WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT CONFERENCE 2016

1-3 MARCH 2016

BANGKOK

THAILAND

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Tomorrow People Organization

Dušana Vukasovića 73, Belgrade, Serbia

http://www.tomorrowpeople.org

Proceedings of international conference:

"WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT CONFERENCE 2016"

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Barriers to female leadership, the implementation and impact of quotas and continuing gender disparity

Medha Boolauky

UCL Institute of Education

Abstract

Women continue being underrepresented in leadership positions across the world, albeit their remarkable progress in education and political participation. In Scandinavian countries, policy makers have responded to this issue by introducing gender quotas for corporate boards. In Mauritius, the government launched a gender quota law, which purports that at least a third of the candidates in local elections must be women. Whilst in some countries political quotas have shown reduced discrimination, others have demonstrated that corporate board quotas had mixed reception. This paper analyzes the impact of quotas as well as the barriers that exist for women in business with a particular reference to Mauritius. It will demonstrate the difficulties in recognizing gender inequality, the systems that perpetuate it and the way women in particular respond to it. By understanding the link between the obstacles, women will move up the ladder more easily while men will be able to identify these barriers and help to remove them. Women leaders represent social, economic and corporate benefits and hence it is important to recognize and remove barriers in their way. The current situation calls for prompt correction in developing countries, which will benefit immensely from such inclusion.

Introduction

Despite the improvement in educational achievement, professional development and political contribution, there have not been momentous surges in female leadership in politics and business. While less than 20% of legislators in the world are women, only 3.2% of women have acceded to positions of leadership in the Middle East and North Africa. Merely comparing the current presence of females in management positions with housewives of the 1960s and rejoice that women have achieved equity is erroneous and is a contradiction between perceived equality and continuing statistical disparity.

The limited female presence in leadership positions leads us to consider the impact, potential and intervention of public policy. We must, however, first identify the barriers on female leadership after which we can examine the impact of gender quotas. This paper will then analyze the efficiency of gender quota law in government and on corporate boards. From the research carried out, first it is evident that quotas do increase female leadership in politics and the corporate sector, which go to show that the primary barrier is not a disinterest from women themselves. Women want to be leaders but the disproportionate participation in company boardrooms may then discourage women and ethnic employees at lower ranks from seeking promotions more so because they do not have role models or mentors to assist them in their career development. A lack of female or ethnic business leadership skills also prevents women and minorities from taking up leadership roles in other sectors and areas of decision-making.

Despite their apparently radical character I will argue that gender quotas are no more than a first significant step to redressing the gender imbalance at the highest levels in politics and boardrooms. More is required and corporate laws must also be explored more profoundly for their potential to contribute to the eventual solution. What the legal and regulatory system must do is confront the specific barriers that have been identified as preventing women and minorities from reaching and participating in the boardroom, rather than simply seeking to tackle a crude and one dimensional concept of discrimination. The theoretical foundation for any rules or regulatory measures must avoid the mistake of perpetuating the underlying factors that explain the current dilemma, most particularly the stereotyped assumptions that exist with regard to the roles of men and women and some of the minority groups. One major requirement is to tackle the structural and institutional barriers that lead to the disproportionate levels of participation.

Section 2 of the paper will analyze the barriers to female leadership and Section 3 will analyze women's responses to those barriers. Section 4 will delineate the current systems of quotas around the world with a brief description of political and corporate board quotas. Section 5 will examine the arguments for and against having quotas. Section 6 will examine the impact of quotas and Section 7 will discuss the implementation of a gender quota law in Mauritius.

2. Barriers to female leadership

Overt and Benevolent Sexism: Overt sexism is blatant exclusion and considers women as second-class citizens who should not mind being ignored and violated. Benevolent sexism is when the belief that women are kind and nurturing is reinforced and should be protected from typically 'macho' qualities. Sexism is still rife across the world. In 2015, the UK saw a "Rape us now" slogan on an online clothes website, women being encouraged to 'know their limits', and being told that not doing enough housework is making them fat.

Costs of entry: Leadership is tagged as a masculine activity. Kelley and McAllister (1984) show preference for men among voters in elections while Bagues Volart (2010) denotes an inclination to hire male candidates in Spain. Women, on the other hand, by bearing childcare responsibility, by having career interruptions or lower number of working hours, set high costs of entry for themselves on corporate boards.

Dislike for competition: Women's dislike for competitive milieus certainly affects their chances of moving up the ladder. Niederle and Vesterlund (2007) demonstrate that men favor competitive engagements 50% more than women of similar capabilities. This poses another challenge to women competing for top positions in all-male environment.

Mentorship: Unless one woman has ascended to a top leadership position traditionally occupied by a man, other women remain otherwise uninformed of whether these positions are open to them. A lack of female predecessor represents another barrier since nothing shows that a woman can be successful in that position. Furthermore, lack of information about the performance of a woman leader will undoubtedly push voters or employers to choose a man, the type of leader they are familiar with.

Selection: The selection for corporate board members is often done internally, within the company's existing board members and senior management, who in most cases are made up of men. A lack of access to networking events mean that women have trouble breaking into the traditionally male dominated circles.

3. Women's Responses to Barriers

The way that women choose to respond to these barriers may serve to perpetuate the existing obstacles to advancement. If a woman experiences a barrier, she may respond by giving up the career entirely or blaming herself for her lack of opportunity. Research by Barreto, Ellemers, Cihangier & Stroebe, (2009) points to the fact that women tend to internalize the occurrences and take responsibility for that barrier. This approach fails to tackle the causal issue if that treatment is coming from a colleague or a superior is subtly discriminating against them by not inviting them to a networking meeting or not valuing their suggestion. This type of response creates a lack of confidence in her and that perpetuates her feelings of subservience and weakness and creates a self-fulfilling prophecy.

According to Hamel (2009), women who are treated unfairly, especially when the promotion or raise has not been realized, will react in one of four ways – either leave

quietly, leave but voice out their opposition to the discrimination, continue working and being silent, or continue working but raise awareness about the issue. Whilst raising awareness seems to be the best course of action, it remains the most difficult and least frequent choice since the majority of women leave quietly which does nothing but prolong these unsettled issues.

Finally, women also respond to barriers by circumventing careers in which there may be a higher rate of prejudice or bias against them. Male dominated industries, which require 'male strengths', are typically STEM related. Zhang, Schmader and Forbes (2009) prove that women who have previously had critical reviews of their performance with regards to mathematical or scientific tasks choose careers that avoid these tasks altogether. Since STEM careers are highly rewarding monetarily, the lack of women participation serves to broaden the compensation gap between the genders.

The prejudicial and bigoted hurdles that these women face are often discreet and misunderstood and impede upon their progress. To combat certain hurdles and correct this inequity, some countries have sought to enforce gender quota laws.

4. Political and Corporate Board Quotas

Over fifty countries across the world have adopted gender quotas to correct the imbalance on corporate boards and to ensure equal representation of women at all decision-making levels in national and international institutions (UN Beijing Conference on Women, 1995).

Political quotas can be divided into three main categories – voluntary party quota is when a party commits itself to nominating a percentage of female candidates; candidate quotas legally require that certain positions must be reserved for women; and reserved seats through which only female candidates can compete.

Corporate board quotas seek to increase female representation on corporate boards. Norway's gender board quota of 40% set the launching pad for other countries and soon Spain, France, Iceland and the Netherlands followed suit.

5. Argument for and against Quotas

For Quotas

Improves statistical and policy interest representation: Quotas serve to increase female representation in positions of power and in so doing, Miller (2008) shows women's policy interests are further represented.

Selection: Quotas may augment efficiency through overcoming selection procedures and change beliefs, as there will be more statistical evidence of women's performances on corporate boards.

Mentorship and objectives: Female leaders who have been assigned into their positions will serve as role models for aspiring women leaders. Chung (2000) demonstrates that only a female board director can inspire others about that particular

position and its returns. Spencer at al (1999) suggest that seeing a woman rise to a leadership position will urge other women to invest in themselves through education.

<u>Against Quotas</u>

Crowd out: If women have reserved positions, other sidelined ethnic or socioeconomic groups or even men might be negatively affected.

Attitude degradation: If voters feel trapped or coerced into being forced to vote for women, they might attack women. Women who are recruited or elected through quotas may be viewed as less intelligent or qualified by their colleagues, which in turn might defeat the purpose of having a woman leader.

6. Impact of Quotas

Countries with no political quotas have on average 13% of female representation on their parties as compared to 22% with countries that have legislated gender quotas. Levels of 30% and higher can be noted in countries such as India, Burundi and the Philippines. Considering the case of Norway, corporate quotas have also led to a visible increase in female representation on boards. However it is unclear as to whether the women serve on multiple boards or whether the companies increase the number of board members to be able to meet the quota.

7. Implementation of gender quota law in Mauritius

Mauritius is often hailed as an example of 'good governance' and a standard of social unity, yet good governance pre 2012 seemed to be largely oblivious to women's representation in politics. The quota system has been the first step to ensure women's active political involvement through which they can voice out their opinions about the social and political life in Mauritius. According to the article by Ackbarally (2012), gender quota law was not a popular initiative. Male politicians argued that gender quotas will not help women and that they will only appear weaker to the public. However, judging by the results of the elections, the direct effect from the quota law has drastically increased female representation in the local government from 5% to 25% in village councils and from 12% to 35% in municipal councils.

In the recent 2014 national elections, it can be purported that the quota system has had a tremendously positive impact on women in politics, both in terms of representation and in terms of their perception and performance. While the implementation of the gender quota law has allowed women to enter a strictly male dominated world, obstacles still remain that prevent them from being acknowledged as fully fledged politicians.

Conclusion

Whilst controversial, quotas are but the first step in increasing women's representation both in the political arena and on corporate boards. With regards to political representation, political parties should have action plans as to how they will make the party more inclusive; develop tools for gender monitoring and implement capacity building initiatives. Concerning corporate boards, despite progress, quotas

are not a global solution. To have the most impact, quotas need to fit within and adapt to the country's cultural expectations of authority.

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Challenges for Rural Women Entrepreneurs: A Case Study of Livestock Women Entrepreneurs in Pakistan

Authors: Syed Khalid Raza (khalid@dairyproject.org.pk), Akhter Nawaz (akhtar@dairyproject.org.pk), Sobia Kiani (sobia.akram@dairyproject.org.pk), Abdullah Khan (abdullahkhan@dairyproject.org.pk) and Muhammad Tahir Ali (a.tahir@dairyproject.org.pk)

Affiliation: USAID Dairy Project-Dairy and Rural Development Foundation (DRDF)-Pakistan
Address: 6-B-III, Gulberg-III, Opposite to Hotel-One, Near Hussain Chowk, Lahore Pakistan
Tel: +92-42-35772805-09
Fax: +92-42-35772810

Abstract

A large number of researches have been conducted on gender and its related issues. Pakistan, being a patriarchal society also has gender issue related to working women. Women represent around 48% of Pakistan's total population, while female employment participation is only 19-20%. As per Labor force survey of Pakistan 2005-06, contribution of female labor is around 13.4% in Agriculture and only 6% are engaged in non-agriculture sector (formal: 2% and informal: 4%).

Many government and non-government organization are working on the women empowerment in Pakistan. The Diary Project is one of the projects working to promote women empowerment and entrepreneurship among rural women by imparting Livestock Extension training. Since the inception of the project, this particular component has remained a challenge. Starting from mobilization, training and working after training, the project faces diverse problems.

The objective of the research was to find commons issues faced by women working in the rural areas of Punjab, particularly those women who work in the livestock sector. It also aimed at looking for solutions to these problems. This study employed qualitative research methods of focus group discussions combined with in-depth interview of key stakeholders. A total of six Focus Group Discussions (FGDs, henceforth) and six in-depth interviews were conducted.

Some of the findings suggested that women working in the rural areas face mobility and protection issues. Families do not allow women to go out alone for the treatment of animals. People do not accept women as entrepreneur due to discriminative behavior and lack of confidence on their skills and competencies. Due to lower social power, farmers decline to pay for their services.

Key Words: Gender, Women Entrepreneurship and Livestock Extension Services

I. Background and Literature review

Women play vital role in the development of a society. Developed countries have worked on providing favorable environment for women to work and contribute towards the development of their country. Unlike the developed countries, developing countries could not ensure that environment for women to become an entrepreneur. Women of the developing countries in general and of Pakistan in particular face multiple issues ranging from personal, family, cultural, social and technical skills to start their own work. Though women are 48% of Pakistan's total population but their participation in the economic development is very low. Since last few decades, a number of women in Pakistan have started their own business but still there is a lot to be done in this regard. Women in Pakistan face disadvantages from the time they are born. The birth of a girl is frequently met with disappointment, even anger, and the blame is usually placed on the mother. As a rule, the girl child receives less food, less access to education and less health care than a male child. As a result girls are more likely to die of childhood diseases (Population Census, 1991). Investment in girls' education and skill development is meager. As one women's organization put it; "The girl is a liability. At an early age the girl-child is made aware that she is only a temporary member of the family. Any skill she learns will benefit not her own family but her in-laws". It has been reported that those girls who get vocational training have little chance to become teachers in the vocational institutes due to non-availability of employment opportunities and lack of finance (Rizvi, 1980).

Women residing in the urban areas of Pakistan are relatively better off in terms of access to education, opportunities, basic rights, basic needs and freedom. However, those living in the rural areas face multiple issues such as limited access to education, basic rights, freedom to work outside home and social issues. Due to lack of education, skills, existing patriarchal society and traditional gender roles, women of the rural areas remain confined to their homes. They have limited opportunities to contribute formally to their family income through work and entrepreneurship. They contribute informally to their household economy in many ways but such contribution is neither recognized nor given weight. Many women want to become entrepreneur but due to certain difficulties, they could not succeed. A study by USAID reveals that in the Pakistani culture, the mobility of females and their participation in self-employment is discouraged (Goheer and Penksa, 2007). Likewise another study by Talat Afza and Muhammad Amir Rashid provides the reason behind women not succeeding as businesswomen. They say, "In Pakistan, the major reason for women specially the rural women not succeeding as a businesswoman is largely due to the lack of conducive and supportive working and growing environment (Afza and Rashid, 2009). These prevailing issues limit the income generation opportunities of women through entrepreneurship.

According another study, cultural norms and stereotyping are some of the biggest constraints for female entrepreneurs (Jamali, 2009). Many government and non-government organizations are working on women empowerment in Pakistan. Diary Project is one of the projects working on women empowerment by promoting entrepreneurship among rural women. It imparts training on Livestock Extension Services. Realizing the importance of women in the livestock sector, the Dairy Project, a collaboration between United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Dairy and Rural Development Foundation (DRDF), trains and certifies unemployed, marginalized rural women as Women Livestock Extension Workers (Henceforth, WLEWs) through its 'Training and Support for WLEWs component. Since inception of the project, this particular component has remained a challenge starting from mobilization, training and women starting their business after training.

