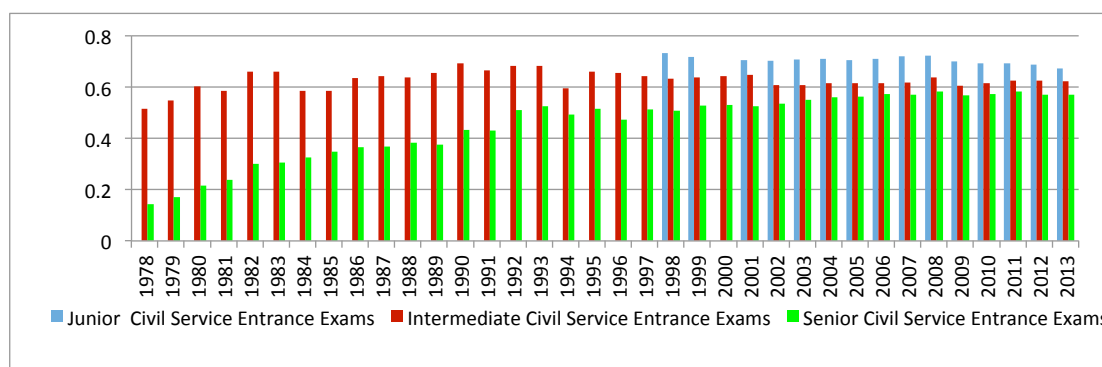
Source: Ministry of Examination, Examination Yuan, Taiwan, Examination Annual Report
(http://wwwc.moex.gov.tw/main/content/wfrmContentLink.aspx?menu_id=268).

Figure 2 represents the proportion of women who successfully passed the general entrance exams at different entry levels. At the junior level, women have counted for more than 50% - most of the time more than 60% - of the people who passed the written exams and were recruited. The female proportion of those who passed the paper-based exams aiming for intermediate-level positions has fluctuated over time, but still remained between 40% and 80%. In the exams at the senior level, the percentage of women who passed is much smaller than that on the other two lower levels, although in general it has gradually increased over the past 35 years from approximately 20% to 50%.

Figure 2. General Civil Service Entrance Exams: Percentage of Women Recruited

Source: Ministry of Examination, Examination Yuan, Taiwan, Examination Annual Report
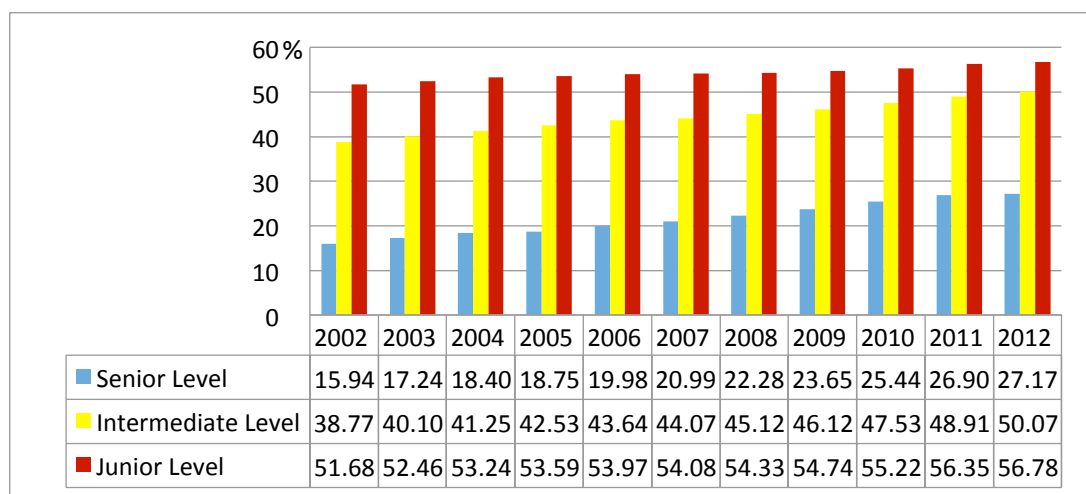(http://wwwc.moex.gov.tw/main/content/wfrmContentLink.aspx?menu_id=268).

Figures 1 and 2 show similar trends in women's participation in the exams and the consequent recruitment on each level. Women constituted the lion's share of the people who registered and passed the exams on the lowest level, which require the lowest academic credentials and provide the positions at the bottom rung of the career ladder. By contrast, the proportion of women decreased when the exams required higher academic qualifications, usually above bachelor's degrees. Such exams also guarantee higher entry-level jobs which facilitate people's career development in the public sector. However, there is a growing number of women taking part in the exams aiming at positions at higher levels, and the percentage of women who took and passed these exams had increased over the years. These phenomena imply that over the years women have gained more access to education and therefore earned the tickets to sit in these exams. On the other hand, the decreasing number of female participants in the exams that require higher academic credentials suggest that men still receive more educational resources and are more likely to obtain higher academic degrees than women.

2.2 Gender Composition at Each Level

Figure 3 shows the presence of female civil servants at various hierarchical levels inside the Taiwanese public sector between 2002 and 2012. The proportion of female civil servants has increased during these 11 years. Their proportion has almost doubled in the population of the senior-level civil servants, although it remains less than one third at the senior level. At the intermediate level, women's share has increased approximately 30%. Male and female civil servants have equal shares at the intermediate level. However, women always outnumber men at the junior level.

Figure 3. Women's Percentage of Civil Servants at Various Hierarchical Level (2002-2012)

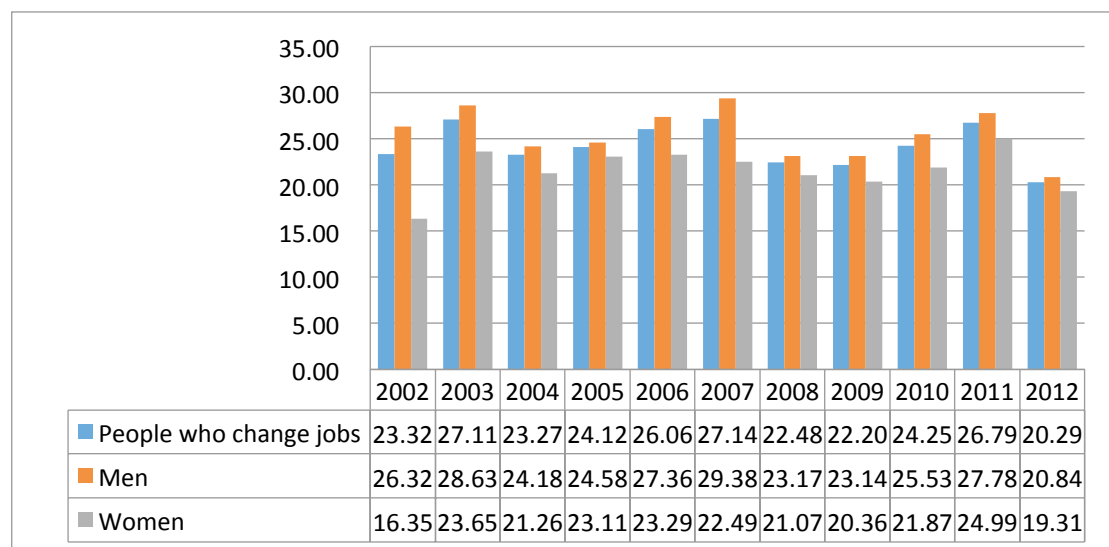|	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Senior Level	15.94	17.24	18.40	18.75	19.98	20.99	22.28	23.65	25.44	26.90	27.17
Intermediate Level	38.77	40.10	41.25	42.53	43.64	44.07	45.12	46.12	47.53	48.91	50.07
Junior Level	51.68	52.46	53.24	53.59	53.97	54.08	54.33	54.74	55.22	56.35	56.78

Source: Ministry of Civil Service, Examination Yuan, Taiwan, Civil Service Annual Report (http://www.mocs.gov.tw/pages/law_list.aspx?Node=449&Index=4).

2.3 Mobility

Figure 4 and 5 show men's and women's tendencies of job changes. Figure 4 shows the percentage of male and female job changers. From 2002 to 2012, every year one fifth to one forth of Taiwanese civil servants working in the government agency have changed their jobs. Figures 4 shows that women were less likely to changed their jobs, which implies women were less mobile than men. But the gap between the proportion of male and female job changers has been gradually narrowed in the past ten years.

Figure 4. Proportion of Job-changers to Civil Servants inside Government agencies

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
People who change jobs	23.32	27.11	23.27	24.12	26.06	27.14	22.48	22.20	24.25	26.79	20.29
Men	26.32	28.63	24.18	24.58	27.36	29.38	23.17	23.14	25.53	27.78	20.84
Women	16.35	23.65	21.26	23.11	23.29	22.49	21.07	20.36	21.87	24.99	19.31

Source: Ministry of Civil Service, Examination Yuan, Taiwan, Civil Service Annual Report (http://www.mocs.gov.tw/pages/law_list.aspx?Node=449&Index=4).

Figure 5 looks at the patterns of male and female job changers by breaking down job transfers into within-agency job transfers, inward job transfers from other agencies, and outward job transfers to other agencies. The majority of job changers, whether they were men or women, moved to another position within the organization in which they work. Between 2002 to 2012, more than 55% of male job changers made within-agency job transfers, while the proportion of within-agency job transfers to female job

changers usually counted for approximately 40%. In addition, the gap between the proportion of within-agency job transfers to male job changers and that to female job changers was usually higher than 15%. Women's job transfers between agencies, the sum of inward job transfers from other agencies and outward ones to other agencies, are also worth attention. Job transfers between agencies usually accounted for more than 55% of female job changers. The above data suggest that men tended to change jobs within the organization, while women were more likely to make interagency job transfers.

Figure 5. Proportion of Various Job Changes (by Gender)

	2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Resignation	0.29	0.71	0.20	0.30	0.78	1.04	0.64	0.66	0.41	0.64	0.42	0.71	0.48	0.76	0.48	0.76	0.41	0.71	0.44	0.74	0.39	0.66
Outward job transfers to other agencies	19.90	24.93	22.34	33.11	20.02	29.23	17.81	31.22	21.15	29.49	20.33	31.82	20.87	29.87	20.87	29.87	19.51	29.15	19.34	29.40	20.60	30.92
Inward job transfers from other agencies	20.41	25.95	21.78	30.13	20.38	30.64	16.93	30.29	20.21	27.66	16.46	28.10	20.54	29.20	20.54	29.20	18.93	28.06	18.58	27.72	19.36	27.11
Within-agency job transfers	59.41	48.41	55.68	36.46	58.82	39.10	64.61	37.83	58.24	42.20	62.79	39.36	58.11	40.17	58.11	40.17	61.15	42.08	61.64	42.14	59.65	41.31

Source: Ministry of Civil Service, Examination Yuan, Taiwan, Civil Service Annual Report
(http://www.mocs.gov.tw/pages/law_list.aspx?Node=449&Index=4).

2.4 Conclusion

Statistics show that the Taiwanese women have increasingly participated in the public sector labour market, but they have highly under-represented at senior levels. This gender gap starts at the point of recruitment, and women still linger at the bottom rung of the career ladder. Regarding mobility, men and women enjoy similar mobility, but they have different patterns of job changes. Men are more likely to make intra-agency job transfers, while women tend to make inter-agency ones.

3. Factors behind the Phenomena

In this section I will discuss which factors lead to the phenomena shown by the statistics. I will also compare the female civil servants working in rural and urban areas to see if there is any differences between these two groups and see whether or not and how locality causes these differences.

3.1 Common features of 'Women's' Work

There are some common features of the female interviewees' office life no matter where they worked.

3.1.1 Gender stereotypes prevail at workplace

Gender stereotyping is still an issue at work based on the interviews. Most of the female interviewees said that they were assigned to the jobs that were often associated with femininity and women, such as the ones related to communication or social work, even though in some extreme cases they had no relevant experiences and knowledge beforehand. One of the respondents (T27) said that her first placement was in the department of social welfare, just because she was the only woman in her

cohort. Moreover, at work she was required to wear skirts and use soft voices in order to show her femininity to the people who came to her office for help.

Fixity to the office is another feature observed among female civil servants across the regions. Supervisors tended to assign the office work to women, and men were more likely to have the jobs needing business trips, even though these business trips may be as short as within six hours. The reason, put by the department heads I interviewed, was that men could drive a car and they had greater mobility. Ironically, their female subordinates told me that they had a driving license, because they needed to drive to their office and they associated having a driving license with adulthood, which is conceptually gender neutral. One female interviewee (T28) told me that she was assigned to a post requiring frequent business trips just because, as her supervisor said on her first day to work, all the new people who came to fill the vacancies were women and he had no choices.

3.1.2 Marriages Matter

When asked about their attitudes towards work and what will lead their job transfers, single male and female respondents had similar answers. However, married women, especially those with children, were more reluctant to change jobs compared to the single respondents and married men. These women still changed jobs when there was a need. But unlike single civil servants who would take a job transfer which potentially led to a subsequent promotion, these married women preferred a direct job advancement or a job transfer allowing more flexibility for their domestic duties. These job transfers were perhaps a move to a workplace more close to home, or a move to a position with lighter workloads which often meant less possibilities for work advancement. In addition, they would focus more on their family, and spent less

time on the cultivation of their human capital, such as attending part-time Master's programme, which was very popular among the single interviewees and contributed to the expansion of professional networks. All these findings suggest that women are more

3.2 Localities Matter

There are some differences between women working in rural and urban areas, which suggests that locality also plays a role. As previously stated, networks help people obtain the needed information and get promoted. In urban settings such as Taipei City, the social network of civil servants is formed and expanded mainly in professional networks in the workplace. The function of this social network is to gather information relating to a job transfer and advancement, to gain help within the workplace and therefore to attract the attention of the supervisor. The urban lifestyle also encourages parents to outsource their family duties, such as childcare. Children are usually collected by school teachers after class, do a second shift of study in the weekday evenings and seldom dine with their parents. This means married people, especially women, are more easily detached from their family responsibilities and spend more time at work and on the cultivation of their human capital and social network. Under these circumstances, the influence of marriages on women has been decreased. Women virtually have equal mobility and chances to be promoted with their male counterparts.

But in more rural areas, like Kaohsiung and Changhua, people live in a more closely-bonded community in which their social network of professional groupings is intertwined with the network of friends and relatives. Career advancement and transfers are usually determined by whether you are backed by an influential

someone, no matter whether your relationship to him/her is established in the private sphere or workplace. This network formation potentially disadvantages women because their eligibility for senior positions is decided not only by their performance at work, but also by their duties at home, perceived by their acquaintances in the private network. In addition, it implies that the female civil servants working in the rural area are more fixed at home and at lower rungs of their career ladder than those in the urban area.

4. Conclusion

Based on my research findings, in the Taiwanese public sector workplace men remain more advantaged in terms of recruitment and mobility due to the stereotyping in the workplace, social norms, and the gap of human capital, mainly education. The results of the interviews suggest that human capital (experience and educational degrees) and social network are crucial to Taiwanese civil servants' career mobility, particularly their job advancement. In general, female civil servants' career trajectory is different from their male colleagues, because their life cycles are gendered, especially after marriage. Married women are more often distracted by family duties. Therefore, they are less likely to be committed to work and have less time to obtain human capital and to establish their social network. However, gender's influence on civil servants' work-family balance and career plan differs according to the regions where they work, even though these regional governments have similar organizational structures and apply the same human resource policies. These regional differences are caused by the different formation of professional network and support outside the family.

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Impact ofSexual Harassment code of Conduct on Women Participation in Workforce

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to explore the existence of sexual harassment policy code and its impact on participation of women in the multiple industries of Pakistan. Numerous studies have been conducted to measure the influence of sexual harassment code on the participation of women in terms of expressing commitment, dedication, and level of comfort while communicating up, down, and across organization. In order to make it a prolific study, 70 female employees from 11 organizations who have adopted the code of conduct participated in the survey. The selected organizations fall into different industries like, media, hospitality, pharmaceutical, fertilizers, and financial institutions. The responses have not only been collected from a sample of female employees but this research has also analyzed responses of HR department from an employer perspective coupled with feedback from family members of participating

female employees. Consequently, comparative analysis has been carried out to outline findings of this study.

Inroduction

Sexual harassment is a serious subject though not an exclusive social problem for working women in Pakistan. The magnitude of the issue of sexual harassment at workplace is so huge and the problem is so persistent that in the absence of any concrete government policy /law and safety net by employers, for curbing sexual harassment at workplace, women become a vulnerable group to sexual harassment at workplace (Aasha, 2010). This was recognized as a social concern in the mid-1970s and there has been conflict of interest, lawsuit and research relating to sexual harassment. A generally acceptable definition remains, however, unobtainable (Fitzgerald and Shullman, 1990). Many researches have been conducted to figure out the specific characteristics / behaviors relating to sexual harassment. Although research in the area of sexual harassment has been challenging to conduct because the instances of sexual harassment are so elusive that a large amount of women who experience such behavior fail to identify, label, and report their experiences to others (Meek & Lynch, 1983). Sexual harassment has significant consequences for employee

health and psychological well-being (Fitzgerald, 1993; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997). Specific job-related consequences include decreased job satisfaction (Gruber, 1992; Morrow, McElroy, & Phillips 1994; Schneider & Swan, 1994); self-reported decrements in job performance (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981, 1987); job loss; and career interruption (Coles, 1986; Gutek, 1985; Livingston, 1982). Failure to restrict and control sexual harassment at work would inarguably demotivate potential women employees and their families to allow them join the workforce upon hearing of such incidents.

According to Anila, (1990) the most common kinds of sexual harassments faced by female in Pakistan are uninvited sexual comments, vulgar remarks about face and figure, staring, touching against female's body, following in a car or a bike, and grabbing the dupatta (female head and body gear). Generally, a woman experiences this when she is not accompanied by male companions or when she is with other females. The expectation of such instances and the aspiration to avoid them may effect a women's autonomy in general. In today's era, women are working in all type of industries and many of them are being involved in decision making as well. The fluctuating structure of globalization has resulted in their increased participation in the workforce. In global perspective, they are considered as the pointers of development and their competencies are highly acknowledged. However, within the Pakistani

context, family members are reluctant to send women to work based on fear of not just being sexually harassed but also by damage to the individual and family reputation which can have severe consequences for the family as far as their social and family life is concerned. Hence, it was critical to explore and study the impact of adoption of sexual harassment code of conduct by organizations on the experiences of working women in Pakistan.

To achieve this objective, responses were collected from 11 organizations who have deployed admirable HR practices particularly related to prevention of sexual harassment to enrich experience of female employees.

Statement of the problem

Explore the impact of adoption of sexual harassment policy and/or code of conduct on enriching experience of women at workplace in Pakistan.

Research Hypothesis

Ho: Sexual harassment code of conduct has no impact on the participation of women in workplace.

Research Design

The method that has been used for this study is convenience sampling method. A questionnaire consisting of 10 questions was developed to collect responses from HR department. Likewise, a questionnaire consisting of 23 questions was developed for working women, and their family members were interviewed to record their satisfaction and experience.

Every organization wishes to operate efficiently and effectively through managing resources and providing respectable environment specifically to female employees. Organizations can provide such an environment by complying with the law, devising strong policies, and establishing controlling mechanism.

Literature Review

Harassment is one of the serious irrational and shameful conduct which is habitually practiced at many organizations. Perhaps, this reality is difficult to be absorbed (Munir Moosa, 2013). United Nations describes harassment as a kind of behavior (verbal or physical) that hinders work or promotes offensive work environment (UN, n.d.). One of the most common types of harassment faced by women is sexual harassment which is defined as an unethical code of conduct which a woman finds threatening or offensive (Goonesekere, 2004). This unwanted sex-related behavior (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997) and disguising occurrences is the part and parcel

of all occupations and industries (Hunt, Davidson, Fielden & Hoel, 2007). It could be in the form of gender harassment (e.g., verbal/nonverbal behavior abuse); or unethical act for gaining attention (e.g., touching, calling); or sexual coercion (e.g., sexual payoffs or threats) (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995).

In view of the research that was carried out in Europe estimates that up to 50% of female employees in European Union countries have experienced sexual harassment (UNISON, 2008). Regrettably, evidence towards sexual harassment at organization in Asian countries are not well acknowledged but in many Asian countries, harassment is being accomplished which can be evaluated through the steps taken by many Asian countries to institutionalize ways of dealing with the problem. In 1995, the Philippines approved an Anti-Sexual Harassment Act which promoted zero tolerance for organization sexual harassment (ILO, n.d.). Thailand amended its Labor Code in 1998 to include penalties for sexual violations at organization (ILO NATLEX, n.d.). Similarly, Malaysia and other Asian countries passed several bills to provide secure workplace environment to women. In Pakistan, a report of the Commission on Inquiry for Women in Pakistan recognized that sexual harassment in the workplace does take place in Pakistan (Malla, n.d.). According to Parveen (2010), a total 24119 of violence against women cases were reported in Pakistan during 2008-10 among of which only 520 organization harassment cases were filed. Besides that the newspapers and

electronic media portray few cases of sexual harassment at workplace, which show that the work place in Pakistan is not safe for women. Pakistan is also guarantor to few International documents to advocate women rights at every stage but the element of practical execution of rights seem missing.

On March 9, 2010, the President of Islamic Republic of Pakistan signed the Protection Against Harassment of Women at The Workplace Act, 2010, to make provisions for the protection against harassment of women at the workplace in order to providing them a safe working environment.

The Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act 2010 of Pakistan defines harassment as "any unwelcome sexual advance, request for sexual favors or other verbal or written communication or physical conduct of a sexual nature or sexually demeaning attitudes, causing interference with work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment, or the attempt to punish the complainant for the refusal to comply to such a request or is made a condition for employment," (FOS, 2016)

Research Method

This study has been conducted to find out the impact of sexual harassment policy and/or code of conduct on the women participation at workplaces.

A questionnaire was developed to collect responses from HR department and female employees working in sample organizations (n=11). However, responses from HR department were collected on 10 closed ended questions. Similarly, 23 close ended questions were designed to collect responses from 70 female employees.

Sampling technique and size. The sampling procedure applied in this research was convenience sampling technique. It included 11 multiple organizations operating under diverse industries of Pakistan.

Result and Discussion

This study has been carried out to discover the impact of sexual harassment policy / code on the participation of women at organization. Responses were collected from the HR department of 11 dynamic and multicultural organizations which are operating in different industries. However, responses were also collected from 70 female employees on different dimensions to figure out intellectual gap between employer and employee. Moving forward, it was analyzed that all the organizations have worked extensively on anti-sexual harassment policy and/or code to set clear expectations as to the interaction of male and female workforce. The importance of this code had been realized by all the organizations irrespective of their age in business. The HR department of organizations convey the policy guidelines through

different mediums, however, emails, word of mouth, notice boards and trainings were the most common. Based on the feedback collected from HR departments, attracting female workforce has become easier (90.9%), and (81.8%) responded that the women population in their workforce has increased after adoption / execution of anti-sexual harassment policy. Average women participation in workforce in these organizations has increased from 8% to 13% reflecting an increase of 62.5% after implementation of the policy.

72% of female respondents belonged to age group of 25-34 which reflects increase in population of young women professionals in the organizations. The study reflected that 92% of women are aware that their organization carefully observes anti-sexual harassment code of conduct and 74% females were in agreement that their organizations have adopted the policy in its true spirit. 81% were aware of the complaint process and knew whom to report to if harassed.

The importance of this particular code of conduct can be comprehended from the finding that 68% of females stated that the adoption of policy by their organization was one of the motivating factors for them to remain associated with their organization while 59% responded that this was one of the satisfying factor for their family members resulting in their continued association with their respective organizations.

It was also observed that 93% of females are reporting to male supervisor and 78% were in agreement that they feel comfortable while reporting to their male supervisors. This also reiterates the impact of the adoption of policy resulting in 91% in agreement of their working comfort with other male colleagues which is why 92% of female respondents are willing to recommend their organization to other females within their network for work due to adoption of anti-sexual harassment policy / code by their respective workplace.

The findings of the research show a positive impact of deploying strong sexual harassment policy on increasing participation of women at workplace. From overall analysis, it is concluded that sexual harassment policy / code has strong influence on the participation of women workforce, hence, null hypothesis is rejected.

Conclusion

The research concluded that female employees are well aware of sexual harassment policy and/or code of conduct along with the method of dealing with such instances. Considering the corporate society in Pakistan, female employees feel comfortable while working in male oriented organization(s) and reporting to a male supervisor based on the implementation of the policy in its true spirit. The sample organizations have not only deployed strong sexual harassment policy but they are also orienting

and training female staff members on continuous basis reflecting continued commitment to ensure sexual harassment free environment for women.

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Transforming young women through the World Academy for the Future of Women

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Abstract

The World Academy for the Future of Women (WAFW) leadership preparation program for young women is a non-profit organization dedicated to improving girls' and young women's access to education and increasing the inclusion of women in our global society. The WAFW's mission is to empower women to discover their passion and purpose through a global leadership development program. The entirely volunteer-based organization involves partnerships with Institutions of Higher Education around the world that invite the WAFW to spend time with the young women on their campuses. The facilitation body consists of women and men who have completed the Orientation and Preparation three day training that provides the contextual, cultural, and leadership framework for delivery of the curriculum modules of content. The well-prepared facilitators then travel to partnership campuses to deliver the content of the modules. After five years of implementing the WAFW program, a qualitative research study was undertaken to determine the effectiveness of the facilitation model. Results of the study will be presented at this session.

Introduction and Context

The issues of violence and discrimination against women have received much attention in the past few years, particularly in 2014. The saga of young women in India and other countries around the world who fear for their safety continues. Additionally, the comments from the Equal Opportunity Commission from 2013 found that 87% of the engineers at Google are men, 79% of its managers are men, and that of its 36 executives only 3 are females (Manjoo, 2014). The fact that women in the United States continue to make $.76 to every dollar men earn is also commonplace. "There is no doubt that women have the skills to lead in the workplace. Girls are increasingly outperforming boys in the classroom, earning about 57% of the undergraduate and 69% of the master's degrees in the United States" (NCES, 2012, Table 282). Yet, the conditions for girls that lead to success in the work place are not in place.

We know that equality among the genders is "the right thing to do". We know that equality leads to more stable society. We know that equality among the genders provides opportunities for all to obtain education, employment, and economic stability. As a society, and in some countries by law, we are obligated to provide equal opportunity to education for all students. However, in many parts of the world the educational opportunities for female students are not available and certainly not at an equal level as the opportunities provided to male students. The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization reports that over 40 million girls worldwide are not given the same opportunity to attend primary school as boys (2007). The current circumstances of women and girls wield dire consequences for women's access to opportunities and services, marginalizing their ability to gain equality and improve the overall quality of life for their families and communities. Although we know of these horrendous problems facing young women today, little is being done to work for global solutions so that all

women will be treated equally. As Sheryl Sandberg stated in her book, *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead* (2013), "being aware of a problem is the first step in correcting it" (p.81).

In 2000, the United Nations initiated the Millennium Development Goals (UN-MDG's), eight dynamic goals to improve the well-being of women worldwide. In the 15 years allocated to reduce these conditions, not one country met even one goal. It is not the lack of money and resources to address these issues, as solutions do exist. The single most critical factor is the lack of women in leadership roles. Women's voices and decision making, when provided the knowledge and skills of leadership, will utilize those resources to reverse the prevailing negative trajectory to an upward spiral. The conditions facing women are unacceptable and current solutions are insufficient for resolving chronic and critical issues which in some areas continue to accelerate.

World Academy for the Future of Women

In light of the information reported concerning women and girls and the opportunities provided them, the World Academy for the Future of Women (WAFW) was created in 2009. The WAFW believes that:

Women's empowerment and the promotion of gender equality are key to achieving sustainable development. Greater gender equality can enhance economic efficiency and improve other development outcomes by removing barriers that prevent women from having the same access as men to human resource endowments, rights, and economic opportunities. Giving women access to equal opportunities allows them to emerge as social and economic actors, influencing and shaping more inclusive policies. Improving women's status also leads to more investment in their children's education, health, and overall wellbeing (World Bank, 2012, p. 1)

The purpose of the WAFW is to advance and accelerate women's leadership worldwide. It is the mission of the WAFW to empower women through the discovery of their passion, purpose and path to success, calling forth the full expression of human possibilities through collaborative and inclusive partnerships. The program has been built on the concept of partnership and volunteerism (http:/wafw.org). The organizational structure of the WAFW consists of 5 executive board members, 103 volunteer facilitators, mentors, a team of students who support the work at the partnering University, and usually 100 participants for each new Academy annually. At present, over 500 participants have completed the modules of study offered in the one year Academy.

Facilitators Orientation and Preparation – the Culture

Malcom Gladwell, author of *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (2000), believes there is a magic moment when an idea can spread like wildfire. The WAFW is such an idea. We know from Malcom Gladwell that the success of any kind of social change project requires the involvement of people committed to the project while possessing the knowledge and skills to turn the commitment into an action plan. The individuals who participate in the WAFW facilitation orientation, training and module delivery are such people. By educating and training young women on the possibilities of strong leadership we can awaken a passion for service and contribution to the world around them. With the imperative tools and resources at their fingertips, change is imminent.

The facilitation body of the WAFW consists of women and men who have completed the Orientation and Preparation three day training that provides the contextual, cultural, and leadership framework for delivery of the curriculum modules of content. The well-prepared facilitators then travel to partnership campuses at universities around the globe to deliver the

content of the modules. The facilitator orientation and preparation is our major opportunity to see how the people interested in facilitating a module of WAFW content interact, react, and align with the purpose of the organization. It is an interview and observation of their tolerance, flexibility, presentation skills, and alignment of the Academy principles and outcomes.

The agenda for the three-day training is adjusted when the trainers know the participants and learn how much they are engaged in the work of educating young women. The first day of the training covers the "Why" of the WAFW, the second day involves the "What", and the third day prepares volunteers to "Move to Action". The orientation training begins with a conversation about the history, mission and goals of the WAFW. The conceptual framework enables individuals to understand the connection of the leadership work to the United Nations Millennium goals. "The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which range from halving extreme poverty rates to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015 – form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions. They have galvanized unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest." (http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/). The participants in the training were asked to be present to the opportunities to bring equity to women worldwide through their leadership and the leadership they open to others, and to identify how they can be part of creating change. The participants discussed how the WAFW affected them locally and globally. The question asked was, "What is needed to accelerate women's leadership worldwide?" The second day of training consisted of a review of leadership capabilities that are developed through the program through the use of specific modules. The modules are designed to develop these leadership capabilities. On day three, the participants were asked to declare their intentions with regard to the WAFW

and discover their future in the WAFW. Being action driven, participants committed to the facilitation process and prepared for their next steps in their facilitation journey.

Leadership

Effective leadership can have profound and positive effects on student outcomes. The daunting challenge facing women leaders is to do more with less and with restricted resources. Knowledgeable leaders who are well prepared based on standards and lived experiences can create positive change outcomes. A critical need for all leaders, but particularly for women who have not been provided with equal opportunity to knowledge, skills and experiences, is to have full access to the best available research and practical wisdom and to receive strong support in transforming that knowledge into high-quality performance and continuous improvement. The facilitators of the WAFW received a strong content based as well as teaching technique orientation prior to their active engagement with teaching the participants in the WAFW program.