Although the Dairy Project has been striving hard to promote entrepreneurship among rural women and make them self-employed but it has been facing challenges. This study aims to understand the nature and root causes of women entrepreneurial issues much deeper with the lens of sociology and economics. A detail study was done on the project beneficiaries to find out the real issues women face to start their own work and what hampers them to become entrepreneurs.

First section of the paper describes the methodology used for this study. In the subsequent sections, results of the study along with policy level recommendations are discussed at large.

II. Research Methodology

This paper employed qualitative method of Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and In-depth Interview of key stakeholders. A total of six focus group discussions were conducted in two different geographical regions Vehari and Bahawalpur with project trained WLEWs. The main focus was on two major groups: 1) Those WLEWs who are working. 2) Those WLEWs who left their business for some reason. A detailed guideline was developed for FGDs, annexed at the end. The detail of these FGDs is given in the below table.

Table 1 Geographical Coverage of Focus Group Discussion

Instrument	Group	Location	Number of Participants
FGD-1	Non-working WLEW	Vehari	10
FGD-2	Non-working WLEW	Vehari	8
FGD-3	Working WLEW	Vehari	7
FGD-4	Non-working WLEW	Bahawalpur	6
FGD-5	Non-working WLEW	Bahawalpur	9
FGD-6	Working WLEW	Bahawalpur	10

The other instrument used for this study is In-depth interviews. It includes all the stakeholders involved through the process of training, starting from selection till follow-up after training. The principal investigator interviewed Social Mobilizer (Who selects trainee), Master Trainer (Who trains WLEWs) and Field Operation Manager (Who administers all operational activities). A detailed interviewing guideline was developed for each (Annexed at end).

III. Data Analysis and Discussions

All recorded FGDs and In-depth interviews were transcribed for analysis purpose. An analysis was done based on the focus group discussions and in depth interviews. For analysis, a coding mechanism was used. According to the coding mechanism, FGDs and interviews were transcribed and all issues faced by women entrepreneurs were listed down. Each issue either got a score of 0 or 1, based on the number of women talking about it and its intensity of creating hurdle for women to become entrepreneur; 0 describes both intensity and number being low while 1 describes both intensity and number being high. Below table gives detail of all issues and their grading.

S NO	Issues	FGD 1	FGD 2	FGD 3	FGD 4	FGD 5	FGD 6	FOM 1	FOM 2	SM 1	SM 2	MT 1	MT 2	Total
1	Mobility of women	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
2	Non supportive villagers	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	9
3	No follow up meeting with community	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	8
4	Lack of practical skills	1	1		1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	7
5	Family issues	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	9
6	Business on credit	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	8
7	Gender discrimination	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	8
8	Farmer using tradition methods	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	8
9	Myths about women earnings	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10	Protection and security issues	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	6
11	Marriage and migration	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	6
12	Non supportive family	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	5
13	Absence of supply chain	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	7
14	Poor market linkages	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5
15	Absence of helpline	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
16	Free treatment by government	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	5
17	Poor mobilization	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	5
18	Poor education	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	6

NOTE: FGD: Focus Group Discussion, FOM=Field Operations Manager, SM=Social Mobilizer, MT=Master Trainer

IV. Research Findings and Recommendations

This section entails the major findings of this study and discuss the issues emerging from field work on length. This paper also furnishes recommendation at the end.

Mobility issue

Being a rural and male dominated society, women entrepreneurs in rural areas of Pakistan face mobility issues during work. Through Focus Group Discussions and in depth interviews, it was found that majority of the women entrepreneurs could not move in field alone. They need a male member from their family to accompany them during work. If no male member is available at home, a female could not go out due to fear. According to Goheer, "The tradition of male honor associated with the chastity of their female relations restricts women's mobility, limits social interaction and imposes a check on their economic activity" (Goheer, 2003). Our findings also suggest that women are discouraged to out alone for work. One of the respondents said, "We face hesitation leaving home alone because people threaten that we will be kidnapped". Most of the times, there is no male member to accompany women in field.

Geographically, rural areas are scattered. Most of these areas don't have road infrastructure and public transport. Due to poverty many people don't have their personal conveyance system. Study

results suggest that most women entrepreneurs could not continue their work without proper conveyance system. They could not walk long distance. Moreover, even if someone has cheap source of conveyance like a motorbike, it still required a male member to accompany her. Women do not drive because it is socially not encouraged. During in depth interviews, one of the interviewers said, "Conveyance is one of the major reasons for women who stop work".

Moreover, it was found that women face harassment during work. Due to weak justice system in rural areas, men do not get punishment even if found involved in such cases. This increases the fear of women to go out alone because the probability of encountering men with such malice intentions is high. This fear was also highlighted by WLEWs in FGDs.

Family Issues (Marriage and Migration)

Women need constant family support to continue their work. According to the findings of this study, most women leave work due to different family issues like huge household workload, marriage and migration. Primarily in the rural setup women have to look after the entire house. Women are overburden with household work, children caring, cooking, washing clothes, fetching water for domestic use and looking after animals. This huge workload does not allow them to go out and work. This is not only true for women who were studied but other countries face the same issues. According to Mishra and Kiran who studied Indian rural women entrepreneurs write, women are very emotionally attached to their families. They do all the household work like looking after children and other family members. They are over burdened with family responsibilities and it takes away a lot their time and energy. They could not concentrate on entrepreneurship (Mishra and Kiran, 2014).

Marriage was stated to be another issue due to which women are not allowed to work. Most of the times, single women get training but when they marry after training they face resistance from their in laws. They are not allowed to continue work. Moreover, many of these women migrate to other places and stop work due to multiple reasons such as lack of business and less number of animals to treat.

Gender Discrimination and Non-Supportive Community

Due to the patriarchal society, different perceptions are attached to women and their work. Theses perceptions pose huge challenges for women entrepreneurs. Through research it was found that there is a general perception about animals handling being in the men domain. People of the rural areas believe that women could not handle animals because they are not capable to do it properly. Also, people believe that entrepreneurship is in male domain. According to Mishra and Kiran, entry of women in entrepreneurship needs approval of family head. Traditionally, it has been seen as a male preserve and male dominated (Mishra and Kiran, 2012). Therefore, people crack jokes on women who work as entrepreneurs in the livestock sector. According to the British Journal of Education, Society and Behavioral Science, there is a perception that women could not be good entrepreneurs because they lack managerial skills, have less knowledge about market and lack basic training to run a business. This discourages women and leaves them with no option but to quit work. According to various people interviewed, people do not rely on the skills of women who get training. They believe that one month training is very short to make a woman skilled. Even if a woman is present in certain area, people prefer to call man for treatment of their animals.

The conservative societies of rural areas have many myths. According to the people surveyed, one of the myths that don't allow women entrepreneurs to work is that people believe income earned by women has no blessings. In other words, money earned by women doesn't add anything to the welfare of the house. They believe that men should earn while women should stay at home and look after the house. One of the respondents replied, "People believe that money earned by women does not have blessing".

Non-timely Payments by Customers

Women entrepreneurs could not promote their business because most of the farmers expect them to either work for free or do not pay them at time of service. From FGDs and interviews, it was found that these attitudes of farmers do not allow women to improve their business. Many times they don't have cash to invest. Therefore, their business suffers.

Another aspect mentioned by the respondents is the unavailability of systems for business loans. According to a research conducted by the British Journal of Education, Society and Behavioral Science, entrepreneurs who are setting up a new business face the obstacles of getting funds and financing in a banking system where collaterals and track records are required (Babak et el., 2012). People of rural areas are poor and they can hardly meet their basic needs. They don't have money to invest in business. Women who get training belong to poor families. They don't have resources to invest in their business. Therefore, the cash scarcity does not allow them to continue work.

Use of Traditional Methods

Unlike farmers of the developed countries, farmers in the rural areas of Pakistan use traditional methods for animals rearing. The research findings suggest that most of the farmers use fodder for animals. It is either grown in their own fields or someone else. Feeds like Vanda, Urea Molasses Block etc. sold by women entrepreneurs are not preferred. Also, due to lack of awareness regarding animals' health, farmers do not administer medication regularly. Therefore, women entrepreneurs can not offer services. To further exacerbate the issue, government has started providing free of cost vaccination and deworming to animals. Although it has positively affected animals health but it has adversely affected women entrepreneurs.

Absence of Proper Supply Chain/Market Linkages

Unavailability of market for purchase of medicines and other items is another hurdle for women entrepreneurs. The study suggests that supply chain of companies working in the livestock sector is not strong. The problem is on both of demand and supply sides. On demand side, women who work as entrepreneurs could not create significant demand for goods. On the supply side, it is not profitable for companies to take orders and deliver when the number is not significant. Furthermore, respondents say that they have to travel long distances to purchase things. Travel and other costs are on the high side which does not make the business profitable. Another issue women face is their competition with men entrepreneurs which demotivates them. Men somehow survive in market even if they have to travel long distances for supply.

Vulnerable Group

Women who receive training belong to the vulnerable group and they don't have enough resources to fulfill their needs. When women of such group receive training and start work, they face multiple financial issues. They have more needs than their resources. They usually don't reinvest in business. After selling the medicines and other items provided by the project, they consume the money.

Lack of Technical Skills and Helpline

Women who receive training need continuous support to enhance their technical skills. There is no mechanism of providing such support in the form of a helpline or support service. Although project has started limited refresher course for WLEWs trained in first three year of project. Whenever they face any new case or need guidance about anything, they don't have someone to ask. It negatively affects their work because farmers don't call them again if they are not able to treat or deal a case of complex nature (beyond than scope of WLEW's work) during first visit.

Recommendations

Based on the study and its findings, these are few recommendations which can be helpful to improve women entrepreneurship.

1. There should be proper mobilization of women who want to receive training and start their work. This stage is critical because identification and selection of women is done here. If women with less mobility issues and positive family support will be selected, the chances of women leaving work can be significantly reduced. Along with women, other stakeholders such as family members, farmers and community should be properly mobilized. Unless men are properly mobilized, sensitized and organized, the chances of women retention in business are very low.

2. Women should be taught about business and marketing. Although women get technical skills but they do not get knowledge on how to deal with people, carry out business dealings and don't have business acumen. Training module should contain extensive section on business and entrepreneurship.

3. For sustainable business, timely availability of inputs is important. There should be proper supply chain and strong market linkages mechanism for women who could easily purchase the required items at reasonable/affordable prices. Women should also be taught about marketing techniques so that they could convince farmers regarding animals feed and health.

4. For continuous support and help in technical skills of women, a helpline should be setup throughout the year so that women could seek help whenever required.

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Appendix: Guidelines for Focus Group Discussions and In-depth Interviews

Objectives

Following are the major objective of this study:

- Understand the issues of rural women entrepreneurship in Pakistan
- Understand the bottleneck in the ecosystem (Finance and Enabling environment) of women entrepreneurship in Pakistan
- What improvements are possible in current design of project to increase the efficiency and efficacy?

General Guidelines for Moderator

- To welcome the participants and have a brief introduction.
- To explain the general purpose of the discussion and why the participants were chosen.
- To discuss the purpose and process of focus groups
- To outline general ground rules and discussion guidelines such as the importance of everyone speaking up, talking one at a time, and being prepared for the moderator to interrupt to assure that all the topics can be covered.
- To review break schedule and where the restrooms are.
- To address the issue of confidentiality (if any).
- To inform the group that information discussed is going to be analyzed as a whole and that participants' names will not be used in any analysis of the discussion.
- To read the protocol summary to the participants (If the moderator feels necessary).

Topic Generation

The focus group facilitator will explain the background of the study:

The present focus group discussion has been convened to produce and take account of a comprehensive list of topics that may address the issues faced by women enterprises in Pakistan. Though we will not be completely dwelling upon these topics, but they will help us in understanding the basics of the issue and may suggest the localized ways to address them. If any of the discussant feels some confusion in understanding relevance of the question to the topic/comment, clarifying comments will be requested, afterwards, the conversation will quickly move on.

During the Process:

- To promote even participation
- To be sensitive to conflicts as they develop during the session
- To explain the subject matter where necessary
- To make sure the ground rule of "Mutual respect" is maintained
- To cut off when the issue gets too hot
- To avoid irrelevant discussions
- Moderator should repeat thoughts of the participants
- Let the participants speak, do not interfere where not necessary
- Ask permission from audience for the tape recorder (if you intend to use)

Discussion Points

- What was your first impression about training and working as WLEWs when the selection introduced you to this programme?
- What things motivate you to be part of this programme and work as independent entrepreneur?
- What hurdles/obstacles you faced while becoming the part of this programme?
- What was the response of your immediate family when you decided to be part of this training programme?
- What was the response of your relatives when you decide to be part of WLEW training programme?
- What was your expectations from WLEW training programme and up to what extent they were fulfilled?
- What kind of difficulties did you face while working on ground after training?
- When did you leave work as WLEW after getting the training and why?
- In your opinion what are the solutions to the problems you mentioned for rural women enterprises?
- How did the work contribute to your family economic and social well-being?
- Did your work help your family to earn prestige in the society?
- Did your work help you to earn social and financial empowerment in a male chauvinistic society?
- In your opinion, what steps should be taken by the projects like Dairy Project to improve the efficiency and efficacy of their programme?

Discussion Points for In-depth Interviews

Field Operations Manager's Interview

- How have WLEW training help rural women to be self-employed?
- What are some of the hurdle you face to mobilize and train WLEWs?
- What steps do you take as a manager to ensure that WLEWs continue to work after training?
- What are the major issues (social, economic and others) WLEWs face during their work?
- How do you address such issues as a manager?
- What improvements can be made to the system to address these issues?
- Do you think there is a need to change/amend the selection criteria?
- Is the training sufficient (in term of duration, training materials etc.) to make them employable?
- What are the major reasons of high leaving rate of WLEWs?
- How can sustainability be ensured?
- Any recommendations

Social Mobilizer's Interview

- How do you mobilize women for WLEW training?
- What are some of the major challenges you face during mobilization?

- How do the communities respond to your call for training?
- What are the major problems/issues of rural women who want to be part of WLEW training programme?
- How can these issues be addressed and what are your recommendations in this regard?
- What are the personal, social and economic issues of the WLEWs working as independent entrepreneur?
- Do male allow/encourage women to participate in such training programmes?
- Are female motivated to improve their household economic conditions?
- How relevant are such trainings to the rural women?

Master Trainer's Interview

- Is the training duration sufficient?
- Is the curriculum well prepared and also relevant to the understanding level of trainees?
- Do trainees become technically sound by hands on practice on animals during training?
- Are animals available during practical?
- How motivated are the trainees to start their work?
- What are the major issues faced by the trainees during training?
- How can these issues be addressed and what are your recommendations?