Modules

The WAFW selected university students from various schools of study who demonstrated leadership qualities. The application process involved an application, letters of recommendation, and documentation of commitment to the program by promising to give at least 8-10 hours a week to the WAFW in addition to their undergraduate studies.

A key component of the Academy are the eight modules of study which seeks to meet the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. The eight modules are: Module 1: Creating Possibilities; Module 2: Your Leadership: Discovering and Exploration; Module 3: Embracing Passion and Purpose; 4: Community Building; Module 5: Capacity Building; Module 6: Project Development; Module 7: Project Implementation; and, Module 8: Legacy of Your Leadership.

Volunteer facilitators who have served in leadership roles in business, industry, medicine, and education present the modules to academy members. The facilitators attended a three-day orientation conference that prepared them to deliver the content of the modules at a WAFW partner university. The intent of our study was to gather initial data on the value of the Academy. The evaluation component of WAFW was undertaken to determine, through survey research, the members' knowledge, perceptions, and opinions about the WAFW.

Procedures for Study

This study was conducted through an e-mail contact list of 100 volunteer facilitators in the WAFW. A team of five young women in Zhengzhou, China who were a part of the project, assisted by collecting the e-mail addresses of the volunteer facilitators and sending them to the researchers. The questions on the facilitator survey included five point Likert scale and four open-ended questions. Demographic data concerning this population had previously been collected. With 100 facilitators and a team of 2 researchers, attaining email addresses was a challenge. Originally, there were 105 facilitator email addresses. However, five people had left the facilitator body leaving 100 facilitators receiving the survey. After 2 attempts to solicit responses to the survey, our final number of responses was 40.

Methods

Qualitative inquiry was the method of choice for this study. "Qualitative inquiries seek to interpret human actions, institutions, events, customs and the like, and in so doing construct a 'reading' or portrayal, of what is being studied" (Ary, Jacobs & Razavieh, 1996, p. 476).

Qualitative Responses from Participants

One hundred volunteer facilitators in the WAFW were identified as facilitators who have completed the Orientation and Preparation three day training that provides the contextual,

cultural, and leadership framework for delivery of the curriculum modules of content. A survey was provided to the facilitators and managed through Qualtrix. With a completion rate of 40% being typical of the population in age, gender, the response rate for the facilitator survey is deemed acceptable. Table 4 lists the demographic characteristics of the facilitator's sample.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Variable	Category	Number of Responses
Gender	Male	0
	Female	37
		Percentage
Age	31-35	14
	36-43	5
	44-50	5
	50-59	41
	60-69	32
	70-79	3
Have been facilitator	3 month to 1 year	53
	1 year to 2 years	14
	2 years to 3 years	17
	3 years to 4 years	8
	4 years to five years	8
Have facilitated a module	Have not	54
	One time	41
	Two times	5

All survey respondents were women. The average age of the respondents was 50-59 years old. A majority of the respondents (73%) were between 50-69 years of age. More than half of the facilitators began facilitating in the previous three months to one year, followed by one to two years (14%), two to three years (17%), and 8% of the facilitators reported volunteering for both three years to four years and four to five years. A total of 46% of the respondents have taught at least one module (41% one time, 5% two times) and 54% have never facilitated a module.

Data Collection: A survey was provided to the facilitators and managed through Qualtrix. The facilitator survey included four open- ended questions. The intent of each of the questions was to probe responses that would enable us to find ways to make the facilitator experience stronger for facilitators as well as the participants. The four qualitative questions asked were: (a) Please list three ideas that you believe would help you to be more successful as a facilitator; (b) Please tell us how we can improve the facilitators training; (c) Please list two or three changes you believe would make to the facilitator process for the WAFW more successful in developing women leaders; and, (d) The possibility of harness the power of the participation in the WAFW could move to solve global issues. Please suggest topics for the year two projects.

Data Analysis: The responses to the questions were analyzed following similar steps of Hycner (1985). The responses were bracketed in order to determine the units of general meaning that were relevant to the questions asked. Redundancies were then eliminated leading to clear levels of understanding. Clusters of themes were then determined followed by determining themes from the clusters. Since the facilitators provided written survey responses, the researchers did not consult with the respondents for member checking.

Findings and Discussion

Results indicated that 97% of the respondents believed the modules covered the leadership topics that allowed participants to become empowered women, and 100% believed in the importance of the power of developing leadership capabilities that will allow women to fully engage in our global future. When asked about solving global problems, 92 % of the respondents agreed that the Academy was critical to assuring women are equal partners in solving our global problems and 95% understood the importance of leaving a legacy. Half of those who facilitated a

module at Sias University in China reported that she would volunteer for another facilitator assignment.

Facilitators answered 5 points Likert-scale questions related to their perceptions and knowledge about the WAFW curriculum, evaluation, and facilitation. Results indicated that 97% of the respondents believed the modules covered the leadership topics that will allow participants to become strong women leaders.

Seven main concepts emerged from the first research question, Table 2 lists the results of the facilitators' response to "Please list three ideas that you believe would help you to be more successful as a facilitator."

Table 2

Ideas to help become a better facilitator

Ideas/Skills	Percentage of Responses
Collaboration	(18%)
Training	(12%)
Curriculum	(22%)
Infrastructure	(11%)
Culture	(8%)
Financial	(6%)
Miscellaneous	(12%)

Specifically, some of the ideas that were expressed by the facilitators included, (a) "Having materials ready for me to use; (b) "having conversations with facilitator who has gone to teach modules prior to my going"; (c) "having notes, materials from previous facilitators"; (d) "I was able to apply my own teaching approach"; and, (e) "If there is a next time, I would like to get involved more in creating a program that caters what they need/want, and work a lot closer to

their emotional environment which they can relate to, rather than working on a large project that is not simply in their heart."

Six themes emerged from the responses to question two, "Please tell us how we can improve the facilitators training". Table 3 lists the results

Table 3

Ways to improve facilitator training

Ideas	Percentage of Responses
Collaboration	(27%)
Length of training	(10%)
Incorporating technology into the training	(14%)
Organization of the training	(6%)
Need for explicit directions in the modules	(27%)
Miscellaneous	(16%)

Respondents expressed the following, (a) "I would like to see some modules standardized so some pre-work can be done on line"; (b) "Have it for two full days training instead of spreading our across three days", (c) "Develop a clearer expectation on the coaching component", (d) "Have handbooks better organized"; and, (e) "The weekend was fantastic and I was very motivated by the conclusion. However, I believe that it needs to be more than an orientation." One of the miscellaneous comments had to do with going to a new country. This respondent noted, "I noticed in my training that most of the women there seemed very afraid of the idea of being in another country. Maybe more preparation would help them realize they could do it."

Question three asked the facilitators to list two or three changes they believed would help the facilitation process for WAFW more successful at developing women leaders. Table 4 lists the results of facilitators' response to the question three:

Table 4

Changes to help facilitator process

Suggested changes	Percentage of Responses
Collaboration	(33%)
Structure	(33%)
Training	(14%)
Evaluation	(10%)
Cultural understanding	(5%)
Financial	(5%)

One respondent stated, "Perhaps, improved communication between those who are handing off modules and those picking up the modules would be helpful". Additionally, the facilitators stated, (a) "Collect evaluation data on each module for content and delivery"; (b) "Have set format for modules"; and, (c) "Explain during training how to put your own experience on the delivery of the module you teach". Suggestions for collaboration with other women's organizations were, (a) "Have an annual conference-or several across the country. Or partner with other women's organizations like AAUW to assist in getting it to more college women"; (b) "Present at other organization conferences"; and, (c) "Have more women from their country who have been successful share their stories". One person commented, "Hiring a director who is paid and can take the reins is needed so there is a consistency in the program." Another respondent wrote, "Time schedules that were more effective and made sense. Lots of time (especially in the lab) was not particularly helpful and the coaching sessions need to be reevaluated."

The final research question elicited ideas from facilitators on how to better harness the power to change and solve global issues through the systematically proposing second year

projects that would be matched to the global issues at stake. Table 5 list the results of the facilitators' responses to the final question:

Table 5

Projects to solve global problems

Ideas for Harnessing Power	Percentage of Responses
Education	(16%)
Economic Opportunity	(22%)
Empowerment	(18%)
Health Care	(10%)

To answer this question, respondents commented, (a) "I think we need powerful women who are powerful mothers. I don't want to be training women only to be powerful in the world but also in their home and family"; (b), "I think service is an exceptional leadership teacher, but also think the selection of the UNMDGs is significant, as it contextualizes the program and gives it a degree of separation from what might be construed as the implementation of a dominant (Western) philosophy/approach to leadership ideas and ideals"; and, (c) "I don't want the girls to get mixed messages."

Discussion of Findings

The qualitative survey responses led to some interesting findings, some expected and some not expected. The purpose of the WAFW is to advance and accelerate women's leadership worldwide. It is the mission of the WAFW to empower women through the discovery of their passion, purpose and path to success, calling forth the full expression of human possibilities through collaborative and inclusive partnerships. The facilitation body consists of women and men who have completed the Orientation and Preparation three day

training that provides the contextual, cultural, and leadership framework for delivery of the curriculum modules of content. They then take an assignment in a country other than their home country often without speaking the native language – and deliver leadership preparation content to young women and men between the ages of 18-22.

The seven main concepts that emerged from the first research question were critical to any educational undertaking. The need for a solid, researched based curriculum that led by individuals who are training in the content is crucial to the positive outcomes WAFW desired when creating the project. The fact that such a venture would require a strong infrastructure with financial underpinnings was to be expected. Additionally, one might expect issues to surface in terms of delivering content to one culture that has been conceived by another culture. Also, when an all-volunteer cohort of likeminded women are asked to teach a curriculum – without more than a three day orientation and training session – there are bound to be some individual issues that arise. Yet, an ability of women is characterized by their ease with which they accept unscheduled tasks (Curry, 2000). As one facilitator stated, "My corporate executive experience taught me that good leaders have a great sense of humor and can be quite light hearted".

Question two asked the participants to tell us how we could improve the facilitator training. As educators, we know that research supports the call for the professional training (Darling-Hammond, Chung & Frelow, 2002). The challenge of asking volunteers to give time to participate in professional development, in addition to giving over one month of time to facilitate the training, is difficult. As the professional development research expands, we know continuous improvement must be grounded in high professional standards, guided by intense collaboration among key constituents, and evaluated on the basis of its impact upon

participants' performance as leaders (Martin, 2008). The participants in this study came from many walks of life. Some participants came from the field of education, while others had backgrounds in business, executive coaching, consulting, or psychology. Levels of preparation for the WAFW differed. One participant responded, "I believe that it needs to be more than an orientation", and another said, "I noticed in my training that most of the women there seemed very afraid of the idea of being in another country. Maybe more preparation would help them realize they could do it."

The third research question asked participants to "Please list two or three changes you believe would make the facilitation process for WAFW more successful in developing women leaders". Many participants stated the need for more training including cultural sensitivity as a topic as well as the need for a strong liaison with the university at which the training occurs. One not surprising suggestion was to provide financial support for the facilitators.

Being a total volunteer organization has been an amazing feat for the WAFW yet structural and financial considerations need to be mentioned. The need for more structure in the process was clearly stated by the facilitators. Comments centered on the way in which the WAFW is operationalized, evaluated, and delivered. While the facilitators paid for their own travel and expenses to deliver the content, some were unable to afford such expenses. One suggestion resonated with the WAFW stating, "Having assistance from the Academy in getting financial support (e.g., sponsors) to pay us to attend and cover travel expenses; It is hard to commit to 4-6 weeks away unless one is already retired." The needs expressed were great and not uncommon to non-profit organizations. One interesting finding was "I think that service is an exceptional leadership teacher, but also think that the international selection of the UNMDGs is significant, as it contextualizes the program and gives it a degree of separation

from what might be construed as the implementation of a dominant (Western) philosophy/approach to leadership ideas and ideals." Many individuals and non-profit organizations who provide global education opportunities often struggle with the issue of not imposing their culture on the training they provide. Bai & Martin (2013) found a well-organized training program must meet the needs of the participants in order to improve the quality of the content delivered. Fullan (2008) discussed the need for school district leaders to study and take seriously the research that focuses on making change. But the question remains, whose research?

Question 4 challenged the creativity of the participants by asking what topics they would suggest that have the possibility of harnessing the power of the participation in the Academy that would move to solve global issues. A strong response was to provide opportunities for the WAFW scholars to lead projects that further the education of all in their country; education that leads to empowerment of young women and economic development. Twenty percent of the responses stressed the need for the projects to be global. As members of the WAFW board, we know that some projects have met these goals. One project has worked to develop literacy among mothers of young children while another provided opportunities for college age students to work with young children who have disabilities. As Hargreaves and Ainscow (2015) stated, "A digital age of complex skills, cultural diversity, and high-speed change calls for more challenging educational goals and more sophisticated and flexible change strategies" (p. 43).

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Micro Loans: A Tool of Women Economic Empowerment

A Case Study of Central Punjab, Pakistan

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Abstract

Women empowerment is not a new Phenomenon in the global world. However, in Pakistan, the large majority of women are still striving hard to obtain their basic rights. Similarly, the economic empowerment sets a direct path towards gender equality, poverty eradication and inclusive economic growth but unfortunately Pakistan does not depict a positive picture in this regard. The United Nations has identified the rural women as a catalyst for change but the rural women of a Pakistan are leading a vulnerable life and large population of women is not economically empowered. Their dependency on male members has created a hindrance not only for themselves but has effected badly on overall development and growth of country. The current study has highlighted the significance of micro loans as a tool of empowering rural women. This applied research with qualitative research method has been conducted by using purposive sampling method. The case studies have been conducted with 10 rural women of central Punjab who are the beneficiaries of micro loans. The study findings revealed the success stories of such women who left great positive impact on themselves and their families after being economically empowered despite of number of socio-cultural barriers on their way to empowerment .They

became great voices for their rights, helped in eradicating poverty and became the decision makers of their lives.

Introduction

Women empowerment is the process of changing perception to allow individuals to modify their surroundings. It contains the deliberate efforts to change the negative conditions being faced by women (Mk nelly, 2001). Despite of different Empowering perspectives, women empowerment specifies women's choice of their own life, decision making power, self-reliance, self-dependence and self-determination (Muhammad & Muhammad, 2007). In Pakistan 52% of women are striving hard for empowering themselves and to come in lime light (Goheer, 2003). Infact, opportunities and access to available resources vary among women and men everywhere in the world, but are found common in most of the underprivileged developing nations of the world. Women's role in any society is equally important as role played by men in providing strength and stability to family, and country (Rehman, 2007). However the common insight of Pakistani women, specifically the rural women, in broad spectrum and their economic participation does not reveal an encouraging picture. At one hand, the world bank deplores the fact that the status of women in Pakistan is among the lowest in the world (World Bank, 2001) on the other hand UNDP (1996) explained the storms" inside /outside dichotomy in Pakistan where women are restricted to the "inside" space of home and household, embodied in the tradition of veiling. The reality stops women access to education, employment, training opportunities and social services (UNDP, 1997). The rural women of Pakistan are living in a traditional and conservative society where they are a pictorial symbol of respect, ego and arrogance (Rehman, 2007). Exercising the principle of so called honor confines women in four walls of their houses (Maria, 2003). In such circumstances the tool like micro credit and rise of

micro credit are the pivotal phenomenon which has greater implications for rural women development in underdeveloped country like Pakistan. Due to the low level of education and lack of provision of other basic facilities in villages, the micro loan schemes being utilized by rural women of Pakistan have been of great importance for income generated activities of these women (Sultan et al, 2010). The micro finance services in rural areas of Pakistan are still at their preliminary phase (Asim, 2008). It is the documented fact that micro loan not only alleviate poverty but play an influential role in empowering women (Khan & Rehman, 2007). The great only way to empower women is to enable them to take part in community development activities by increasing their income through self-empowerment (Kabeer, 2003). In a country like Pakistan micro loan are encouraged as a policy specifically to improve the wellbeing of rural women for lowering their poverty levels (Zaman, 1999). It helps vulnerable rural women to bear income shocks in a better way (Sharman, 2007). In the recent past many studies have revealed that microfinance has increased rural women empowerment to great extent. The position of rural women in community and in family has been significantly improved among women who have been provided by small loan by microfinance institutions (Ablorh, 2011). Amir and Pehley (1994) in their study too found so far decision making and positive effect on rural women are concerned, micro loan have been of great prominence (Amin & Pebley,1994) Cheston and Kuhn (2002) further concluded in one of their study that empowerment does define change, choice and power from women to change their lives. Receiving cash on women end's significantly increase self-reliance and self-confidence among women (Cheston & Kuh, 2002), Naveed (1994) showed because of the earning capacity and generating income for their families, the rural women status with in household dramatically increase (Naveed, 1994).

In current debate on women empowerment there are three paradigms that focus on micro finance and gender i.e. Financial self-sustainability paradigm, Poverty alleviation paradigm and feminist empowerment paradigm. Micro-finance generally cannot work alone under a single paradigm, in this regard it may works in terms of financial sustainability paradigm along with human development and capacity building as well as gender equality.
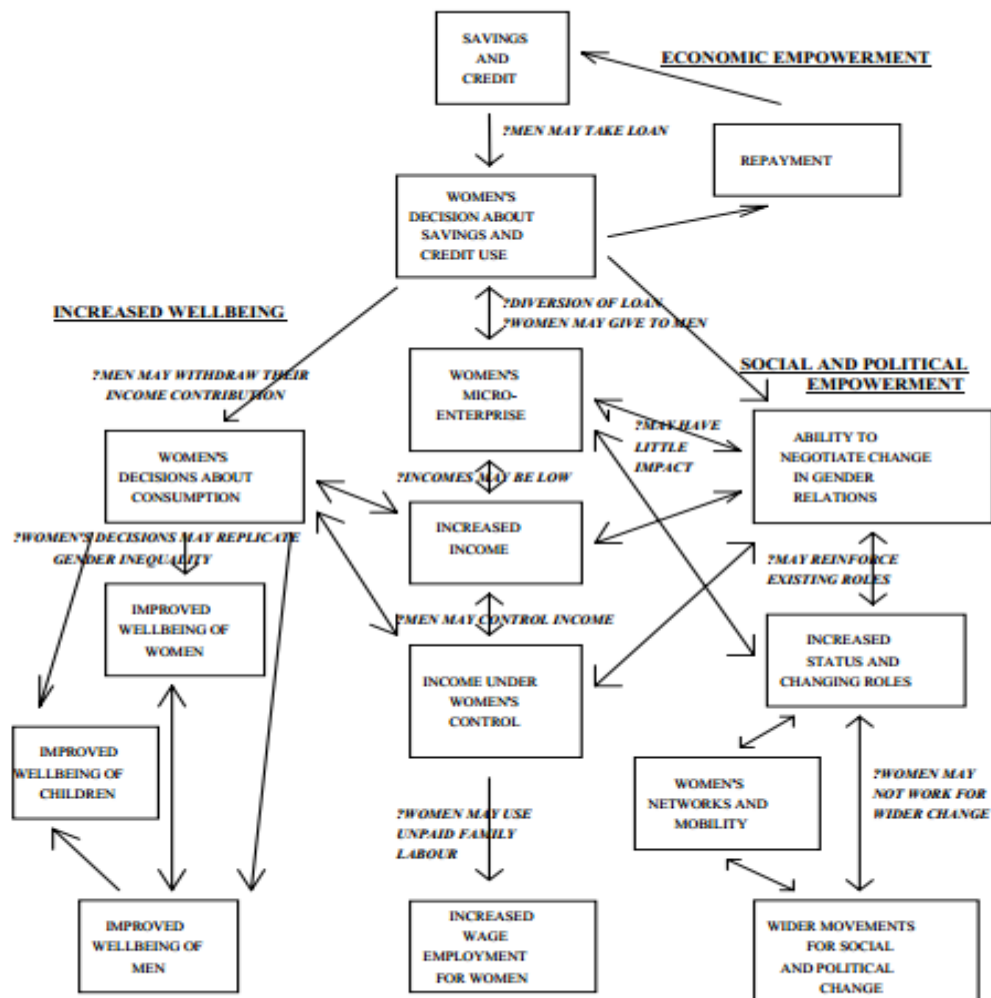
Source: Mayoux (2006). Women's empowerment through sustainable microfinance

The present study has highlighted microloan as a useful total and device to empower rural women who despite of number of traditional hurdles on their way, break the viscous circle of

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poverty. The use of micro loans as instrument by setting their small businesses, thus leave positive impact on their family and life, the study will analyze the success stories of micro loan beneficiaries rural women have who added to the development not only to their own lives but on country and society as well

Research Objectives

- To explore the impact of micro credit on rural women saving and income.

- To study the problems faced by rural women in the search of empowerment.

- To highlight the significance of economic empowerment on living standards of women.

Research Questions

- To what extent micro loan can leave positive impacts on women's life in rural Pakistan?

- Do rural women have to face obstacles by society in the way toward economic empowerment?

Research Methodology

To know the impact of micro credit schemes on rural women economic empowerment with respect to income generation for raising living standard and other social improvements, sample of eight females belong to district Bhagwal awan, Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan has been selected for case studies. This research work is qualitative in nature and has used phenomenological design of research which has investigated the "live experience" of utilizing micro credits. Respondents have been selected by using non-probability sampling technique in its purposive mode. Interpretative phenomenological analysis has been applied for the sake of transcribing and analyzing the data.

Women economic and social empowerment indicators.

Qualitative variable	Indicators
Poverty reduction	improvement in overall household well being
Wellbeing of men	Alleviating earning pressure on men
Wellbeing of women	Income being spent on health, food, recreation children well being
Decision making & self-reliance	Ability of making decisions and taking challenges
Mobility / movement	Freedom of movements
Participation in economic activity	Establishing own businesses
Control on assets	Contribution and control on arrests
Women's success	Efficiency in business and support from family

Study Findings

Empowering women in villages has never been an easy phenomenon. The rural women struggle in this regard has always been very difficult due to typical social- cultural constraints in villages. The helping institutions providing micro loan in underdeveloped areas are a great source of encouragement for rural women to take initiatives in life. Majority of the respondents who had been interviewed belonged to the poor families. Five out of eight had great dependency on their men who belonged to agriculture labor. However three of the husband of respondents

had small grocery villages. All cases were found having great economic dependency on their husbands and average age of the respondents was 40 years with average family sign of six to seven children. The education status of eight respondents was primary and three had completed their middle school. The family back ground from parental side of the respondents was found poor and all were found being deprived of their basic right of life since their childhood. One of the respondents reported

"We even see our bridegroom first time on the day of our marriage".

Majority agreed that they were not able to give a different life to their children and stated that conditions for poor people in village remain same for all generations. Most of them expressed the difficulty of making both ends meet. The provision of micro loans and few organizations working in their village for women empowerment opened the door of awareness for these women. However, all stated the great extent of different of their desire to establish their businesses with the help of micro loans. one stated

"*Women are not allowed to do their own businesses in village. Despite of my great cooking skills and wish of my own small restaurant, my husband and in-laws threatened me to kill me if go out"*

Another stated

"*I was threatened of receiving divorce from my husband if I had ever moved out of house for work"*.

Majority of the respondents noticeably accepted the presence of poverty and their children being deprived from good education and health. All admitted the goal of bright future of their children forced them to take a daring step of their own work place. The response on

provision of micro loan was divided among the respondents. Few find the process of obtaining loan difficult; the rest had to face obstacles. However, all agreed and one said

"Micro loan is a gift from Allah to us under privileged rural women".

Three among eight reported setting up small food restaurant in their own villages, two opened beauties parlous and the rest three had stitching units. All the respondents reported he difficulty of getting their family being agreed of their business but majority were found complaining people's reaction and behavior on women's mobility and work in village. One said

"People may accept that I commit suicide with my children in an extreme state of poverty but they can't accept that I break the customs and work for my family".

The respondents were found extremely determined after obtaining loan and stopped bothering negative comments around them. One of the respondents said the negative interpretation of Islamic teaching for women has always aggravated problems for them. One said

"Religious conservatives have issued edicts against me"

The comparison made by the respondents after being empowered was of great significance for the study. The over whelming majority said that the gradual increase in their own income alleviated poverty from family and lessened earning pressure from their husband. One said an interesting statement.

"Now I have realized why men and women are called the two wheels of vehicle".

Another stated,

"My decisions are welcomed and acknowledged by the family now".

All agreed and said that large amount of their income goes to their children wellbeing. Two of them reported their children studying in big colleges of cities. But half of them accepted and half of them negated the spending of income on themselves. Whereas majority admitted that

they had a good access on their arrest. All agreed on expanding theirs businesses. Majority stated that resistance is rural society is difficult to bear but all had a consensus that practicing basic values, working women can be accepted by rural society. The respondents agreed that the more education comes to villages, more mind sets can be changed which will open doors for women empowerment in villages of Pakistan.

Conclusion

The helping tool of micro credit and its utilization specifically in underdeveloped regions of country like Pakistan greatly effects on social, political, economic empowerment of women. Still today due to political and cultural constraints, the female participation in labor force of country is very limited. The tool like micro credit at small scale encourages women to lake decisive decisions and actions in their lives and allows them to use their capacities and capabilities. The study has calculated that rural women of Pakistan are still far behind and circumstances can only be changed with women own initiatives to change their lives. Poverty, deprivation from basic needs of life, children vulnerability, and poor standard of living are the factors which have forced married women to come out from the four walls of their homes. The study concluded the respondent's greatly attained freedom of movement, wellbeing of family, broke the vicious circle of poverty controlled their assets and earnings after being economically empowered. The economically empowered women gained great confidence, self-reliance .However study also concludes that rural women have to face lots of challenges for such initiatives because rural women not only fight of their life but they actually have to fight against norms and traditions that stop them to obtain any kind of empowerment in their lives. The provision of micro loan on easy conditions and more programs for women development and empowerment in villages were concluded in the study.

Recommendations

1-Government as well as non-government organizations both need to work at large scale in rural Pakistan for the economic development of rural women through tools like micro loans-The provision of micro loans should be made easy for rural women.

2-The state will have to make favorable policies specifically for rural women of Pakistan where women are enabled to obtain their basic rights of their lives.

3-Print and electronic media may highlight the significance of micro loans and women economic empowerment by telling the success stories thus motivating other rural women towards self-dependency.

4-The constitution of Pakistan need to safe guard the women right in Pakistan and all women development acts should be implemented strictly in a country.

5-The gender disparities in country need to be addressed in the curriculum starting from primary to higher level of education in a country.

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A case study of an incident of professional sexual abuse in UK mental health services

Abstract

This paper presents and instrumental case study involving the rape of a vulnerable women with mental health needs (Alice) by her Community Psychiatric Nurse within UK mental health services. It provides an alternative feminist emancipatory paradigm for the understanding of professional sexual abuse in such settings. Previous studies and policy developments in the UK have sought to explain such crimes by forensically examining the victim (usually a woman) in terms of her psycho-pathology and mental health history in order to find the root causes of her abuse within that. These approaches are ineffective and can easily lead to victim blaming. A wider systemic view is called for with the voices of victims at the centre. The study drew on a number of informants connected to the case but primarily supported Alice to tell her story. The results revealed that there is a culture of collusion and secrecy in services which mitigates against challenges to boundary violations. There is little awareness of the difficulty victims have in disclosing such abuse and the long term impact on them and their families is largely ignored. The paper considers the implications of these findings for individuals, services, regulatory bodies and educators and presents Alice's own reflections on telling her story.

Introduction

In the UK, sexual contact between mental health professionals and their patients is a serious criminal offence, breaches professional codes of conduct and is damaging to patients, their families and the reputation of services. To date research has been limited but often predicated on a need to understand the psychopathology of victims, the demonology of perpetrators or the relationship between the two as possible causal factors. This can lead to inadvertent victim blaming and failure to recognise the wider systemic corruption of care (Melville-Wiseman 2013).

However, there is also a body of literature on the subject written by survivors (Acker 1995, Lewis 1995, Roberts-Henry 1995); professionals who had been abused themselves (Wohlberg et al 1999; Penfold 1998; Schwab 2003) by survivors in collaboration with interested professionals (Bates and Brodsky 1989) or by professionals who had long experience of working with survivors (Schoener et al 1984, Fortune 1992). In each case the direct experiences of the survivors as both victims and witnesses of professional sexual abuse provided a powerful alternative (Bhavani 2003). The research presented here aimed to add to the testimonies of survivors by giving a voice to one survivor (Alice) through the use of a case study approach. She was raped by her Community Psychiatric Nurse but kept the secret for over seventeen years. This is part of her story.

Method

The research used an instrumental case study design (Stake 1994). A case study is a story about something unique, special, or interesting — stories can be about individuals, organisations, processes, programs, neighbourhoods, institutions, or events (Yin 2009). It provides a mechanism to explore a contemporary phenomenon in its real world context, using real people and their real lived experiences (Yin 2009, Butler 2002). The purpose of an instrumental case study is to understand a wider phenomenon through the lens of an individual case or exemplar and in this case to give a voice to one woman and her individual experience. In that sense it is grounded in the principles of feminist emancipatory research. In addition it draws on the assumption that power imbalances and social inequality in mental health services are essentially harmful to patients.

The full case study involved the use of multiple types and sources of data including archival and historical documents, interviews with a number of key people connected to Alice and the case,

media reports of the case and observations. However, this paper presents my interviews with Alice and her telling of her own story of how she was raped by her Community Psychiatric Nurse (CPN).

The aim of the research was to give Alice a voice and so the data analysis strategy did not include any psychologically based interpretation of what she said. Her voice and her way of telling her story stand alone. To do otherwise would have been to collude with the approach of previous studies which sought to psycho-pathologise the victim and scrutinise their mental health needs. However, themes and thematic networks were identified and agreed with Alice. As part of case study research it is important to identify convergent and divergent data. In this case Alice's story was confirmed by the other data I obtained including from her medical file.

Alice had been identified as a possible participant for this research through a UK charity who had supported Alice post-disclosure of the rape. She met the criteria including that all legal proceedings in the case had been concluded and she was willing for her thoughts and feelings to come into the public domain. At my first meeting with her Alice spoke of her wish to tell her story in the hope that it might just prevent others being harmed as she had been.

Power imbalances in mental health services

Alice was about forty-five when she was first admitted to the large psychiatric hospital in the town where she lived. She was suffering from depression which she now identifies as related to her entering the menopause. However, she remembered that within one day the doctor had told her she needed Electro-Convulsive Treatment (ECT) and that this would cure her depression quickly in order for her to return to her family. Alice stated:

"he [the doctor] *said it would cure my depression quicker and I wanted to get home for my boys and Nigel* [her husband]*, but the ECT was so traumatic you wouldn't believe it. It was horrifying. It was terrifying and I'd got to have another one, they wait a day and then they do another one and I hadn't slept the night before…"*

Alice decided she could not face the treatment again and confided in one of the nursing staff. She describes the nurse whispering to her in secret to eat something as they would not give ECT to her unless she had an empty stomach. Before the next treatment Alice ate a banana but also rang her sister-in-law to come and collect her. I asked Alice why she did not feel able to refuse the treatment as she had always been a voluntary patient and therefore not subject to forced treatment. She told me that patients always had to be careful and that any anger you expressed would be noted in your file and used to keep you there even longer. She then recalled one nurse in particular:

"There were a couple of times I was afraid, especially in (x) hospital. We have one in particular, I don't think she was a sister but she was in charge of the night staff. It wasn't just me Janet, she was a tyrant. She was and I was afraid to speak out."

During her time in hospital Alice had also felt upset and frightened by the treatment of other patients that she had witnessed.

Alice also explained why she unquestioningly trusted the doctor who originally told her she should have ECT.

"I didn't even know then what it was and he said to me 'if you have this you'll get better quickly, you'll be home then'. And of course I had not had much dealings with doctors; you believe every word they say because to me they were gods. They really were."

Also:

"To me a doctor was, I don't know, he was a god, he couldn't do anything wrong. My mother even, you know it was 1951, still rationing, my mother got four chops on the black market and give them to the doctor that night to thank him for what he'd done."

Coping on her own

Alice discharged herself against medical advice and returned to live at home with her husband and two sons. She was also able to resume paid work. In this job she made friends with another woman but it upset Alice when this new friend had to retire. Alice found the work increasingly stressful and as Christmas approached Alice took a week off work. Her depression had returned.

Alice describes herself as not being able to stop crying at this time and eventually her husband Nigel and her GP made arrangements for her to see a psychiatrist and to have a few days in hospital. This was a different hospital to the first one but was still a large Victorian building with several hundred patients. Alice informed me wryly, that it was now closed and has been turned into a luxury housing development. Alice was fifty-three years old now and had coped on her own without any treatment or support from services for over eight years.

Family tragedy

The few days' in-patient treatment that Alice and Nigel agreed to eventually turned into several months. It was not clear if this was as a result of direct or indirect pressure from the doctors or an informed choice made by Alice. However, she described how Nigel found this very difficult and how he was upset every evening when he visited. Alice went home at the weekends but was never left alone. A friend would come and sit with her on Saturday mornings while Nigel was at

work but on Sunday evenings she returned to the hospital. The issue of ECT treatment came up again and the doctor had prescribed a course of six treatments. This time Nigel pleaded with Alice to refuse the treatment and again she was torn. She believed that it would make her better more quickly and that she could then return home and resume her family life. Nigel believed that it was harmful and that it would change Alice.

On Monday 2nd April 1984 Alice was given her sixth ECT treatment. Later that day Nigel did not arrive for his usual visit. At 9pm Alice's sons contacted the ward to say that Nigel had been found dead at home. Alice was told by her doctor that he had died but not the nature of his death until the ward round the next day. A ward round then would have been a large meeting where all the professionals discuss each patient in turn as they join the meeting. It was in this setting that Alice was informed that her husband's death was in fact suicide.

Alice described the news as *"horrific"* for both her and her family. It also meant that her admission to hospital was extended even further and she did not leave for another three months. She had decided she could not return to live in the flat where Nigel had died and so moved straight from hospital into a new home. However, Alice could not remember much about how she coped in the period following her discharge because she was taking many drugs. I asked if she remembered what they were:

"Well Stelazine which is very strong and I didn't realise they take them in Broadmoor, I read an article. That stuck in my mind when I read about Broadmoor. Yes, Stelazine, Temazepam, Ativan that's only three of them. Prothiaden, I can't remember the others but of course he [her

GP] *stopped them straight away so looking back I realise I was in withdrawal, it was a nightmare.*"[1]

Alice was describing her fear and shame that the medication she was prescribed was also prescribed for people who had been admitted to Broadmoor.[2] She felt her doctor was telling her that her mental health problems were very serious and this became another reason to hide what was really going on for her. Alice was also aware that the amount of medication she had been prescribed and the sudden withdrawal of it had probably exacerbated her problems at this time. It is not surprising that Alice was not able to grieve for her husband and that she found alternative ways of coping.

Dealing with bereavement

After her bereavement Alice was not offered any kind of counselling or psychological support but did attend the day hospital attached to where she had been an in-patient. The treatment here involved occupational therapy and social support. In addition to coping with her loss and the particular difficulties in coming to terms with it being from suicide, Alice thought she began to experience benzodiazepine withdrawal. Her GP had suddenly stopped her medication knowing that it was addictive but failed to put in place any gradual withdrawal programme or alternative support. In response Alice began to self-medicate by using alcohol whenever she felt anxious or overwhelmed by her distress and this was actively encouraged by the day hospital staff.

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[1] Temazepam and Ativan are both benzodiazepines which can become physically addictive even after short term use. They may also mask or exacerbate symptoms of depression and sudden withdrawal can increase the risk of suicide. Stelazine is the trade name of an anti-psychotic or neuroleptic drug called Trifluoperazine. It is used to treat the more florid symptoms of schizophrenia but can also be used in the short term to treat severe anxiety whatever the underlying causes. Prothiaden is a trade name of a tricyclic anti-depressant drug called Dosulepin Hydrochloride.

[2] Broadmoor is one of the three high security psychiatric hospitals in England. There is a common misconception and stigma that patients have all committed serious criminal offences. Many do come through the judicial system and the most dangerous mentally ill people are treated there.

"So what I did I drank. I just drank and the nurses that had looked after me, it was all ladies, it wasn't like a psychiatric ward it was like a house at the side of the hospital for just the ladies, young ladies with babies and was depressed and couldn't pick their own babies up, they were in there for treatment. It was pretty light, you know, nothing heavy at all, very pleasant, like a holiday camp. Like I said I'd got no tablets and I didn't know what to do and of course the nurses all coming round 'come on let's take you for a drink'. They were all alcoholics anyway, they really was. I've never seen anyone drink so much but of course I was OK, I was doing it. Lunchtimes sometimes until three o'clock when they closed the doors, we were back again at seven o'clock but of course it was when I went home I was alone again. I'm not making any excuses; I just felt I had to get so drunk to sleep."

It was some time later that Alice was first offered counselling and she was referred to a CPN. She recalls it was around the time of the first anniversary of Nigel's death that she began to become distressed and a nurse was allocated to visit her at home.

Community Psychiatric Nurse

Alice recalls a (male) CPN visiting her at home although it is not absolutely clear what the care plan was. Alice had described it as a form of counselling but she also remembered him giving her some social support as well.

"He took me shopping one night to the ASDA in his car. Another time he took me to CRUSE [a support group for bereaved people] *where later I did have counselling. He* [the CPN] *seemed very nice, very gentlemanly and then as I said it was coming up to April 1st and 2nd. The coroner said he* [Nigel] *died on the 2nd but I could lay my life it would be the 1st – that's the kind of joke it was and it was Mothering Sunday as well. But anyway it was coming up to that and I was going*

down and down and down. I was still drinking vast amounts then to try and find some peace you know. It was about – the police checked it up, it was the 12th April that the incident happened."

The experience of being sexually abused by her CPN

Alice had been referred to the Community Psychiatric Nursing Service in the months leading up to the first anniversary of Nigel's suicide in April 1985. She had met Daker[3] a few times before he sexually abused her. On one occasion Daker visited and Alice happened to mention she was trying to sell a spin dryer that she did not want anymore. It was almost brand new as she had bought it just before Nigel died and then never used it again. She was keen to get rid of it and Daker offered to buy it. He paid £20 for it and said it was for his girlfriend. To engage in a business transaction with a client is an unusual thing for a professional to do and is also in breach of the nursing codes of conduct. In this case it was indicative of further boundary violations to come.

Alice recalled Sunday 11th April when she had been out for Sunday lunch with some of her girlfriends. For Alice that did not mean eating food but drinking alcohol. When she got home she had already had quite a lot to drink but the thought of being alone made her drink even more. She described herself as drunk *"but not paralytic"*. During the course of the afternoon Alice took an overdose which she said was her third attempt. It was a life threatening overdose but shortly after she had taken the tablets a friend from across the road called and found Alice semi-conscious in her flat. The next thing she remembers is being in hospital and having her stomach pumped.

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[3] The real name of Alice's CPN is in the public domain. However, in order to ensure that any details such as the location of Alice's home town cannot be identified from this research I have changed his name. It is not meant to indicate any particular cultural origin.

Alice then told me that one of the doctors thought she should stay in hospital or move to the psychiatric ward but Alice was determined to return home. After staying overnight on the Sunday Alice was discharged home on Monday 12th April. She described feeling very tired, she had not eaten for several days and her mouth and throat were very sore from where her stomach had been pumped. She decided to go to bed and cannot remember much until the next morning but thought she had been visited by Daker that evening. On Tuesday morning Daker visited again and Alice remembers him making a cup of tea and talking with her. She asked if "*anything had happened*" the night before but he said it hadn't. When he was about to leave Alice accompanied him to the door. She was at pains to tell that she always waves visitors off at the door and it was not in any way a special thing she was doing with Daker. She described what happened next:

"As I got to the front door he picked me up, took me into the bedroom, took my, I'd got no trousers on then I wore a skirt, and he took my pants off and raped me and then he just went and I just laid there."

Alice never saw Daker again.

I asked Alice if Daker had said anything to her before he left about not telling anyone and she told me he had. She said she could remember it word for word:

"Yes, yes that was his last words that morning and it's funny I remembered that all them years. I can still hear it being said; he said to me 'don't tell anyone Alice, the Health Service has got a long memory', exactly word for word."

I was worried that there was an implied threat in this statement and asked Alice if she had experienced it as such at the time. She said that she had and that it made her not want to tell

anyone. She felt that if she disclosed the incidents it would be blamed on her and would affect the treatment she was offered:

"...they would take everybody away from me and I wouldn't have any more medical help. I don't really know what I was thinking Janet. It just seemed a warning that is all."

Alice also told me that she thought that Daker would probably be sacked if she disclosed it and that at the time she did not want to feel responsible for that. I asked if there were any other reasons why it was difficult to speak about it and Alice's responses showed a mixture of self-blame, shame and bewilderment.

"I was ashamed of the fact that I was drunk on that Sunday. Why didn't I put up a fight when he picked me up? I don't understand me, that isn't me."

Disclosure and impact

Alice did not know what suddenly made her disclose the abuse but she described when it happened. It was Christmas and Alice had gone to spend the day with her son and his family. She had drunk quite a lot but was determined to get a taxi home as she preferred to be in her own home at night. As she was leaving she told her son that she had been raped. She did not understand why it came out now after all this time but it left her family feeling shocked. Her son was angry and all the family gathered round wanting to know who it was but Alice could not say anymore. She was put to bed in her grandson's room but early in the morning asked her son to take her home.

"I didn't want to see anyone; I didn't know what I had done. I was frightened, terrified. Terry [her son] *didn't speak, brought me home in the car, kissed me goodbye and I went in the house. I didn't do anything, I just, I couldn't stop crying and cursing myself for saying it and I was*

frightened. I thought if that's the reaction I'm going to get I can't cope with this. It frightened me Janet. All this emotion that was coming out. All the disruption I was causing, all the problems. Then I thought nobody is ever going to speak to me again because it was my fault. Not a good feeling Janet."

Alice returned home and did not speak about it again for over a month. Her son did not pursue the matter with her either and it was not until she saw a programme on television about support for people who were victims of crime that she rang Victim Support[4]. A woman visited Alice the next day and after listening to the brief details of her story told Alice that she would have to pass it on to the police. A policewoman rang Alice very soon afterwards and asked if she could come and visit. Alice remembers being worried that her neighbours would see a police car arriving at her house but she was reassured that the car would be unmarked. On the advice of the Victim Support visitor Alice contacted her other son Graham to let him know what was happening. Alice described his and his wife Pat's reaction when they visited that night:

"He [Graham] *was crying and Pat was crying. Graham went out and said 'I've got to go to the car for something'. He went to the car but he phoned Terry on his mobile and said 'did you know about this?' Terry said 'yes, she told us at Christmas but she told me she wasn't going to do anything about it so I haven't mentioned it.' And Graham said ' there's all hell let loose up here' and they took me back with them that night and I come back home then the next day and I said ' well it's started now so I've got to see it through.' Of course they both wanted to know where he* [Daker] *was. They would have killed him."*

It appeared that Alice's sons were so angry that she was quite frightened about what they would do but again she felt responsible for having disclosed the abuse.

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[4] Victim Support is a voluntary organisation offering emotional and practical support to victims of crime.

"Terry and Graham's anger. It did frighten me. I thought 'oh my God, what have I done', you know, opened a bag of worms here but we got through it."

Alice was able to persuade her sons not to take their own action against Daker and instead to rely on the due process of the law in the form of the police investigation. She felt that although their anger was understandable they may in fact make matters worse or make the police case weaker if they intervened in any way:

"They just kept saying, Terry kept saying, and Graham especially he said 'don't worry we'll find him, wherever he is we'll find him' and I said 'if you do that you are going to spoil everything,' I said ' let the police deal with it, I want it done in the proper way, let him get whatever's coming to him. Let them do it.' I said 'what's the point in you two going and finding him, beating him up, you'll be in the papers'. I said 'everything is going to be ruined because of him, don't give me anymore guilt by you losing your jobs and ruin everybody's lives'. That frightened me as well Janet, what they was capable of, but I convinced them".

Alice told me that her sons remained very angry today and were not satisfied with the outcome of the investigations. She feels that they would still like to take some action against Daker themselves and have been very badly affected by it.

Investigation of the allegation

When Alice was interviewed by the police she alleged that she had been raped twice by a psychiatric nurse who had visited her following a suicide attempt, and that this had taken place around the time of the first anniversary of Nigel's suicide. She was interviewed in the first instance at home by a woman police officer, Jane Carter from the local CID and supported by a member of victim support called Lisa. I was aware that the police investigation had not led to a

prosecution of Daker but I wanted to find out how Alice had felt about this and about how she felt the police handled the investigation.

Alice felt much supported by both Jane Carter and her colleagues:

"They kept me informed all the way through, they were excellent. And Jane, bless her, she believed me from day one which was a great comfort Janet."

Alice informed me that the first task of the police was to find the alleged perpetrator as he no longer lived or worked in the area. Also, Alice had been unclear about his name and thought it was Draker or possibly Deaker. However, he was eventually found working as a psychiatric nurse in another part of the country. Jane Carter and her colleague went to interview him at his local police station where he admitted having sexual contact with a patient around the time that Alice had alleged. He remembered that the woman was bereaved, about Alice's age at the time of the offence, and that he had visited her at home twice in order to comfort her in her loss. However, he claimed that the sexual contact was consensual and he denied rape. In the course of their investigations the police had uncovered an earlier incident that Daker was involved with. Alice was not clear how they came to know about it but they informed her that whilst at university Daker had been caught behaving inappropriately towards women at university. He was not charged with any offences but Alice claimed that she had been informed by Jane Carter that the university had asked for it to be *"covered up"*. Alice did not know exactly what the alleged offence was but she felt it had some bearing and connection to the behaviour Daker later displayed towards her. It was of a sexual nature and it was inappropriate behaviour between him and vulnerable women even if he was not charged with an offence. In Alice's view, this confirmed that Daker was a man who, because of this known history and her experience of him was likely to prey on vulnerable women in the future. Alice reflected several times in our

meeting *"how many more are there?"* meaning how many more women had Daker abused. It is also clear from the way Alice spoke about this previous incident that she felt the harm done to her could have been prevented if Daker had been prosecuted earlier.

The police asked Alice to attend an identity parade as they were instructed by the Crown Prosecution Service that there was not strong enough evidence to link Daker to her. Alice found this very difficult:

"So then I was asked to go on this identity parade and I was terrified. Even though they all reassured me that he couldn't see me, couldn't hear me but I picked the wrong bloke because they lined up, Lisa will tell you, she's my Victim Support lady, she went with me, she was allowed to be there as well. They said take your time, you know, how they do but of course they were all dressed in t-shirts, scruffy, old jeans; they looked as though they had been fetched in off the street. I couldn't decipher one from another and I said number three, I think and it was number five. They told me afterwards because I wasn't allowed to see any of the officers during that day, in case there was a cock-up in, you know talking to me. I said but they are not going to know where he is going to stand but they said 'no', Jane said 'I can't speak to you'. I understand it has got to be done proper hasn't it Janet. But of course they couldn't charge him there and then. She said that if we had got him Alice he would have been locked up tonight but I couldn't. Seventeen years is a long time."

Alice remembered that Daker had always been dressed smartly in a suit and tie when he visited her as a patient and the dress of the men in the line up had thrown her. She also said that she felt pressure to pick someone very quickly and didn't want to feel that she was holding someone up. However, she was left confused about why she needed to attend an identity parade at all:

"I said well, to these two [police] *officers surely there is paperwork to say who was his clients, who was his list rotated for? Why can't that be found? Can you understand that Janet? I said that where is his supervisor, manager or whoever, comes to visit me should be on a list but I never got a proper reply Janet. That drives me crazy."*

The Crown Prosecution Service instructed the police that there was insufficient evidence for a prosecution at this stage. This was appealed by Jane Carter and her colleagues but this too was turned down:

"They [the police] *went twice and they* [the Crown Prosecution Service] *turned it down because they said there wasn't enough evidence. This man* [Daker] *claimed he didn't know who the lady was. To me it wasn't good enough Janet. I remembered his girlfriend's name. He bought the spin dryer. That was the reason the spin dryer came up. It was something positive to show that it was him. Why couldn't nobody find that particular note, list of nurses visiting? A bloke don't just walk in a clinic and say who do I go out to today and nobody knows and they don't tick it off that you've been seen. I don't believe it not for a moment."*

There were clearly lots of unanswered questions in Alice's mind and sense of anger and injustice that the police investigation did not lead to a criminal prosecution. Later in this research Alice thought that I may have uncovered more evidence in relation to a link between Daker and her as his patient and the police reopened the case. Unfortunately Alice's hopes were dashed again as it did not lead to any further action being taken. However, Alice has been left with a sense of frustration and despair that a legal prosecution never happened but also anger towards whoever his supervisor or manager was:

"I'd like to go and investigate myself, I would – honest. And find out who was responsible for sending him out, where did he come from that night? Who notified him that I'd just come home from hospital that afternoon? I've never got to the bottom of it Janet, never."

Researcher's reflections

I was as puzzled as Alice about this. I knew that all professionals are expected to record what they do and visits that they make to patients or clients and I could not understand why the police had not been able to link Daker to Alice in this way. This was particularly worrying as it appeared that he had visited specifically in the aftermath of Alice's suicide attempt and this would have involved communication between the Accident and Emergency Department at the hospital and the mental health services. As a matter of course all suicide attempts are referred to psychiatric services and it would have been known that Alice was already a patient. Alice agreed that I could access her medical file in order to find out why it had not been possible to link her and her abuser. Her file was lengthy and there were some entries to link her and Daker but the most important section was missing. At this point I did consider the possibility that in the aftermath of the abuse perhaps Daker had deliberately covered his tracks and removed any record of those visits to Alice. I also considered whether anyone else, his supervisor or manager, had suspected any wrongdoing and had sought to cover it up as well. Alice said she understood that I may not be able to uncover any more than the police had but she still hoped that I would. This was, I think born out of her disappointment and frustration that her abuser had not been subjected to the full force of the law and in her view had got off lightly.

After the police investigation collapsed Jane Carter, as a matter of course referred the case to the Nursing and Midwifery Council[5] to investigate. Unlike a legal prosecution the standard of evidence to a professional regulator is judged 'on the balance of probability' as opposed to 'beyond reasonable doubt' and this could make a significant difference in a case such as this.

Discussion and Conclusions

Alice had a long history of experiencing (male) doctors as powerful professionals and in her words they were *"gods"*. For her this meant accepting what they said and that they would always know best. Her experiences of mental health services had been terrifying both in terms of the prescribed treatment, the attitude and behaviour of nurses, living on the ward with other patients and the response of the psychiatrist when she challenged her treatment.

Her recollection of the events of those two days raised many questions but in particular why she never saw Daker again. It would be unusual for a CPN to suddenly withdraw from visiting a patient without giving some explanation especially at a time of evident crisis. When I obtained Alice's medical notes they confirmed he had been to visit her but not why he then suddenly ceased contact. Alice did have further contact with mental health services including in-patient treatment. However, she heeded Daker's warning and did not tell anyone what had happened until seventeen years later.

It is difficult to know whether Daker would have been so keen to visit Alice that night if she had been a man but her vulnerability, as a woman, alone at night, had not been considered by Daker or his manager.

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[5] The Nursing and Midwifery Council is the regulatory body for nurses in the UK

Alice had described how the memory of what Daker had done has never left her. She remained fearful of being alone and of going to bed at night. She continued to live independently and had some out-patient treatment but she could not form any new intimate relationships. It was over seventeen years before she disclosed what had happened to her and whilst the police investigated they were unable to prosecute Daker. He was, however, struck off the nursing register having admitted to having sex with a patient. During that hearing it was disclosed that there were concerns about his inappropriate behaviour towards women students while at university.

Towards the end of the interview Alice reflected again on how she feels that, for her, the issue is not resolved. She has not been able to find closure and hoped that in talking with me for this research she may move a little further along that road. In spite of me emphasising that I was there to undertake research and I could not help her to achieve any of her unresolved goals in relation to the case, Alice still expressed a hope that I might. She did not mean that she had not understood the limits of my role but rather that the research might uncover things that would give her more answers or more explanations than she had found already. She was particularly worried about what Daker was doing now and hoped that he would respond to my request for an interview so that I could find out. In spite of several requests he never responded.

In conclusion Alice returned to the issue of complacency amongst Daker's colleagues and managers. It seemed throughout the interview that she felt he should have been stopped either by the university that he attended or by his employers or supervisor or somebody in authority.

> *"It's a laugh because that's how it seemed to me, it was a laugh. Nobody cared what he was doing. I don't know. I said to myself that day there's something wrong with me, there's got to be. If they can't see this is wrong and they're nurses caring for the community..."*

And finally:

"So that's about my story Janet. Sorry I've had to unload all of this lot on you. There is nobody I can find so the progress I've made, if that's what you call it, I've done alone."

From what Alice had told me she certainly had managed most of the difficult issues surrounding the abuse on her own. Her contact with professionals since disclosing the abuse had not restored her faith in their ability to hold proper boundaries. If anything it had confirmed her view that they don't.

The study confirms the importance of practitioners having access to essential training on criminal offences involving sexual boundary violations; how to challenge behaviour in colleagues or employees that may be indicative of future misconduct; and how to support victims and their wider family as associate victims. Regulatory bodies should work more closely with the police in terms of sharing evidence and as a matter of course require the full medical notes of each victim to be available in any proceedings. Finally, it is important to give Alice the last word. This is taken from my final conversation with her:

> *"When I read it I just cried. I'm not used to taking compliments but the way you have written it you have made my story sound so interesting. But it hit me. All those times in hospital and that treatment – you have described what it was like but it doesn't tell the half of it. And as for Daker – I would still like to nail him before I go. I would like to make sure he is not working in some care home where he can do it again to somebody else. And if anybody tells me again that it gets better. It doesn't get better Janet. Take my word for it – tell them that."*

<div align="right">Alice</div>

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Panic in the 'Land of the Morning Calm':

An autoethnography on Emergency Contraceptives

In south Korea

Abstract

This autoethnographic account engages feminist standpoint theory to examine my

personal experience purchasing Norlevo, an emergency contraceptive pill, in South Korea

(Korea) as a Guest Native English Teacher (gNET) woman in the summer of 2014. My narrative

details interactions with several Korean male pharmacists in a rural Korean town as well as with

a Korean male doctor in Seoul as I attempt to purchase Norlevo. The policies limiting women's

access to reproductive information and resources in Korea can be traced to Korea's post-war

"family-planning programs." These policies sought to control the country's population growth to

spur development and have enabled Korea to become an internationally competitive economy

along with increased desire for English language learning. While Korea continues to compete in

the global system and employ English language teachers, gNET women are overlooked in terms

of providing information and resources about emergency contraceptives and reproductive health

services while living and teaching in Korea. I argue a need exists for multicultural approaches in the availability of women's reproductive health information geared toward gNET women in South Korea.

Key terms: Autoethnography, emergency contraceptives, English Program in Korea, feminist standpoint theory, Guest Native English Teachers, South Korea

Meet "MissAdventure"

My friends and family call me "MissAdventure," a somewhat unoriginal pun. They have aptly named me after a dozen or so comedic mishaps throughout my decade of international studies, travels, and work. But the experience of needing an emergency drug in a foreign country was neither funny nor harmless. In the summer of 2014 while living in South Korea (henceforth Korea) as a Guest Native English Teacher (gNET or "native-speaker"), I attempted to purchase emergency contraceptives (ECs) first in the rural town where I lived and worked and second in the capital city, Seoul. "Misadventure" does not remotely begin to describe that process. Throughout my experience in Korea and through this project, I was critical of Korean culture as illogical, sexist, and naïve. The difficulties I encountered felt *personal*, but I had not examined the historical and social contexts in which these events took place, nor did I fully realize how my own privileges as a white Westerner influenced this endeavor. I am challenged to reflect critically on my role as an American woman teaching English in Korea, and I admit I will still have a partial perspective (Haraway 420).

Here I engage feminist standpoint theory and autoethnography to analyze my experience obtaining emergency contraceptives in South Korea in the summer of 2014. This narrative details my interactions with several Korean male pharmacists in the rural town where I lived and worked, as well as my interaction with a doctor in Seoul as I navigated the process of accessing Norlevo--an emergency contraceptive pill. Policies limiting the availability of reproductive information and resources (such as access to emergency contraceptives) in Korea can be traced to Korea's post-war "family-planning programs" that sought to control the country's population growth to spur economic development (Hur 117). However, while Korea continues to compete in the global system, Guest Native English Teacher women are overlooked in terms of information and resources about emergency contraceptives and reproductive health services in Korea. I argue a need for multicultural approaches in the availability of women's reproductive health information geared towards gNET women. Throughout this paper, the term multicultural will be defined as relating to, reflecting, or adapting to include many diverse cultures ("Multicultural").

Below, I describe feminist standpoint theory and autoethnography that both enable differing accounts of life to produce legitimate knowledge (Boylorn 77; Haraway 420). Next, I weave the history of Korean "family-planning policies," facts about emergency contraceptives, popular attitudes towards foreigners in Korea, and additional background information throughout my narrative to provide context for my experience in Korea. My particular story encapsulates the culmination of awkward, uncomfortable, and frustrating situations that gNET women in Korea may experience. Finally, I end with a discussion about the implications of this narrative-research project and offer suggestions to address the lack of reproductive health information available to gNET women.

Feminist Standpoint Theory and Autoethnography

This project engages feminist standpoint theory in conjunction with autoethnography to analyze my experience obtaining emergency contraceptives in South Korea. The foundation of feminist standpoint theory is built on the notion that a one's sex, gender, race, ethnicity, class, etc. simultaneously enables and limits one's knowledge. As Harding states, "All knowledge is relative to particular social conditions that don't exist everywhere, at every historical moment, or for all groups in any particular society" (Harding, "Feminist Standpoints" 57). Since all knowledge is influenced and limited by the researcher's social location, subjectivity is seen as a credible element of research (Haraway 413). Rather than "value-free" objectivity, feminist standpoint theorists seek "strong objectivity" to begin research from the lives of women (Harding, "Feminist Standpoints" 56). Feminist "strong objectivity" simply means embodied objectivity and positioned rationality that recognizes partial perspectives as a means for producing legitimate knowledge (Haraway 420).

Autoethnography is an approach to research and knowledge production that situates the researcher's lived experiences and thoughts as the primary source of "data" in order to understand broader social, cultural, and political contexts (Ellis 273). As a creative undertaking, autoethnographers write in the first person to paint vivid descriptions and insights while divulging personal details, typically about sensitive topics (Ettore 536). Feminist autoethnography opens spaces for representations of differing accounts of life and values marginalized voices (Boylorn 77). Writing a research project in a way that is relatable to the reader's own emotions and experiences makes this work accessible to a wider audience and therefore creates the potential for social changes (Boylorn 81). Self-reflexivity--assessing one's multiple and fluid intersectionalities of identity, place, and power--is necessary (Denshire 835).

This critical interpretation of self should acknowledge subjective standpoints through a hyper-awareness of one's race, ethnicity, religion, sex, gender, socio-economic status, immigration status, relationship status, or additional "status/affiliations" that may shape the researcher's identity and influence the research process (Goodall 206). The ways in which my social positioning as a white, young, American woman teaching English impacted my experience in Korea and this research are woven throughout this project.

My personal journal entries, which I kept throughout my time in Korea, offer descriptions of the pharmacies, pharmacists, and the doctor in the two cities where I sought Norlevo. My thoughts, feelings, and assumptions about this endeavor are also documented in my entries. I reread these journal entries from the summer of 2014 in order to recreate scenes and conversations about these events (Ettore 537). Throughout this paper I weave my narrative with analysis and background information, indicated by the date of my journal entry, in the style of a layered account. "The layered account offers an impressionistic sketch, handing readers layers of experience so they may fill in the spaces and construct an interpretation of the writer's narrative" (Ronai 396). I differentiate transitions between the narrative, analysis, and background information with asterisks (Ronai 397).

As a feminist autoethnographer, I do not intend to speak on behalf of all Guest Native English Teachers. I do not intend to generalize my experience as a gNET women, nor can these events be replicated. Rather autoethnography allows me to make sense of my experience by connecting the personal to the cultural. How else can one research emotions and thoughts felt during a medical predicament in a foreign country? How else can one research this personal experience, especially as a "waygook" (foreigner) in South Korea?

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<u>Sunday, July 27th, 2014</u>

It was a humid and sticky summer evening, but I couldn't be bothered with my frizzy hair and my sweaty dress as I hurried down the hill. All I could focus on was getting to the pharmacy to buy the emergency contraceptive pill I needed. As I rushed, I Googled "emergency contraceptives in Korea" on my iPhone. A blog authored by a Western female English teacher popped up as the only relevant site. I skimmed the limited information on the page: some pharmacists required a prescription for EC; some did not; EC was nearly impossible to purchase outside of Seoul or Busan (cities at least a 2-3 hour train ride away from me). I took a screenshot of a little green Norlevo box, the most common EC in Korea. I convinced myself at least one of the three pharmacies in town would give me the pill.

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Emergency contraceptives, also known as EC and the morning-after-pill, are typically oral pills taken after any unprotected sexual intercourse to delay ovulation and prevent pregnancy (Mitall 45). Another method of EC is the copper intrauterine device (IUD) which has been found to be more effective in preventing pregnancies than the EC pill, but it requires insertion by a medical professional (Westley, Glacier 363). It is widely believed that ECs act as abortifacients, but since the function of EC is to block fertilization it does not affect or harm an existing pregnancy (Hrobak, Wilson 1397). It is popularly argued that access to emergency contraceptives will increase women's sexual promiscuity, but there has not been any conclusive study to support this notion. EC is maximally effective when taken within the first twelve to seventy-two hours after unprotected sex; thereafter the likelihood of success decreases significantly and ceases to be effective after 120 hours (Mittal 46). Thus, quick access to ECs is required to prevent an unintended pregnancy.

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<p style="text-align:center"><u>Sunday, July 27th, 2014</u></p>

I recalled sitting through the week-long English Program in Korea (EPIK) orientation in Daejeon the year before. They had practiced with us (the gNETs) how to bow properly for the school principal, how to pick up *kimchi* with chopsticks, and how to make PowerPoint games for our English lessons. But nothing from orientation could help me in this situation! I checked out the EPIK website hoping that it offered some advice.