CURRICULUM MANAGEMENT CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA:

CHALLENGES FOR FEMALE RURAL PRINCIPALS

Soane Joyce Mohapi

Centre Continuing Education and Training

College of education

University of South Africa; Pretoria, South Africa

Abstract

The educational processes constantly change and put much pressure on principals. This paper explores challenges faced by women principals in rural primary schools as reflected by teachers and these principals. A qualitative method of inquiry was used in this paper where data was collected using individual interviews with three principals and focus group discussions with six teachers of three primary schools. Findings show that the techniques used to administer the Annual National Assessment (ANA) are challenging to principals; the timing of administering the ANA tests also poses a challenge. The national guidelines indicating aspects to be covered during ANA tests are not distributed to schools. The findings imply a need for greater capacity building of female principals to be able to manage curriculum changes in their schools.

Key words: Curriculum management, National Annual Assessment, curriculum changes

Knowledge-based economy as a determining factor of equalisation of chances for women and men in education and management and decision-making

Teresa Kupczyk, Wojciech Kordecki, Joanna Kubicka

Abstract

The paper presents results of research aimed at identifying correlations between the knowledge-based economy and education on one hand and gender equality in management and decision-making on the other. This goal was undertaken based on a review of specialist literature and statistical analysis of correlations between the knowledge-based economy index of Knowledge Economy Index (KEI)/Education and degree of equality of women and men measured by Gender Equity Index (GEI)/Women Empowerment. Estimation methods were selected for assessment of functional correlations:

- KEI vs. GEI;

- KEI/Education vs. GEI/Women Empowerment;

- KEI/Education vs. GEI/Seats in parliament;

- KEI/Education vs. GEI/Legislators, senior officials and managers;

- KEI/Education vs. GEI/Women in ministerial positions.

The analyses were done globally for more than 130 countries. New statistically significant correlations between the studied variables were found. The hypothesis was confirmed that education and knowledge-based economy are positive for gender equality in management and decision-making. The paper finishes in conclusions, postulates and recommendations. The results of the presented research may be crucially important for presentation of the role of knowledge and education in the process of creating equal chances for women. This is key not only considering social justice, but also because despite the passing time and measures taken, improvement of the situation in management and decision-making is not satisfactory yet. Furthermore, higher participation of women in management and decision-making generates an immense potential which shouldn't be wasted. This is important especially concerning demographic issues and diagnosed global deficiency of top level management staff.

Key words: gender, education, knowledge-based economy, management.

1. Introduction

Year of 2015 marks the 20th anniversary of acceptance of the Beijing Action Platform, one of the most important documents on equal rights for women. In this decade, similar initiatives were taken by such organisations as the European Union, United Nations, OECD

and many others, both government agencies and NGOs worldwide. Analysis of statistics and research results concerning participation of women in management and decision making (International Labour Organisation 2015, Hausmann, Tyson, Bekhouche, Zahidi 2014; Vinnicombe, Doldor, Turner 2014; European Commission 2014; Gender Equality Index 2013; Catalyst Census 2013; Kupczyk 2013 a, 2013b) indicates that in no country in the world has gender equality in this area been achieved. Although women in many countries are better educated than men nowadays and they do hold competencies necessary to manage and make decisions, still they hold management positions, especially top management positions, much less frequently than men. This situation requires reflection and evaluation of efficacy of efforts taken. They should be regarded as unsatisfactory and the rate of changes – especially considering expenses made and current demographic issues – are strikingly low. The diagnosed inequality of chances for women and men in this area was typical for traditional economies, but it has not been established whether it is the issue for knowledge-based economies, too. Therefore, there has appeared an interesting research problem reflected in the following question: does development of the knowledge-based economy and education enhance gender equality in management and decision-making? To find the answer to this question is the aim of the present paper. This objective could not be entirely achieved with analysis of the current professional literature and results of published research, mainly because this area has not been sufficiently diagnosed yet. Therefore, we have undertaken original research by attempting to identify statistical correlations between the knowledge-based economy as measured by the Knowledge Economy Index (KEI)/Education and degree of gender equality according to the Gender Equity Index (GEI)/Women Empowerment for more than 130 states.

2. Terminology and indices: Knowledge Economy Index and Gender Equity Index

Firstly, the term of the knowledge-based economy is defined and the Knowledge Economy Index characterised. Further, there is a description of definitions of "gender equality" and of the Gender Equity Index.

The knowledge-based economy is defined as an economy[1]:

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[1] In the English language literature the term *knowledge-based economy* is used, and sometimes the term *knowledge economy*. Lately, the term *k-economy* has been used, too [Kefela 2010].

- which relies directly on production, distribution and application of knowledge and information. In this approach, knowledge is defined as a product and as a factor which drives economic growth (OECD 1996, p. 7; OECD 1999),

- where knowledge is developed, learned, provided and applied more effectively by enterprises, organisations, individuals and communities, contributing to fast development of the economy and society (OECD, 2000),

- in which the share of labour which applies knowledge intensively is high, the share of information sectors in the economy is a determining factor and the share of intangible assets in the total actual capital is bigger than that of tangible assets (Foray, 2004, p. 9),

- in which companies apply the power of computers and well-trained minds to create prosperity (Brinkley, 2006, p. 3),

- supplied by innovation, technology and talents (Northern Bank 2011, p. 9).

In this paper, the knowledge-based economy is defined as an economy in which knowledge is created, learned, diffused and used more effectively by enterprises which rely on it in their competitive advantage (Kupczyk 2014, p. 28).

The Knowledge Economy Index (KEI) takes into account whether the environment is conducive for knowledge to be used effectively for economic development. It is an aggregate index that represents the overall level of development of a country or region towards the Knowledge Economy. The KEI is calculated based on the average of the normalized performance scores of a country or region on all 4 pillars related to the knowledge economy:

- An economic and institutional regime to provide incentives for the efficient use of existing and new knowledge and the flourishing of entrepreneurship;

- An educated and skilled population to create, share, and use knowledge well;

- An efficient innovation system of firms, research centres, universities, consultants and other organisations to tap into the growing stock of global knowledge, assimilate and adapt it to local needs, and create new technology;

- Information and communication technology (ICT) to facilitate the effective creation, dissemination, and processing of information (Chen, Dahlman 2005).

Gender equality is defined as follows:

- "…in terms of equality under the law, equality of opportunity (including equality of rewards for work and equality in access to human capital and other productive resources that enable opportunity), and equality of voice (the ability to influence and contribute to the development process). It stops short of defining gender equality as equality of outcomes for

two reasons. First, different cultures and societies can follow different paths in their pursuit of gender equality. Second, equality implies that women and men are free to choose different (or similar) roles and different (or similar) outcomes in accordance with their preferences and goals." (Oxford University Press 2001, s. 2–3).

- "the result of the absence of discrimination on the basis of a person`s sex in opportunities and the allocation of resources or benefits or in access to services" (European Commission 2010).

- An expanded definition is provided in the European Commission`s Women`s Charter (2010) (COM(2010) 78 final) which focuses on the following elements:

  ✓ life choices and economic independence;

  ✓ full realisation of women`s potential and full use of their skills;

  ✓ a better gender distribution in the labour market, more quality jobs for women;

  ✓ promotion of genuine opportunities for both women and men to enjoy a work-life balance;

  ✓ human dignity, the right to life and the right to the integrity of the person (European Commission`s Women`s Charter 2010).

In the research the authors applied the definition of "gender equality" provided by the European Commission (The Strategy for equality… 2010).

The Gender Equity Index (GEI) is a composite index composed of eleven indicators representing three dimensions that measure the gap between women and men in key social areas of education, empowerment and economic participation. An index is generated for each of these dimensions based on the values of the component indicators. The ratio of female to male performance for each of the eleven indicators is computed and rescaled to generate a value ranging from 0 (corresponding to the lowest ratio) to 100 (corresponding to the highest ratio). The values are rescaled to standardize the range of the component indicators and, thus, to eliminate discrepancies in computation process if one or two of the indicators are missing or not available. The indicators are also weighted according to population to account for disparities in the population share of women and men in a particular country and, thus, produce a more accurate measure of the size of the gap in social participation between women and men. Since most countries have a greater number of women than men in their population, this weighting procedure is important in order not to under-represent the gap [Socialwatch 2012].

3. Equal chances for sexes against the knowledge-based economy – situation assessment

According to the Global Gender GAP Report 2014 none of the 142 countries has achieved gender equality. The report compares gender equality in such areas as: labour market share, remuneration for the same job, economic share and opportunities, positions held in legislative, high level administration, top management, literacy rate, parliament members and ministers. The most positive situation is observed in Iceland (0.8594, with 1 meaning equality), Finland (0. 8453) and Norway (0.8374), and the worst in Yemen (0.025). Globally, women have equal opportunities in such areas as education and health. The situation is much less favourable in economy (0.6), while it is the worst for political life (0.2) (Hausmann, Tyson, Bekhouche, Zahidi 2014, p. 7). According to reports of 2013, the average value of the Gender Equality Index for member states of the European Union (EU-27) was 54.0 (the scale being 0 – total inequality and 100 – full equality). The highest index was achieved in Sweden (74.3) , Finland (73.4) and Denmark (73.6), while it was the lowest for Bulgaria (37) and Romania (35.3) [Gender Equality Index - Country profiles 2013]. Gender equality index for EU-27 in the power aspect (participation in decision making, management boards of the largest quoted companies, highest positions in administration, politics, science, jurisdiction etc.) was 38, which indicates discrimination against women. In April 2014, the average share of women on the boards of the largest publicly listed companies registered in the EU-28 Member States reached 18.6% (Gender balance on corporate boards…2014). The gender balance in upper houses of parliament (which exist in 13 of the 28 EU Member States) also remains unchanged, with 25% women and 75% men. A quarter (25%) of members of single/lower houses of parliaments and nearly a third (31%) of upper houses are led by a woman (Women and men in decision-making… 2014). Analysis of these statistical data allows a conclusion that regardless of regions, political and economic systems, industries, religions or cultures, there is no gender equality, especially in the area of management and decision making.

Before identification of the condition of gender equality in the knowledge-based economy, one may analyse in which regions and states it is the most developed. According to the latest "Knowledge Economy Index" 2012 (KEI) rating the knowledge-based economy develops the fastest in North America (8.80), and it is the weakest in Africa (2.55). The leaders among 145 rated countries are Sweden (9.43), Finland (9.33), Denmark (9.16). The worst results were observed in Angola (1.08), Sierra Leone (0.97) and Myanmar (0.96).

The search for identification of correlations between the knowledge-based economy and gender equality in management and decision-making in the professional literature was not successful. There is no research of this area. It is worth noting that such attempts have been

taken (Kupczyk 2013c, p. 45-64). It turned out that all indicators typical for the knowledge-based economy had positive impact on reduction of gender inequality concerning women and men's participation in authorities and important decision-making bodies, as well as on women's share in business management positions. The largest effect was noted in the case of education and human resources development, slightly lesser degree in the case of ICT and innovations. The situation was a little different for women's participation in business management, management board membership, including posts of presidents. Here, the positive effect of the knowledge-based economy was noticeable, but significantly lower and it was mainly due to education and development of human resources, while the effect of development of ICT and innovations was very low (Kupczyk 2013c, p. 45–64).

4. Methods

An attempt was made to identify statistical correlations between the knowledge-based economy and education according to Knowledge Economy Index 2012 (KEI)/Education and gender equality degree as measured by the Gender Equity Index 2012 (GEI) considering the sub-index of Women Empowerment, as well as its components including Seats in parliament; Legislators, senior officials and managers; Professional and technical workers; Women in ministerial positions. The following labels were applied in calculations: KEI – Knowledge Economy Index 2012; GEI – Gender Equity Index 2012; Edu – Education; SP – Seats in parliament; LO – Legislators, senior officials and managers; PT – Professional and technical workers; WM – Women in ministerial positions; EA – Economic Activity, WE – Women Empowerment.

ρ_p is the Pearson correlation coefficient. It indicates the degree of linear correlation between x and y.

ρ_s is the Spearman correlation coefficient. It indicates the degree of conformity of ranks (for ranked variables) x and y.

Index values were assigned to particular countries according to KEI and GEI indices. From the ratings those lines were deleted which corresponded to countries with incomplete data for the performed calculation bloc. For instance, USA was deleted in the case of calculation of KEI's dependence on SP, LO, PT and WM, because there was no PT index for this country. As a result, complete data for 83 countries were obtained. Meanwhile, in the bloc of KEI's dependence on EA and WE, the data for the USA was not deleted, as the remaining data for

the USA (including EA and WE) were available. In total, in this comparison complete data for 133 countries were obtained.

Finally, the following correlations were verified:

- KEI vs. GEI;
- KEI/Education vs. GEI/Women Empowerment;
- KEI/Education vs. GEI/Seats in parliament;
- KEI/Education vs. GEI/Legislators, senior officials and managers;
- KEI/Education vs. GEI/Women in ministerial positions.

This was done by calculation of respective regression parameters, Pearson and Spearman correlation coefficients.

Regression straights were calculated as follows: if (x, y) are a pair of observation vectors (e.g. y is KEI, and x is SP),

$$y = [y_1, y_2, \ldots, y_n], \ x = [x_1, x_2, \ldots, x_n].$$

We approximate y through $\hat{y}$ as a linear function of x as a regression straight:

$$\hat{y} \approx ax + b,$$

by the method of least squares, i.e. we select a and b regression parameters so that

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} (y_i - (ax_i + b))^2$$

is the smallest. A and b parameters are expressed in Pearson correlation coefficients and standard deviations.

For regression straights: a – indicates how fast y changes (linearly) depending on x, b – is the shift. All calculations were performed with R package for statistical computing[2].

5. Correlations between the knowledge-based economy and education vs. equal opportunities of men and women in management and decision making – research results

The research allowed for identification of significantly strong positive[3] correlations between the studied variables[4]. The first parameter is y (Gender Equity Index – GEI), and the other is

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[2] R is a free software programming language and software environment for statistical computing and graphics. The R language is widely used among statisticians and data miners for developing statistical software and data analysis. http://www.r-project.org/

x (Knowledge Economy Index - KEI). Pearson and Spearman correlation coefficients were calculated: $\rho_p = 0.6644166$, $\rho_s = 0.6891592$.

As Pearson correlation coefficient is about 0.7, it may be concluded that the correlation is strong. Therefore, there are grounds to conclude that the higher knowledge economy index for a particular country, the higher gender equality index for this country is. The calculated Spearman correlation coefficient indicates the degree of rating conformity (conformity of ranks) x and y. It means that both ranking – Knowledge Economy Index (KEI) and Gender Equity Index (GEI) – are similar, i.e. in general particular countries have similar rates in both rankings.

Relevant regression parameters were calculated, too: $y = 0.036982x + 0.453437$

The first parameter shows how fast y changes depending on x. Therefore, the result signifies that if KEI increases by 1, then GEI rises by 0.036982 on average.