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Korea's globalized economy of the 1990's prompted the Korean government to encourage the use of a global language-- English (Cho 219). The Korean Ministry of Education, Science and Technology invested in nationwide programs to "invite" "Guest Native-English Teachers" (gNETs) to teach English in public elementary, middle, and high schools beginning in 1995. The EPIK official website lists the program's missions as: "To foster primary and secondary students' English communication ability in the age of information and globalization; To provide English conversation training to public English teachers; To develop English textbooks and teaching materials; To improve and expand English teaching methodologies; To encourage cultural awareness between Koreans and EPIK teachers; To enhance Korea's image abroad."

EPIK offers year-long contracts with employment benefits such as reimbursed airfare, free accommodations, competitive pay, and extended vacations to gNETs. The teachers' E-2 visa status is sponsored by their place of employment--the public school. Since the program's inception, over 10,000 gNETs have taught in Korea ("Life in Korea"). However, the term "native-English speakers" superficially refers to those born and raised in one of the world's

seven predominately English speaking countries: the United States of America, Canada, Ireland, the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (Cho 227). In the spring of 2010, two years prior to my first teaching contract in Korea, 56% of new teachers were American, followed by 11.9% Canadian, and 10% English and/or British ("Overview of Spring 2010 Placement"). Moreover, the majority of gNETs were in their 20's and 30's; men and women were employed in approximately equal numbers ("Overview of Spring 2010 Placement"). Overall, the criterion for "native-speakers" is often coded in ideological terms favoring young, white Western teachers (Cho 227).

The official website for the EPIK program offers a narrow list of resources for making the transition to living in Korea as a foreign English teacher. Facts listed under the "General Information" tab include Korea's population, yearly weather conditions, and national flag and song. The "Culture and Etiquette" tab offers advice about proper family culture, traditional clothing, food, holidays, sports, and etiquette. The tab for "Daily Life" provides instructions for banking, cell phone services, mail, public transportation, and limited medical services ("Life in Korea"). Unfortunately, the information about medical services is restricted to a brief explanation of the difference between public and private hospitals and the services offered by public health centers, such as vaccinations and dental care. Services for women's health, or even external links to such resources, do not appear anywhere on the website despite the fact that young women comprise approximately half of the Western teachers employed by EPIK.

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Sunday, July 27th, 2014

Because I was one of the few foreign women in this rural town and therefore recognizable, to me the concepts of privacy and secrecy were virtually non-existent. I dreaded a

co-worker spotting me, interrogating me about my destination, and insisting on accompanying me (as was common during many of my errands around town). I crossed the street to avoid a handful of my elementary school students eating ice cream outside the convenience store, and I slyly slipped into the first pharmacy. An older Korean man sat behind the counter eating *kimbap*. I smiled nicely and greeted him, "*Anyounghasaeyo!*" I showed him the photo and stated, "*Eung-geub piim.*" Emergency contraceptive pill. The pharmacist's annoyed expression quickly transformed to inquisitive and then judgmental. He remarked, "*Annyo.*" No. My face flushed. I didn't know how to ask why he said no, and I forgot to use my translator app to do so. I bowed slightly to him --an annoying habit enforced by my male principals-- and I left the store. I thought to myself, *Did he really not have it? Was it really only available in Seoul? I bet he just didn't want to deal with a* "waygook."

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In addition to being dubbed the "Land of the Morning Calm," Westerners have long since labeled the Korean peninsula "The Hermit Kingdom." This name reflects the Korean population's claim to a 5,000-year history of ethnic homogeneity. The foundation of Korean national identity is ethnic purity (Park 1566). Over the past few decades, the general sentiment held by Koreans has shifted from negative to more accepting about foreigners living in Korea. From 1990 to 2008, the Korean media portrayed migrants from South/Southeast Asia in a negative light (Park 1581). This widespread image highlighted the country's economic and political leaders' criticism of "Korean society's deep-seated racism, which manifests itself as 'double standards' – overly kind treatment of white Americans and Europeans and mistreatment of other Asians as second-rate citizens – towards different groups of foreigners" (Park 1582).

Be that as it may, in 2009 Korean public schools revised their teaching of Korea as "one race–one nation" to a more multicultural country (Watson 446). Yet, while the government claims to promote multiculturalism, school curriculua continue to perpetuate sexist and racist attitudes. For example, in high school English textbooks used throughout Korea, "white characters in the texts were perceived as powerful, influential, and superior, whereas the African-American characters were perceived as powerless and inferior" (Song 383). Representations of white American males dominated the English curriculum school textbooks and reinforced long-standing Korean society's white American male preference (Song 385).

As of 2013, over 1.5 million foreigners resided in Korea, about 3% of the total population ("Republic of Korea"). Migrant laborers and international brides from South/Southeast Asia composed the majority of foreign residents ("OECD Data Korea"; A. Kim 81). Approximately 30,000 Guest Native English Teachers work in public and private institutions in Korea as of 2014 (Haddid). In comparison, in Japan--a similarly globalized country in Northeast Asia--there are currently approximately two million foreign residents, about 1.5% of the total population (Kyodo). Of those foreign residents in Japan, close to 4,500 are Native English Teachers (*JET Program*).

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<div align="center">Sunday, July 27th, 2014</div>

A few blocks over, I repeated the same process in a different pharmacy. I asked the elderly male pharmacist for Norlevo, but again I was told "*annyo*" without further explanation. I bowed slightly to him before leaving the store and contemplated what to do next. I felt light-headed from all the running around. I needed this pill. But calling my co-teacher for help was out of the question; exposing this taboo personal dilemma would make my last few months at school

unbearably embarrassing. *Why were they saying no? Will I need to go to Seoul?* Desperate, I

tried the only pharmacy left in town. However, this time the middle-aged male pharmacist went

off script! He took my iPhone and began to type into my translator app. "You need a

prescription," I read. In my terribly accented Korean I questioned, "Where? Today is Sunday."

His response was simple—the public hospital. I bowed slightly to him and sighed,

"*Kamsahamnida*." Even if he didn't provide the pill, I was thankful he at least gave me a clue to

the puzzle.

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After the Korean War armistice of 1954, the newly formed South Korean state

implemented economic advancement policies that often targeted "women's reproductive

responsibilities" as a means to achieve these goals. The Korean political leaders believed

population control influenced the success of society's development and therefore supported

nationwide family-planning programs (Hur 117). Government propaganda throughout the

following decades functioned to influence women's reproductive practices; slogans such as

"Don't bear many (children) and don't suffer much, bear few and raise them well," appeared

throughout women's daily lives (A. Kim 13). These messages convinced women to have fewer

children so as to fulfill their civic responsibility of controlling the population in efforts to spur

national development (A. Kim 14). Moreover, the government provided incentives, such as

government financial aid for few children, and "de-centives," such as higher taxes for multiple

children, to encourage smaller families (Hur 120). By 1991 the "success" of the programs could

be seen in the high number of tubal litigations (2.8 million women), use of intrauterine devices (7

million women), and vasectomies (1.2 million men) in a population of forty-three million

Koreans (Hur 116). However, at the turn of the 21st century Korea's birth rate plummeted to among the lowest in the world to 1.32 births per woman (Hur 120).

Consequently, by the early-2000's Korea reversed the majority of its population control policies in an effort to promote higher birthrates for fear of an underpopulated workforce in the future (Hur 120). Once more, the state focused on women's reproduction to serve national economic interests. For example, in the early-2000's Korea implemented laws promoting pro-natal, pro-family, and gender-equal culture and strengthened anti-abortion laws (Hur 121). Propaganda encouraged women to have *more* children to fulfill their nationalist duty-- a swift reversal from previous decades' messages. The popular slogan, "Let's give birth for the country," best articulates this mindset (Hur 121). Presently, Korean feminists contend that these "family-planning policies" threaten(ed) women's health, power, and reproductive practices while the state continues to presume "the power to control women's sexuality for its economic and political interests at the expense of their bodies and rights" (Hur 121).

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Sunday, July 27th, 2014

Now calmly strolling in the direction of the local hospital, I continued to keep an eye out for students and co-workers. But halfway there I suddenly stopped as it dawned on me. Of course I couldn't go to the hospital. I thought of my friend who visited there last month due to food poisoning. He had recounted that services at the public hospital required your alien registration card. My alien registration card was linked to my national health insurance. My national health insurance was paid for by my employer--the school. The school's address was listed as my primary contact, so my personal medical documents and the bill would be sent there. I knew my co-teacher would open that letter just as she had done with all of my other personal mail. If a

chance existed that my co-teacher, or worse the principal, would become aware of this situation, then there was no way I could go to the hospital for emergency contraceptives. *Why does this have to be so complicated? I just wanted to get the pill. I needed it. And soon.*

I contemplated calling in sick the next day so that I could visit a private doctor, but it was going to be the first day of summer English camp. No way could I blame my absence on an illness without a house call from the school nurse to validate my claim. Even if I did manage to see the doctor, I worried that in such a small town I wouldn't be able to maintain anonymity. It was risky enough as one of the few brown-haired, blue-eyed foreign women in town to go around asking for this drug. *Dang, I really missed the privacy I had enjoyed and taken for granted back in the USA!*

That coming Saturday I would be in Seoul for a friend's birthday party! But then I recalled that EC pills were most effective within the first 72 hours after unprotected sex, and next weekend would be too late to take it. Real panic came over me then; my stomach churned and my heart squeezed. I thought of the worst possible outcomes. What options did I have without ECs? I took a seat in the park and Googled "what to do no emergency contraceptive pill." Out of all of the ludicrous suggestions, the most viable idea was to take three regular birth control pills at increasing intervals over the next two days. It was not an ideal solution to self-medicate, but I was out of options.

Reluctantly, I revisited the last pharmacy. My heart-raced and my palms and forehead were clammy. I kept my frustration in check as I quietly asked for a pack of regular birth control pills. For 3,000 won ($3) I had a month's supply. That easy. The fact that those pills were available over the counter, whereas an *emergency* pill required a time-consuming doctor's visit for a prescription, was absolutely illogical to me. Finally back in my apartment, I popped the first

pill and hoped that this "plan-C" would be effective. It had been one of the most trying days in my nearly two years of living and teaching in Korea. Over the last hour I had felt shame, rejection, panic, hope, and desperation. Even after all of that drama, my risk of unintended pregnancy still remained unknown.

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In June 2012 the Korean Food and Drug Administration announced that it would reclassify both regular birth control pills and emergency contraceptives. This reclassification would have reversed the country's policies regarding these two medications; birth control would have thus required a prescription, whereas EC would have become available over the counter (R. Kim). Ultimately, this decision never came to fruition due to intense debates in Korea by women's rights groups who advocated against prescriptions for regular contraceptive use. Moreover, the religious community in Korea contended that easy access to ECs would promote premarital sex; they also believed ECs are equivalent to abortions ("EC Status and Availability: South Korea").

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Saturday, August 2nd, 2014

Once in Seoul, I had a few hours to spare before meeting my friend for her birthday party. I decided to take advantage of being in "the big city" to secure an emergency contraceptive pill in the event that I, or a friend in town, ever needed one again. I remembered from the blog that pharmacies in Seoul may not always require a prescription, and I hoped a pharmacist in Seoul would be conversant in English (a selfish desire after the trials of last weekend). So, I hopped off the train at Gangnam Metro Station and spotted a small pharmacy down the street.

I stepped into the store and immediately the middle-aged Korean male pharmacist greeted me, "Hello, how may I help you today?" *What a relief*, I thought, *he speaks English!* "Hi, I would like to buy Norlevo. It's an emergency contraceptive," I stated and showed the photo of the box. He paused for a moment, looked a little puzzled, and then turned to search the hundreds of pill boxes stacked against the back wall. *This is it!* I thought as I pulled out my wallet. *I can't believe it was that easy after all the trouble in town!* A minute later he approached the counter with the elusive little green box in hand.

"Okay, here is Norlevo," he affirmed while he inspected the box.

 "Great!" I exclaimed, "How much is it?" I extracted a 50,000 won note ($50).

"Well, first you need a prescription from a doctor to buy this pill," the pharmacist claimed. *Darn it! A prescription! I was so close! I should have known that it was too easy.*

My jaw clenched. I took a deep breath to soothe my irritation before kindly asking the pharmacist, "Where can I get a prescription? Do you know where there is a doctor?" I had come this far, and I was stubbornly determined to complete this quest.

<div align="center">****</div>

Korean college students' attitudes about emergency contraceptives highlight a lack of public knowledge and need for general education regarding ECs in Korea (Kang 777). A group of 1,046 single undergraduate students (75% female) from 16 universities in Korea were tested on their knowledge about emergency contraceptives. The biggest gaps in student knowledge included the "efficacy, time frame, active ingredients, effects on pregnancy, and common side effects" of emergency contraceptives (Kang 778). The majority of women in this sample thought taking ECs would have negative health effects and cause possible future infertility. Overall, only 21.3% of students had received education on ECs; approximately 55% of all

students scored "below average" on knowledge questions about ECs (Kang 778). Moreover, only half (54.8%) of the students knew ECs were available by prescription only, and less than half knew ECs could not prevent sexually transmitted diseases (Kang 778). However, the knowledge of international college students studying in Korea was absent from this research even though they are a substantial population on Korean college campuses. For instance, in total there are approximately 2.6 million undergraduate and graduate students in Korea, and 83,842 of those students are registered as international students ("Study in Korea").

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The pharmacist instructed me to go to the thirteenth floor of the sleek office building across the road, and he assured me the doctor would speak English. He told me to return with the prescription after the visit. Lugging my heavy weekend bag through the crowded and smoggy streets of Seoul in the August heat increased my annoyance. And just my luck, the elevator in the building was out of service. I huffed up the thirteen flights of stairs, and my skin began to glisten with perspiration.

Upon entering the doctor's office, three young petite Korean women behind the front desk stared at me as I approached. No other patients were in the lobby. I politely asked the women, "Do you speak English?" They simultaneously burst into high-pitched giggles. It was not the first time I had encountered this reaction, so I no longer tried to assess what caused the laughing this time: speaking English? being a foreigner? looking gross and hot and sweaty? I ignored the giggling and said, "*Uisa*." Doctor.

Suddenly, they stopped giggling and scanned me from head to toe. One of the women handed me a medical information sheet on a clip board along with a red pen (a Korean social

faux pa since writing a name in red ink signifies death). I plopped onto one of the cushiony white chairs and scanned the office space. Dozens of posters depicted "before and after" photos of young Korean women: double eye-lid surgery; cheek bone and jaw chiseling; face lifts; neck tucks; nose jobs; liposuction; laser hair removal. *Was this a plastic surgeons office? Of course it was; this was Gangnam. But how could a plastic surgeon help with emergency contraceptives?* Exasperated, I didn't know what else to do other than fill out the few sections of the form I could translate-- my name, sex, and birthdate. I waited while the front desk staff continued to glance my direction, whisper, and giggle some more.

A few minutes passed before a handsome young Korean man wearing a white lab coat appeared, presumably the doctor. He addressed me in American-accented English and then escorted me into his office. I hoped he could actually help me and this wouldn't be a waste of time or money. I took a seat in front of his large wooden desk. "What are you here for? Would you like laser hair removal? Liposuction? You have very pretty eyes and a nice smile, but I can help you so the boys will like all of your body!" he exclaimed as he pushed several brochures across his desk. *What. The. Heck.* "No, thank you," I calmly stated. "I actually want a prescription for Norlevo. It's an emergency contraceptive."

"Oh, I see!" the doctor responded. "Why do you need it?"

"Why do I need it?" I repeated.

"Yes. Why do you need it?"

Why? WHY? I didn't know what to say. *For the most obvious reason--for emergency contraception!* I stared at him blankly, searching for appropriate words since he was clearly expecting an explanation. I lied, "Oh, I missed some birth control pills and the condom broke, so now I am worried." If I thought asking for Norlevo in my tiny town was embarrassing, this

encounter was outright humiliating. I avoided making eye contact with him, and I looked around

his spacious office. I spotted a diploma from a university in California-- typical training of many

young Korean doctors.

"Oh, I see," he said. "Are you married?"

"I'm engaged," I stated.

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Language and communication issues, differing "values, beliefs, habits, practices, (and)

preferences in lifestyle" can all affect foreign women's treatment and health outcomes in Korea

(H. Kim 562). The consequences of not having comprehensive and appropriate medical care for

foreign women, especially in terms of reproductive health, can be severe or fatal. For example, a

group of 645 international brides in Korea had suffered from "infertility, natural abortion,

stillbirth, and premature birth" and lacked information and resources to seek the help they

desired in these circumstances in 2010 (H. Kim 564). However, a program that had been created

to educate international brides about maternal and newborn care had a positive effect which

suggests that multicultural approaches to women's health can be beneficial (H. Kim 564). It can

be concluded that "we (Korean health care providers) should seek to develop health promotion

and educational resources that are culturally sensitized for newcomers and facilitate their entry

into our primary health care systems, thereby enabling early and efficient health care responses"

(H. Kim 586). While these programs are an important step toward encompassing

multiculturalism in women's reproductive health, studies concerning the access to emergency

contraceptives and the reproductive health of *all* foreign women in Korea deserve more attention.

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"Well, I can write you a note for Norlevo. No problem," the doctor said casually and pulled out a thick prescription pad from his desk drawer. I couldn't comprehend what was happening. A plastic surgeon was writing me a prescription for EC after first insulting me, questioning my personal needs and information, and all without a medical examination. *What was the purpose of a required prescription then, if not for a doctor to ensure it would be safe to take the pill?* It took all my composure to not lose my temper.

While the doctor wrote he asked, "Where are you from?"

"*Mi-gook saram*," I stated through gritted teeth, "I'm from the U.S.A."

"Ah-ha! I knew you were American. You look like the common American girl. I know because I attended medical school in California. I like the USA! I told the American girls to visit Korea so I can make them more beautiful for their boyfriends!" I had no proper words for him other than "thank you and goodbye."

I grabbed the prescription and my bags, and I bowed slightly to him before leaving his office. In the lobby I paid the 10,000 won ($10) fee for the doctor's "visit." I furiously stomped down the thirteen flights of stairs, threw open the doors, joined the thousands of hot and sweaty people on the sidewalks, crossed the street, and entered the pharmacy once again.

"Oh, you are back!" the same male pharmacist announced. Several other customers were browsing the aisles of the pharmacy. All I could do was muster a false smile and present the prescription to him. He studied the paper and then loudly proclaimed, "I think you are too fat. Norlevo will not work if you are more than seventy-five kilograms." I felt the heads of the other customers collectively turn towards me, and I knew that at least a handful could understand our English conversation. My face burned, and not from the heat exposure. Obviously this wasn't the

first time a Korean man labeled me "fat," and I doubted it would be the last, so I wasn't bothered

by that particular statement. But I was still dumbfounded. I had asked him no more than 45

minutes ago for that exact pill, and he did not mention that piece of information, nor did the

doctor. I looked around for the "Candid Camera" crew to surprise me; I didn't know if I was

about to laugh out loud or break down crying from the mounting absurdity of this venture. I

thought to myself, *OinK! Only in Korea,* an inside joke my friends and I shared on an almost

daily basis when something incomprehensible occurred.

"Well, do you have another brand that will work?" I questioned.

"*Annyo,*" he shook his head, "Your prescription is Norlevo so I cannot give you another

kind."

I gave up. "That's fine. I'll take the Norlevo," I stated while trying to maintain some

sense of dignity. He retrieved the same little green box from the shelf and placed it on the

counter as he kept muttering, "It won't work. It won't work."

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Controversies surround the effectiveness of emergency contraceptives containing

levonorgestrel in relation to women's weight. My prescription in Korea, Norlevo, lists

levonorgestrel as the primary active ingredient ("Norlevo"). In 2011, a meta-analysis concluded

that body mass index was the most significant variable in the failure of emergency contraceptive

pills containing levonorgestrel. Women with a body mass index (BMI) categorized as "obese"

were determined to have a three-times greater risk of pregnancy after taking this form of EC

(Westley, Glacier 354). Furthermore, the Norlevo official website claims that "the pregnancy

prevention effect of Norlevo decreases in women with a bodyweight over 75 kilograms. If the

body weight is over 80 kilograms, the drug is not effective." On the other hand, Dr. Carolyn

Westhoff, a professor of obstetrics and gynecology and public health at Columbia University, as well as a senior medical adviser at Planned Parenthood Federation of America, remains unconvinced of these findings. In a 2014 interview with TIME magazine she claimed, "People in the field have been scratching their heads since (the 2011 study) was published, saying what sorts of studies could we do to get more data to help us understand this better. To my knowledge, nobody has done those additional studies" (Abrams). Overall, there has not been sufficient research to verify if body weight does in fact play a role in the failure of emergency contraceptives containing levonorgestrel.

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The pharmacist then commenced listing off all of the possible side effects of the pill, "…cramping, headaches, nausea, irreg---." I stopped listening. I didn't care. I tossed a 50,000 ($50) won note on the counter, and he gave me 42,000 won in change. The pill cost only $8 which provided me a little solace as I knew the morning-after-pill topped $50 back in the States. I stuffed the little green box deep into my bag and quickly left the store.

Back on the main street, I spotted a Starbucks up the road-- a welcomed sanctuary of Americana. An hour remained before meeting my friend at the hostel, so I decided to treat myself to a taste of home to soothe my emotions after a vexing gNET problem. On the third floor of Starbucks, I relaxed in one of the plush chairs overlooking the bustling street below. With my grande iced café latte and a slice of cheesecake (unfortunately, literal cheese-cake; I should have known better), I replayed the events from last weekend and today in my mind. I couldn't help but feel bitter that I, as a woman, was the one in the relationship who had to go through this ordeal. *How did any of this make sense in the literal terms of emergency*

contraceptives? Who makes up these policies and why? What would have happened if emergency contraceptives were a men's drug? Where is the medical information about all of this for foreign women living and working in Korea? Only in Korea.

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Reflections by MissAdventures-a white American gNET woman

Before this project I thought I emulated the standards of being a good "global citizen"-- one who places identity with a "global community" above their identity with a specific nation (R. Israel). Reflecting on my experience as a young white American woman teaching English in South Korea, I realize I am undoubtedly privileged *as a white American*. How fortunate was I to be born in one of the seven English-speaking countries (all first-world) that EPIK exclusively hires from, and with the ideal skin-tone (white)! As I consult my journals to construct my narrative herein, I recognize my privileged assumptions throughout the ordeal of obtaining emergency contraceptives.

I had previously heard of emergency contraceptives while living in the States, so I had knowledge of safe options to prevent pregnancy. I had assumed that the American way of *not* needing a prescription was the best and only way for accessing emergency contraceptives. But does the policy of needing a prescription for an emergency contraceptive infringe on women's reproductive agency, and who makes those decisions? I had even regarded my American concept of privacy higher than my desire to not become pregnant. With my teaching position in Korea, I always had weekends off to do as I pleased, such as travel to Seoul to obtain medical services. I had the means to see a private doctor without needing to rely on the relatively inexpensive public health system; I even could have afforded to quit my teaching job in Korea and return to the U.S.A. without hesitation if needed. I had blamed EPIK for not providing information about

women's health resources, but who should be held responsible for meeting the health wants and needs of foreign women in Korea?

I would like to highlight that all of the pharmacists and the doctor I encountered in my experience were Korean men. This led me to question the gender (in)equality in Korea, but I am unable to fully address gender discrimination that both gNET women and Korean women face on a daily basis while living and working in Korea due to the extent of the cultural importance placed on patriarchal structures, ageism, and the influence of Confucianism and Buddhist ideals. However, a glimpse of gender discrimination can be seen in the contract renewals of gNET teachers. For example, gNET women were more likely to choose to *not* to renew their contract for a second year despite the widespread attitude that pretty (white) female teachers were desired more than teachers without these physical features (Cho 225). The Korean patriarchy (ageist and sexist environments) was blamed as the reason behind this discrepancy in contract renewals, but no such research has specifically questioned this notion (Cho 225-28).

While I argue a need for multicultural approaches to gNET women's information about emergency contraceptives in Korea, my project does not address the problematic issues surrounding globalization in the 21st century. Determining the significance of the dominance of the English language around the world and the commodification of the English language would be beneficial to research. Moreover, examining the actual success of EPIK and similar English-teaching programs, Korean teachers' and students' perceptions of these programs, and the forces driving these phenomena would be an asset to this project. It is worth questioning what "multiculturalism" and globalization means to the Korean government and the Korean general population at large. Furthermore, it would be helpful to know who is making decisions of how Korea approaches multiculturalism. Is there a "good" or "wrong" way to be a diverse society?

How would multicultural approaches to women's health affect the health care system in Korea? How would it affect EPIK and gNET women? How would this influence future immigration of all women to Korea? Are employers, the government, or individuals responsible for foreign workers?

Conclusion

In this project, I engaged feminist standpoint theory to establish my intersecting identities and the implications of these social identities and employed autoethnography to analyze my experience obtaining emergency contraceptives in South Korea in the summer of 2014. My narrative detailed my interactions with members of the Korean medical system as I navigated the process of accessing emergency contraceptives in the rural town where I lived and in the capital, Seoul. I traced policies limiting women's access to reproductive information and resources to "family-planning programs" implemented after the Korean War which sought to control the country's population growth to promote economic development (Hur 117). Furthermore, I demonstrated that gNET women are overlooked in terms of providing information and resources about emergency contraceptives and reproductive health services in Korea due to factors such as language issues, privacy issues, and cultural differences. Being self-reflexive of my privileged perspective throughout the narrative and this project forced me to acknowledge the ways in which my assumptions influenced my experiences.

It is predicted by 2030 as many as 3.6 million foreigners will reside in Korea, about 7% of the population (Lim 518). I believe there is a need for multicultural approaches to the accessibility of information about emergency contraceptives for gNET women as Korea will grow as a multicultural society in the 21st century of globalization. Foreign women living in

Korea should have appropriate resources to decrease unnecessary reproductive health risks. Research published in English that addresses access to emergency contraceptives of Guest Native English Teachers (gNETs) is virtually non-existent, as is research addressing gNET women's general experiences in Korea. The majority of literature pertaining to foreigners in Korea is limited to foreigners' HIV/AIDS status and awareness, as well as the mandated screening for HIV/AIDS before all non-Korean citizens may work legally in Korea (Jung; Kee et al.).

Future studies should examine the daily life of Guest Native English Teacher women and their experiences regarding reproductive health in Korea. EPIK should invest in offering a more comprehensive guide for navigating the Korean medical system for gNET women so that those employed by this program have the resources to remain "healthy" (in my case, not pregnant) throughout their length of employment. EPIK, the Korean medical system, and Guest Native English Teachers could collaborate to make accessible and appropriate information for these women. Hopefully in the future Guest Native English Teacher women will not have to "panic in the Land of the Morning Calm" when it comes to the morning after.

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Bridging Conscious Partiality and Intersectionality

Through Action Research

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Abstract

To date, normative scientific methodology depends on the separation of the researcher from the researched. This denial and concealment of lived experience of the researcher forces scholars to repudiate their own social positioning which, in reality, undeniably influences their research and can serve as valuable epistemological resources. The methodologies encountered in action research, in contrast, interrogate how scholars can productively engage their social positioning as an epistemological site within their research processes. The goal of my research is to argue and demonstrate that action research is more objective than normative scientific methodology. An additional aim is to bring a much needed intersectional perspective to action research in the setting of higher education the purpose of which is to illuminate the connections between hierarchical power relations and knowledge production. I create a case study in an event called Take Back the Night, which is a rally and march to raise awareness of gender-based violence. I explore how activism can be combined with research on issues of gender-based violence, using an intersectional perspective. This perspective allows me to examine how activists must work to re-center marginalized experiences in order to destabilize hegemonic power relations in societal institutions including the academy. I conclude that through the analysis of conscious partiality within the methodology of action research, scholars can ultimately bring greater objectivity to their activism and research.

Introduction

In feminist theory, scholars shy away from normative positivists approaches that value neutrality over incorporation of lived experiences. Positivism encourages researchers to stay detached and objective, despite the fact that they are positioned in history and culture. Some scholars, such as renowned postcolonial feminist Maria Mies, even posit that research grounded in the personal stance should help to form a path towards collective discovery, where we are able to learn more about hierarchies and power structures that exist in the world, in addition to specific research goals. Feminist scholars uniquely value discovery over objectivity, which is exemplified by the methodology of action research (Mies 1983). This approach of "action research" encourages researchers to be engaged, passionate and consciously partial in their knowledge production. Action research is a method for researchers to link activism and academic research as it provides a way for researchers to incorporate lived experience into scholarly work as a resource of knowledge on the social world, in particular, the inner workings of hierarchical relations of power based on race, class, gender, and sexuality at their intersections. In this study, I explore the idea of "conscious partiality" (Mies 1983). I use intersectionality theory to examine research through activism because, I argue, if activists are able to acknowledge their social stance, they are more likely to produce objective research. Also, I see that intersectionality has not been incorporated sufficiently into action research, as activists and scholars do not yet have the tools to create intersectional action research.

In this paper, I begin by analyzing the background in current scholarship about intersectionality theory and how this theory can be put to use to make change in communities through action research. Next, I briefly explore how this can be effectively applied in the

location of higher education, but I hope this would be applied to improve action research in any institutional setting, such as individuals looking to conduct action research in local communities. I then develop a model used in many activist workshops such as Power Shift, which was a conference of student activists talking about social justice issues held at the University of Mary Washington in February, 2015. The model, I argue, illustrates that bringing research and activism together brings needed factors to activism and scholarship: it brings consciousness of one's own experiences within social structures to the forefront, as resources that can enhance the discovery process regarding issues of power inequities. I then apply this model to a case study of an activist project called Take Back the Night, an event that takes various forms to raise awareness of gender-based violence. I conclude that activists cannot create change in this world for all people without re-centering marginalized experiences and representing all groups in activism, bringing their much needed standpoints into the knowledge production process.

My Own Conscious Partiality

Before I begin my argumentation on why intersectional action research is important, I would like to make my social location and therefore the origin of my standpoint clear. This is part of the process of becoming consciously partial- acknowledging what we are bringing into our research. In my work, I use a first person perspective as I recognize that this research is originated in my own lived experiences. I do not claim to represent a whole group of people. When I use "we" or "our," I try to be very clear as to which group I am speaking of, and that I am not speaking for them but merely stating my beliefs. I believe this is part of the process of becoming consciously partial and is something that most scientific research does not value enough. In terms of my position within intersectionality theory, I am a white, middle class, heterosexual, college student. I am limited in my own experiences with regards to race, being white, and because I am female and middle class it means that I have been socialized to be

ignorant of hierarchical relations of racialized gender. I will attempt to overcome this incapacity by using the theory of conscious partiality, where I take into account my own experiences and try to actively create a space where I can account for my biases. I would also like to recognize that I am applying this model to a framework of higher education because this is what I am familiar with. I recognize that this environment is privileged and not accessible to all people. This model should be an accessible measure for many groups that are not in the environment of higher education. Lastly, I would like to recognize that intersection activism has been performed for decades by women of color. In this paper, however, I will focus on written scholarship in action research and intersectionality and this may not include much of the intersectional activism that is occurring. Part of my argument is that this discussion of intersectional activism needs to be more present in scholarly literature and applications directly taken from scholarly work, so this is what my analysis will focus on.