The identified linear dependence of GEI on KEI is presented as regression straight in Fig. 1.
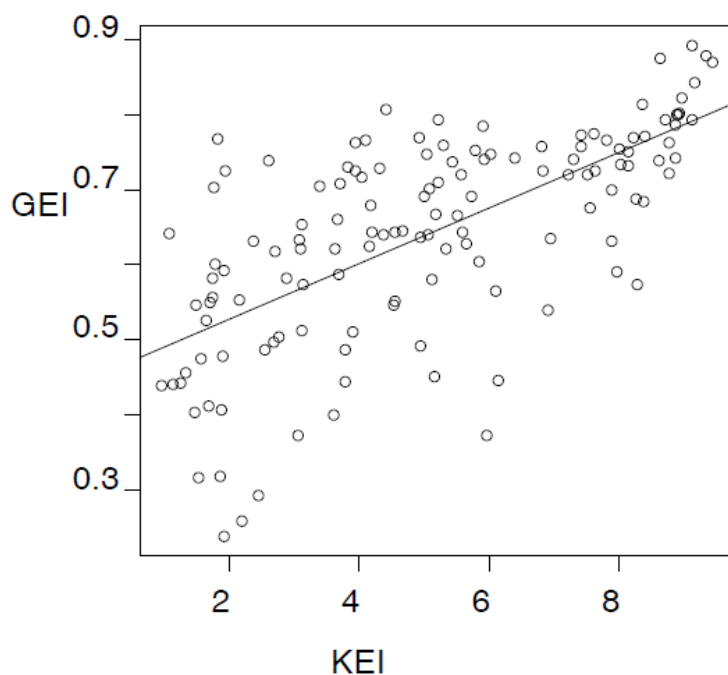
Fig. 1. Linear dependence of GEI on KEI (regression straight) ($N = 133$).

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[3] It is widely (although arbitrarily) accepted that dependence correlation of 0.6-0.7 should be considered as strong linear correlation (Aczel 2009; Triola 2000).

[4] These calculation concern the situation if the analysed dependence of an index concerns effect of only one other index. Therefore, it is assumed that all other variables which affect the studied index have not changed.

Source: original development.

Regression coefficients were calculated for the reversed dependence, too, i.e. dependence of Knowledge Economy Index (KEI) on Gender Equity Index (GEI).

$\rho_p = 0.6644166$, $\rho_s = 0.6891592$, $y = 11.937029x - 2.572627$.

This was done to verify whether gender equality would enhance development of the knowledge-based economy. Of course, this correlation was also positive and strong, which means that gender equality in a country would have positive effect on development of the knowledge-based economy. This is another important argument in favour of the undertaken efforts and resources spent on development of equal opportunities for women and men, because they would also contribute to establishment of the knowledge-based economy. Another studies variable was education as measured by the sub-index KEI/Education and its effect on gender equality as measured by the Gender Equity Index (GEI). Pearson and Spearman correlation coefficients were calculated: $\rho_p = 0.6727524$, $\rho_s = 0.6854725$.

They turned out to be positive and strong which indicates that the higher education at a country, the bigger gender equality index, too.

Respective regression parameters were calculated, too:

$y = 0.03439644x - 0.47019272$.

The obtained result shows that if KEI/Education increases by 1, then GEI increases by 0.03439644 on average. In order to analyse the situation for a particular country, one may suppose that an increase of the Edu index in Egypt from the current 3.37 to 4.00, i.e. by 0.63 (18%), may result in an increase of EA index by approximately $0.0175 \cdot 0.63 \approx 0.01$, i.e. from the current 0.29 to approximately 0.3 (by over 3%).

We have also analysed correlations between KEI/Education and components of GEI/Women Empowerment, i.e. Seats in parliament; Legislators, senior officials and managers; Professional and technical workers; Women in ministerial positions (table 1).

Table 1. Pearson and Spearman correlations between KEI/Education and further indices: SP (Seats in parliament), LO (Legislators, senior officials and managers), PT (Professional and technical workers), WM (Women in ministerial positions), WE Women Empowerment) ($N = 83$)

Correlation coefficient	SP	LO	PT	WM	WE
Pearson	0.2885	0.2984	0.5031	0.4732	0.5694
Spearman	0.3072	0.3610	0.3360	0.4748	0.5575

Source: original development

The calculated positive correlations indicate quite a strong correlation between WE (Women Empowerment and PT (Professional and technical workers), weaker one with WM (Women in ministerial positions) and EA (Economic Activity), the weakest correlation with SP (Seats in parliament) and LO (Legislators, senior officials and managers).

We studied mutual relations between components of the GEI/Women Empowerment index (Table 2).

Table 2. Pearson correlation coefficients between the following variables: SP (Seats in parliament), LO (Legislators, senior officials and managers), PT (Professional and technical workers), WM (Women in ministerial positions) $(N = 83)$.

	SP	LO	PT	WM
LO	0.0492			
PT	0.0657	0.6109		
WM	0.6851	0.2341	0.2425	

Source: original development

It turned out that there are strong positive correlations between SP (Seats in parliament) and WM (Women in ministerial positions), as well as between PT (Professional and technical workers) and LO (Legislators, senior officials and managers). Meanwhile, no correlation was found between SP (Seats in parliament) vs. (Legislators, senior officials and managers) and PT (Professional and technical workers).

We have attempted to analyse the effect of KEI/Education on indices of SP, LO, PT, WM, WE, estimating it by way of regression straight.

In this case y is one of indices of the set of [SP, LO, PT, WM, WE], while x is now the Edu index, that is *Education,* $\hat{y} \approx ax + b$. As $x = \text{Edu}$ index ranges from 0 and 10, and indices y of the set [SP, LO, PT, WM, WE] rage from 0 to 1, then an increase of Edu index is 1 brings an increase of y index by approximately $0.1a$. Values of the regression parameters a and b are shown in table 3.

Table 3. Regression parameter a and b for indices SP, LO, PT, WM, WE $(N = 83)$.

	a	b

SP	0.02061195	0.16411751
LO	0.02565712	0.25469608
PT	0.05310112	0.54533040
WM	0.04248174	0.02537285
WE	0.03863910	0.16788900

Source: original development

It turned out that if education increases by 10%, then the highest growth will be observed for PT (Professional and technical workers) and it will be 0.053%.

6. Conclusions

A comprehensive analysis of the held research allows for providing conclusions, reflections and postulates. These are:

1. Knowledge-based economy and education have globally a positive influence on gender equality, also in management and decision-making. It turned out that the reverse correlation is positive and strong, too. An increase in gender equality, including opportunities in management and decision-making is a determining factor for the knowledge-based economy. Considering this conclusion, all countries in the world should support development of the knowledge-based economy, not only because it offers high indices of economic development, but also because it turned out to be an efficient tool of gender mainstreaming and it is known that many other methods failed in this area.

2. It turned out, that if there were more women in parliaments, they would hold more ministerial positions. Special attention should be paid to the fact that if there were more women at "Professional and technical workers" positions, they would hold more positions of legislators, senior officials and managers. Therefore, more attention should be paid to women's professional education so that they can take technical positions more frequently.

3. The research confirmed that women who want to succeed in management and politics should focus on permanent education and governments should provide much higher resources for education.

4. The results of the presented study may be crucial for presentation of the role of education and knowledge-based economy in the process of creating equal opportunities for women in management and decision-making. The study revealed their significant effect which shouldn't

be ignored. It is important not only for social justice, but also because in management and decision making, despite many years and big resources, the situation has not improved satisfactorily. Further, larger participation of women in management is an immense potential which shouldn't be wasted. This is important especially considering demographic issues and the diagnosed worldwide deficiencies in top management staff.

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Leadership Development as an Ongoing Developmental Process across Life Span: A Study Exploring Leadership Development of Women Leaders

by
Malisa Komolthiti

Abstract

Educators and career counselors are encountering challenges in developing leadership development program to help women stepping into leadership roles. Many studies have been conducted on how women leaders overcome challenges and became leaders, particularly in a male-dominated professions like superintendents. These studies pay attention only to the external forces, which drove women to leadership positions; the career paths of women leaders; or the differences between men and women ((FeKula & Roberts, 2005; Kim & Brunner, 2009; Maienza, 1986). Little is known about the strengths and inner abilities that make women leaders different than other women and how women leaders learn to become leaders. This narrative research study explored the leadership journey of women leaders in public school system from this perspective: how women leaders make meaning of their experiences, particularly career development experience? Five women leaders were interviewed, and narrative content was examined using thematic analysis methods. Although leadership development trends in the past twenty years focused on leadership development training program for adults, the results of this study indicated that leadership of women leaders was an ongoing developmental process, which occurred from early childhood in non-formal settings. Family and leisure activities were found to be an influence in the development of participants' leadership qualities. Meaning making, within the critical reflection process help women leaders learn leadership traits and skills. Internal motivation was the main influence of women leaders to step into leadership roles. Findings also indicated that gender discrimination existed, but did not limit women leaders from advancing in leadership position.

Keywords: women school superintendents, leadership development, women leadership, narrative study, qualitative, transformative learning theory, critical reflection, meaning-making

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Legal Review of Indonesian Marriage Law 1974: the Economic Rights of Javanese Married Women's Perspective (*Case Study in Yogyakarta*)[1]

I. Background

Indonesia as one of many developing country has not yet achieved the MDGs target successfully. It is necessary for government to find breakthroughs to solve the various problems surrounding the issues. Indonesia still has a commitment in its involvement in The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). One of the SDGs commitments is to achieve gender equality through inclusion in the economic field by 2030. States, including Indonesia, only have fifteen years left to realize it.

In many countries, gender inequality is caused by an unequal power relation between men and women. Gender inequality disadvantages women in all life aspects.

According to Vienna Declaration and Platform for Action 1993:

the human rights of women and the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of human rights. The full and equal participation of women in political, civil, economic, social and cultural life, at the national, regional and international levels, and the eradication of all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex are priority objectives of the international community" (Art. 18 Vienne Declaration and Platform for Action 1993).

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[1] Y. Sari Murti Widiyastuti and Puspaningtyas Panglipurjati, Faculty of Law, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, Indonesia, sari_murti@yahoo.com, puspapanglipurjati@gmail.com, +628164263364, +6281802765605

However, as reported by the Indonesian Statistic Center 2010 shows that the women's job participation rate in Yogyakarta is lower than men's. The Indonesian Statistic Center also mentions that there is still a gender wage gap in Indonesia. These facts described that gender inequality in Yogyakarta especially in the economic filed is still present.

This paper argues that **"*kanca wingking"*, a** concept in the Javanese family that places women behind men in a family structure, is one of the factors in one side, and on the other side places the husband as a patriarch and the wife as a housewife in preserving the patriarchal culture under The Indonesian Marriage Law 1974. Indonesia as the State Party of CEDAW has the obligations to take all appropriate measures to eliminate any discrimination such as to eliminate all discrimination caused by the legal standing of man and woman in marriage by giving the same economic right between men and women as it has been mentioned in the Article 11, 13 and 16 of CEDAW. All things I have mentioned above show that for married women, it is difficult to fulfill their rights in political civil rights and economic, social and cultural rights.

General comment No. 16 (2005) delivered in the Economic, Social and Cultural Committee reports that many women experience distinct forms of discrimination due to the intersection of sex with factors such as race, colour, language, religion, politics, other opinions, national or social origins, property, refugee or migrant status, all resulting in compounded disadvantage. Furthermore The Committee noted that many women cannot enjoy their rights in economic, social and cultural ways.

When women, especially married women, cannot enjoy their economic, social and cultural rights they will potentially be subjected to violence. In Yogyakarta, each day, I still meet many unlucky Javanese married woman subjected to domestic violence because

Javanese married women are *konco wingking* only in a family. The number of domestic violence cases are dominated by violence against the wife (*kekerasan terhadap istri*), and this is gender based violence.

The gender based violence is caused by the following: 1. Gender inequality already exist in our society despite government policies and NGO programming. 2. Most men think that gender equality isn't their issue. They believe gender equality is a woman's issue. 3. Men have a patriarchal position and women are second class citizens. By law, men have an obligation to fulfill all family needs and women have an obligation to manage everything for their family. In this system, husbands have the opportunity and power to control their wives. 4. Most Javanese married women aren't free from gender stereotypes. Specifically, husbands do not treat their wives as equals.

Therefore, the Government of Indonesia needs to modify relevant social and cultural patterns and to revise the Indonesian Marriage Law in order to ensure that every Indonesian woman, especially those who live in Yogyakarta, has their economic right fulfilled and that any remaining forms of gender inequality are eliminated.

II.   **Research Question**

How does the Indonesian Marriage Law 1974 protect marriage women's economic rights?

III. Women's Economic Rights On International and National Regulations

A. **Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and Law Number 7, 1984 around Ratification of CEDAW**

Referring to Article 1 CEDAW, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.[2] In this paper, we are concerned about the discrimination against women on the economic field that is created by the family, the corporation, and even the government. CEDAW has regulated women's economic rights in Articles 11, 13, 14 and 16. In Article 11, state parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women especially in the field of employment such as:

1. *The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;*
2. *The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;*
3. *The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;*
4. *The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;*
5. *The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;*
6. *The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.[3]*

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[2] Article 1, Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, United Nation General Assembly, 18th December 1979

[3] Article 11, Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, United Nation General Assembly, 18th December 1979

In Article 13 CEDAW, state parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the right to family benefits and the right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit. In Article 14, CEDAW asks the state parties to take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families. Last but not least, Article 16 CEDAW also asks the state parties to ensure the same rights and responsibilities during marriage between men and women including the same right to choose a profession and to own property as part of women's economic rights.

As one of the state parties of the convention, Indonesian government has some responsibilities such as:

1. *To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;*
2. *To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;*
3. *To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;*
4. *To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;*
5. *To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;*
6. *To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;*
7. *To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.*[4]

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[4] Article 2, Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, United Nation General Assembly, 18th December 1979

B. **The 1945 Constitution of Republic Indonesia**

The 1945 Constitution of Republic Indonesia as the highest norm in Indonesia regulates some basic human rights in economic, social and politic aspects that shall be recognized by and given to every citizen, such as the right to live, the right to marriage, the right to be protected against violence and discrimination, the right to obtain education, the right to recognition and guarantee of protection and legal certainty, the right to work, etc.

The 1945 Constitution of Republic Indonesia does not differentiate the human rights of women and men because The Constitution believes that every person is the same even upon entering marriage life, in which each person still has the same opportunity to recognize their human rights. As a part of economic rights, The Constitution ensures that every citizen shall have the right to work, to a living befitting of human beings, and the right to receive fair and proper remuneration and treatment in work relationships.[5] Though The Constitution does not mention specifically about women's economic rights, the articles mentioned above have told us about how The Constitution tries to protect every citizen's human right include women's.

C. **Law Number 1 Year 1974 Concerning Marriage**

This marriage law does not explicitly mention women's economic rights in marriage, but in Article 31 and Article 34 the law regulates the relationship between husband and wife in married life. Article 31 mentions that in marriage and in social

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[5] Article 27 and Article 28 D, The 1945 Constitution of Republic Indonesia (The Fourth Amandment), 10th August 2012

life, the husband and the wife have the same rights and positions, but in the same article the husband is placed as a patriarch and the wife is placed as a housewife with different job descriptions mentioned further in Article 34.