An Intersectional Perspective to Activist Causes

Intersectionality, as coined by Kimberlé **Crenshaw, provides a way in which we can tackle the issue of confounded oppressions. Intersectionality theory emphasizes that oppression is often experienced because of many parts of someone's identity: such as because of their race, class, gender, etc.** Current intersectionality theory presents a need for intersectional action research but rarely suggests ways in which to do so. For example, Kimblerlé **Crenshaw illustrates in her work Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color (1991) that women of color are less likely to have their cases pursued in court after they have been abused and how many resources in these communities are being misdirected (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1251). She suggests that structural inequalities leave many women of color in a cycle of violence. She justifies this suggestion**

through statistics that show that Black women are more likely to be victims and are also less likely to report (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1251). She suggests a need but she does little to provide concrete action strategies for how we can create an intersectional model moving forward. In terms of an application of her ideas, I believe that we must use action research and link the methodology of intersectionality with concrete activism that could create policy change, as I show later on in my paper in the section in which I develop a model for activism (14).

In a lecture given at the National Young Feminist Leadership Conference in Crystal City in March, 2015, Crenshaw emphasized the importance of intersectionality in research and activism. In her lecture titled Reclaiming that #BlackGirlsMatter, she examined how police brutality is now a center of a lot of discussion, especially when it is committed against a person of color. In August 2014, Michael Brown, an unarmed Black teenager, was shot and killed by a police officer. There was national and even international outrage at the legal process that followed. However, in Crenshaw's presentation she notes that we must not only be creating action around this, but that we must also be aware of the many cis and trans women of color who have been victims of police brutality in the past year, who have been further invisibilized by attention given to violence perpetrated against Black men. She called on this audience of activists to create change and raise awareness of police brutality, using an intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 2015). Given the power of such an argument, I will develop a model that can be used in the implementation of this sort of activism as I believe that intersectionality theory must be applied to an action research framework.

It is critical that action research be implemented through an intersectional perspective, so that scholars and activists can create change in their communities for all. In

Dieuwertje Huijg's research (2013), she suggests that we consider the oppressed and the oppressor in order to consider intersectional activism. This is important as it gives valuable perspective as to the source of the oppression and how there are interactions with the oppressed groups' lived experiences. Her research could be expanded by developing a practical model that activists can use to develop intersectional activism. Current scholarly literature establishes a need for intersectional activism by pointing out the significance of the problem of excluding and not centering the experiences of marginalized people. For example, in Diane Lewis' piece *A Response to Inequality: Black Women, Racism, and Sexism* (1983), she points out that there are differences between the ways white and black women interact within society. This has consequences in activist causes that they will pursue. She states that "the variance in deference and access to power and authority between black and white women have proven to be critical factors underlying the black woman's perception of common group interests with black men and distrust of white women" (Lewis, 1983, p. 176). Her arguments show that activists must incorporate intersectionality into their work, such as the intersection between race and gender, while considering especially intersections that have been historically neglected. In this case, it would be by centering the experiences of Black women of color. Huijg suggests the examination of power as well as specific intersections where marginalization is experienced, such as between race and gender (Huijg, 2013). I argue that scholars must develop an extensive model for future activism that can serve as a means to create this intersectional action research.

Action Research: A Methodology Pushing for More

Action research is a methodology that provides a combination of activism and scholarly work, where there is potential for concrete implementations and results taken from theoretical work that is being done. Currently, there are several examples of feminist activism in literature,

which explains the purpose behind the event and the intended audience. However, the literature often stops at very base levels of analysis. Also, it rarely suggests concrete improvements going forward in planning future actions. There is some research that establishes the effectiveness of Slut Walks, which are protest marches held around the world to stand against victim-blaming, and why they are important. In Maruyama's assessment of Kurt Lewin's action research for example, there is an analysis of how action research can be effective (Maruyama, 2014). Specifically, Maruyama tells how Lewin uses action research as a philosophy about research "as a vehicle for creating social advancement and change" (Maruyama, 2014, p. 2). This application is critical when it comes to the methodology of action research, which is both about scholarship as well as activism as these intersect with one another. I believe that action research is critical in the feminist movement in order for scholars to see where their feminist research can be applied in making concrete change outside of academia. Also, it encourages activists to make a conscious effort to improve their activism by performing scholarly critiques of their own work.

As we interrogate normative research methodologies and examine the hierarchical power relations that they perpetuate, action research seems like a logical methodology as it allows researchers to engage with the research subject(s). This methodology encourages researchers to take their conclusions a step further and apply concrete action to create positive change in our communities. Colleen Reid (2004) has also demonstrated the usefulness of action research and why it is necessary as we transform the way in which we perform research. In her work *Advancing women's social justice agendas: A feminist action research framework* (2004), Reid powerfully suggests that action research can be the methodology that allows us to study social justice issues. Specifically, she says "social justice is not only a way of seeing the world, it can also inform how research is conceptualized and conducted" (Reid, 2004, p. 2). As Reid suggests,

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examining social justice issues through the methodology of action research can change the way our research is created so as to be socially transformative. This is because action research allows scholars and activists to bring positive change in our communities by generating results from the combination of the two. I apply her conceptualization of action research, embedding an intersectional lens.

Within the theoretical framework of feminist action research, there is also quite a bit of research that has been done on the idea of researchers being "consciously partial." This is valuable as it provides a lens to the methodology of action research. Mies (1983) developed this concept as one of seven methodological postulates that can guide activist scholars worldwide. She implies that scholars must actively participate and must transform normative research practices that often results in passive research done by bystanders. Jill Vickers' *Methodologies for Scholarship about Women* (2002) expands on this idea and applies it to the methodology of action research. She critiques positivism as the dominant paradigm for normative research and calls on researchers to critique this paradigm (Vickers, 2002, pp. 69-70). She expands on this critique by illustrating that "though feminists can use other approaches to knowledge making, the results are harder to legitimize. So feminist knowledge claims are often seen as 'biased'; that is, in positivist terms they fail the test of objectivity" (Vickers, 2002, p. 70). Therefore, positivist work distorts knowledge produced about women. Vickers phrases action research as a way to change knowledge-making to "about women," under positivism, to "for women," that also serves their needs. She examines the difference between traditional research paradigms which ask for researchers to be detached and "objective" despite having an undeniable lived experience and social position (Vickers, 2002, pp. 68-69). She calls on researchers to be engaged with their research and to be "consciously partial" as Mies also called for.

Her critique of positivism illustrates that it falsely represents the male experience as universal as feminist and women's experiences and perspectives are seen as inherently biased. This illustrates that through this power structure present within positivism, the experiences and knowledge of other groups such as men of color, white women, women of color, etc., are disappeared as are their interests. She also shows that it is not possible to be truly objective in our research without first examining our own lived experiences. Vickers argument, that it is valuable to acknowledge lived experiences that occur because of the researcher's social position within hierarchies of social power, along the axes of race, class, gender, and sexuality, adds valuable insight to intersectionality theory and action research. For example, she cites the standpoint approach as a possible feminist methodology moving forward.

Vickers illustrates that "knowledge held by the oppressed should be privileged because it is more complete than the knowledge held by the oppressors" (Vickers, 2002, p. 72). Scholars performing scholarly research must then incorporate that into activism and actions, where needed and possible. That is the goal of action research. After this, researchers can create scholarly work that is objective because they are able to incorporate these lived experiences into the analysis. I argue that Vickers' approach must be expanded by applying intersectionality theory more than she already has because this is critical in deconstructing normative power relations in current research paradigms. I also will apply this combination to the location of higher education because a huge amount of research is generated in higher education institutions. There is a lot of potential for scholars in higher education, whether professors or students, to transform normative research that follows positivist thought processes to action research where these scholars engage with their research.

In order for scholars to effectively utilize the methodology of action research to create change, they must recognize that marginalized experiences must be re-centered in the analysis and implementation processes. Michelle Fine suggests in *The Politics of Research and Activism: Violence against Women* (1989) that activism cannot be focused on the individual, especially the individual woman. She argues that focusing on the individual woman, especially in activism involving domestic violence, contributes to victim-blaming as it emphasizes the individuals specific location in relation to their experience (Fine, 1989) instead of the systems of heteropatriarchy, white supremacy, and many others. I believe that this is a valuable perspective in research on activism but must be expanded to say how we can truly have intersectional activism. Intersectionality theory can help us to develop our knowledge of social identities and social groups. Intersectional activism must be able to incorporate and re-center marginalized experiences and this often involves taking into account lived experiences of individuals.

Black feminist thought emphasizes that the individual standpoint developed from lived experience is always related to the group and in some ways illuminates the collective group experience. In Patricia Hill Collins' piece *Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought* (1986), she points out that a "focus on Black women's culture is significant [because] ... an analytical model exploring the relationship between oppression, consciousness, and activism is implicit in the way Black feminists have studied Black women's culture" (Collins, 1986, p. 115). Collins points out that Black women's place in society and the complex perspectives of themselves allows them to critically analyze their own actions and associated oppressions. She further explains how Black feminists have a unique opportunity to embrace their unique standpoints and use it as they see fit. Collins' idea, that Black feminists have an opportunity to contribute to activism in accordance with their own

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experiences of oppression, is strong. All feminists must be able to incorporate the needs of Black feminists into their movements at all times, as these experiences have often been marginalized. This would be possible through a model that keeps standpoint theory present throughout activist movements.

There is a great potential for activists and scholars to utilize action research to create change for all people. The problem with current academic scholarship is that they often present a problem without presenting a way for people to create change. However, the implementation of this methodology must be intersectional. A specific critique of feminist activism because of the lack of intersectionality is found once again in Patricia Hill Collins' *Learning from the Outsider Within* (1986). She points out that when dichotomies exist, these people, things, or ideas only gain meaning because of the comparison to the counterpart. For example, she points out the dichotomies of "black/white, male/female, reason/emotion..." (Collins, 1986, p. 110) and she illustrates that each side of the dichotomy does not enhance the other but rather they are inherently in opposition to each other.

Collins goes on to say that "while black feminist activists may work on behalf of Black women, they rarely project separatist solutions to Black female oppression. Rather, the vision is one that…takes its 'stand on the solidarity of humanity'" (Collins, 1986, p. 111). She shares this as part of the humanist vision that is present in Black feminist thought as they seek to break down all forms of oppression. This is a starting point for developing different conscious partialities. For example, white women will engage with this "humanist vision" differently than women of color and other groups. This is where white feminists can rely on and connect with women of color to work towards eradicating white racialized gender. This also brings a potent perspective to the subject of action research as we seek to break down normative power relations

and create movements that are meaningful for all, rather than the groups that are favored in the dichotomies that Collins discusses. The literature on action research presents a need for incorporation of intersectionality theory and a concrete model for future actions. I believe that one of the most effective settings to pursue such actions is within institutions of higher education. I now turn to an analysis of the possibility of an intersectional lens to action research.

Social Justice within Higher Education

The scholarship on activism within the context of higher education also reflects significant gaps that leave many activists without the tools to make change in their communities. Currently, there is research that shows why higher education is a place where social change is the most likely to occur first. So much innovation and so many movements for change are initiated on college campuses in this country. Mala Singh's research illustrates that "higher education institutions are regarded as central to economic and social development because of their role in the production of the knowledge, innovations and high-level skills necessary for economic growth and competitiveness" (Singh, 2011, 483). Singh points out in her research that social justice conversations often occur in the classrooms of higher education. This dialogue creates a large potential for change in this setting.

Interdisciplinary scholarship is highly valued today in higher education, but this falls short of an intersectional perspective. Osei-Kofi et al suggest that through interdisciplinary studies in women's studies, ethnic studies, etc. we can "value and center diverse perspectives that challenge the status quo and nurture a dialogue about what constitutes valid knowledge in higher education" (Osei-Kofi, 2010, pp. 334-335). Their suggestion that departments address "social justice from the perspective of a structured curriculum or in relation to everyday institutional and departmental practices" (Osei-Kofi, 2010, p. 329) is quite powerful. Through

my work, I suggest that this approach should be taken in learning, research, and activism. There is a body of research in place that is working to expand learning to make it more interdisciplinary. I would like to push this and challenge not only our learning but also our activism as we make it not only interdisciplinary but also intersectional through a consciously partial mindset.

To bring these three bodies of research (intersectionality, action research, and social justice in higher education) together, I suggest a theoretical model in which to incorporate intersectional activism into higher education settings. I argue that activism can be accessible to all people and can create a space where marginalized experiences are especially valued and shared if the research and the planning behind it is extensive and diverse. As many scholars have suggested, such as Collins, Crenshaw and Vickers, it is necessary for activism to incorporate the needs of all folks and specifically those with marginalized identities, as this is how societal power relations will be deconstructed. In the context of a specific action, Take Back the Night, I suggest that we must be aware of the different experiences of sexual violence and the different positions that white women and women of color inhabit within a shared history of white supremacy and capitalism. This could be most effective through a lens of conscious partiality. I encourage researchers and organizers take into account their own experiences as they execute research plans and events, and this will have different implications for every organizer as well as groups. In the next and last section below, I will expand on a theoretical model that merges concepts from different bodies of scholarships: intersectionality, action research, and social justice in higher education. Now, I will provide a model for how intersectionality can be implemented into feminist practice.

Proposed Model for Intersectional Action Research in Higher Education

The model I propose, called the "Tree of Power", is extensively used in activists groups and analyzes hierarchical power structures that exist in society. I first learned about the idea for this model at a meeting for student activists called "Power Shift" at the University of Mary Washington in February, 2015 where the organizers implemented this model on the topic of environmental justice issues. This model attempts to analyze the societal roots, the structural support (trunks), and the manifestations in our society (leaves) that surround a given problem. To my knowledge, this model has not been published and is not yet being used widely in scholarly applications. I will develop this model with further questions than what are usually asked, in order to fully incorporate an intersectional perspective that re-centers marginalized experiences. I will also develop another application as I apply this to the topic of gender-based violence. This model can be applied to any organizing group that has a committed, consistent, and reliable membership base that will be present throughout the planning process, as the model is used throughout the process. Therefore, in order for the event to be representative of the conversations and the model, the event planning group must be dependable throughout the whole process. Therefore, I suggest that this might be easiest to implement in the setting of higher education institutions as well as the surrounding community. Universities often have accessible venues, faculty support, community support, and funding readily available to most registered campus groups and these groups can provide a solid membership base. However, universities are often hegemonic and are undoubtedly raced, gendered, and classed and should be de-centered from this planning process. Academic institutions are limited in their "conscious partiality" and are rather often "un-conscious" of these axes of oppression, which is a similar problem for white feminists. Therefore, the "team" associated with these projects should predominantly include

members of the community that are performing this anti-racist, anti-sexist work outside of the hegemonic system of higher education.

In order to understand the model, we must understand seven questions that must be asked through it. One of the most important initial questions to ask through this model is "Why are we planning this event- for what issue/cause/message?" It is important for everyone who is helping to plan the event to unite around a common topic in order to be consistent with the event planning strategy. Also, it is important to be very specific in the message of an action in order to not cover too many topics and avoid the message being lost. In order to have a steady event planning process, every person on the team must be united to fight a specific problem. This is where the action research part of the process will begin- first activists must identify an activist cause. After the topic or problem that the team wants to address is clarified, the team must then ask, "What do we see in our society that proves this problem exists?" This will give the team a better idea of what they are combatting and will help with the message of the action. Organizers can bring valuable perspective and examples to attendees by giving examples of ways these problems manifest in our society.

Next, a question that corresponds to this idea is "Who is affected by this problem?" This is one of the most critical questions when it comes to applying intersectionality theory to action research. The team must interrogate common perceptions of the problem they are facing and examine marginalized intersections and how they interact with the problem at hand. This part of the thought process may involve surveying other people and/or organizations that may be able to contribute relevant perspectives through lived experiences that are often left in the margins. It is important to give priority to these experiences as they pertain to different collective groups, and the ways these experiences are interpreted, as this is how we can bring collective understanding

and action to address the issue. This references standpoint theory, where lived experiences are valued and brought to the beginning of the analysis of the issue that activists are tackling.

Then, the planning team must ask "How does this problem manifest institutionally?" This can be within higher education or in terms of laws in policies in their region, state, or even nationally or internationally and team members that work outside of the university community can help with this quite a bit. This will guide the leadership team in their activist goals. Finally, the planning team should put some thought into "Why does this problem exist in our society?" This refers to all of the hierarchical power structures that exist in our society that marginalize certain experiences. This will aid in developing action research as the leadership team develops activism that will also be embedded in scholarly work that will aim to transform these institutions. It also involves the concept of conscious partiality, as the organizers acknowledge the perspectives they are bringing to their actions.

After these brainstorming sessions occur in order to motivate the need and scope of the action that is going to be planned, the planning team can begin to ask questions that will directly apply to their event-planning strategy. For example, the team must think of the following questions: "What are our goals with this event in combatting the problem?" and "How can we create lasting change in our community?" Once again, this is another part of the process of creating intersectional action research. Organizers must aim to create lasting change, for more than just their own community, and to improve their activism going forward. This is possible through interrogating their own activism and causes in a scholarly setting. Through my case study of an action called Take Back the Night, this model will become clearer as it is applied to a relatively common feminist action, especially in the setting of higher education.

Case Study- Take Back the Night, To Raise Awareness of Gender-Based Violence

Having presented concerns that will form the foundation of this model for intersectional action research in higher education, I will now apply it more clearly to a real example of action research within my own experiences. Take Back the Night is an annual event held around the world to raise awareness of gender-based violence. On Virginia Tech's campus, it takes the form of a rally and march. In Blacksburg, where Virginia Tech is located, community members can also be involved in the planning process, as a speaker, or by attending the event as well as by sponsoring the event and helping in the planning process. Therefore, this case study shows involvement of the institution of higher education as well as the community, which is extremely important. As mentioned above, de-centering the organizational site of the rally can facilitate intersectional activism and help those within the institution to achieve conscious partiality.

During the rally, people share information from different on- and off- campus organizations about resources that are available to our community. Part of the rally is then devoted to people sharing personal experiences with the issue of gender-based violence. This part of the program is meant to educate and inform people about the issue at hand. During the march, we chant different messages while walking around part of campus and part of downtown Blacksburg, right next to campus. This is meant to empower and energize people around the issue. Then, we gather at the rally site to read out "Actions for Change" so people will have the tools to make positive change in their community.

In terms of my involvement, I have been a committee member of the planning team for three years, a coordinator for two years, and I was the emcee for this year's event. I spend hundreds of hours every spring organizing this event and I find implementing this model to be the most energizing part of the whole planning process. I have implemented it this year, when the

organizing committee was starting to plan for this year's event. I have also used this model at a summit on gender-based violence that was held at Virginia Tech.

In my experience this year, it has been effective to implement this model partially through a physical "Tree of Power" where leaders will draw and fill in a diagram of a tree with leaves, a trunk, and roots. Through further examination of this model, we can incorporate this into action research as we transform normative positivist research methodologies.

This exercise helps to answer some of these key questions behind making action research intersectional. First, the leaves represent the question "What do we see in our society that proves this problem exists?" After some examples are written, then organizers can question who is affected by the problem. Some examples of leaves for the topic of gender-based violence are intimate partner violence, systematic killing of women of color, rape jokes, victim-blaming, trans people committing suicide, micro-aggressions, and many more. This pertains to Take Back the Night because this is what will motivate our activists to make change. This is the majority of what people will experience when it comes to their interactions with gender-based violence. When answering this question, this is when organizers have the opportunity to center marginalized experiences. The leadership team must make sure that the speakers are diverse and value lived experience first by having diverse constituencies within the leadership team as well as by de-centering the site of organizing. Also, the venue must be accessible to everyone. One way this physically manifests in the case study of Take Back the Night is that our organizers must make sure to not have stairs in our marching route and to include the voices of women of color within the local communities in the organizational structure of the event.

Next, the trunk answers the question "How does this problem manifest institutionally?" Some examples of the trunks for the topic of gender-based violence are rules for Greek life (dry

sororities), some mandatory reporting laws, military practices, gender policing and dress codes, and many more as well as their intersections. Finally, the roots answer the question "Why does this problem exist in our society?" Some examples of roots for the topic of gender-based violence are heteronormativity, sexism, patriarchy, white supremacy, nationalism, and many more. Through all of these elements of the "Tree of Power," organizers must incorporate an intersectional perspective to the topic at hand, where neglected intersections of these roots are particularly examined. For example, women of color are often neglected because they fall at the intersection of these systems of oppression, so white men and women often can't identify them so their knowledge and needs are disappeared.

This will help organizers to motivate their action research and develop some concrete goals after they examine the complexities of the problem. Then they will be able to design an event that is able to create change for some of these particular leaves and trunks and then over time, uproot the problematic societal power structures. They must consider how to then create a lasting change in their community. In order to do this, organizers must give tools for change to participants. Oftentimes, these tools can be used in everyday conversation where participants can learn how to question problematic language or behaviors that they formerly would have deemed acceptable.

Importance of an Intersectional Action Research in Higher Education

Through my model, I propose an intersectional model for activism, based on and indebted to the work of black feminists to make their knowledge matter, that young people can use in an environment of higher education. One of the reasons this model will be an effective tool is that there is a lot of potential for change on college campuses- if young people are able to harness their energies in a productive manner, the world will have to listen. If not merely because

of the numbers, college students can represent a real force inside and outside of the United States. The research that takes place at universities has a profound impact on legislation. Therefore, college students can get involved in changing our research.

I propose that students in higher education should be more involved with action research- where these students are able to critically engage with their research. Researchers can grow their knowledge about social justice issues and their interactions with it through activism. No matter what the subject, if researchers are consciously partial and investigate their own perspectives and potential biases, they will be able to conduct more objective research that can be implemented in their activism in order to transform power relations through the implementation of more reliable knowledge production frameworks. If college students are able to engage in their research and mobilize around a cause, they can not only change policy and bring greater knowledge, but hopefully also deconstruct harmful societal norms and stigmas within institutional structures of which they form a part that exist at this given time.

This intersectional model for activism in the context of higher education will be an effective tool because there are many intersectional social justice groups that now exist on college campuses and this is constantly expanding. There is great potential for partnership among these groups if they are able to have an idea in how to create a plan for their activism. As I mentioned earlier, I believe that in our research we must speak for our own lived experiences. I am a student at Virginia Tech in Blacksburg, Virginia and therefore I can speak to the present situation on our campus. Currently, we at Virginia Tech have several organizations that are dedicated to social and economic justice issues and this number expands every year. We have many organizations that are dedicated to making their actions and meetings as intersectional as possible. These include organizations such as Queer People of Color, HokiePRIDE,

Womanspace, United Students Against Sweatshops, Students for Clean Energy, Environmental Coalition, Student Power Network, and many more. These organizations are making conscious efforts to pursue intersectional activism and more organizations dedicated to these causes are popping up every year. If they were given a model on how to not only create intersectional activism but also on how to extend this work into action research further than what has already been done, this could change the output of our universities.

On this note, yet another reason this model is effective is because there are research fields that are present on college campuses that must be populated by activists. For example, many colleges have Women's Studies, Gender Studies, Women's and Gender Studies, Queer Studies, Africana Studies and many other fields. The research that is being done in these areas is very valuable in that it often points out a problem in the current literature and fields. However, these fields must be populated by activists. It is needed and necessary for scholars not only to point out the problems that exist in this society but to also point out potential solutions to these problems or potential for activism to raise awareness of the issue. These people performing action research speak from the lived experiences of conscious partiality that is often missing from research, which tends to fall back on normative methodologies. These positivist methodologies are what students are being taught in the class room and they do not value lived experiences, as activists must. That is what I mean to do in this work- I examine the specific systematic problem of gender-based violence and a model for raising awareness in an intersectional manner on a college campus.

Lastly, this model is needed and necessary because a lot of social justice issues disproportionally affect college students. For example, college students are certainly affected by the issue of gender-based violence, perhaps more than any other age group. According to the

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organization Futures Without Violence, one out of five students will experience rape or sexual assault while they are in college (Futures Without Violence) yet often times in the research, this is the only incidence of rape that is studied, whereas the rape of Black women is not studied as Black feminists such as Crenshaw has pointed out. This is one of the many reasons why I see Take Back the Night as one of the most important events on any college campus. The issue of gender-based violence affects so many students on college campuses and they must have a way to express their frustrations and speak out for change and healing. Additionally, college students also face a lack of affordability of a higher education. As college students, we are one of the only groups of people that will advocate for the cause of making higher education more accessible.

A model for intersectional action research in higher education is important because students must be able to call for change especially for issues that disproportionately affect them. However, in general researchers need to be engaged in their research projects and recognize their own lived experiences in order to value and center experiences that have been marginalized in the past, which may even be their own. In order for normative methodology to change, scholars must call on each other to be intersectional activists, and to be engaged from our own social positions about our research. The words "scholar" and "activist" should be interchangeable as scholars become engaged in their topics through activism and activists work to create models to use in the future through scholarship.

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"And finally, I'm pissed off: because Gender Bias still exists in the theatre",

Abstract

Joy Meads, part of the Kilroys, an independent Los Angeles based advocacy group of female playwrights and producers stated, "because the eye sees what it expects to see, and it takes conscious attention and effort to train it to see what's actually there. We have been trained to see men as speakers and actors and people of consequence, and throughout history we have

produced accordingly. But that does not mean that women haven't been speaking or telling stories. They have been." We have seen gender parity in theatre, but how much have we really evolved?

Not only does gender bias still exist, but, it is rarely acknowledged. Women fear retaliation or being blacklisted for speaking up about gender parity. The paper will look at the history of gender disparity in theatre, the current state and possible action for moving forward. The paper takes a stand, provides a voice and states what few are willing to say, and that is, "and finally, I'm pissed off, because gender bias in the theatre still exists."

Keywords: gender, bias, theatre

Introduction

Joy Meads, part of the Kilroy's, an independent Los Angeles based advocacy group of female playwrights and producers stated, "because the eye sees what it expects to see, and it takes conscious attention and effort to train it to see what's actually there. We have been trained to see men as speakers and actors and people of consequence, and throughout history we have produced accordingly. But that does not mean that women haven't been speaking or telling stories. They have been" (Evans, "Women Push For Equality"). Gender disparity still exists in the theatre, not only does the bias continue to permeate the theatre, but until recently, it was rarely acknowledged. Women fear retaliation or even worse, being blacklisted for speaking up. I

will look briefly at the history of gender parity in the theatre, with an emphasis on its current position and possible action in moving forward. This paper will add to the conversation, stressing the problems with gender parity in academia.

Until the most recent conversations on social media, various essays and suggestions, (although I frequently felt the effects), I had not stopped to reflect upon the real impact of gender parity in the theatre. The importance of the story and the recognition of the issues, as Shellen Lubin points out in her essay, "They say it's already been addressed, solved, and resolved. They say that now it's a merit- based system, and anyone who isn't entering and moving up the pipeline doesn't have merit. They say that women have other priorities, choosing families and personal lives over their work. They say that to give voice to artists who don't meet their standards would be minimizing the quality of the work they offer the world. But that argument is filled with fallacies. First of all, art doesn't have rigid mathematical standards, and neither does talent or creativity. Secondly, all works of art are a risk – otherwise, they've been done already. Thirdly, there are so many subtle and conscious factors that go into the decision – making process. Therefore, it is in a large part about who is making the decisions, and how they have unconsciously structured what they call their "standards."(Lubin, "Gender Parity In Theatre") Therein lies the answer to one of my curiosities, in regards to my current academic position and other positions across the globe. The clear answer is – "standards" and how those standards are being defined. Otherwise, how can we, as leaders in artist training say, "we have one of the best programs", when the standards, (at least within the past four years, the time it takes to earn an undergraduate degree) for our main season selections continue to practice gender disparity in regards to playwrights chosen for the season. The play selections have been dominated by male playwrights, although we have a higher number of women that need to be cast in our shows. Our

disparity does not end with playwrights, but continues into our departmental leadership (as can also be seen across the globe), containing all male figures for key leadership roles. Most individuals are led to believe that it is an issue of standards, but common sense speaks loudly and discrimination is clear. If this is where we are training the future artist/scholar, should it not also be where we mirror what is true to life, as art is a reflection of life? How can we adequately send this message of the importance of parity to young women, when what they see and what they are forced to practice, is very different? Perhaps I am looking at the big picture and hoping to save the world rather than focusing- on first winning a battle. Perhaps I'm not even part of their main picture, but pushed so far out onto the fringes, that no longer allow for a voice. Maybe the real battle is within myself, the battle of acceptance and understanding that I cannot have the end result, that of equality and respect, but if I participate in the journey, perhaps, one day my students will. These are ideas that I have struggled with prior to my research on what strategies are currently being developed or plans to bring attention to the issue and provide paths leading to solutions.

My method of collecting information has been focused on groups in the forefront of dialogues on gender parity in theatre. While I had hoped to dig into stacks of highly reviewed books and journals, alas, it was not what was going to produce results. The age of the internet has offered a web of communication that creates a game changer in awareness among women in the arts across the globe. It has allowed ideas and groups to form, such as some of the organizations I will be mentioning and for these groups to be formed at lightening speed. My collection of popular essays, tweets and posts have been the impetus, to reflect, rewrite and create new plans, in regards to my personal teaching experiences, with a focus on gender parity as a part of the big picture, in my courses, as well as interactions with young artists.

My initial impulse was to start with history, but then I realized it is, "his story", not hers. Women have always been major creators in the theatre, but their creations have not always been valued and shared. Starting with female shamans, using theatrical elements to tell the story of the universe and explain its power, as stated by Max Dashu, "women have been at the forefront of this field" (Dashu, "Women Shaman"). Their art included, but was not limited to masks, movement, dance and voice. "Certain female burials from ancient Central Asia have been designated as shamanic priestesses by archaeologists Natalia Polosmak and Jeanine Davis-Kimball. " Another major landmark of the history of women in theatre occurred, "on February 25, 1545, when Ser Maphio's troupe of performers signed a letter of incorporation establishing themselves as a "fraternal compagnia"." and it was then confirmed in 1566 that, "a Commedia performer named Vincenza Armani became the first documented professional actress. She took the stage in Mantua almost a full century before a professional actress appeared in London's theatres. Evidence exists as early as the 1540's that Commedia troupes began to create professional space for female performers, but the late 1560s and 1570s was the Age of the Actress. Isabella Andreini became one of the most famous and sought- after performers in all of Italy and France, and her contribution to Commedia dell'Arte is still seen in the most prevalent name for the leading lady lover: Isabella (Wilson, A History Of Commedia dell'Arte). Women played an integral role in numerous traveling troupes and during the Restoration, the Drury Lane Theatre Company was made the Kings Own Company. It was the start of a charter requiring all female parts to be played by women, instead of boys dressing up like women. Along with the charter, in 1660, Margaret Hughes, the first women to legally appear on an English stage, appeared as Desdemona in 'The Moor of Venice' a reworking of Shakespeare's Othello. After this point in history it becomes easier to document works by women, however, your typical

theatre history course doesn't necessarily reflect the plentiful female artists in design, acting and playwrighting. Then, in fast- forwarding to a more current time in theatre history, in the late 1970's, we see what Helen Krich Chinoy calls a, "vital stirring of female creativity encouraged women scholars to revise the whole story of American theatre. Paralleling the compensatory history already undertaken in other fields, we uncovered an unknown past. Since the enterprise of theatre has been mainly run by men, women in both the business and the art of theatre have usually been seen only in terms of male definitions of success. A shift of focus shed light on their obscured accomplishments" (Chinoy, Jenkins, "Women In American Theatre").

This is the beginning of my investigation of what should be a truth. While I have always felt that art should reflect life, when I see it in my profession, it's painful. Perhaps it is not a question of why, but rather a statement of, "in moving forward." Lauren Duca made the following statement, "It's important that theaters be aware of the statistics and, more importantly, be conscious of their role in the rampant inequality on and off stage."(Duca, "Women Continue Being Underrepresented") We now know why, the reasons for gender disparity in the theatre and it is time to take action. Taking action is exactly what happened when gender parity activists joined forces in Toronto on April 28, 2015. WomenArts joined New York's Women in the Arts and Media Coalition and Equity in Theatre to proceed with the first international summit on gender parity in theatre. There were a total of twenty-one activists and included representatives from the League of Professional Theatre Women, the International Centre for Women Playwrights and Teatro Luna that shared research to create plans. They started by asking the question, "what if we had five million dollars to advance gender parity, what would we spend it on?" and the answer was the following:

1.   "**Build alliances with other social justice groups.** The biggest challenge we face is that sexism in theatre is closely linked to sexism, racism, classism and other forms of discrimination that underpin our current socioeconomic system. The arts help us think about our social and political lives in new ways, but corporate America would rather have us focused on shopping. It is no accident that the top-selling film for 2015 is *Furious 7* (ticket sales of $1.4 billion worldwide in its first 12 days), a big-budget action film with so much product placement that it often feels like a two-and-a-half-hour commercial.

   This undercurrent of consumerism pulls at us constantly. If you stand in line at the TKTS booth in Times Square, you might be able to buy tickets to Broadway shows written or directed by women—but you will be surrounded by giant billboards displaying women's bodies to sell products. For every new play with fresh perspectives on women, there are hundreds of advertisements and product placements that reinforce discriminatory attitudes about gender, race and class.

   As gender parity advocates, we need to find ways to counteract this consumerism, and we need to join forces with women's organizations, anti-racism groups and others who are addressing discrimination in other contexts. This is especially important, since so many women experience multiple forms of discrimination.

2. **Work with women in other art forms.** Women in other art forms are experiencing similar gender discrimination issues and are organizing their own studies and initiatives. We can show our solidarity and increase our visibility by participating in cross-disciplinary initiatives like Support Women Artists Now Day, an annual international celebration of women's creativity in all art forms.

We can also adapt innovative strategies being used in other art forms, such as these three recent film initiatives: Gamechanger Films is the first equity fund that focuses exclusively on financing narrative feature films directed by women; the ACLU has just demanded that federal and state agencies investigate discrimination against women film directors in Hollywood; and the Geena Davis Institute on Media partnered with UN Women and the Rockefeller Foundation to do the first-ever global study of gender stereotyping in the international film industry.

3. **Teach plays by women.** More students need to be exposed to female playwrights in school. We feel this is one of the most important areas to address, since so many attitudes about women and girls are shaped in schools. If future artistic directors and other theatrical decision-makers have never been exposed to female playwrights in school, they are much less likely to select them for productions.

   To ensure that women are included in the curriculum from elementary school through graduate school, we want to mobilize committees of educators at every grade level to develop course materials that include female playwrights and persuade their male and female colleagues that it is important to teach more plays by women.

   One sample program that has been designed to increase the teaching of historical women playwrights is History Matters/Back to the Future, in which high school teachers and college professors across the country are being invited to include the work of an historic female playwright in one class per semester. Teachers are given a 50-minute lesson plan and other teaching materials, and their students are eligible to compete for the annual $2,500 Judith Barlow Prize for the best one-act play written in the style of an historic

female playwright. The teacher of the winning student receives a prize of $500. About 50 professors have joined the program so far.

 Also, the National Theatre Conference, an alliance of leaders in commercial, non-commercial, and educational theatre, has created the Women Playwrights Initiative, which asks member theatres and educational theatre programs to dedicate one full production slot (not just a reading or a workshop) each year for three years to a contemporary female American playwright. Members are encouraged to select plays that have not been produced on Broadway recently, and to invite the playwright for a residency during the production of her play.

4. **Encourage production of plays by female playwrights.** Some artistic directors claim that they would produce more plays by women but they just can't find enough good ones. The Kilroys is a group of female artists in Los Angeles who consulted with artistic directors, literary managers, dramaturgs and others to compile a list of excellent contemporary plays by women that has been widely publicized and distributed. As a direct result of our meeting in Toronto, women in Canada are now working on a "Kilroys list" of Canadian female playwrights.

Another initiative that could be replicated is the Women's Voices Theater Festival, which will take place in Washington, D.C., in fall 2015. More than 50 professional theatres in and around Washington, D.C., will present world-premiere productions of a work by one or more female playwrights. This festival will be the largest collaboration of theatre companies working simultaneously to produce original works by female writers in history.

The International Centre for Women Playwrights encourages productions of plays by women through their 50/50 Applause Awards, which recognize theatre companies that produce seasons where 50 percent or more of the productions and performances are of plays by women. The program started in 2012, and they have given out more than 100 awards so far. The honored companies receive an award logo to use in their publicity, and they are invited to participate in a celebratory video.

Since female playwrights tend to create more female characters, and women are often selected to direct their plays, producing plays by women often results in increased employment for other women in the field.

5. **Meet individually with artistic directors.** In the San Francisco Bay Area, Shotgun Players' 2015 season features six mainstage plays and six staged readings by female playwrights, and they have made a commitment to strive for gender parity in future seasons. Magic Theatre in San Francisco has also just announced that their 2015–16 season will include six productions by female playwrights.

It seems that one-on-one discussions with the artistic directors and peer pressure can have a powerful impact on a theatre's commitment to gender parity. In the case of Shotgun Players, the male artistic director revealed in a recent panel discussion that he had not been thinking about the depth of the gender disparity problem in theatre until female company members spoke up and asked for gender to be a consideration in season planning.

6. Work with the unions. Since unions have the power to defend their members from unfair labor practices, we need to find more ways to work with our unions to advance gender parity in theatre. We need to work with them to develop equal opportunity standards for theatres that would ensure fair hiring practices for women as well as equal pay for equal work. We also need to have deeper discussions with unions about the best ways to represent their members in a field that is so severely under-funded. We want theatre managers to treat women fairly, but we also recognize that arts funding has been steadily decreasing over the past 30 years, and that few people are making a living from their work onstage. The 2013-14 Actors Equity Theatrical Season Report indicated that only 41.3 percent of their members worked at all in 2013–14, and that the median income per working member was $7,483 for 16.7 weeks of work. Only 9 percent of those working members (i.e., fewer than 1,600 people nationwide) made $50,000 or more from their Actors Equity employment.

> If we achieved gender parity on those totals, it would mean that only 800 women nationwide would make $50,000 or more from their Equity work. That's just not enough! Our fair labor strategy needs to include advocacy for much more funding for the arts, and the unions could be powerful allies in this work.
>
> **7. Legislative approaches.** In the upcoming elections, we need to make sure we educate all the candidates about the need to increase arts funding at the federal and state levels. We also need to investigate whether women artists are getting their fair share of federal and state arts funding and file petitions as needed (Richards, "7 Steps For Achieving")."

I believe the third strategy to be the most important and the one that will be the most challenging. How do we stress the benefit of gender parity in an academic setting in the face of unyielding

male leadership? How does one stand –up to a patriarchal force that determines your success or failure in regards to evaluation and advancement? I do not have the answers, but without the previously mentioned group of advocates, I fear that I would grow tired of even asking these questions. I find hope in their new conversations, hope in summits addressing effective strategies, and hope in new studies, such as the following that looks at gender parity outside Broadway Theatres:

"League of Professional Theatre Women's *Women Count* Project"

"New York, NY – November 2, 2015: The League of Professional Theatre Women (LPTW), as part of a larger initiative called *Women Count*, has issued findings from its second annual analysis of the status of women employed in New York City theatres off-stage and outside the Broadway district. A number of efforts to count, study, analyze and report on the status of women in theatre in recent years have focused on playwrights and directors. This second report from the ongoing study looks at a broader range of professional roles with a deep focus on the hiring patterns of productions in a set of non-Broadway theatres for five consecutive seasons.

The 2015 study, conducted by LPTW members Martha Wade Steketee and Judith Binus, analyzes employment in 13 professional roles (including playwrights, directors, and designers) in 455 Off- and Off-Off-Broadway productions in 22 theatre companies for five complete seasons, 2010-2011 through 2014-2015.

Selected findings for 22 study theatres for five seasons 2010-2011 through 2014-2015:

- Productions across the study seasons 2010-2011 through 2014-2015 are dominated by "new" plays with premieres from 2005 through April 2015. Individual seasons range from 70% to 80% "new" plays, with the five-season 2010-2015 rate of 76% "new" plays.

- Women playwrights represented in the study Off-Broadway theatres range from a low of 28% in 2011-2012 to a high of 36% in 2012-2013. The 2010-2015 five-season rate of women playwrights is 30% for the study theatres as a group. Six (6) study theatres present 50% or more women playwrights in their 2014-2015 season: Ensemble Studio Theatre, Lincoln Center Theater, MCC, Manhattan Theatre Club, Playwrights Horizons, and The Women's Project.

- Five women playwrights have three or more productions during the study period: Teresa Deevy, Amy Herzog, Lisa Kron, Sarah Ruhl, and Lucy Thurber. Elevator Repair Service credits women and men among its creative team and has four productions during the study period.

- Women playwrights are consistently much more common among "new" plays (plays with first productions in 2005 or more recent) than older plays produced by theatres tracked in the study. The 2010-2015 five-season rate for women playwrights produced is 35% for "new" plays and 13% for older plays.

- Directors range from a high of 40% women in 2014-2015 to a low of 22% women in 2011-2012. The 2010-2015 five-season rate is 33% women directors. Nine (9) study Off-Broadway theatres have 50% or more women directors in their 2014-2015 season: EST,

Flea Theatre, LAByrinth, LCT, New Group, Rattlestick, Signature, Soho Rep, and the Women's Project.

- Fourteen women directors have three or more productions during the study period: Sarah Benson, Jo Bonney, Carolyn Cantor, Leah C. Gardiner, Jackson Gay, Anne Kauffman, Tina Landau, Pam MacKinnon, Lisa Peterson, Giovanna Sardelli, Leigh Silverman, Rebecca Taichman, Daniela Topol, and Gaye Taylor Upchurch.

- Set designers for study productions are generally less than one third women, ranging from a low of 22% in 2014-2015 to a high of 36% in 2012-2013. Fourteen women set designers with four or more productions are represented in the report period, accounting for 78% (104 of 134) of set design credits for women.

- Lighting designers among the study productions are overwhelmingly men, with a low of 8% women in 2012-2013 and highs of 16% women in both 2010-2011 and 2013-2014. Six women lighting designers with three or more credits are analyzed in the report: Jane Cox, Mary Louise Geiger, Natasha Katz, Nicola Pearce, Jen Schriever and Jennifer Tipton, accounting for 53% (33 of 62) of lighting design credits for women.

- Study costume designers are overwhelmingly women, reflecting national trends, with a low of 61% women in 2010-2011 and a high of 79% women in 2012-2013. Among the most frequently hired woman costume designers (7 or more credits among productions studied) are: Martha Hally, Susan Hilferty, Sarah J. Holden, Sydney Maresca, Jennifer Paar, Jessica Pabst, Emily Rebholz, Teresa Squire, Kaye Voyce, Anita Yavich, and Catherine Zuber.

- Study women sound designers ranged from a high of 22% in 2011-2012 to a low of 14% in 2013-2014. Five sound designers account for 93% (79 of 85) of sound design credits for women during the study report's 5 seasons. 41% (35 of 85) of sound design credits by women during the study period are for Jill BC Du Boff.

- For the five seasons of the study, the number of musicals was small, affecting the numbers and percentages of women employed in musical-related categories, including lyricists and composers.

- Nationally, stage managers average 70% women. Production stage managers in the study's 22 theatres for 2010-2015 are 70% women. Stage managers and assistant stage managers for 2010-2015 are 72% women (Skeketee and Binus, "Women Count")."

The study gives us a picture of the shifts in numbers, for a better understanding of what it will take to move towards gender parity in the theatre. I have learned that specific tactics will be the driving force in moving towards this goal. If we want to ignite change, we must be willing to have a voice, but for some of us, at what cost?

I think the answer becomes one of accountability, the responsibility of women to support other women in a common goal. The desperation for security, personal acceptance and advancement in some cases equals a type of tunnel vision, rather than a true love of the art that equally reflects the experience of all artists. Although controversial in its' wording, the movie Suffragette articulates my feelings best, "I'd rather be a rebel than a slave." Therefore in summation I state, "And finally, I am pissed off: acknowledging gender bias in theatre." I have viewed the history, shared current strategies, but what can I add to the dialogue in regards to a

new insight? I can add my voice – in how I choose to teach, I can add my pledge to model personal integrity for my students, I can make a commitment to supporting other female faculty, even if that support is not returned and maintain the courage to speak for gender parity. Finally, I will end with the words of George Bernard Shaw, which most accurately reflect my current situation and feelings in academia, "I have not achieved success, but I have provoked an uproar; and the result was so agreeable that I am resolved to try again!"

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Lifting the Mask and Socio-Cultrual Enhancements of the Female Academic Bully

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ABSTRACT

It is difficult to think of women as bullies in our culture. It is more difficult to suggest that women can be bullies, from a feminist perspective. To overlook the fact, or negate their presence would itself be an injustice to those that are bullied in the workplace. This paper examines the socio-cultural underpinnings of the female academic bully and what makes up the bullying process. It examines how academia is a ripe social culture for the female bully to exist and to sustain her practices. It suggests how and why the socialization processes both enhance and inhibit women as leaders? And why women at the top may feel threatened and use their insecurity as a tool to protect themselves in the academic workplace. Acknowledgement of these issues can aid in solving the bullying issue in academe and lift the mask of challenge and deceit.

It has been said that little girls are made of "sugar and spice and everything nice", and that "names will never hurt me". To this end, over and over again society deems the little girl and the female adult to be tender hearted and loving. While this may be a common perception and stereotype that is applied to females in general, it can mask the dark underside of reality. That is, the prevalence of the female bully in Canadian culture and the devastation that she brings to all those who cross her path of evil. This paper explores the existence of the adult female bully in the academic workplace, how her mean spirit evolves, and how bullying may be supported and conditioned in the socio-cultural milieu. It also examines how and why the adult female bully comes to proclaim her ugliness. What is it that makes an adult female able to enact and entertain the role of the bully in our current workplace culture?

It was once thought that a female bully could most commonly be found on the playground. She was seen as, a child who acted out against some petty annoyance emanating from another. The vitalization of the bully image in the literature, however, now spans some

twelve years and moves beyond the image of the nasty child to that of the mean and nasty adult. Some of the themes of the literature deal with outcomes of bullying, specific workplace cultures and bullying (Ferris 2004; Hodson, Roscigno, Lopez 2006; Lampman et al. 2009; LaVan and Martin 2008; Kauppinen and Tuomola 2008; Mayhew et al. 2004; McKay et al. 2008; Myers 2012; Olafsson and Johannsdottir 2004; Persson et al. 2009; Sheehan 2004; Tuckey et al. 2009; Tuckey, Chrisopoulos, and Dollard 2012; Twale and DeLuca 2008; Vickers 2001), gender issues and child bullying (Barboza et al. 2009; Bering 2009; Coloroso 2006; Dellasega and Nixon 2003; Edmonson and Dreuth Zeman 2009; Guerin and Hennessy 2002; Kumpulainen, Rasanen, and Puura 2001; Simmons 2009; Young and Sweeting, 2004; the criminal bully (Ireland and Archer 1996; Ireland, Archer and Power 2007), theoretical constructs of bullying and male sexual violence (Basile et al. 2009), mental health issues and bullying (Nolfe 2009), similarities and differences in bullying across social milieus (Monks et al. 2009), and why women bully (Dellasega 2005; Rantzen 2006).

What previous writers appear to have overlooked are the individual and socio-cultural reasons for why bullying takes place and continues (Monks et al. 2009). This omission becomes starkly evident when one examines the literature that deals with the university academic workplace and its culture.

To suggest that some women are bullies is a contentious issue from within the feminist perspective. However, to overlook this unsettling truth is to sustain a very challenging myth that serves only to mask a dark and volatile part of human female social interaction that undermines and devastates the inherent goodness of workers, limits their productivity, and reduces their usefulness in the workplace . While some research suggests that women are more kindly bosses

than men and that they tend to assist one another, other research suggests that women bosses are nasty in their relations with each other and are only rarely helpful to other female workers.

In order to properly identify the female bully, one must first explore the issues of what bullying really is and why it exists. The issue of how women delude themselves and mislead others with respect to their being a bully can then be examined. The very fact that bullying is allowed to continue in the workplace acknowledges the existence of a culture of bullying that is sustained by an insidious and damaging social environment.

MEANS AND METHODS OF BULLYING

It is a challenge to disentangle the act of bullying from the numerous terms and concepts that are shaded by cross-continent variations in understanding. Such words as physical abuse, emotional abuse, incivility, hostility, harassment, fighting, catfights (Jones and Palmer 2011), aggression (Byrne 1994), occupational violence (Mayhew et al. 2004), contra power harassment in academia (Lampman et al. 2009) and the group dynamic of mobbing, a term used by German researchers (Zapf, Knorz and Kulla 1996), are used interchangeably with respect to the bully phenomena in general. Similarly, how a bully is identified varies from culture to culture. In North America a female bully may be called a Queen Bee (Cherne 2003; Mavin 2008), or a Wanna Bee (Mavin 2008).

It is important to note that bullying is not a single incident of thoughtlessness. It is always cruel, systematic and repetitive in its occurence (Barboza et al. 2009; Guerin and Hennessy 2002). Einarsen (1999, 17) describes bullying as "the systematic persecution of a colleague, a subordinate or a superior, which, if continued, may cause social, psychological and psychosomatic problems for the victim". Thus, it involves both relational and social degradation of an individual, and is inclusive of spreading rumors and other deliberate and exclusionary

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tactics (Crick and Dodge 1999; Smith 2004; Underwood 2002). As such, it is understood to be nonproductive and demeaning and to constitute "an extreme source of stress" (Bulutlar and Oz 2009, 280) for those being victimized.

It is thought by some researchers (Barboza et al. 2009) that youth bullying is more common amongst boys than girls, and that the type of bullying undertaken by each gender is different, according to age. Girls, for example, often use verbal tactics and manipulate others with their social and psychological prowess (Basile et al. 2009). This type of bullying is often called relational aggression (RA) (Dellasega 2005; Dellasega and Nixon 2003), or social aggression (Bering 2009), which is more insidious, insular, less overt and more difficult to recognize than the practices by boys. This type of aggression involves the:

> … use of relationships to hurt another, a way of verbal violence in which words rather than fists inflict damage. RA seems to peak in the early teen years when girls use a variety of behaviors that wound without ever pulling a punch. Word wars are often dismissed as, 'just the way girls are', or, 'she's just jealous'. … the girl who gets excluded from a crowd she previously belonged to; the newcomer who fails to be accepted by other girls no matter what she does; the girl who is somehow different and targeted for that reason; or the popular Queen Bee, who buzzes from place to place spreading discomfort and manipulating others … (Dellasega 2005,7-8).

The origin of female bullying has twisted roots. For the early socialization of little girls to be nice creates an insular psychological component whereby girls learn to deny their negative feelings and to use back stabbing techniques to garner strength and enhance their power (Simmons 2009). Hence, the social context of the "good girl" is a cursed environment that and it negatively delimits her true sense of self and being (Simmons 2009). Rather than openly express her feelings of displeasure she is socialized to believe the ugly traits of deceit and candor, which

derive their power through underhanded, indirect and covert means, better serve her defensive purposes.

Often, too, the purpose of female bullying is to catch the eye of a desired male, even at young ages. In this particular context, sabotaging another female creates the stigma of the ugly female bully who uses guile to catch the male and compete for what is perceived to be a limited resource (Bering 2009; Dellasega and Nixon 2003; Wiseman 2009).

On the other hand, while boys can and do use words to bully and victimize others, they are more likely to emphasize physical activity, as their body size and strength serves to establish a physical hierarchy of power (Coloroso 2006). Moreover, the physical strength of a man is given social and cultural recognition and value in most societies. Boys are socialized to be strong and, mighty as well as to fight and compete for what is seen as worthy. Nevertheless, Coloroso (2006, 14) notes that there are three ways to bully -; "verbal, physical and relational" and that there are numerous commonalities between the sexes. Girls and adult women certainly can and do use their body strength to physically bully others. And boys and adult men can and do manipulate each other with violent verbal slurs and slander. It is interesting to note that, Coloroso (2006) highlights seven different representations of the child bully; however the details of these depictions are not required for this discussion.

Since the focus of this paper is on the female bully in academia, it is helpful to identify the origins of these negative ways of being and to trace their journey in the development of the female child from infancy, through adolescence and, on to the adult woman, which ultimately involves structural issues associated with the proverbial glass ceiling (Simmons 2009). It is unfortunate that young girls may discover that they are more successful using their bully tactics than physical force. Hence, they learn to hone their devious skills at an early age, and gradually

enhance their defense repertoire, through unhealthy and manipulative means that serve only to demean both themselves and others.

It is a self-defeating circle. Rather than direct her anger toward an appropriate external target the female adolescent turns her feelings inward, she cuts herself down through sabotaging her true feelings and attempts to win supremacy through denigrating those who are more successful; family members, friends, and fellow workers.. She also excludes, disenfranchises, silences, overlooks, and ignores others (Montgomery, Kane and Vance 2004, 24). To suggest that gender is solely responsible for the perpetration of bullying is now being challenged. New research suggests that it rests largely on the power differential between males and females (Hoel, Einarsen, and Cooper 2002; Rayner, Hoel and Cooper 2001). However, this power differential is more the product of an inverse process of self-deprecation than reality.

For young women learn as part of the "Good Girl" socialization process that to be valued she should underestimate her abilities, limit her performance, diminish her talents, and avoid conflict at all costs. Consequently, girls learn to adopt safe routines, smooth out their competitive edges, and be compliant, in order to be accepted. Such behavior, however, has dire consequences for her personal development because in so doing she forfeits the right to realize the benefits of her own abilities and fosters dependence. And she limits her potential for personal growth and leadership. To make her way in society, she invokes drama, misguidedness, and fruitless ways of being; rather than stability, self-recognition, assertiveness and confidence (Dellasega and Nixon 2003, 134-135). She may learn at a young age to downplay her abilities and, to chide and be critical of herself, rather than aspire to rise to the top and to embrace her leadership potential. As an adult, she may magnify the impact of the glass ceiling by questioning her own abilities and undercutting her self-worthiness with respect to her adult development by

adopting conflict-free ways to travel safe routes. Overtime the young woman who gives in to others and negates her own needs, ambitions, and talents ultimately becomes lost.

ENABLING ENVIRONMENTS THAT CREATE AND SUSTAIN A BULLY CULTURE

While female bullying is prevalent in numerous social contexts, what is it about the workplace structure and culture in particular that encourages and supports the toxicity of the female bully? Twale and De Luca (2008) examine how academia, for example, is a hotspot for this type of behavior, for both women and men. That is, there are enabling people and processes in this environment that support, dismiss, and/or validate the noxious behavior of bullying. McKay et al. (2008, 92) comment on the "institutionalized element" found in the culture of academia. While not all parts of the academic culture are toxic, in others a lack of policy and procedure to deal with such behavior allows nastiness to fester and to go uncontested.

One factor that exacerbates the trend toward bullying is the very nature of this particular context. Academia, for example, is rampant with a strong component of individualism. Faculty members not only have heavy workloads but also they often work alone, in isolation from others, often at odd hours with loose responsibility parameters. Such policies foster a stressful working environment within which all parties are constantly under stress. The level of stress is also heightened in the academic workplace by severe budget cuts, competition, the struggle for scarce resources and the quest for tenure and promotion (Acker 2004; Aronowitz 2000; Ward and Wolf-Wendell 2004). Abdennur (2000) presents the concept of "bureaupathology" as one that depicts the academic subculture of intellectuals as consisting of individuals who are endowed with bright and perhaps bulging egos, combined with a significant level of feelings of insecurity. According to McKay et al. (2008, 92) this malaise may be allowed to fester with no corrective acknowledgement from administrators or human resource personnel. Instead, the bully can be a

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highly accomplished component of the ivory tower flagship, and can exhibit all the virtues that are so valued in the academic system. These virtues include the ability to obtain research grants that are awarded to academic stars that hold high publication records (Twale and Deluca 2008). Students are frequently attracted to these faculty stars, and administrators are less likely to curtail their negative sanctions because these same people serve to uphold the values of the establishment, are generally productive despite their ugliness, and support the unhealthy status quo.

The role of the context as an incubator for bullying has been examined with respect to woman-on-woman bullying (WOW). In fact, research this type of bullying (WOW) has found that: "workplace environment factors are better predictors than gender" of the likelihood of bullying taking place. Researchers have found that where a workplace that has no accountability, or corrective consequences for bad behavior it follows that the likelihood of bullying is magnified and tends to run rampant. A workplace "where kissing up (ingratiation) is the norm is fertile territory" for WOW (Woman-on-Woman Bullying 2009,1). In social cultures where there are no rules to indemnify bad behavior, wrongful behavior is allowed to thrive, flourish, and often continues (Monks et al. 2009). On the other hand, a democratic workplace culture solves problems as they arise and works to ameliorate the effect of bad behaviors and reduce the concerns of troubled workers that are the recipients of workplace malevolence at all levels of the hierarchy. Such a culture acknowledges the fact that even the top administrators may experience the same problems in the system of academe as collegial workers.

When one examines who occupies the positions of power within the university system, those on the fringes are more often women and members of minority groups. "Minorities get painted with the same brush as group members who behave badly" (Turner 2012, 2). They may

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be a lone shark at the top, or an underpaid and overworked faculty member who are is somewhere in-between, and who is known as a Middle-Bee (Dellasega 2005), or a Wanna Bee (Wiseman 2009). The token woman at the top may be the Queen Bee. Such women are typically top down in approach, insular, and ugly in their demeanor. They aspire to keep the power for themselves, and to protect their turf; they bully those that stand in their way, or threaten their power (Author 2012).

Where women can choose to use, or enlist systems of support, it appears that in some professions women have chosen not to, or they may have chosen not to know how to do so (Jones and Palmer 2011). Jones and Palmer's (2011) qualitative study in the United States found that women academics in a public community college workplace "perceived relationships with female supervisors as more competitive than supportive" (195). Given the limited numbers of women in the academic culture overall, the few positions of power that women hold are most likely to be held by those women who believe that in order to succeed they need to either become more like the men, or be incredibly ugly in their being. They may have learned to become supremely artful bullies and often are more coy and skillful in their meanness than are the men (Kelly 2009, IN3). Their petty and underhanded approaches seep into their daily activities and become sealed into the academic culture as a woman's way of behaving as an academic. This culture applies the paintbrush principle, and disadvantages "good" women who do, and are supportive of not only other women academics but also of their male colleagues and minorities.

The insidiousness of the female bully's actions may be described and justified (Edmondson and Dreuth Zeman 2009) by the women themselves who might erroneously view their actions as taking charge of a situation, wishing to be seen as directive, requiring better interpersonal skills, or being perfectionist high achievers (Dellasega 2005). Or they might view

their actions, reactions, or words as being "nothing personal" towards the victim. Daniel (2009) notes that often bad behavior on the part of a female boss, is explained away in the workplace by describing them as being brutal or crazy. Similarly, they may be accused of exhibiting snake, psychopathic, or sociopathic behavior. Interchangeably, bad behavior may even be played off against good behavior by different administrators. One will play the role of "good guy" at a particular juncture; the, the other will play the role of "bad guy" at another turn of events.

The bullies refuse to admit that they may have made a mistake in judgment. And they may transform their cruel behavior into benevolent behavior in front of those higher on the administrative scale so as not to undermine the realization of their own abilities. Concomitantly, they derive great delight in submerging the careers of capable, confident, aspiring female academic colleagues, as well as those who are more shy and timid. Those most perfunctory at the game may even call upon others in administration, or other political allies (Myers 2012), to assist in colluding with them as reprimanding and disciplining the non-bully victim.

Vickers' (2001) highlights the fact- that they may even feel that they are in the right in so doing. When the power mongers are challenged by the victim, who may seek details of their poor behavior, such as when and how they may have erred, the bully in that particular incident may fail to provide any precise data to suggest wrongdoing, or may magnify, misrepresent, or misconstrue any factual evidence. Monroe et al. (2008) suggests that official reporting of acts of discrimination and harassment are kept at bay and discouraged in many workplace settings. In this way, the circle of bullies aids and abet each other; their tactics are always elusive, and undetermined. Nevertheless, they still serve to be disabling of the decent, savvy, and dedicated scholar who is thereby rendered nonproductive. The insidiousness of their bullying actions becomes "a special kind of betrayal" (Dellasega 2005, 82). One that is extremely painful and

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highly disrespectful of human decency and honor. Because the rules constantly change in this nightmarish academic zero-sum game, bullying often becomes more frequent and nastier, as well as more hateful and devastating to the victim.

Incidences of bullying, however, are not confined to the realm of academia may have its roots in the high level of stress being experienced by the bully herself. For example, one self - identified female bully who had spent forty years in the television production industry confessed to exhibiting nasty behaviors toward others while climbing the media career ladder. She described working working full-time, partnering, and starting a family - as being huge pressure points in her life that may have been responsible for her unseemly behavior. Her behavior was similar to the results of research on female and male assistant professors who attempt to juggle the responsibilities of family, and work, while trying to achieve tenure in their life balance, combined with other related social and work stressors (Colbeck 2006; Misra et al. 2012; Solomon Richards 2011; Wolf-Wendell and Ward 2006). Rantzen (2006, 37) even suggests that women began to replace the bully men in television production work, and that the "new men" were seen to be kinder and softer to others. She says …

> at the same time, many 'new women' seemed to move in the opposite direction. Whether it was to compensate for a perceived feminine weakness, or because they were modeling themselves on the worst of the men, or just because there resides in many women the capacity to turn into the Wicked Witch of the West, too many have adopted the hectoring style of The Weakest Link. They take delight in shooting down ideas rudely and impatiently, humiliating juniors in public and reducing inexperienced or vulnerable members of staff to tears.

Often, too, if bad behavior were to be reported to the top administration there may be no recording of the details, no minute takings, and no apologies. Nor would there be any recognition

that such bad behavior had indeed taken place. This dark void does suggest that such wrongful behavior is not recognized as being harassment, or even close to being wrong, or unacceptable.

Similarly, the numerous faces of academics and their acts of civility/incivility within the university context become filtered through a socio-culture (Ferris, 2002). This culture is particularly damning for females. Striving to find their way in academe and to find a suitable fit within an academic culture, while being confronted by the insidious practice of bullying, women may become discouraged and disenfranchised, adding to the stress in their lives. In their attempt to balance tremendous professional workloads - combined with the mommy track, (Author 2005; 2012), or the "motherhood penalty"(Baker 2012, 19) - women academics may suffer extreme stress that causes them to act defensively and with overt hostility, which is in line with bullying. When combined with such issues as differences in age, race (Bhopal 1994; Henry 1994: Thompson 1998), social class (Baker 2012; Reay, Davies, David, and Ball, 2001), ability/disability (French 1994, Matthews 1994), ethnicity, generations (Byers and Crocker 2012; Monroe et al. 2008), sexuality (Corrin 1994), and workload issues, the already insecure women faculty member may become angry and frustrated and attempt to enlarge herself by monster-type, bullying behavior. In fact, Basile et al. (2009) noted that anger is the best predictor of bullying.