In Article 34, the husband has the responsibility to protect his wife and provide family needs based on his own ability and the wife has the responsibility as a housekeeper (cleaning, washing, cooking, etc.) for family.

Then in Article 36, the law explains two kinds of family property: the first named *harta bersama* and the second named as *harta bawaan.* The *harta bersama* consists of every property which is obtained by both husband and wife during the marriage. Meanwhile, the *harta bawaan* is every property which is obtained by both husband and wife before they became married or every property given by others for them.[6]

The first kind of property is owned by themselves together, but the second kind of property is owned by each of them as long as they do not make any exceptions by making an ante-nuptial contract. The difference of two kinds of property in marriage brings a consequence that the husband and wife can take any actions against *harta bersama* based on their approval, but if they want to take any actions against *harta bawaan*, they do not have to get any approvals from each other.

D. **Law Number 39 Year 1999 Concerning Human Rights**

This human rights law gives attention to women's rights after marriage by regulating it in Section 9, especially Article 50 and Article 51. Article 50 regulates that women

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[6] Article 31, 34 & 36, Indonesian Marriage Law 1974, 2nd January 1974

who are married have the authority to take both criminal and civil legal action as individuals, unless determined otherwise under religious law. Then in Article 51, during marriage, the husband and wife have equal rights and responsibilities with regard to all aspects of marriage, contact with children, and rights to joint control of assets. In general, Article 38 as a part of the right to welfare regulates the right to work for all citizens as befits a human being in line with his or her ability and capacity. Everyone, both men and women who works has the right to just conditions of work and everyone who works has the right to equal pay for equal work and the right to equal conditions. Then everyone, both men and women, has the right to fair and adequate remuneration, ensuring for themselves and their family an existence worthy of human dignity.[7]

E. **Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower**

This law gives the same opportunities to each person in the following ways: to get a job without discrimination, to every labourer in the right to receive equal treatment without discrimination from their employee, to every labourer to have the right to earn a living that is decent from the viewpoint of humanity (literal: the right to earn an income that meets livelihood that is decent for humans).[8]

IV.   **Legal Review of Indonesian Marriage Law 1974: The Economic Rights of Javanese Married Women's Perspective (*Case Study in Yogyakarta*)**

A. Javanese Married Women As *Kanca Wingking*

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[7] Article 38, Law Number 39 Year 1999 Concerning Human Rights, 23rd September 1999

[8] Article 5, Article 6 & Article 88, Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower, 25th March 2003

In Javanese tradition, women who are already married are usually mentioned as *kanca wingking*. *Kanca* means a friend and *wingking* means a place in behind. *Kanca wingking* literally means someone who is placed behind someone else and this context means that a wife is in a subordinate place to a husband. This presumption has already been with Javanese people since their history and has already been integrated into culture. These are some reasons and responsibilities to why Javanese married women are mentioned as *kanca wingking*[9]:

1. A wife is a husband's companion

   Sometimes, this presumption brings bad consequences for women because it can become a justification for a husband to sue for divorce or to have an affair with another woman when a wife can not be a good companion for him.

2. Responsibility to educate the children

   Generally, people think that a wife has more responsibility to educate the children than a husband, even though that responsibility is not only for a wife but also a husband.

3. Women as the one and only housekeeper

   In this concept, all of the household duties of washing, cooking, taking care of the children, etc. are only left to women as if men do not have any responsibility to do those same tasks.

4. Women as a second-class citizen

   In most social parties, women must participate as well as maintain the honor of the community. Meanwhile, women sometimes do not have a chance to participate in the decision-making process.

5. Women needing to provide successors

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[9] Komunitas Indipt Kebumen, *Memanusiakan Perempuan*, Indipt Press, Kebumen, 2006, page 35

Women's role and status in Indonesia are mainly perceived in relation to marriage and motherhood: all women should be married and have children, and any woman having a child should be married.[10] This provision implies that it is a woman who is to blame should a married couple not have children – a medically unfounded assumption. It stigmatizes married women and girls who cannot have children, who choose to have no children or who want to delay pregnancy. Further, it reinforces the assumption that marriage should be undertaken for the purpose of procreation and thereby stigmatizes couples who are unable to become or decide against becoming parents, either temporarily or permanently.[11]

B. Married Women's Economic Rights in Indonesian Marriage Law 1974

Indonesian Marriage Law 1974 (IML 1974) does not explicitly mention women's economic rights in a marital context on the one hand, and the other hand IML 1974 contains potential problems related to gender issues and woman rights issues. Referring to the results from a study by Sari Murti and Puspaningtyas, they have found there are some legal articles already contrary each other. In Article 31 and Article 34, the law regulates the relationship between husband and wife in the marriage life.

Article 31 mentions that in marriage and in the social life, husband and wife has the same rights and position, which seems beneficial. But in the same article, IML 1974 had strengthened the husband position. According to that article, the

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[10] Amnesty International For The 52nd Session for Indonesia, *Briefing To The UN Committee on The Elimination of Discrimination Aginst Women,* 2012, page 8

[11] Ibid

husband is placed as a patriarch and the wife is placed as a housewife with a different obligation description. Furthermore, in Article 34, the husband has the responsibility to protect his wife and provide family needs based on his own ability, and the wife has the responsibility to organize a family business.

In daily family life, the husband is more powerful in controlling his wife because their positions and contributions family are different. Additionally in the name of culture and also religion, the husband can manipulate the situation, therefore bringing about a compounded disadvantage to the married woman, moreover for the Javanese married woman. All these things indicate that gender inequality already exist in our society. In my opinion, IML 1974 need to be revised to diminish gender inequality.

Indonesian Marriage Law 1974 defines marriage as a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife, having the purpose of establishing a happy and lasting family founded on the Belief in God Almighty.[12] This definition is slightly different from the definition we had before in *Burgerlijk Wetboek* or what in Indonesia we call *Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Perdata*. In *Burgerlijk Wetboek*, marriage is only defined as a civil relationship between a man and a woman[13] but in Indonesian Marriage Law 1974, marriage is not only about a physical relationship but also a spiritual relationship.

Though there are different definitions about marriage between Indonesian Marriage Law 1974 and *Burgerlijk Wetboek*, both of the laws still have the same

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[12] Article 1, Indonesian Marriage Law 1974, 2nd January 1974

[13] Article 26, *Burgerlijk Wetboek*, 30th April 1847

concepts around the rights and responsibilities between a husband and a wife. If we talk about the newest law which is the Indonesian Marriage Law 1974, Article 31 regulates that the rights and position of the wife are equal to the rights and position of the husband both in family and social life.[14] Moreover, in the same article it is written that the husband is the head of the family and the wife is the mother of the household. That kind distribution of roles brings about the different responsibilities between a husband and a wife. The husband shall protect his wife and provide for all necessities of life required in a family to the best of his ability. Then, the wife shall manage the household to the best of her ability.[15] In relevant literature, we found the *raison de etre* of those regulations: It is common belief that a man as a husband is stronger both physically and psychologically than a woman as a wife. Generally people think that a man has some character traits needed to lead a family such as rationality and strength, while a woman has some character traits needed to manage a household such as a patient and conscientious character. Sution Usman Adji in his book titled *Kawin Lari dan Kawin Antar Agama* argues that the articles do not mean to differentiate the rights and position between husband and wife but to distribute their differing roles.[16]

But in fact, more or less, the distribution of roles creates the discrimination in opportunities for married women to get their economic rights. Those articles limit a husband and a wife to have the same rights and responsibilities and potentially

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[14] Article 31, Indonesian Marriage Law 1974, 2nd January 1974

[15] Article 34, Indonesian Marriage Law 1974, 2nd January 1974

[16] Sution Usman Adji, *Kawin Lari dan Kawin Antar Agama,* Liberty, Yogyakarta, 1989, page 95

creates an imbalanced relationship between them. In a worse condition, that imbalanced relationship could lead to domestic violence to women.[17] Other impacts are found in working life: the married woman is regarded as a single so they do not have a right to any facilities or allowance, which usually are given to a man as the head of a family. Sometimes, a married woman can not easily get a bank loan or buy any properties.[18] Focusing on the economic rights of Javanese marriage women, especially those in Yogyakarta, this paper recognizes the 2010 report written by the Indonesian Statistic Center that reveals the rate of women's job participation as lower than men's and the rate of unemployment for women as higher than men's despite the overall women's population being higher in Yogyakarta.[19] The Indonesian Statistic Center also mentions that there is still a gender wage gap particularly in Yogyakarta and generally in Indonesia.

By positioning a husband as the head of the family and the wife as the mother of household, the regulations seem so patriarchal and imbalanced. The law makers did not recognize that there were other family systems like the matrilineal and parental systems.[20] By letting a husband have full responsibility to provide a family's necessities, a wife would fully depend her economic needs on her husband and does not have economic independence. That economic dependency

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[17] CEDAW Working Group Indonesia, *Report about Implementation of CEDAW,* 2010

[18] Erna Sofwan Sjukrie dan Achie Sudiarti Luhulima, "Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Dalam Perkawinan" dalam Achie Sudiarti Luhulima (.ed), *Bahan Ajar Tentang Hak Perempuan (UU No.7 Tahun 1984 Pengesahan Konvensi Penghapusan Segala Bentuk Diskriminasi Terhadap Wanita),* Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta. 2007, page 309

[19] Result of The Population Census 2010 about Male Population in Yogyakarta (49,43%) and Female Population in Yogyakarta (50,57%) and about Labor Force Participation Rate in Yogyakarta Male (77,63&) Female (59,69%) http://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site?id=34&wilayah=DI-Yogyakarta

[20] Khozayyanah, *Kedudukan Istri dalam Keluarga dalam Pasal 31 dan 34 UUP (Perspektif Feminis Muslim Indonesia),* Faculty of Syariah UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, 2005, page 64

can influence a woman's psychological conditions because she would feel more subordinate to her husband. Giving the role to manage the household only to women is not a good policy either. At first, the distribution of roles between husband and wife regulated under Indonesian Marriage Law 1974 were influenced by physical and psychological characters that were constructed by culture and religion. But nowadays, these regulations are no longer relevant because the research shows us that jobs are not solely dependent on physical characteristics but more on someone's expertise.[21]

Some implications resulting from Article 31 and Article 34 of Indonesian Marriage Law 1974 are:

A. Economic

In the capitalist economic system that we have nowadays, the role as the mother of the household is not a strategic role. Most people often discriminate against women who work as housewives because they work without pay. Additionally, being a housewife is often referred to as being part of women's nature. Because of these conceptions, the employers treat female workers differently because the employers think that women who work (especially those who are laborers) are not the main breadwinners for their families, so the employers give lower wages to them compared to

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[21] Ibid, page 63

their male counterparts and even lay off the women from work for efficiency reasons.[22]

B. Social

In social aspects, those articles make women, who are often referred to as *kanca wingking* in Javanese, inflexible in developing themselves as a result of stigma that women are only there to serve their husbands and their children.[23]

C. Law

Some research suggests that in the recent times, there are many divorce petitions that are motivated by the working woman[24], which of course is not a fair condition to women's self development. These conditions hold that happiness in a marriage depends on how the wife can manage the household.[25]

D. Double duty

Research conducted by Pusat Studi Pengembangan Sumber Daya Perempuan, a women's study center in Indonesia, shows that from 147 respondents 80% of them already work in the public sector and only 20%

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[22] Ibid, page 66

[23] Mira Diarsi, *"Feminisme Tidak Anti Terhadap Peran Ibu Rumah Tangga"* in Ulumul Quran Journal,Special Edition number 5 and 6, Vol V ,1994, page 33 in *Ibid,* page 67

[24] Ibid, page 68

[25] Shanty Dellyana, *Wanita dan Anak di Mata Hukum*, Penerbit Liberty, Yogyakarta, 1988, page 157

work full-time in the domestic sector as a housewife. These results can be good signs in the social relationship between a husband and wife in a marriage, but unfortunately these conditions are not balanced with the fact that female workers still have to manage the household by themselves, resulting in a double duty for women.[26]

E. Domestic Violence

Imbalanced relationships between the husband and wife in marriage potentially causes domestic violence that is committed by husband because, as mentioned in the above regulations, the husband is the head of family and feels superior to the wife.[27]

Actually, Article 31 (1) Indonesian Marriage Law 1974 admits that relationship between husband and wife in a marriage is equal but, in our opinion, by regulating the husband as a head of the family and wife as the housewife with their own respective responsibilities, it brings about discriminative treatment, even exploitation and domestic violence. The regulation also does not provide a way out socially towards the non-prevailing view that women who are family heads can be breadwinners, for example when she has to be a single parent or when her husband suffers disabilities. More over, this regulation limits women's opportunities to get any financial support from the government which is

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[26] Chamsial Djamal, "Membantu Suami Mengurus Urusan Rumah Tangga Di Sektor Informal" in Mayling Oey-Gardiner etc (ed), page 233 in *ibid,* page 69

[27] Ibid, page 71

especially given to the head of family, usually given to the husband as the head of family as regulated in Article 31 Indonesian Marriage Law 1974. Of course, this fact is contrary to Article 16 CEDAW.[28]

CEDAW in article 5 actually reminds state parties to ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases. This regulation confirms that every women who does their role in the household must be respected and free from any kind of discrimination, exploitation and violence.[29] At the same time, that article rectifies misconceptions about the role to manage family necessities including about upbringing and development of their children. Both of them, husband and wife have the same responsibilities towards them.

We have to realize that the distribution of roles between husband and wife is not human nature but more about sociocultural construction. So, it is not appropriate if the laws still regulate that the husband has a role as a head of family who has to provide all the family necessities and the wife has a role as a housewife who has to manage all household activities. It will be better if the laws, specifically what this paper refers to in Indonesian Marriage Law 1974, do not have to distribute roles for

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[28] Ninik Rahayu, "Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Aturan Hukum Dan Implementasinya di Indonesia" in *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia, Vol 9 No 1 April 2012*, Direktorat Jenderal Perundang-undangan Kemenhukham RI, Jakarta, 2012, page 21-22

[29] Sulistyowati Irianto, "Apakah Hukum Boleh Berpihak? (Sebuah Pertanyaan Perempuan)" dalam *Jurnal Perempuan, "Sejauh Mana Komitmen Negara" Vol 45*, Jakarta, 2006, page 68

husband and wife. The distribution of roles should be compromised by husband and wife based on their family's condition and needs.

F. Conclusion

Based on discussion above, the conclusion is that under Indonesia Marriage Law 1974 the married woman cannot be protected as much as possible because the formulation of many contradicting articles. Those formulations bring the married woman disadvantages, especially in enjoying their economic, social and cultural rights because the husband is always in a position to control them. And as a *konco wingking*, Javanese married woman have a position that is more limited. Our research suggests it necessary to reformulate IML 1974 especially Articles 31 and 34 to bring about the necessary changes towards greater gender inequality.