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS OF WOMEN

The socialization processes of women are such that they are conditioned to avoid power and powerful positions. As a result of their lowered self-confidence they may feel even more powerless and

insecure (Tripp-Knowles 1995) which is combined with a deep seated fear of success (Yoder 1991). Within the academic environment, the power of the social structure and the socialization

processes serves to keep women academics down. The negativity of such a context results in a constant state of personal questioning and doubt that is, a downward spiral of thwarted ambitions for the female academic. As a result, they may become even more doubting of both themselves, and of their abilities (Acker and Armenti 2004). Given the female gender schema, women often feel "worthless and entitled to less" (Valian 2004, 212). This devalued self-image is fostered, too, by the fact that when women do manage to rise to the top, their achievements might even be renamed in the academic system as service work, rather than administrative work, which ultimately becomes part of an institutionalized "gender devaluation" process (Monroe et al. 2008, 219). Hence, because their work is deemed to be less credible, they are afforded less power and virtue within the academic system. Hence, they may be relegated to the shadows where they live and breathe as less valuable players in the academic survival game.

Surprisingly, Monroe et al. (2008, 225) found that there was a lack of anger evoked by such repression in women faculty and that more often than not they exhibited a "quiet desperation". This response suggests - that some women could be perpetually seething inside and that their bottled up emotions are more likely to erupt inappropriately and be misdirected towards innocent others in the form of bullying behaviors. The victim of bullying then assuredly receives no support and the dismissive notion of go away and deal with it on your own further makes the issue of bullying more invisible and insidious (Monroe et al. 2008, 226).

Since academic women have been dealing with these stressful and institutionalized ways of being and acting in the academic culture for decades, it is understandable that they have come to accept their unfortunate lot and have been socialized not to question it. Those who dare to question these patterned ways of being, then, are considered to be ill-informed, or even malicious. Hence, their complaints become personalized, rather than politicized. How women

interpret the dark undertow of the academic system and that of their colleagues has a significant bearing on the dynamics of the situation. If colleagues do not support one another, then the victim stands alone. On the other hand, if faculty, chairs, deans, and equity officers take up the torch in support of fair-minded and mutually supported behaviors then the bullying often abates. Further support for victimized personnel can also be found in faculty representation through unions, ombudspersons, and human resource personnel; if all else fails, those at the very top; principals, provosts and presidents may be of assistance. Thus, through standing together, colleagues and even knowledgeable bystanders can work toward eliminating the insidious practice of bullying (Myers 2012). The fear in the culture of academia is that many are afraid that they are challenging their colleagues' academic freedom, or their personal human rights and freedoms. Consequently, bullies are free to weave their unsavory way through the academic context using deceptive modes and manners. Such practices are always wrong, harmful to the work environment and may be extremely damaging for their victims.

Stressful work environments are conducive to creating a bullying culture and toxic atmosphere. Moreover, the harm inflicted by a bully is exacerbated by the negative response of the victim's co-workers and/or colleagues. For example, research with police personnel suggests that as the level of stress rises in the workplace of policing the level of social and psychological support decreases. Hence, the bully is free to run rampant through the workplace (Tuckey et al. 2009). Lack of support for the victim and the perception of bullying overall, reduces workplace morale; staff members then tend to keep their heads lowered, and to focus on assignment details. This inward focusing tends to disconnect workers from both the broader responsibilities of their work and each other. In academia, such an approach to insulate faculty members from one another's feelings and causes them to hibernate in mental caves, so as to avoid social and/or

psychological contact. In this way, the silencing of the issue is solidified and normalized; the inward seething continues and the bully's rage grows more rampant. Manipulative bullies are totally oblivious to the consequences of their actions because they are interested only in their personal selves (Daniel 2009).

It is instructive to note that the bullied female faculty member is more likely to suffer more than her counterparts since academic men usually have strong social ties to each other, which serve as a form of support an "old boys' network" -that women lack. As a result of being established, male faculty are able to call upon these social networks readily. On the other hand Chesler (2001) notes that women academics do not typically rely on each other for help, and consequently may end up competing like men. A female academic comments (Twale and De Luca 2008, 104):

> The institution is religious, patriarchal, and the women should be seen and not heard, not be noticed. Women treat each other badly given this culture. I thought that they would band together to help each other, but it was interesting to see how they treated women who spoke up. They would say, 'Don't do that because it will be bad for the rest of us.' These women were the best disciplinarians or guardians of the culture. There was a fear of upsetting the balance.

The above described doctrine of maintenance of the holy academic grail in the university system conditions both new and established faculty to learn to tow the cultural line. That is, they become conditioned to accept the quirkiness, the eccentricity, and the need "to bite the powder", so to speak, as part of the so-called normalcy of the professional workplace. Twale and De Luca (2008, 95) describe how powerful this kind of thinking can become: "To criticize the culture would be to criticize ourselves because we are in the culture, and the culture is in us." To suggest otherwise as a non-bully is to go out on a social limb and face exclusionary tactics,

because you are not upholding the so-called honor of the culture. You may be a lone voice crying out to the masses.

In small university workplace cultures, the possibility of someone playing this role is even less likely. While ostensibly the philosophy is that all voices should be heard, the voice of the lone critic is always quickly and strategically snuffed out and the upstart is more often dismissed than heard. They might be kept down, diminished, and their words and experiences of seniority given no institutional value, nor credible weight. To present a difference of opinion is seen as ugly, rather than as an expression of the need for a refocusing of the policy lens to determine what needs to be examined and what ought to be changed. Because they challenge the status quo, the same individuals may be shuffled away from committees of influence to places where their voices are neither heard, nor understood by others. The approach of the majority may resonate as, "If you do not like it, leave or get off the committee"!

On the other hand, those that "speak no evil" (Ferris 2004, 392) are free to offer their opinions and to criticize. And they may hold more professional and political capital than their unfortunate faculty colleagues or even their administrators. They are more familiar with the storyline and have a longer history with the workplace (Keashly and Jagatic 2003). Moreover, their influence is solidified by the pervading culture of honor that always supports and attests to its own. Twale and Shannon (1996) note that another challenge for women are that they ultimately learn to avoid the political committees such as those of governance and promotion and tenure where there may be some possibility of fostering change. For example, Rindfleish and Sheridan (2003) found that Australian women board members of publicly-listed companies felt no compunction in changing the climate for women and calling attention to challenging issues. To suggest that there is a gendered structure in the system, and to embrace a position of power

might start an eye rolling campaign. Some colleagues might even look and act mortified, or become totally miffed with the dissident. Women that oppose the confronting viewpoints might publicly cry, which is a conditioned passive emotional response (Olafsson and Johannsdottir 2004) to truly show the emotional cultural armor that is, in their eyes, being attacked, assaulted and torn down. To avoid such positions of influence could be interpreted as a "see no evil" and "hear no evil" technique, or tactic, (Ferris 2004, 391-392) that may either fester in the participants' unconscious or manifest itself through the unchallenged policy of the university system. At a committee table of colleagues, board members, and perhaps community board members it would be unthinkable for a female academic to suggest that there is wrongdoing in their workplace, or that there are dark hollows in the system that are being ignored, and, thus, are being supported by the administration.

The above described patterns are a product of the cultural and socialization processes affecting women. To compound the problem, women themselves often have their own individual reasons for feelings of insecurity and enhanced doubt.

INDIVIDUAL FEMININE EXPLANATIONS: THE IMPOSTER SYNDROME

When persons perceive themselves as being unworthy of success, they may suffer from what is called the "imposter syndrome" (De Vries 1990; Sherman 1987). Imposters feel like frauds. They feel that they may have been more lucky than worthy in achieving success. Or they may feel that they were simply in the right place at the right time. Such an attitude can be typical of high achieving women who fear success because of the chance of misplacement, or of the discovery of their self-perceived inability. Because they do not believe in themselves, imposters constantly seek the approval of others and have a strong desire to please. Early in the literature, Clance and Imes (1979) attributed the imposter syndrome to women.

If a woman feels like an imposter, such a feeling is often based on her own low sense of self-esteem and being that is coupled with an undermining of her confidence by circumstance. This unhealthy dynamic may result in a syndrome that creates and enhances a perpetual state of anxiety in the individual. The immense pressure from peers to appear successful while simultaneously shouldering the burden that one does not deserve recognition may be partially responsible for the psychological imbalance in the female self. To correct this imbalance, many women seek perfectionism by spending extra time to perform exceedingly well. Being in the minority, too, they may perceive a need to become more forceful and determined in the workplace (Hayes and Davis 1993). But such an approach to finding fulfillment can be counter-productive, for example, Vinnicombe and Singh's (2003) examination of twelve career directors of an international telecommunications company found that women's perfectionist standards and aggressiveness diluted their true capabilities and personal enhancements. A female respondent noted (Vinnicombe and Singh 2003, 329): "Probably I am too forthright. I think I frighten people. I don't think I am terribly aggressive and assertive, although I have a reputation for being terribly aggressive and assertive".

The issue of having to choose between too much, and, too little aggressiveness may cause a woman to question her sense of self. That is, who and/or what she really is. Often this painful search for a personal identity becomes a circular dichotomy. What is one to be and how should one behave? How does one mold oneself in the image of successful female others when there are so few guidelines, role models and/or mentors? Research in management, such as that conducted by Envick (1998), revealed that female managers are more controlling than male managers. Similarly, Oshagbemi and Gill (2003) reported British female managers tended to hold the power

closer, rather than share it, and that women learned to be more independent, and consequently to delegate less to others.

LIFTING THE MASK OF EVIL AND MOVING FORWARD

In order to solve the problem of the female bully in academia, it must be accepted first of all that she does indeed exist in this particular context. With that being said, it must also be recognized that through a cooperative effort on the part of both the perpetrators and the victims a more congenial, cohesive, and productive workplace could be developed. If the parties concerned were to take into consideration the lost time, energy, focus, and resources that are squandered to suspend judgment on this type of dubious behavior, it would become blatantly obvious as to why changes should be made immediately.

There can be no security in the workplace setting where the untethered bully prowls. No individual should be allowed to engage in such wantonly destructive behavior, towards unsuspecting individuals. In order to properly address the problem governance structures must take stock of their workplace cultures; they must observe, and listen; and where they see egregious behavior they must respond by challenging the guilty parties. Corrective measures that focus on the whole workplace culture and that extend beyond petty and insular mechanisms are required. Such measures should apply not only to students, but also to staff, faculty members, office managers, administrators, human resource personnel, guests, and governance bodies. Myers (2012, 48) suggests that, "clear policies and procedures, and an unequivocal showing of campus commitment, are important". That is, governance needs to be governed, too; attitude improvement should be implemented that stretches from, top to bottom, and from, side to side, and that sheds new light on every rung of the occupational ladder. This sea change should include union leaders and all faculty associations. Moreover, both the provincial and the

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federal governing bodies should be informed and they, in turn should inform the workers they represent.

Housecleaning academe to rid this context of the most blatant offenders would be a useful start. Too, often academics sweep the ugliness of bullying and the resulting psychological debris into darkened corridors and bury it in secrecy. Intellectuals who may suffer from inflated egos often do not recognize the problem. Nor can they deal with what they do not see, or want to see. They consciously or unconsciously make it invisible in order to preserve the appearance of a pristine workplace culture. But to produce a truly secure and comfortable workplace with institutional spaces that enable one to do one's best work and that provides acknowledgement for kindly spirited and ethical workers will require a more diligent and responsible approach. Such an approach should include assistance for the victims of bullying for they need support and carefully crafted empathy in order to return them to being healthy and productive workers that are inspired to reach their full potential in the academic workplace.

A personal authenticity in the workplace is a necessary and integral part of a normative workplace culture. Women, in their various roles in the university, must discover within themselves their authentic selves and learn to validate such discoveries in their female colleagues so that they can do their best work on the job. There will always be generational differences, as well as differences in social class, attitudes towards sexuality, physical appearance, race, and ethnicity. Individual skill sets and abilities will also take different pathways and focuses. Instead of seeing these differences as threats, women academics need to recognize the inherent value in the diversity and find strength in their own uniqueness, and share their unique qualities with others. A tapestry of solidarity can be woven between through kind, caring, and empathetic practices that concomitantly recognizes the normalcy of competition based on skill and ability.

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Applying such an approach would result in a much more pleasant and civil workplace atmosphere. Nevertheless, it must also be recognized that those in university administration are ultimately responsible for achieving these same types of workplace enhancements and that they are legally required in Canada to safeguard all workers on the job against bully/harassment/violent behavior through the implementation of Bill C-168.

If we aspire to have first class female faculty members in the Canadian university pipeline of knowledge production and research, that will play a critical role in the socialization process of future students in the university system, then there can be no wait time. Women are slowly ascending the academic ladder of success, both as students and professionals, and they require support in order to achieve their full potential. While they have the human capital, they, will participate more effectively in the academic context if their needs, goals, and differences are re-calibrated in beneficial ways that serve to embrace rather than reject gender and cultural diversity in the workplace. Such recognition would be an important step toward enhancing the image of the academic halls within which each and every human being should be honored and respected.

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Gender Stereotypes in Selected Igbo Proverbs

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Abstract

This paper investigates observed encodings of gender stereotypes in Igbo proverbs, the obvious pigeonhole effects of these stereotypes on the male-female operational spaces and how the fixed formats of these proverbs present them as taken-for-granted, impermeable for deconstruction and recontextualization. Drawing insights from sexism, critical discourse analysis (CDA), conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) and critical metaphor analysis (CMA), the paper analyzes different sets of gender-related Igbo proverbs in four selected source domains: lineage perpetuation/inheritance rights, domestic sphere, marriage and leadership/social privileges – with gender categories as target domains. CMT was deployed to predict the underlying conceptual metaphors encoding the stereotypes while CMA explains their pragmatic implications and rhetoric potentials through a corpus-based approach. The various inequities and inequality encoded in these stereotypes are viewed in relation to critical language awareness of power structures which are the concerns of CDA. The findings show a preponderance of male stereotypic dominance in all the spheres: permanence of homesteads, owner, pillar, provider, rational and superior beings; while the female is presented as harbinger of extinction of homesteads, appendage, consumer, property, fickle-minded and inferior to mention but a few, thus creating gender stereotypes that legitimize and perpetuate gender discrimination which is counter- productive to gender performativity. The paper points to the positive-male, negative-female semantic and operational spaces, fixity of gender roles, male as norm, perpetuation of the patriarchal order and naturalized subordination of

women and hence raise consciousness on possible revision, recontextualization or jettisoning of these sexist expressions to temper their debilitating potentials to optimum human resource development.

1. Introduction

As an insider, active participant and indigene of Igbo culture on the one hand, and as an educated career woman, wife and mother on the other, I have observed the gender encodings in some Igbo proverbs with keen interest. One of the proverbs that triggered this interest is: *Ili nwanyi adighizi n'obi nna ya* (a woman's grave is no longer in her father's homestead). This obviously innocuous rhetoric was deployed to strategically dispossess the rightful female heir of her inheritance and transferred it to a distant male relation, an incident which led me to a number of questions on why the Igbo culture should institutionalize, legitimize and perpetuate this obvious injustice on the grounds of sex differences, how proverbs have strategically been recruited as ideological

apparatus for this perpetuation and the stereotypic schema evoked by the fixed formats of these proverbs.

Igbo refers to both the people of, and the language spoken in the South Eastern Nigeria with a population of about 18% or 32million of Nigerian population estimated at 177 million (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) World Factbook, Wikipedia). The core Igbo speech community could be located mainly in five states – Anambra, Enugu, Imo, Abia and Ebonyi, with peripheral speakers also found in Delta, some parts of Rivers, Bayelsa and Akwa Ibom States. A number of factors about the Igbo social and cultural set-up may provide a background to its values and belief systems, and also give insights into the image and event structures evoked in the proverbs in sustaining gender stereotypes. As a participant observer, these may be obvious in these areas:

➢ Igbo culture does not recognize any sovereign leadership (“*Igbo enweghi eze*”). It is a classless society with the man as the supreme head of each family.

➢ Igbo as a patrilineal society traces its genealogy through the male lineage. Consequently, “matrilineal” as a concept is an empty word in most parts (except Oguta and some parts of Ebonyi), useful only as it provides a contrast for the former. Continuity of the family lineage is vested on the male in most Igbo cultures, paternity rights is also the man's prerogative.

➢ Patriarchy is the norm. Women are predicated on the men as either wife or mother. Like matrilineal genealogy, matriarchy is a dummy expression except perhaps in relation to female deities.

Proverbs in Igbo are the embodiment of Igbo wisdom and philosophy of life. The meanings they encode are regarded as fixed and absolute truths. It is this fixedness and truth attributes that are the concern of this work especially as it affects proverbs that relate to gender roles and relations.

Above all, proverbs are evidence of oratory skills as their apt use has profound rhetorical effects. According to Achebe (1958:5) "Among the Ibo (sic) the art of conversation is regarded very highly, and proverbs are the palm oil with which words are eaten" (translated in Igbo as *Ilu bu mmanu e ji eri okwu).* The abstract nature of proverbs makes them special art for sages as there is usually no one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning. A person is adjudged wise or foolish by the aptness of the proverbs they use such that in Igbo, one does not "say" a proverb, one "throws" it (some dialects use the term "carve"). When a proverb is "thrown", the wise will "catch" it, decode the meaning and use it to solve life's problems while the foolish will be confounded. One who cannot discern the meaning of a proverb is considered a fool (*ofeke*). This assertion is buttressed by these proverbs:

➢ *A turu ilu ka o gbaa ofeke gharii, o si ka a kowaara* ya – A proverb is thrown to confound a fool, and he/she asks for an explanation.

➢ *A tuoro omara, o mara, a tuoro ofeke, o fejie olu/o fenye isi n'ohia* – Throw a proverb to the wise and they understand, but throw it to the fool and they break their neck/they fling their heads into the bush.

➢ *Ofeke amaghi mgbe e kere nku* ukwa – The fool does not know when the booty is shared (because he/she did not "catch" the proverb calling for it)

➢ *Onye a tuoro ilu kowaara ya, ego e jiri luo nne ya furu ohia*–When a proverb is thrown to, and explained for a person, the mother's bride price is a waste.

On the other hand, one who shows proficiency in throwing proverbs is extolled: "*O bu nna gi muru gi*" – "You are the true child of your father". This tendency of assigning responsibility of a child's foolishness to the mother figure and wisdom to the father figure is one of the many stereotypes interrogated in this study. Thus proverbs are recruited in male-female references as

ideological tools to project certain versions of reality. This characteristic makes them good candidates for the present study.

2. Gender stereotypes

Chambers 21ˢᵗ Century Dictionary defines stereotype as "an overgeneralization and preconceived idea or impression of what characterizes someone or something stereotyped – said of opinions, beliefs, attitudes that are fixed, unchangeable, conventionalized, conforming to a stock image or cliché…" This definition imbues the word with the image of permanence and indelibility, cast without any possibility of erasure or obliteration. *The Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary* sees it as "fixed idea or image that many people have of a particular type of person or thing, but which is often not true in reality". Another definition conceive of stereotype as an exaggerated belief associated with a category", its function being to justify and rationalize our conduct in relation to that category (Hewstone and Giles, 1997:270). They are seen as cognitive categories formed in an effort to classify and simplify the world in ways that reduce the complexity of information and thus facilitate information processing. By so doing, real and imagined categories are imposed on the world. As Hewstone and Giles (1997:270) quoting Lippman (1922:1) put it; stereotype is "the distinction between the world outside and the pictures in our heads". Putting it more succinctly, Watson and Hill (2006: 276) states that "to stereotype means to pigeonhole, to thrust into tight slots of definition which allow little adjustments or change".

Gender stereotypes are thus seen as taken-for-granted, culture-specific, simplistic and impressionistic generalizations about gender attributes, differences and roles of individuals and groups based on distinctions of biological sex. They could be positive or negative, and sometimes, regardless of evidence to the contrary, they tend to cast people in apparently

irreversible moulds, and thus are known to rarely communicate accurate information (Cliffnotes, Wikipedia online; Hewstone & Giles, 1997).. Conclusions from findings also show various forms of stereotypes ascribed to women and men speech styles – prestige norms-vernacular, rapport-report talk, hedges-unmitigated, topic support or backchannel-topic development, non-interruption-interruption, status-solidarity, cooperation-competition, dependence-independence, intimacy-aggression, intuitive-analytical, submissive-dominant, emotional-rational, receptive-assertive, passive-active, among many others (See Holmes, 2008; Curry *et al* 1997:235; Malmkjaer, 2002; Eckert, 1997:217-218; Cameron 1998). These stereotypes polarize female-male attributes along subordinate-dominant binaries. In as much as this work sees such binary stereotypic definitions of male-female attributes, the ones identified are not so much associated with speech styles of the sexes as with linguistic representations relating to the use of proverbs in the Igbo culture and how these proverbs tend to set limits to gender performance.

In the African context, existing literature consistently point to the positive male-negative female linguistic representation. Oha' study of the semantics of female devaluation in Igbo proverbs (1998) found that women are construed as foolish, weak, jealous, evil, unfaithful, dependent, frivolous and seductive, while men are construed as rational, independent and superior, and that this devaluation is face-threatening to women. He claims that proverbs imbue a kind of permanence to this negative image construction but was silent on how to subvert it. Hussein's (2005) work in selected gender-related proverbs show how these proverbs indoctrinate boys and girls into dominant masculinity and subordinate femininity. He asserts that proverbs are among the social bases for the exploitation, denigration and exclusion of women in Africa. He identified areas of systemic biases as denial of women's psychological, material and social existence outside men, objectification of women, portraying them as sex objects, as inferior to men as well

as emphasizing hegemonic masculinity among others. Nakhavaly and Sharifi's (2013) study of Persian proverbs also identified elements of semantic derogation, sex discrimination and misrepresentation of women in the studied expressions.

These studies agree on the fixity of these proverbs, their inherent sexist connotations and their tendency to sustain gender stereotypes. The questions raised in the study are: what stereotypes these proverbs project about men and women, how relevant these stereotypes are to present day state of women enlightenment and their place in the Nigerian socio-political milieu, what these encodings imply to the issue of gender parity, and whether there are possibilities of deconstruction, revision and recontextualization of the fixed wordings of some of these proverbs.

3. Theoretical framework

Proverbs, in this work, are treated as figurative expressions, also called creative, poetic or novel metaphors as different from conventional metaphors, in line with Lakoff's "Contemporary theory of metaphor" (1993) and Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors we Live By* (1980). Thus conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is one of the theories used in this work alongside critical discourse analysis (CDA), critical metaphor analysis (CMA) and insights from sexism, one of the targets of feminist campaigns. The synergy of the first three approaches in the analysis of metaphor has been confirmed by Charteris-Black (2004). These will be discussed briefly in the following sections.

3.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is a cognitive approach to the analysis and interpretation of metaphor credited to Lakoff and Johnson (1980). They see metaphor not as a factor of language but of thought and that the whole of everyday language use is pervasive with metaphor. For

instance, Lakoff's (1993) illustration of LOVE IS A JOURNEY and its metaphorical entailments as *We've come to the crossroads, This relationship is heading nowhere* and other such expressions maps experiences from the domain of love (target domain) onto that of journeys (source domain). They see most of everyday expressions as illustrations of this kind of cross-domain mappings in the conceptual system. Drawing from this theoretical framework, I have recruited CMT to determine the cross-domain mappings of these gender-related proverbs and the image-schema structures they evoke. Lakoff (1993: 229-234) has classified proverbs (as well as personification) as "novel", "poetic" or "image" metaphors, as against conventional metaphors, because where the former evokes what he termed "generic-level knowledge schema", the latter construes "image-schema structure"; where the former is regarded as "one shot metaphor" (1993:229) which maps only one image onto another, the latter maps many concepts from the source domain onto many corresponding concepts in the target domain.

In further explaining the generic level knowledge schema, that is, the analogy drawn between the knowledge structure expressed by the literal interpretation of the proverb and its metaphorical interpretation, Lakoff. (1993: 233-234) illustrates with a Persian proverb "Blind blames the ditch". Using the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, Lakoff explains a whole range of general knowledge schemas that are drawn from to account for the specific case stated in the proverb. This general knowledge structure is said to consist, among others, of causal, temporal and purpose structures including the event shape, that is, image-based inferences about the event as persistent or instantaneous, completed or open-ended and so on.

In what he termed "the invariance principle" which holds that "metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain" Lakoff (1993:215) claims that this

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invariance principle applies equally to conventional as well as novel metaphors, that is, TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN conceptual mapping. Thus in this study, gender categories are considered the target domains while the abstract entities and events linked with gender categories in the identified areas of operation are the source domains. We should note here that the terminologies for these conceptual mappings as used in this work are from the author's intuition as they emanate from the analysis.

3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is geared towards the deconstruction of ideologically biased discourses and bringing up for scrutiny linguistic representations that are repressive (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 2004). Since sexism is an aspect of linguistic repression (Cameron, 1998), and most of the selected proverbs appear to be among the covert linguistic usages that may mask subtle asymmetries and repressions especially against women, CDA has been used as a linguistic means of emancipating those oppressed by dominant discourses and bringing such expression up for scrutiny and deconstruction. Insights from CDA will serve to focus on the power structures construed by the proverbs and how these create asymmetries that tend to be discriminatory thus reinforcing gender inequality and inequity. CDA perspectives will provide a ground to question these sexist expressions and create awareness for their possible deconstruction and recontextualization.

3.3.Critical Metaphor Analysis

Critical metaphor analysis combines insights from CDA and CMT to offer a pragmatic explanation of the rhetorical potentials of texts using a corpus-based approach. Charteris-Black (2004: 31) defines a corpus as;

…any large collection of texts that arise from natural language use; in a linguistic context, it is in contrast to other types of text that were invented specifically for illustrating a point about language. The notion of attested language is very important in corpus linguistics and implies that data are not invented for the benefit of a model but rather that the model emerges from large and representative samples of language. Other than this, there are no constraints on corpus composition nor are there any constraints on corpus size; these are determined by our purposes in designing the corpus in the first place.

On the strength of the above assertion, I make the claim that the selected proverbs have most, if not all the characteristics of a corpus and thus provide authentic data for analysis of gender stereotypes. Proverbs are said to be powerfully persuasive and emotive and a corpus-based analysis of the conceptual schemas they evoke can reveal their potentials to shape the way reality is framed (Charteris-Black 2004). Thus, by applying knowledge from critical linguistics, cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics, we can explain whether these proverbs contribute to the construction of gender in Igbo culture and the ideologies they project, the thought processes they evoke in terms of the image-schema structures and cross-domain mappings and how these affect gender division of labour and assignment of roles and expectations in the culture. Such explanations will bring into perspective the naturalized and commonsense limits and fixed roles assigned to individuals by the stereotypes encoded in the proverbs so that we can properly assess their gains in this age of global enlightenment on gender equality and women empowerment.

3.4. Sexism

Part of feminist awareness has been to point out some linguistic representations that tend denigrate, discriminate against and assign subordinate position to the sexes especially women.

Such repressive and discriminatory language use has been described as sexist language. Lakoff's (1975) *Language and Woman's Place* had argued that women are socialized from birth into a "woman's register" deficient in content and reinforces subordinate place. Dale Spender (1980) was among the early radical feminists that argued for the existence of sexism in the English language. The dominant position of the masculine gender in language has led these scholars to argue that language is man-made, that there is only one gender; the masculine norm; feminine being a deviation from the norm. Others claim that it is only the feminine gender that can correctly be termed gender; "masculine is the generic, coterminous with human" (Mills 1998:66). Mills, quoting Monique Wittig asserts; "There are not two genders. There is only one: the feminine; the masculine not being a gender. For the masculine is not the masculine but the general".

The works of Okonkwo (1977) and Emenanjo (2015: 25) provide enough evidence to the fact that the Igbo language is not morphologically-marked for gender, as in for instance, the English *waiter-waitress*, *hero-heroine* pairs, nor is there any difference in masculine-feminine pronouns and other linguistically gender-marked expressions like the generic references. It could therefore be argued that, being genderless, the Igbo language is not inherently sexist. However, certain usages such as the proverbs we are studying tend towards sexist representation especially subtle discrimination, denigration, semantic derogation and inferiorization of women. It is the contention of this paper that such textual representations should be a matter of concern as they create artificial limits to the operational spaces of women and men. It is for this reason that these proverbs are studied to bring up for scrutiny their debilitating potentials in optimal human development.

4. Methodology

The work adopts a qualitative approach to the identification, classification, interpretation and explanation of the proverbs according to their male-female references, the stereotypes associated with them predicted from their underlying conceptual metaphors. These stereotypes are labelled by the author as they emanate from the analysis. Sources of textual data include participant observation and texts that compiled proverbs related to gender such as Ogbalu (1978, Ezeobah (2005), Spears (2005), Ndubisi (2008) and Nwadike (2009). Participant observation enabled me to recruit intuitive knowledge and subjective perception which are welcome advances to social research as opposed to rigid objectivity of psychometric research (Nunan, 1996:54). Thus, the author depended much on reflexive accounting of indexical elements in the culture as encoded in the proverbs. Such reflexive accounting was also a handy tool in predicting the conceptual metaphors that embody the identified gender stereotypes, and the various cross-domain mappings. Interview data from five respondents, chosen from the urban, rural and academic settings were also used. In all, a total of eighty (80) proverbs, translated in the nearest English equivalents were used for analysis.

5. Data presentation and analysis

Analysis was focussed on the general and specific knowledge schemas that are evoked by the identified proverbs and the conceptual mappings of gender categories across domains of inheritance/lineage perpetuation, family circle, marriage and social power/privileges. Thereafter, the entailments/inferences to be drawn from these proverbs and the stereotypes they encode are accounted for.

5.1. Inheritance/Lineage Perpetuation

Proverbs relating to inheritance and lineage perpetuation evoke such conceptual frames as 'survival', 'continuation', 'loss', 'closed road', 'deserted homestead' 'overgrown with weeds' with respect to gender, drawn from the lexical field of 'permanence' and 'extinction'. The following proverbs seem to construe MAN AS PERMANENT HOMESTEAD and WOMAN AS EXTINCT HOMESTEAD stereotype.

(1)   *Ama nwoke koro na-ada okpuno*: (A compound lacking males turns into a deserted homestead (one overgrown by weeds)

(2)   *Onye nne ji ya na nwanyi bu otu nwa* : (One who has a woman as his only sibling is an only child).

(3)   *Ama choro ichi echi na-amu soso nwanyi*: (A homestead threatening extinction begets only female offspring)

(4)   *Ili nwanyi adighi n'obi nna ya*: (A woman's grave is not located in her father's homestead).

(5)   *Onye akpacharaghi anya oge o na-aju ihe nwunye ya muru, o juo "o muru ole"*? (If one does not exercise restraint in asking about the sex of his newborn baby, he will inadvertently ask "how many did she get"?).