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Metaphors of the Movement: The "woman" in Speeches and Addresses by Women in the Philippines in the 1980s

By Julie Jolo

The field of language studies has often explored the interplay between reality and the written word under the context of identity formation, power distribution, and other such forms of social participation. Research projects on language and gender, for instance, examine the ways in which gender identity manifests in the linguistic elements of a set of texts. In doing this, studies show how social practices, and the ideologies that facilitate them, affect the writing and understanding of literature. In characterizing this dynamic, Critical Discourse Analysis identifies the key elements and relationships that affect the flow of power in a given society and how these trends of influence manifest in the texts produced. Norman Fairclough, one of the key figures in this field, views discourse as a mode of political and ideological practice, one that manifests in actual language use in spoken or written texts (Powell 441). This theory highlights the active nature of discourse: it exists in a dialectical relationship with the various constituents that take part it. It echoes the Foucauldian concept of discourse, in that it puts forth language practice as a site for the circulation power along with its being influence on body of literature at a given time. This study draws inspiration from this field's uncovering of voices, identities and power relations embedded in the socio-political climate of the 1980s, with speeches and addresses by women/women's groups serving as the body of text from which certain ideological trends may emerge. The research project is especially concerned with the notion of the "woman," as it is constructed by conceptual metaphors. It will be analyzed in light of how these metaphors emanate from the reality of being a Filipina in times of civil unrest and the complexities that are inherent in attempts at representation.

The 1980s was chosen as the temporal site of the analysis because of its being a time of heightened social activity toward resistance. The Philippine government at the time, as it will be explained later on, was situated in socio-political shifts that led to an upwelling of nationalist and gender-specific sentiments in the women's movement. Key points manifest in the literature produced at the time, along with the advocacies and social commentary put forward by various women's groups in response to these events. On the one hand, there existed propaganda from the government that justified the declaration of martial law, for instance, by detailing the ways in which the "new society" was beneficial to the Filipinos. The livelihood schemes implemented by the administration included women's participation in the larger national economic policy; however there also existed exploitative forces in the work environment that placed women at a gross disadvantage. Publications from the women's movement, militant or no, were quick to attack these modes of oppression in the form of speeches, statements, and transcriptions from symposiums and gatherings that organized women outside their home and involved them in the struggle for liberation.

Speeches and addresses, as the literary forms examined in this study, are significant elements in the dynamic illustrated. These forms were accessible avenues of representation for the women's movement given their sources, publication, and target audience. The conceptual mappings and cultural associations provided by these texts, in terms of the metaphor and the over-all imagery constructed, fleshed out the plurality of identities the woman undoubtedly wore and lived at the time.

The "woman question," as it is contemplated in this study, is defined as the problem of why women have occupied a subordinate position in society and how the forms and variations of that subordination could be explained (Angeles 53). This is hinged upon the mapping of identities for the woman in relation to how she is perceived by society as a whole, with a keen focus on the subject

position, whether it be patriarchal or otherwise, that informs this perception. The double-consciousness or double burden, for instance, was commonly attributed to the woman in light of her participation in wage labor from the 1970s to the 1980s. This double burden manifested in the way that the woman's work in wage economy adds to the burdens of her household and subsistence work instead of alleviating it. This dynamic shows the central role of women in the productive and reproductive aspects of the economy (Santos 32). The woman, in this light, navigates through two worlds simultaneously—the personal and the political, the private and the public, the struggle inside the home and outside of it. Ultimately, this research illustrates that the contours of the discourse on the woman question are historically, socially, and culturally nuance, with the evidence for this claim found in the prevalent metaphors in the speeches and addresses by women in the Philippines in the 1980s.

Motivated by various and conflicting representations of the woman during one of the key moments in the country's history, this study aims to discover how the notion of the "woman" is manifested in writing through conceptual metaphors. The following questions map out specific that :

- What are the prevalent metaphors associated with the "woman"?
- What characterizes the link between these metaphors and the socio-political environment at the time?
- What metaphors mark the progression of speeches and addresses by women at key historical events of the 1980s?
- What elements in the socio-political environment at the time influenced the writing and dissemination of these texts?

The First Quarter Storm and Martial Law

The First Quarter Storm is widely held to be one of the events that triggered then Presdient Ferdinand Marcos' declaration of Martial Law in 1972. This series of uprising from students, laborers, peasants and various other groups from the lower classes was perceived as a concerted effort against the spiraling socio-economic conditions the Marcos government had caused. The first of these concentrated demonstrations, with 50,000 protesters in attendance, was held on January 26, 1970, when President Marcos delivered his State of the Nation Address at the old legislative building in Manila. Riot ensued when Marcos left the building and came across the protesters' projectile sticks and placards. The riot injured300 youth protesters and 72 law enforcers and damage to several properties (Santos). Several demonstrations in reaction to police brutality and the involvement of the Armed Forces of the Philippines were held in the following weeks, culminating with a People's March organized by the Movement for a Democratic Philippines on March 17, 1970 (Santos). Student leadership, as David Wurfel states in his account on Martial Law in the Philippines, was identified as an important segment of the opposition elite, "capable of organizing an impressive mass following at times" (19).

Martial Law, formally defined as "the exercise of military jurisdiction by a government temporarily governing the civil population of a locality through its military forces without authority of written law, as necessity may require" (Gloria 1), was seen as a tool to strong-arm the citizenry into submission proved to be inadequate on several ideological levels. Jose Lacaba's *Days of Disquiet, Nights of Rage: The First Quarter Storm and Related Events*, along with various collections of narratives and testimonials, shows how the sentiments cried in these mass demonstrations trickle

down to the individual; that the resistance emanates from the most basic units of society. It is as much an issue of representation and identity as it is an issue of policy and human rights. The government's dependence on foreign capital has resulted in an economic growth that "has not benefited either laborers or consumers; has prejudiced national capital, judged by its reduced share in the economy" (Civil Liberties 2). The New Society envisioned by the Marcos regime encouraged foreign countries to invest in the Philippines by the flaunting of cheap labor and a politically stable atmosphere (Ang Katipunan 47). Women's concerns at the time were not at all homogenous, as there appeared to have been a divide between the feminist cause of the upper classes and the middle and lower classes.

. The First Quarter Storm and the Martial Law meant radical shifts in social participation and activism—these two events have paved the way for several sectors in society, especially the women sector, to organize and forward causes that have been disregarded or trampled upon by the Marcos administration. This section provides necessary information in contextualizing the claims made by women/ women's groups in their speeches and addresses in the 1980s.

The Women's Movement in the Philippines

One of the primary issues that the Women's Movement, as a global effort, wrestled with at this period was of identity. The universal, "unifying" view of being a woman had caused tension in non-white, non-middle class societies, specifically those in the "third-world." The supposedly common burden associated with being a woman has proved vulnerable to each culture's specific reality, creating gaps within the imagined "sisterhood" of women all over the world: "…their shared attitudes are minimized by the cross-cutting claims and identification… the feminist movement has experienced problems of conflicting ideologies to a larger degree than have other protest groups due primarily to a problem of identification" (Angeles 12). Delia Aguilar's *Toward a Nationalist Feminism* characterized this tension between "feminisms" of the "first-world" and the "third-world" as identity politics in the West, a "self-absorbed" perspective operating on the inequalities between men and women mainly by virtue of gender, versus traditional family and clan loyalty in Philippine feminism (37). The study highlights two main points from this statement: (1) the ways in which a society resolves or confronts the "woman question" is contingent upon their specific social, political, economic, and cultural reality and therefore, (2), "third-world feminism" forwards gender equality as a movement that cannot be separated from the process of struggling for justice and equality in society as a whole (Manzan 18). The potency of gender as a defining concept in the social reality of men and women was undercut by burdens carried by the society as a whole: "it is not inequality between males and females but rather the disparities between rural and urban and between women in Metro Manila and the rest of the country which comes out as the most significant disparities" (Aguilar quoted in Castillo 245). Members of the women's movement also have varying degrees of political and feminist consciousness, since they tend to come from various political stream s and social strata before getting involved with women's issues (Angeles 82).

Given this dynamic, the women's movement in the Philippines during the 1970s was not only situated in socio-political turmoil, it was also entrenched in the ideological crossfire between Western and non-Western feminisms, as well as the troubled consciousness of a woman who had only begun to participate in gender-specific issues . The issue of intersectionality, presented as the triad of issues that has common currency in feminist circles: gender, class, and race, and its roots in the more dominant factions within the women's movement in the Philippines heavily influenced the flows of discourse at the time, painting a picture of the movement that is not as homogenous as previously

thought. Adding to this tension within the movement, the very idea of nationalism as a masculine concept, leading to the dominance of patriarchy inside the nationalist struggle itself, left women in oppressed national communities split over how to "connect their emerging sense of national identity and participation with their emerging political identities as women" (Enloe 54). This sort of ideological confusion has pushed the specific facets of women's subordination to the margins, with feminists arguing that it is nationalist ideology itself that reifies women's subordination (Lacsamana 35). It also reinforces stereotypical gender roles in an environment that supposedly invites the active participation of women alongside men. The violation of women by foreign men is seen as a strike against the men and the instances that require female participation are marred by the subordinate nature of their activities—"the ego-stroking girlfriend, stoic wife or nurturing mother" (Enloe 62). The Filipino woman, as a "composite" of the issues and images presented earlier, is socially defined as mother, wife, and housekeeper which, studies have shown to be a social definition that is in accord with women's perception of themselves (Angeles 100). In addition, she is a creature of many images emerging from historical accounts and projections by metropolitan newspapers and magazines (Castillo 231).

Trinidad Tarrosa Subido wrote one of the earliest accounts on the women's movement in the Philippines. Published in June of 1955, *The Feminist Movement in the Philippines* is a commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the feminist movement in thePhilippines. The organization was named Asociacion Feminista Filipina, led by well-off women engaged in social service. They headed projects such as prison reforms, visits to shops and factories employing women for labor reforms, educational reforms, the possibility of lectures and conferences for women , and the establishment of recreational activities (7).This was followed by a 30-year campaign for the right of Filipino women to suffrage, won in 1937 (Cupino 80). These years were characterized by the initial participation of women in the political arena, with the entry of women in the administration as a consequence of their newly won right to suffrage. This development, however, was not seen as entirely positive, in light of the greater agenda of US colonial authorities. Some historians believe that this "victory" for women was a ploy to distract and placate the masses from more active efforts toward complete independence from the United States (Lacsamana 37).

The following years saw the Filipina participate against colonial powers by refusing to salute to the American flag and joining the HUKBALAHAP against the Japanese. In the 1970s, MAKIBAKA (Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan) was the first women's organization to "bring the issue of women's liberation in the context of national liberation and the liberation of all oppressed classes" (Cupino 80). Its formation was geared toward social liberation that includes the elimination of the feudal treatment of women, commercialization of their bodies, and other discriminatory and structural barriers to the fullest development of their potentials. In achieving this, MAKIBAKA aimed for three focal developments: (1) the participation of women in the militant mass movement fighting against male-conceived roles of the woman in society, (2) the challenging of the world view of conservative women's groups at the time, and (3) the liberation of women from traditional sex roles (Angeles 137). In light of these, they treated women's oppression as merely a symptom of a class-based society. A statement released by the primary spokesperson of the group at the time, Ma. Lorena Barros, as quoted in Lacsamana says:

> "the broad masses of the Filipino people must first be liberated before any sector, such as women, can be liberated… it is only by her full commitment in the struggle to liberate the broad masses of the Filipinos from foreign and feudal oppression, in the struggle for national democracy that the Filipina can prove herself truly the equal of men. "

MAKIBAKA's reluctance to simultaneously push for both women's and the nation's liberation stemmed from its aversion and resistance to feminism and feminist formulations, which it summarily dismissed as western and bourgeois (Lacsamana 42).

In contrast to MAKIBAKA's nationalist orientation in addressing the "woman question," the women's groups Pilipina and Kalayaan used a "feminist" framework in analyzing the status of women in Philippine society, especially amidst the fight against the Marcos regime. The assassination of Benigno Aquino paved the way for a democratic space in the midst of the turbulent socio-political environment. These two groups were part of the more cause-oriented organizations that appropriated the label of "feminist" and "imbuing it with their own nationalist content" (Lacsamana 44). Pilipina's involvement in social work, such as the economic justice and equity for women, women's right to be free from sexual harassment, focus on women's health etc., stressed the contradictions between their social vision and the traditional roles assigned to Filipinas (Angeles 181); these "traditional roles" refer to the woman's being a somewhat permanent fixture in the household, discouraged from actively participating in wider socio-political discourse and meddling with gender politics in the country. Kalayaan, on the other hand, was more focused on research and education. Their first projects were to research and document the realities of Filipino women, looking into "the distinct and concrete forms of exploitation and oppression" (Angeles 182). It is apparent in the comparison of MAKIBAKA, on the one hand, and Pilipina and Kalayaan, on the other, that the ideological tension has very concrete repercussions on the paths that these women's groups take toward gender equality and social justice.

In March of 1984, GABRIELA was launched at St. Scholastica College in Manila. It is a coalition that joined together and built a network out of various women's organizations across social classes in order to fight for greater women's participation in social issues, dismantle the dictatorship, bring justice to all victims of political repression and end the worsening economic crisis. In spite of these efforts, however, the issue of class and the leftist origin of the movement still plagued the coalition at several points (Angeles 193). This shows how much influence, and not to mention pressure, is wielded by the events that surround the operation of these groups. The politics of the movement is greatly determined by "the larger political center or ideological tradition the groups are associated with" (Angeles 198).

This section has gone through the complexities of the women's movement in the Philippines in order to, first, present the development of the movement from both ideological and historical standpoints and, second, to ground and inform the succeeding analyses of the notion of the "woman" on events and discourses before the 1980s. This will help the reader comprehend where particular metaphors come from and why they are prominent in the period specified.

The Metaphor and Critical Discourse Analysis

The term metaphor comes from the Greek verb "metapherein" which means to carry from one place to another or to transfer (Brown 1). This definition provides the basic premise in this study: the metaphor talks about one thing as if it were another (Keehley 582). In metaphor, what is transferred is a word and at least a portion of the meaning that the word conventionally conveys (Miller 56). One of the main contentions in metaphoric language over the years is whether the metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon, referring to its novel usage and structure in some forms, or a conceptual prerequisite— this time looking into the functions of the metaphor as a way of understanding the world in more concrete terms.

The former is considered to be "poetic" language rooted in Western philosophy, where a more ornamental, or linguistic, view of the metaphor is employed. It has roots in the practice of Rhetoric and its three main areas: a theory of argumentation or *invention*, also defined as the "invention" of arguments and provides links between rhetoric and demonstrative logic; the theory of style or *elocution;* and the theory of composition of *composition*. These three areas constitute a form of speech that aims to persuade; it is a technique added to natural eloquence rooted in spontaneous creativity (Ricouer 9). There is an apparent deviation in metaphoric language as it is conceptualized here. From the perspective of ordinary language, Aristotle provides for the metaphor the following features: (1) deviation from oridinary language, (2) the idea of borrowing from an original domain, and (3) the idea of substitution, which introduces no new meaning into the nouns already present and thus contributes to the more ornamental and descriptive value of the metaphor (Ricouer 21). It is apparent that even in the earliest explorations into the nature of the metaphor, poetic language is treated with a different set of purposes and expectations from the perceived "literal" language.

On the other hand, a school of thought more in line with the perception and articulation of reality, or "conceptual" use of the metaphor, states that all language is metaphorical-- that ordinary language makes use of the metaphor In discussing this perspective, the focus must be placed upon the relationship of language and thought, together with the meaning-making processes that facilitate this relationship. Boaz Keysar's article on metaphor and communication supports this idea of the metaphor being a conceptual element by arguing that communicative principles are equally important for literal and metaphorical language use and that it constrains interpretation within these two areas in the same way (638). This view states that the "rule violation," or anomaly discussed earlier, happens before the event of literal interpretation, thereby negating the notion of literal meaning taking precedence over metaphorical meaning (Keysar 642). Put simply, literal language and metaphorical language are processed similarly.

The question that now begs to be answered is whether or not these two worlds require a divide in order to establish a distinct use for the metaphor. Indeed the need for categorical definition is apparent: these two areas use language to attain different goals and the conventions attached to each control their respective discourse practices. However, it is interesting that the literature provides quite a number of works that bridge this gap. The researcher has observed that studies on the metaphor often begin with the idea of these two fields in isolation and end with their reconciliation, or if not, their being connected in one plane of understanding or another. In support of this, Mary McCloskey offers a striking statement from her article on metaphors: "It is necessary to compare metaphorical with literal language because metaphorical uses of words are parasitic upon literal uses" (McCloskey 215). This view presents a direct interaction between the two fields-- with one, metaphorical or "linguistic" use, riding on the mental processes activated by the other, literal or "conceptual" use, in order to create meaning. For all their differences, the linguistic and the conceptual uses of the metaphor can function alongside each other. This research project construes the metaphor as a combination of the two view-points discussed above—elements from both perspectives inform how the "woman" is processed in popular imagination and its translation into texts.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory

One of the most potent ways in which a text taps into a reader's body of knowledge and understanding is through its use of the metaphor. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have defined the metaphor as the "main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform

abstract reasoning; is fundamentally conceptual, not linguistic, in nature" (34). The view that the metaphor only serves a linguistic purpose stems from the belief that reality is wholly external to how human beings conceptualize the world, thereby stating that the study of reality involves only the study of the physical world or objective reality (Johnson 111). In this vein, we are led to think of reality as a structure that is built, rather than merely perceived, and the tools with which we construct our understanding of reality lies in these metaphors that are embedded in our daily language—as Lakoff states in his book *Metaphors We Live By*, "The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details" (3). Here is an example frequently cited when discussing the basic principles of Johnson and Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory:

ARGUMENT IS WAR

(1) Your claims are *indefensible.*
(2) He *attacked* every weak point in my argument.
(3) I *demolished* his argument.
(4) I've never *won* an argument with him.
(5) You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

The statements associated with the utterance "argument is war" entail elements from one domain, the concept of war, being conflated with another domain, the argument. The process that facilitates metaphors into TARGET DOMAIN is/as SOURCE DOMAIN is called *mapping*. Conceptual mappings are "sets of conceptual correspondences"(Lakoff 72). The utterances under the heading or the conceptual metaphor are primarily understood due to a general principle that governs how our "patterns of inference" regarding the source domain are used to reason about the target domain. The nature of this correspondence is part of the conceptual system underlying English in spite of its use of largely linguistic means (Lakoff 74).

The example shown above is the first of three types of metaphors identified by Lakoff: *the structural metaphor,* where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another (Lakoff 14). The textual features shown above point at the "systematicity," or the patterns, of metaphorical concepts. Since the *expressions* we use in our language (the ones numbered) are tied to metaphorical concepts (the heading), one can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities (Lakoff 7). The behavior of the metaphorical linguistic expressions, then, caters to and sustains the conceptual system.

The second type is the *orientational metaphor,* where concepts are organized as a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. It makes use of spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back etc. (Lakoff 14). This type is rooted in the physical and cultural experience of the language users and gives importance to coherence to the over-all system. An example of this type would be:

CONSCIOUS is UP; UNCONSCIOUS is DOWN

Get *up*. Wake up. I'm *up* already. He *rises* early in the morning. He *fell* asleep. He *dropped* off to sleep. He's *under* hynopsis. He *sank* into a coma.

The example has a physical basis, since humans and other animals sleep lying down and stand up when they awaken (Lakoff 15). This is also governed by systematicity in both the internal and

external sense since the expressions are organized in relation to each other as well as the over-arching conceptual metaphor.

The third type is the *ontological metaphor,* which is a way of viewing events and experiences as entities and substances. "Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them—and by this means, reason about them" (Lakoff 25). In the example:

INFLATION IS AN ENTITY

Inflation is lowering our standard of living.
If there's much *more inflation*, we'll never survive.
We need to *combat inflation*.
Buying land is the best way of *dealing with inflation.*

The concept of inflation was viewed as an entity that could be referred to, quantified, identified and manipulated to suit the need of the linguistic expression.

This study isolates structural metaphors within the essays and speeches on women. This is in line with the research's aim to construct the notion of the "woman" using the prevalent metaphors in the data, in relation to the larger ideological and socio-political mindset at the time. More than the other types, the structural metaphor characterizes experience through connections or links between two concepts which, in turn, affect how this "experience" is written and thought about. In Chapter 15 of *Metaphors We Live By* titled "The Coherent Structuring of Experience," Lakoff explains the processes involved in metaphorical structuring and the importance of understanding what it means for an experience or set of experiences to be "coherent by virtue of having a structure" (Lakoff 77). The example provided earlier, "argument is war," requires a speaker to be able to superimpose the multidimensional structure of part of the concept WAR upon the corresponding structure ARGUMENT. These "multi-dimensional" structures constitute "experiential gestalts," which are ways of organizing experiences into structured wholes. This process of viewing our experiences as formed around experiential gestalts is what makes our experience coherent (Lakoff 81).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis emerged in the late 1980s as a development in European discourse studies led by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk and others (Blommaert 447). It deals with the relationship between discourse and power; moreover it is concerned with how discourse maintains and reproduces social relations (Price 582). The primary text that will be used for the analysis is Norman Fairclough's *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. The book is a collection of essays that are grouped at particular levels of socio-linguistic analysis: (1) language, ideology and power; (2) discourse and socio-cultural change; (3) textual analysis in social research; and (4) critical language awareness. The researcher will adopt Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse in discussing the socio-cultural weight of the conceptual mappings discussed in the previous section.

The first level of Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for conceiving of and analyzing discourse is discourse-as-text, or the "linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse" (Blommaert 448). According to Fairclough, texts are social spaces in which two

fundamental social processes occur simultaneously: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction (Fairclough 6). It is here that he employs some of Halliday's functional theories in order to support the multi-functionality of the "text." Aside from this theory, Fairclough also referenced Bakhtin in accounting for the diversity of the text as a site of tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces (7). This level shows the texts themselves as products of social processes. This manifests in the study as the collection of speeches and addresses from which data, the conceptual and linguistic metaphors, are extracted. The texts in this collection are treated as bearers of socio-political significance in the way that they construct notions of the "woman" from the specific subject positions they embody.

The second dimension is discourse-as-discursive-practice, or "discourse as something that is produced, circulated, distributed consumed in society" (Blommaert 448). It particularly shows how resources outside of the producer and the interpreter influence the order of discourse (Fairclough 9). According to Fairclough, discourse practices and intertextual analysis mediate the relationship between texts on the one hand and non-textual parts of society and culture on the other (Fairclough 10). Here, Fairclough draws from Foucault's order of discourse to refer to the "ordered set of discourse practices associated with a particular social domain institution" (Fairclough 12). This level places focus on the institutions that produce and consume the texts in the previous level. It is here that a bi-directional flow of influence between the first two levels may be established: one is capable of affecting the other and vice-versa. The study relies on this relationship in its attempt to account for the prevalence of certain conceptual metaphors within the period specified. By examining the non-textual elements at work, the study shall identify the prominent sources of influence at the time, along with how these translate into the texts in circulation.

The third dimension is discourse-as-social-practice, or the "ideological effects and hegemonic processes in society in which discourse is a feature" (Blommaert 449). In this section, Fairclough ties ideology to social relations of power and domination. Emphasis is placed on historicizing the data of critical discourse analysts "on one hand to specify the particular historical conditions within which it was generated and what its properties and shape owe to these conditions, and on the other hand, to specify what part it plays in wider historical processes" (Fairclough 19). This is one of the primary goals of the researcher in undertaking her study on historical texts and the interplay of language, meaning and social context within them.

METHODOLOGY

This study aims to explore the notions of the "woman" as it is manifested in the metaphors found in the speeches and addresses on women published in the 1980s. This will be done through George Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory which places premium on how the metaphors that govern language use are reflective of the conceptual make-up of a specific community. The "identities" will be characterized by the linguistic metaphors extracted from each text. Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis will then be used to situate the discussion in the realities of the period. The three-dimensional framework identifies the text as embedded within the discursive practice of the linguistic community, which is then located within broader social practices. The framework presented in the last chapter posits a dialectical relationship between these two elements:

the interplay of concepts within the realm of the metaphor influences the behavior of these texts in their socio-cultural setting just as the environment of a text has bearing on the concepts that constitute specific metaphoric utterances.

Research Paradigm

The research problem mainly explores two elements in the reading of the selected historical texts: (1) the metaphor as a tool for the construction of the "woman;" and (2) the larger socio-cultural influences and implications these metaphors communicate at the time of their writing. With these points in mind, this study employs a qualitative approach in its treatment of the speeches and addresses by women published in the Philippines in the 1980s.

George Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as previously discussed, primarily posits that ordinary language, characterized as daily usage, is governed by concepts that structure experience and, consequently, our understanding of the world. Conceptual metaphors, in this sense, manifest even in the most mundane areas of our speech. The focus of this study, though not in the field of conversation analysis and other such forms of discourse analysis, aims to make use of this perspective in identifying utterances within essays and speeches that correspond to certain conceptual metaphors about the "woman." The researcher intends to use the qualitative approach in uncovering conceptual trends within the selected texts. Once the utterances, or linguistic metaphors as referred to in this study, are grouped under specific conceptual metaphors, the study will employ Norman Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis in giving a socio-cultural dimension to the analysis. Below is a list of all the texts discussed in the study:

DATE AND SOURCE	SPEECH OR ADDRESS
1980: Proceedings of the Nation's Women's Congress	"Opening Remarks" by Dr. Roqaiya Virgie R. Manlangit
1984: Women's Desk Concerned Artists of the Philippines	"Statement on Censorship and Pornography"
July 1985: UN Decade for Women	"Affirming Women's Culture and Perspectives Using Women's Forums and Vision in Film and Video as an Alternative Force"
January 1986: PILIPINA Cory's Crusaders	"A Statement on Mr. Marcos' Sexist Campaign"
February-March 1986: GABRIELA Women's International Solidarity Affair in the Philippines	"Opening Address" by Nelia Sancho
	"Opening Remarks" by Sr. Mary John Mananzan
	"Welcome Remarks" by Petite Peredo
	"Development of Women's Organization in the Philippines" by Maita Gomez
	"GABRIELA National Report 2" by Nelia Sancho
May 1986: Lakas ng Kababaihan	"Women Workers and the Unfinished struggle for an Eight-Hour Work Day" Labor Day Statement
August 1986: Individual Signatures	"Statement of Common Position and Concern"
October 1986: Women's Peace Committee	"Build Peace—Work for Justice"
March 1988: The Labor Movement: What's in it for Women	"Welcome Remarks by Virgina Yap"
	"Opening Remarks" by Josie de Roxas
September 1989: Let's Work Together	"The Human Rights Situation of Filipino Women and

for the Protection of Human Rights of Filipino Women GABRIELA	their Response Two Years after February 1986"
December 1989: Introduction to Women's Health Issues in the Philippines GABRIELA	"AIDS IS HERE! FIGHT AIDS!"

In exploring the first element of this study's analysis, the metaphor as a tool for constructing the "woman," the researcher employs George Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory in order to isolate the linguistic metaphors that pertain to particular identities. The first step is to isolate the utterances that constitute the "woman" inside a specific text. This is done through a cognitive stylistic reading of the text, which focuses on the mental processes that underlie the readers' understanding of a text. The conceptual framework refers to these utterances as the linguistic metaphors that represent the concepts around which these expressions have converged. These utterances are grouped according to their conceptual similarities, thereby creating a universe within each group of utterances. In order to support the categorizations made for these metaphors, the researcher proceeds to identify the source and target domains for each group. These concepts, then, constitute the "woman" as she is perceived from the various perspectives forwarded by each text.

The first level of Fairclough's three-dimensional model assigns the text as a space for both functional and diverse use of language. The literary forms specified in this study, in their being expository in nature, lend themselves to this type of analysis. The researcher will identify how the texts *make use* of metaphoric language, how they communicate either nationalistic or gender-specific meanings through the concepts they map within each linguistic metaphor. Conceptual metaphors, in this light, will serve as markers of meaning and, consequently, identity. The second level, as explained in the last chapter, identifies the stake-holders in the production of texts (non-textual elements) and how they interact with textual analysis. Given the time period, the researcher identifies these stake-holders as the various groups that produce and, at the same time, meddle in the distribution of texts. The researcher illustrates the points of contention that arose amongst the various factions of the women's movement through the presentation of clashing perceptions of the woman's place in the 1980s. On the other end of the spectrum, the government was also a source of content in the discourse regarding the "woman question." The "identities" that emanate from these extremes are compared in terms of how the institutions behind them conceive of the Filipina. The third level presents the reading of historical texts as an agent in manipulating the ideological current of a certain group. This level aims more at the act of historicizing the "woman" by embedding the nuggets of conceptual discourse established in the previous levels into the landscape of wider socio-cultural change and discourse. This level is of particular importance to this study because of its contribution to the collective perception of the Filipina throughout recent history.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The dynamic of the 1980s presents major shifts in the Philippine socio-political sphere that have manifested not only in the broad scheme of government but also in the discourse of human rights groups, the labor sector, the women's movement and other such advocacies. In discussing the woman question, this study has gathered speeches and addresses given or published during the period and analyzed according to the linguistic metaphors that feature in each text, eventually relating them to over-arching conceptual metaphors and the non-textual elements that surround their dissemination and consumption. The analysis is conducted by first isolating and grouping the linguistic metaphors,

marked as italicized text, according to their conceptual similarities before constructing source and target domains for each group, as per Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The presentation of the linguistic metaphors is arranged chronologically, starting from the earliest dated address in the data. Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis gives focus on the nationalistic or gender-specific motivations behind each conceptual metaphor, thereby highlighting certain identities for the woman that emanate from different sectors and discourses at the time.