This last proverb equates the delivery of a baby girl to the delivery of twins which, before the coming of the Christian missionaries, was not welcome news. Then, twins used to be thrown away as "abomination babies".

5.2. Family/Domestic Sphere

The following metaphors can be deduced from proverbs about gender roles and expectations at the family or domestic domain: Pillar versus Support/Appendage, Financier/Breadwinner versus Consumer/Glutton, Caretaker/Public versus Caregiver/Domestic.

The Pillar-Support/Appendage Stereotype

Man as Pillar

(6)   *Dibulo bu aka ogori na-ehii n'isi*. (The pillar of the household (husband) is the hand that holds the wife's head).

(7)   *Oke osisi daruo ala, umu nnunu, eju ohia*. (When a great tree falls, the birds will scatter in the bush – (i.e. when the husband dies, the family will collapse).

(8)   *Ihe nwoke bu n'isi kariri ibu* – (What a man is carrying on his head is more than a load; a man carries heavy responsibilities)

Woman as Support/Appendage

(9)   *Nwanyi ezubeghi oke ruo mgbe o gadoro nwoke aka*. (A woman is not complete until she is hooked to a man).

(10)   *Ogori enweghi di enweghi olu uka* – (A woman without a husband is without a voice)

(11)   *Nwanyi lelia di ya, ike akpoo ya nku* – (if a woman relegates her husband to the background, her buttocks will dry up/will get thin).

(12)   *Nwanyi chupu di ya, isi eruo ya ala* – (if a woman sacks her husband, her head will soil in earth and grime).

(13)   *Ogori dabeere n'ahu di ya ji mma egbuwa okwu.* (A woman leaning on her husband's body breaks words with a knife, that is, a wife who is assured of her husband's support talks without fear).

(14)   *Anaghi abu ajadu na ntoru, kama o bu onye di ya nwuru, o buru ajadu*. (One is never a widow by age, one only becomes a widow at the demise of her husband).

It should be noted that the word '*Ajadu*'(a woman who has lost her husband) has no male equivalent in Igbo language as is obtainable in the English 'widow-widower'

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The Financier - Consumer Stereotype

The identified proverbs assign the responsibility of providing for the family upkeep: feeding, clothing, shelter and education of children on the husband. The wife on the other hand is construed as consumer, exemplified by the title of "Oriaku" (Consumer of Wealth). Closely linked to the consumer metaphor is the schema of woman as "glutton". A number of proverbs exemplify this financier-consumer stereotype.

(15)   *Anu kwuru n'oku, nwanyi ejebe ozi ezighi ezi* – (When meat is roasting on the hearth, the woman becomes overzealous to run unsolicited errands).

(16)   *E siwe esiwe, a huba ahuba ka nwanyi ji erigbu di ya* – (Cooking and roasting at the same time makes a woman render her husband bankrupt/liquidate her husband's resources).

(17)   *Onu uto si na ya gbuwe nwanyi, na ya agaghi emere ya ebere* – (Sweet tongue said that if he begins to kill a (gluttonous) woman, he will not have any pity on her).

(18)   *E richaa a goo mere nwanyi agbaghi afo onu* – (Eat and deny makes a woman not to grow beard).

(19)   *"Nna anyi nna anyi" ka nwanyi ji erigbu di ya* – ("My Lord, my Lord" is a woman's strategy for liquidating her husband).

The supportive role of the woman in the family circle is encoded in the proverb:

(20)   *Nwanyi toghaa "Oriaku" o zaba "Odoziaku" ma o bu "Osodieme"* (when a woman overgrows the name *oriaku (*consumer of wealth), she becomes *odoziaku* (preserver of wealth) or *osodieme*" (husband's co-doer).

In the case where a man cannot provide for the family, rather than blame the man in proverbs, the woman takes the blame for being boastful about it. Consider these proverbs below:

(21) *Nwanyi tuo ari, akuko eju ogbo* – (When the wife provides food, she will peddle stories in the arena – that is, she will be boastful about it).

(22) *Onye nwanyi na-enye nri, ngwe na-egwe ya afo* – (One who is fed by his wife, enzymes grind his stomach, that is, he suffers irritating guts).

(23) *E chekwube ogori, e rie n'ime abali.* (Hoping on the wife to provide food results in eating late in the night).

The Caretaker - Caregiver Stereotype

The Caretaker-Caregiver stereotype inherits the Financier-Consumer/Preserver according to Lakoff's (1993) inheritance hierarchy because, just like the financier/preserver, this stereotype assigns public caretaking roles to men while those of women encompass the mothering, nurturing, cooking and care-giving roles. This stereotype is exemplified in these proverbs.

(24) *Nna turu ari ka o zuo mana nne webilatara ka o fodu echi.* (Father provides food to satisfy the family but mother rations it to last till tomorrow).

(25) *Nwoke waa ohia kuta nri, nwanyi awaa ngiga site ya.* (A man forages the bush to provide food, a woman forages her ingredients basket to cook it).

It is seen that this cooking stereotype represent women more positively than the men. Because cooking is regarded as the exclusive preserve of women, men involved in it are represented as either not married or are effeminate or irresponsible.

(26) *Okokporo sibe nri maba osu, ego nwanyi adila ya n'aka.* (When a bachelor is cooking and sighing, the bride price is in his hand/he has got enough bride price for a wife).

(27) *Okokporo jejurugwo, ntu ututu nokwa na-eche ya.* (the overnight ash waits patiently for a loafing bachelor).

(28) *Nwoke muta iga n'ite ofe nwunye ya kuru ofe n'asoghi nwunye ya anya, nwunye ya amuta igbanye aka n'ukwu agwa di ya okwu.* When a man belittles himself by going to take soup from his wife's pot without minding his wife's feelings, the wife will learn to talk to him with hands akimbo/without respect.

5.3. Marriage/Conjugal Rights

The following conceptual mappings can be drawn from proverbs that convey the male-female roles in the marriage institution: Buyer versus Commodity, Owner versus Property, Unlimited time versus Limited time, Love/Hate versus Understanding/Learning, Sexually Aggressive versus Sexually Passive/Loose, Beauty as Wealth versus Beauty as Physical Adornment.

The Buyer-Commodity Stereotype

The Igbo culture prescribes a customary bride price for any man who wants to take a wife. One of the conditions for eligibility in marriage is that the man has got enough money to pay for the wife's bride price, which could be exorbitant in some areas like Imo State. This custom therefore construes marriage as a mercantile transaction which costs money to the buyer and brings in money to the seller. The cost of the "commodity" may be burdensome on the "buyers" as symbolized in these proverbs.

(29) *A na-acho aku e ji aluru okokporo nwanyi, ndi di ime ana-amu nwoke nwoke.* The wealth to marry a wife for the bachelor is not in sight, yet those that are pregnant keep bearing male children.

(30) *O bu ihe ji okokporo alughi nwunye jikwa ndi luru otu alughi nke abuo.* What is preventing a bachelor from marrying a wife is equally preventing one who has one wife from marrying the second.

Thus, reference to a wife's role in her husband's house is often on the "wealth" metaphor and also on "profit and loss" basis. For instance,

(31)   *Onye a tuoro ilu kowaara ya, ego e ji luo nne ya furu ohia.* If a proverb is thrown to somebody and is explained, the mother's bride price is a waste.

This "commodity" may depreciate with age.

(32)   *A luta agbogho, a chupu agadi.* When a new bride is married, the old will be discarded.

(33)   *E lewe agadi nwanyi anya, o dika e jighi ego luo ya.* Looking at an old women, it would seem as if money was not paid on her head.

The Owner-Property Stereotype

The mercantile metaphor assigns ownership rights to the buyer while the commodity bought becomes the possession of the owner in what has been called the Owner-Property stereotype. This stereotype is exemplified in these proverbs.

(34)   *Onye lutara nwanyi mara mma na-enwe anya ano, ma o bughi otu ahu, ihe mmadu aghoro ihe onye ozo* - A man who marries a beautiful wife must have four eyes, otherwise his property may become another's/may change hands.

(35)   *Kporo kporo ka mma n'anwuru, o rughi n'ikporo nwanyi onye ozo.* "Take, take" is better with snuff but not applicable in taking another man's wife.

It is common belief that a woman at the demise of her husband wishes to be "taken over" or "inherited" by her husband's male sibling.

(36) *Nwanyi di ya nwuru si a na-agba izu maka olili ozu di ya, si na-agbakwa maka onye nkuchi.* (A woman whose husband died said that as plans for the burial are going on, plans for inheriting her should also be included).

This last proverb presents a woman as an 'inheritable property' and assigns the responsibility of the desire to be inherited on the woman, thus divesting direct responsibility from the ideological apparatuses that enforce this practice.

The Limited-Unlimited Time Stereotype

Marriage in Igbo culture is seen as a woman's certificate to legitimacy, to social recognition and respect. A woman considers herself lucky if she happens to get a proposal of marriage in her prime when her beauty is still blossoming. This proverb encodes the joy of a newly married girl.

(37) *Nwanyi a lutara ohuru si na ochi di ya n'eze ekweghi ya afuke oku.* (A newly married wife said that the joy in her teeth prevents her from blowing the fire).

When she is unlucky to get a husband in her prime, she is stigmatized with proverbs construing that her "market has closed", that is, she is no longer eligible "to be bought" These proverbs beget the conceptual schema MARRIED IS LUCKY/HAPPY, UNMARRIED IS UNLUCKY/UNHAPPY. Conversely a man's time for marriage does not have any such prescribed limits.

(38) *Agbogho gafee onye mu, o banye na onye na-alu ya.* When a lady passes the age of "whose daughter?" she enters that of "whose wife?".

(39) *Agbogho ahia suru si na ndi luru di lutara ofogeli.* The woman whose market has closed said that the married ones got only never-do-well husbands.

The Ram – Dog Stereotype

A man's sexual improprieties do not carry as much semantic derogation as that of a woman. The ram metaphor portrays the man as sexually aggressive, a welcome trait for an eligible bachelor, while the woman's dog metaphor presents her as sexually loose.

Man as Ram

(40) *Aturu muru ebunu gba aka nwa* - An ewe that begets a ram is without an offspring (because it will always wander off in search of females)

(41) *Ebunu laa azu, o bia ogu* (when a ram retreats, it comes back with more aggressive fight – said of a man's physical and sexual prowess)

Woman as Dog metaphor

There is a contradiction to how the Igbo culture construes a woman's sexual life. Whereas the culture expects the woman to be sexually passive and submissive to the man's advances, she is always suspected of infidelity, while the man's infidelity is usually construed in his nature as a polygamous being and is never linguistically stigmatized as evidenced in these proverbs.

(42) *Nwanyi ahu bu nkita* (that woman is a dog – that is, the woman is wayward)

(43) *Ihe nwanyi muru ka o na-ekuputara di ya* – (what the woman delivers is what she presents to the husband (usually said when the husband is doubtful of the wife's fidelity)).

(44) *Nwoke na-etu onu na ya muru nwa, nwanyi ewere obi na-apiako onye bu nna nwa* – (When the man is boasting that he sired a child, the mother will harbour the image of the father in her heart).

(45) *A chowa imata onye bu nna nwa, a juo nne nwa.* (If one wants to find out the father of a child, one should ask the mother).

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Hate versus Blame

As the owner of the woman and everything about her, the man has the prerogative to treat his property as he wishes. He has the prerogative to hate the wife or love her, while the wife has to strive learn and understand the husband's disposition, to earn the husband's love and to avoid being hated.

(46) *Nwanyi di ya kporo asi anaghi esite ya n'ofe uto.* (A hated wife does not earn her husband's love by cooking delicious soup).

The woman also seems to take the blame for the man's or family's downfall.

(47) *Ebe nwoke dara, nwanyi no na ya.* (Where a man falls, a woman is present).

(48) *O buru na ihe si n'agada egbughi nwoke, mara na ndu ya ga-adi ogologo* – (If the thing in the loins does not kill a man, then he will live long0.

On the other hand, a woman has no right to hate, rather should learn her husband's disposition and endure his hate as exemplified in these proverbs:

(49) *Uzo e si enweta obi nwoke bu site n'afo ya* – (The way to a man's heart is through his stomach (advice to newly-married wives).

(50) *Onye di kporo asi, omumu akasie ya* **(**A hated wife is consoled by her offspring)

(i)   The Beauty as Wealth Versus Beauty As Adornment Stereotype

Whereas the man's "beauty" is judged by the amount of wealth and affluence he has garnered for himself which will guarantee his eligibility to pay the bride price for a wife and equally provide for his family, the woman beauty is judged by her physical adornment, her passport to marriage. The word "ogaranya" (wealthy person) is usually associated with males than females as seen in the following proverbs.

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Man's Beauty as Wealth

(51)   *A napu nwoke ihe o ji ama mma, mma ya aruo* – (If you strip a man of his beauty (wealth), his beauty dims/despoils; meaning if you remove a man's source of income, he becomes a nobody).

(52)   *Nwoke adighi ka o na-adi, e were nkata kunyere ya nri.* (When a man is not as he should be, he will be served food in a basket – that is, he will be ridiculed by his wife).

Woman's Beauty as Physical Adornment

A woman's physical beauty is her credential to marriage and attraction to the opposite sex. Physical beauty is her only means of being socially relevant and acceptable. So a woman spends a lot of time and money on physical adornment.

(53)   *Agbogho jiri ohu ukwu waa eze, o ga-achita ole n'ochi?* (A maiden who spends a bundle of cowries to carve her teeth, how much will she get by her laughter?)

(54)   *Nchiche bie agbogho imi, mkparita uka buzi naani nke ya na nna ya.* (A maiden whose face has been disfigured by smallpox has only her father to engage her in conversation ,because no man will have anything to do with an ugly woman).

(55)   *A dighi ebu onya di n'ihu eti agbogho* – (One does not become the belle with a sore on the face).

5.4. Leadership Rights/Social Power/Privileges

The slogan "to be a man is not a day's job" fits well in this sphere. The proverbs encoding allocation of social power and privileges seem to assign men more power, more rationality and more reserved way of handling problems as against women that were placed in powerless

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positions, as foolish, more emotional and more talkative. We have grouped these conceptualizations in these pairs of stereotypes:

➢ Powerful-powerless

➢ Wise-Foolish

➢ Taciturn-Chatter/Gossip

(i)   The Powerful - Powerless Stereotype

Man as Powerful/Superior

The prefix *di –* and the word "*eze"* attached to a word signify a man with exceptional power or strength or a man who is a leader respectively. These lexical items never refer to females - *dike, dimkpa, dimgba, diji, diochi, dioka,* and others. Examples*:*

(56)   *A hu dike, e bie abia –* (when a man of strength/worth enters the arena, the drumming will be stopped. A man of honour commands respect).

(57)   *Dimkpa taa aki, a hu ichere ya –* (when a strong man eats palm kernels, the shells will be obvious. When a man undertakes a venture, the results are usually noticeable).

(58)   *A gbawo dike izu, a gbaa ya ugboro abuo.* (If you sidetrack the powerful in any decision, you will take the decision twice. Important decisions are not taken in the absence of important people).

(59)   *E lewe eze anya n'onu, o dika o jighi ya nuo ara nne ya.* (Looking at the king's mouth, it would seem as if he never suckled his mother's breast. The king looks so invincible that such a thing as sucking on his mother's breast seems impossible).

Any man who behaves contrary to the superior-subordinate stereotype is stigmatized as effeminate. This misgendering puts such men in the same subordinate position as women.

(60) *O dighi mma a gbachaa egwu ka nwoke, e bie ya ka nwanyi.* (It is not good to start dancing like a man and end like a woman – A strong man shows his strength by perseverance and not by giving up).

Woman as Powerless/Inferior

Proverbs that illustrate women's inferior position in Igbo culture include:

(61) *Ala nga nwanyi bu eze, ala nke ahu alaluola* – (A land where a woman is king is doomed).

(62) *Okeke nwanyi di nti njo* – (A woman answering *Okeke* (a man's name) is bad to the ears).

(63) *E jide anu egbe n'aka, a juwa na nwanyi o na-erikwa ya.* (Kite meat should be handy before deciding on whether a woman eats it. This calls to mind the taboo forbidding a woman from eating kite meat).

(64) *Oke osisi daruo ala, nwanyi aria ya elu* – (when a great tree falls to the ground, a woman climbs it. When a great man falls from fortune, lesser mortals make fun of him).

(ii)   The Wise – Foolish, Rational-Emotional Stereotype

Grey hair is regarded as an epitome of wisdom, associated more with men than women. Some proverbs that illustrate this grey hair as wise include:

(65) *Ihe isi awo noro n'ala hu, nwata kwuru oto, o gaghi ahu ya* (What grey hair sees while sitting, a child may not see standing).

(66) *Isi awo choba okenye ma o hughi, o chaa nwata* – (When grey hair looks for an elder and sees none, it falls on the young).

This means that a young man, by circumstances of death or absence of elderly ones in the family,

would take up the mantle of leadership if he displays wisdom and rationality in hard times.

The elderly man is taken as an intermediary between the living and the dead as shown below:

(67) *Okenye kwaa ehem, e gewe nti ububo ndi mmuo* – (When an elder coughs e*hem*, one anticipates a discourse with the ancestors. The reference here is obviously to elderly men).

Woman as Foolish/Fickle-minded/Emotional

A number of proverbs illustrate this stereotype.

(68) *Anya mmiri umu nwanyi di ha n'obe aka* – (Women carry their tears on their palms). Because of their inability to withstand rational reasoning, they easily resort to tears.

(69) *A zuoro nwanyi uwe ohuru, o gaa okwukwa ozu onye di ndu* – (If you buy a new dress for a woman, she goes for the funeral ceremony of the living).

(70) *Nwanyi rijuru afo na-eji ukwu esonyere ibe ya nku n'oku* – (A woman who has had too much to eat stokes another's (less privileged) fire with her legs). This goes to emphasize the "eating" metaphor associated with women.

(71) *Okeke Oyoba si ya zichaa nwanyi ebe a na-akpu ara, ebe o soziri ya, o kpuo.* – (Okeke Oyoba (a mad man) said that his duty is to show a woman where to grow breasts, if they like, they should heed his voice or grow them anywhere they like).

This means that some women are so foolish as to grow breasts anywhere they like, including their armpits, (referring to false breasts which some women grow in their armpits because of hormonal disorders).

Whereas the expression "*agadi nwoke*" (old man) positively stereotypes old men as sages, repository of wisdom and knowledge, "*agadi nwanyi*" negatively presents women as fickle,

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foolish, emotionally imbalanced, with falling teeth; and calls up the image of an ugly old hag, no longer coordinating, devoid of reason and ailing.

(72) *Agadi nwanyi m kunyere nwa, o si na eze adighi ya, ekunyere m ya nwa ka o tagbuo.* (An old woman to whom I gave a baby to carry for me and she complains of aching tooth, did I give her the baby to eat?)

(73) *Ana m asi agadi mechaa ati anya, o bu m ga-ata isi ya.* (Should I bother to tell an old woman to clean the secretion on her eyes, will I be asked to eat her head?)

(74) *Agadi nwanyi daa nda ada naabo, a guo ihe o bu n'ukpa onu –* (When an old woman falls twice, the contents of her basket will be counted, because left alone, she would not know they are depleting).

(iii) The Taciturn Versus Gossip/Chatter Stereotype

Men are stereotypically unemotional and are said to "swallow their sorrow" with groans while women are known to be vociferous, chattering and in most cases talkative to the extent of gossip. The men are said to believe in action more than words.

Man as Taciturn/Rational

(75) *Ebunu na-elo n'ude –* (The ram swallows his sorrows in silent groans).

(76) *Ihe nwoke na-eme di ya n'obi –* (What the man does is in his mind).

(77) *Ebunu laa azu, o bia ogu –* (When the ram retreats, it comes back with full force).

Woman as Gossip/Chatter/Emotional/Wicked

A woman is stereotypically a gossip and is known to be talkative. She is also taken to be inherently wicked. These proverbs exemplify this.

(78) *Nwoke luchaa ogu, nwanyi enwere akuko* – (When the man is done with fighting, the woman becomes the story teller).

(79) *E gbuo ogoli ma onu, ozo ekwuchie* – (If you kill your wife because she is mouthy, her replacement will start where she stopped).

(80) *Nwoke ji uche ya hu ajo nwanyi, ya na oso a na-eme*- (A man with his wits runs for dear life at the sight of an evil woman).

Having come this far in our analysis, it is pertinent at this juncture to summarize the various stereotypes construed by the cross-domain mappings in the selected proverbs. The table below provide these predicted stereotypes.

Summary of Stereotypes in the Studied Proverbs

	MEN	WOMEN
	PERPETUATOR- /PERMANENCE	TERMINATOR/ EXTINCTION
	PILLAR	SUPPORT/APPENDAGE
	BUYER	MERCHANDISE/COMMODITY
	OWNER	PROPERTY
	PREROGATIVE TO HATE	RESPONIBILITY TO EARN LOVE
	UNLIMITED TIME	LIMITED TIME
	BREADWINNER/FINANCIER	CONSUMER/PRESERVER
	BEAUTY AS WEALTH	BEAUTY AS PHYSICAL ADORNMENT
	PUBLIC/CARETAKER -	DOMESTIC/CAREGIVER
	RAM	DOG
	POWERFUL/SUPERIOR	POWERLESS/INFERIOR
	WISE	FOOLISH
	TACITURN	CHATTER/GOSSIP
	-	GLUTTON

6. Discussion

Our analyses show the selected proverbs as ideological expressions for social definition and construction of gender categories. They possess profound cognitive and emotive potentials as rhetoric of persuasion. Most of the proverbs studied encode positive male and negative female

semantic and operational spaces in the four domains studied. They reinforce the view that patriarchy is subtly encoded in these expressions thus constructing asymmetries in the role relationships of both sexes. Furthermore, as was obvious from our analysis, these proverbs are obliquely realized as creative or image metaphors where one image from these cultural domains are mapped onto a particular gender category, as established by CMT, giving rise to the various stereotypes identified. However, they evoke the type of image-schema called "generic-level metaphors" (Lakoff, 1993: 231), an open-ended category of knowledge schemas that may be universal or culture-specific and requires an analogy to be drawn between such knowledge schema and gender categories.

Generic-level knowledge schema evoked by proverbs on lineage perpetuation relate to the knowledge of the Igbo values and belief systems which abhors extinction of a lineage. The Igbo as a patrilineage culture favours male offspring more than females because the males will perpetuate the family name, take over the family inheritance and ensure that the homestead does not go into extinction. The presence of a woman in a homestead does not ensure its perpetuation; she must eventually be given out for marriage. This generic-level knowledge evoke conceptual mappings and image-schema structure: Source Domain: Permanent Lineage; Target Domain: Male = MALE AS PERMANENT HOMESTEAD; Source Domain: Extinct Lineage; Target Domain: Female = FEMALE AS EXTINCT HOMESTEAD.

In the domestic sphere, the male-female binaries that appear obviously encoded in the proverbs include Pillar/Support versus Appendage, Breadwinner versus Consumer and Caretaker versus Caregiver. The generic-level knowledge schema of 'pillar' and 'support' are drawn from the domain of architecture where buildings are propped up by pillars and beams. This metaphor presents the male as the stronghold of the family, the physical and spiritual pillar without whom

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the family falls apart and lacks morale. The woman's persona on the other hand is predicated on that of the man as appendage and only provides support services to the man. The man is expected to be the caretaker and breadwinner of the family while the woman should be the caregiver and the consumer of the husband's wealth. The argument is that even in the changing circumstances, where women contribute to family upkeep, these expressions still remain fixed and unchangeable.

The mental images and knowledge schemas activated by proverbs relating to marriage and conjugal rights are drawn from the domain of commerce or market transaction. The generic-level knowledge schema about market transactions involve the presence of the buyer and the commodity to be bought. It also entails the availability of wealth in the form of bride price or other materials that are necessary for the "purchase" of the commodity. The commodity must be enticing enough to justify the expenditure on the part of the buyer and also ensure incoming wealth for the seller.

This buyer-commodity metaphor inherits two other metaphors: the owner-property and the unlimited-limited time metaphor. The buyer ultimately becomes the owner and the commodity the property of the owner. The man has the prerogative to hate his wife while the woman has the responsibility to earn the husband's love as exemplified in the proverb, *Nwaanyi di kporo asi anaghi eteta ya n'ofe uto* (A hated wife does not earn the husband's love by cooking delicious soup). Furthermore, the commodity to be bought has limited time within which it could be bought; before the end of the market day, that is, at the blossoming stage of the woman's prime, otherwise it would become stale and unacceptable to the buyers. This shows that this "commodity" could depreciate with age, a limited time within which it would become unmarketable.

Proverbs regarding leadership rights seem to uphold the positive-male and negative female operational spaces for the sexes. For instance, the saying, "That land is doomed where a woman is king" is a translation of a popular Igbo maxim which creates a negative schema of women's capability to function in that sphere. To legitimise this stereotype, women are constructed in these proverbs as foolish, gossip, fickle-minded, emotional, man's sex object and overly conscious of her physical beauty, while men are rational, taciturn, powerful, sexually aggressive and ambitious to acquire wealth. Though in the present political dispensation in Nigeria, women have shown their potential to function effectively in these spheres – albeit not allowed by the prevailing patriarchal social order to feature in some leadership positions – these proverbs still maintain their original fixed formats.

The proverbs under study tend to reinforce the commonsense view that in Igbo culture, as in most cultures, androcentrism and patriarchy are universal phenomena (see Cameron's collection of essays (1998) to which this work owes a lot of inspiration and information). These findings not only give credence to the existence of the male-as-norm ideology in Igbo culture and system of representation but also show the high premium attached to male roles and expectations while relegating those of females. Participant interview data confirm that some men may have been forced to become overambitious and engage in obnoxious economic ventures in order to meet societal expectations and thus may develop into what van Leeuwen (2011:121) calls "monstrous masculinity" identity. Similarly, the prescribed passive, subordinate and domesticated role into which these stereotypes have positioned women may create identity crisis especially among the educated ones who may want to aspire beyond the artificial limits set by gender categories.

7. **The need for deconstruction and recontextualization**

In spite of the apparent fixed formats of proverbs generally, I personally know that some Igbo proverbs which tend to have suppressive and life-denying connotations have been reworded to suit post modern trends. For instance, the popular Igbo saying: *Egbe belu, ugo belu, nke si ibe ya ebena, nku kwaa ya* (Let the kite perch, let the egret perch, if anyone says no to the other, let its wings break) has had its final part reworded to "let it show the other where to perch" thus removing the underlying curse and imbuing it with more humanity. It is thus possible that these apparently fixed expressions can be modified, just as Mey (2001: 313) asserts that "man made language is a historical accident and not a natural condition that cannot be changed" For instance, the culture relating to lineage perpetuation have changed tremendously. Though patrilineage inheritance culture is the norm, the homestead is no longer "transferred" in the presence of a surviving female offspring. Thus such proverbs as (3) and (4) should be expunged and replaced by "the path leading to the homestead where one begets a child (both male and female) can never be overgrown by weeds": *Uzo e ji nwa anaghi agba ataka.*

In the domestic sphere, proverb (20) is a way of deconstructing the consumer stereotype. The tag *Oriaku* (consumer of wealth) has successfully been replaced in many users' stock of vocabulary with *Odoziaku* (preserver of wealth) or *Osodieme* (husband helper). The most explicitly feminist usage would prefer *okpataaku/obuteaku* (bringer of wealth). It is considered a misnomer these days to put the tag *oriaku* on an educated working class wife.

In the marriage domain, less emphasis on bride-price can deconstruct the mercantile stereotype where husbands think that having "purchased" their wives at exorbitant prices, it has conferred "ownership" rights to such "property". Such recontextualization has been approached legally and individually; legally by the Limitation of Dowry Law (personal communication), which though not seriously enforced, has changed attitudes towards bride price. At the time it was introduced,

it pegged the quantum of bride price in four states – Anambra, Imo, Cross-River and Rivers – to sixty naira. The amount has undergone various revisions since then, and is presently pegged at five hundred naira. Individually, most educated parents do not take any bride price; they just take a token and, at the same time, share incidental expenses in the customary rites with the groom. The "owner-property" stereotype has also been effectively deconstructed and recontextualized by the various endearments spouses address each other with, such as "*Nke m*" (Mine), "*Obi m*" (My Heart) and others which have effectively replaced "Oga m" (My Master) and "*Onye be m*" (my (human) possession). These changes will not only ensure better harmony and equity but also prolong the life of the individuals and the marriage institution than that built on super-ordinate-subordinate stereotype.

Furthermore, proverbs that stipulate limits for individual's eligibility for marriage ignore the individuality of women to take decisions about how to live their lives. The stereotype presupposes that a career woman who decides to remain unmarried is "rejected by the market" as she is too old for "prospective buyers". Such prescribed limits are psychological cogs in the wheel of women's career pursuits in the educational and workplace spheres as they concentrate their energies to getting hooked to a man before the 'market' closes on them. Such women are usually socially stigmatized and semantically ostracised simply because they have not assumed their socially constructed role in the marriage institution, the role of a wife. Even when they aspire to this role, it only confers on them the stereotype of "appendage" in spite of the social stratum in which their positions would have rightfully placed them.

Stereotypes presenting women as inferior, wicked, foolish and gossip create a schema that strategically excludes them from leadership positions and other social privileges. Such proverbs need to be recontextualized as experiences of women leaders all over the world show them as

more transparent, accountable and honest. Leaders like the late Dora Akunyili, former Director of National Food and Drug Administration (NAFDAC); Ngozi Okonjo-Iwuala of the World Bank; Virgy Etiaba, ex-Deputy Governor of Anambra State; Alele Williams, former Vice Chancellor; Winifred Oyo-Ita, the present Head of Service of the Federation; Kemi Adeosun, the Minister of Finance and a host of others have proved that Nigerian and Igbo women can function even better in leadership roles and leave a clean record than the hitherto male leadership fraught with corruption and human right abuses.

Finally, a lot can be done by women in repositioning themselves in the system of representation that inferiorize them. Since discourse can create as well as subvert particular versions of reality, women can take their destiny in their hands and verbally deconstruct these sexist expressions, be they used orally, in texts or in the media. The more awareness is created about their debilitating potentials to optimum human resource development, the better for a more harmonious society that respects the sensibilities of every human person, male or female.

8. Conclusion

The foregoing suggests that some of the proverbs that encode gender are deployed to set artificial limits to gender performance, to put a ceiling on operational spaces of the sexes. Post-feminist theorists have likened gender to a change of clothes which is to be worn according to the needs of particular situation in line with Butler's performativity framework (1990). The work therefore recommends an androgynous post-gender culture which addresses gender construction in some of these obviously clichéd folk expressions with a view to consciously deconstructing artificial goal limits set by gender stereotypes as starters to achieving gender equity if not equality.

Furthermore, Nigeria is part and parcel of globalization and so is Igbo culture. Part of this global agenda is "gender equality and women empowerment", the fourth item in the eight-point proposal specified in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Asiabaka, 2012). From all indications, Nigeria has keyed in into this worthwhile agenda and to actualize Nigerian government's projection of "fifty-fifty gender equality by 2020" (NTA news commentary, June 21, 2013), the need to jettison these sexist expressions in the Igbo culture for epicene ones becomes even more obvious.

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