A. WOMAN IS HOME

Discourse-as-Text

TARGET DOMAIN: woman
SOURCE DOMAIN: home

The woman as a symbol for the home has long been a popular trope in various forms of media, owing to her ability to conceive children and the traditional gender roles that confine her to work in the household. This mapping's high occurrence in the data may be attributed to this trope; however, as the metaphors below show, the "mother" is immersed in the preoccupations of the time, building her as a nurturing figure for both the home and the revolution. This mapping manifests throughout the decade. The linguistic metaphors shown below emphasize the relationships that exist between women in the movement.

DATE AND SOURCE	SPEECH OR ADDRESS	PASSAGE	LINGUISTIC METAPHOR	MEANING
1980: Proceedings of the Nation's Women's Congress	"Opening Remarks" by Dr. Roqaiya Virgie R. Manlangit	My sisters, the meeting that we have just successfully held and concluded came at the crossroads of history	my sisters	The woman, as individual, is seen as being related by "blood" or circumstance, to other women. The event in which this utterance occurred dealt with issues specific to women, and thus saw them as being related to each other.
		Those of us therefore, who have been fortunate enough to partake of the blessing of education should now make their	disadvantaged sisters	The woman is urged to reinforce the ties between the "family," as a concept, in her coming to the aid of her disadvantaged sisters.

		vigorous resolve *to* come to the aid of their disadvantaged sisters.		
February-March 1986: GABRIELA Women's International Solidarity Affair in the Philippines	"Welcome Remarks" by Petite Peredo	Let us unite in sisterhood for real emancipation and justice.	sisterhood	The sisterhood is referred to as the bond between women in the conference. This reinforces the idea of women are bound together by their experiences as women in the Philippines.
	"Opening Remarks" by Nelia Sancho	We therefore consider it vital to forge greater unity with sisters from other lands	with sisters from other lands	This mapping describes the woman in the context of the nation and the relationships or circumstances that bind women across national borders. The woman as a Filipina is seen as a part of a larger network of women that shares circumstances with one another.
	"Development of Women's Organization in the Philippines" by Maita Gomez	Our social investigation must also give birth to new sections of women organizing.	give birth	Another aspect of the "family" is highlighted in this mapping: motherhood. The women's movement is described as capable of giving life and creating more opportunities for women to come together.

		Sisterhood binds us… this bond is real because we are women with a common history of oppression.	sisterhood binds us	This supports the idea that the woman's disadvantaged state unites her with others like her—they become "sisters," occupying the same level in the familial hierarchy, if there is one at all. This mapping also forwards the idea that women can be perceived as equal given their "common history of oppression."
May 1986: Lakas ng Kababaihan	"Women Workers and the Unfinished struggle for an Eight-Hour Work Day"	Women workers march today alongside their brothers	alongside their brothers	This particular metaphor is unique because it extends the concept of "family" into the opposite sex. The circumstances that plague the "sisterhood" is also mapped onto the male sector, thereby establishing them as the woman's "brothers" in her struggle inside the movement.
		For women workers who have not the escapes open to their upper and middle class sisters	upper and middle class sisters	The concept of sisterhood still remains prominent in this metaphor. However, there is a perceived difference among the "sisters" that presents a more nuanced interpretation of their

				struggles as women. Women of different social classes still identify together as women but they are not experiencing the same kinds of oppression.
August 1986: Individual Signatures	Statement of Common Position and Concern	Since a woman is primarily responsible for home and children	for home and children	The woman, in this metaphor, is directly placed within the confines of the household, assigning her to be the primary figure that facilitates this space. The concept of motherhood is also tapped in this mapping in the way "children" are placed with the woman inside the "home."
October 1986: Women's Peace Committee	"Build Peace—Work For Justice"	Sisters let us build the future in hope, in peace, in justice	sisters	The woman is addressed in relation to the sisterhood's efforts in achieving peace.
March 1988: The Labor Movement: What's In It For Women	"Welcome Remarks" by Virginia Yap	It is now time to give birth to the new ideas	give birth to new ideas	The woman is described as a "mother" figure in the context of forwarding the women's movement. The mapping does not tap her biological capability to bear children, instead it appeals to her disadvantaged socio-political identity. She

				is a mother of "ideas" that will serve the movement's efforts.
December 1989: Introduction to Women's Health Issues in the Philippines GABRIELA	"AIDS IS HERE! FIGHT AIDS!"	We women, wombs and rearers of future Filipinos…	wombs and rearers	The woman's being a mother is interpreted in the context of the nation. Compared to the other mappings, the mother will not only rear children or ideas, she will rear future Filipinos, which directly places the woman amidst national struggle.
		They are the most oppressed of our sisters.	our sisters	The metaphor here alludes to the shared burden of women by virtue of their gender. Women are oppressed by forces that will be elaborated on in consequent mappings; however, there appears to be some who are more oppressed than others. This may be attributed to class difference within the sisterhood.
		It becomes particularly straining for the mother who must make a choice between the breast or the bottle.	breast or the bottle	The concerns of the woman are placed on her "mother" identity. The representation of motherhood in this metaphor shows strain when it comes to the woman's and the child's need for breastfeeding in the

				face of the woman's role as a laborer.

This mapping, to a certain extent, shares conceptual elements with the women as movement metaphor. The woman is a figure within the family echoes the communal, collective nature of the woman within the folds of organization. She functions for and with a particular body, to which her existence and activity is vital. Under this light, the woman is moved from being an "individual" upon whom societal forces are at play and into a shared space inhabited by others that bear similar burden. The difference between these two conceptual metaphors emerges from the specificities of the woman's role inside the "family" which are not found in her almost organic, participatory portrayal in the "woman is movement" metaphor, as will be elaborated in the following sections. The metaphors above , though representative of both nationalist and gender-specific concerns, evoke a more woman-centered mapping, putting forth experience as a common ground shared by a woman and those she calls her sisters.

Discourse-as-Discursive-Practice

The most prominent figures in the linguistic metaphors cited above are the women's groups gathered in a conference that addresses women's concerns in the Philippines. It is important to note that there are more references to sisterhood than there are for motherhood. This may be telling of the shifting pre-occupations at the time regarding the woman's role in society—from being primarily a figure in the home to a visible figure in the socio-political sphere.

The idea of a sisterhood of women may be attributed to Western views on feminism, where women share a disadvantaged state in society by virtue of their gender. The literature surrounding this subject has often put forth the social reality of women in the third-world as a factor of their resistance to this "sisterhood." This concern was also felt within the Philippines' women's movement, yet the language shown above employs the "sisterhood" metaphor quite heavily. What makes the "sisterhood" in the Philippines distinct? Wilhelmina Orozco, in her book *Feminist Objectives in the Third World and Other Writings*, traces the incongruous nature of Western Feminism in the Philippines to the American occupation— "The American colonizers did not diminish the prejudice against Filipino women. They reinforced the idea that the white culture is ideal among Filipino women—it became the ultimate aspiration" (7). In reaction to this, she forwards the idea that the women's movement in the Philippines must present a strong unity of feminist and nationalist objectives within a Third World context despite the internal and external contradictions faced by its members (Orozco 41). There are certain "parameters" in achieving a women's movement truly representative of the Filipina, according to Orozco. These include having women's activities impact national issues; giving women leaders, in trade unions for instance, the opportunity to exercise the same power and visibility as their male counterparts; employing women from all

sectors as leaders and active members; and making use of the perspective of women in discussing issues inside organizations (43).

In this light, the "sisterhood" metaphor may be qualified as the joining of nationalist and women-centered agenda with a clear focus on the realities of the woman's condition in the Philippines. The passages above, in their recognition of class, gender difference, and the need for social visibility, detail how the "sisterhood" is reinterpreted from the Western, white, middle class influence from the American occupation to a more inclusive and representative women's movement. The other association made with the woman in the linguistic metaphors is that of "motherhood."

The family, as a structure that inhabits the home, frames the woman within the roles she plays. This expectation of the woman in popular imagination crosses over to the discourse on the women's movement, in the way that the woman is severed from the hierarchy of the family and is put in an active, leading position in women-centered organizations. Arlene Babst writes in her article "The Myth of Motherhood," "motherhood for motherhood's sake should stop being held up as the ultimate goal of the Filipino woman. It isn't." (5). The myths she lays down in the article, the mother being solely responsible for rearing children for instance, hearken back to the idea of the "double burden" associated with being a woman of the home and of the nation. These are, quite evidently, reinforced by the representation of women in the media. According to Pennie Azarcon's "Women in Advertisement" published in 1987, women as mothers abound in 57% of radio ads, followed closely by the wife in 21% of the ads, and the woman as domestic or househelp in 16% (123). Television ads behaved in the same trend, showing more roles for the woman inside the domestic unit as mothers, wives, homemakers or the laundrywomen. She compared this to how men are portrayed to have more prominent roles outside the domestic sphere (Azarcon 128). Qualities such as being budget-conscious, economical, and smart regarding household chores (Azarcon 130) are foisted upon women, thereby emphasizing their place and "power" within the household. These associations made and perpetuated by the media are subverted by the woman as "mother" of the movement in the way that the women's groups instill in her the need for social participation and the nurturing of future activism. The following conceptual metaphors flesh out other aspects of the woman's role inside the movement.

B. WOMAN IS FIGHTER

Discourse-As-Text

TARGET DOMAIN: women
SOURCE DOMAIN: fighter

This mapping gave the second highest occurrence of linguistic metaphors in the data analyzed, with each text having at least one reference to the woman being in the field of battle. The metaphors presented below highlight the place of the woman within the national struggle for liberation. The emphasis is primarily on the women's movement's role in

organizing women from all various sectors in society to increase socio-political participation. The utterances below urge women to take on another identity, one that is separate and "outside" the ones she has previously been.

DATE AND SOURCE	SPEECH OR ADDRESS	PASSAGE	LINGUISTIC METAPHOR	MEANING
July 1985: UN Decade for Women	"Affirming Women's Culture and Perspectives Using Women's Forums and Vision in Film and Video as an Alternative Force"	The number one characteristic of women that we must show is their resistance to the prevailing order.	resistance to the prevailing order	The idea of "resistance" is essential in conceptualizing the woman as a fighter. In this mapping, the woman is characterized against a "prevailing order."
		And so our biggest problems rest on how to transcend, overcome or subvert such traditional filmic practices	transcend, overcome or subvert such traditional filmic practices	The actions assigned to the woman in this metaphor are associated with the concept of fighting or attacking a certain opponent. The woman is a fighter against traditional practices and she becomes this by adopting these actions.
January 1986: PILIPINA Cory's Crusaders	"A statement on Mr. Marcos' Sexist Campaign"	We, the 10000 women of Cory's crusaders	crusaders	The women who support Cory Aquino describe themselves as crusaders and involve themselves in the struggle against Marcos specifically—in contrast to how the metaphors above addressed traditional practices and the "prevailing order" as the enemy.

		We assert that it is the obligation of every Filipino woman, worth the name woman, to involve herself in the struggle for her own and her country's freedom	involve herself in the struggle	This mapping directly addresses the struggle I which the woman, as a fighter, must involve herself. The concept of conflict is highlighted and the woman must become an active part of it.
February-March 1986: GABRIELA Women's International Solidarity Affair in the Philippines	"Opening Address" by Nelia Sancho	We pay tribute to the Filipino women who have, in the thousands, spontaneously responded to the call to fight the dictatorship in the country	responded to the call to fight the dictatorship in the country	The woman, as a fighter, answers to the "call" or the need for action. This is directed toward the dictatorship, painted, in this metaphor, as the enemy.
		We, as women, face a long and arduous struggle for total emancipation	long and arduous struggle	The concept of "struggle" is prominent in describing the woman as a fighter. This metaphor includes in its conceptualization of the woman as a fighter the hardships she will face in her "struggle."
	"GABRIELA National Report 2" by Nelia Sancho	… a program was nevertheless held, confronting the dictatorship with the worsening condition of women and a call or women's militant action to dismantle the US-Marcos	a call or women's militant action to dismantle	The "call" referred to here draws from the concept of war or battle, in that fighters are "called upon" to battle. Another concept here is the "dismantling" of the enemy. The concept of destruction is evoked in this metaphor in

		dictatorship		relation to how the woman's militant action or her being a fighter.
	"Development of Women's Organization in the Philippines" by Maita Gomez	W e will struggle to protect our gains and forward our cause	struggle to protect and forward our cause	The concept of "struggle" and hardship is once again used here. However in this metaphor, the struggle is aimed at "protecting" the woman's gains. As in battle, there is a need for the fighter to not only attack but also to guard herself and her assets. The other concept of battle employed is the "forwarding" of a "cause." The act of marching forward is prominent in the context of battle and as women fighters, this concept describes how she battles with certain oppressive forces. The "cause," on the other hand, points at the motivations behind the struggle. In this context, the woman is fighting for the welfare of women in organizations in the Philippines.
May 1986: Lakas ng Kababaihan	"Women Workers and the Unfinished	But they cannot lay claim to the victory of the eight-hour work	lay claim to the victory	The concept of victory is essential in conceptualizing the woman as a fighter.

	struggle for an Eight-Hour Work Day" Labor Day Statement	day		The earlier metaphors on attacking and protecting ultimately lead to the woman's "victory," where she attains equal rights and labor support from the government.
		Under siege, we witness the maiming and death of loved ones	under siege	This metaphor employs the idea of being under attack in the field of battle. Women are portrayed as constantly victimized by the prevailing order and her being a fighter is a reaction to this oppression. However, as seen in the prominence of the "struggle" metaphor so far, the woman as a fighter is still plagued by these forces.
October 1986: Women's Peace Committee	"Build Peace—Work For Justice"	To resist pressures to unsheathe the sword of war and to remain steadfast to the quest for peace	unsheathe the sword of war quest for peace	The "sword of war" metaphor conflates the image of artillery used in battle with the efforts of women to achieve social justice and lasting peace. The woman as a fighter wields this sword in the battle against oppressive forces. The "quest" for peace, on the other hand, relates a temporal element to the metaphor. It exposes the prolonged struggle that women

March 1988: The Labor Movement: What's In It For Women	"Welcome Remarks" by Virginia Yap	We have to be always on guard	on guard	This metaphor is built upon the vulnerability shared by the woman in her struggle for equal rights and a fighter in battle. The idea of "guarding" oneself against the opponent echoes the need for protection showed in the metaphors above.

The MAKIBAKA, widely held to be the first women's group to forward women-specific concerns amidst nationalist struggle in the 1970s, identified "three evils" that plague the exploited masses, and consequently, the women sector: capitalism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism (Maranan 47). This conceptual metaphor emphasizes the woman's place inside the struggle, a tradition inherited from the Philippines' colonial past and the resistance it met from both men and women. Maita Gomez, on the origins of the women's movement in the Philippines, writes: "the tradition of addressing the woman's exploitations and oppression in its entirety—a Filipino as member of a class and as a woman" (57). Much of the tension regarding the women's movement at the time of civil unrest was the woman's agenda in relation to the "larger" scheme of national liberation. It was a question of which concern would take precedence: the woman's agenda before national liberation or the national liberation before the woman's own liberation. With this in mind, the domains and mappings identified in this metaphor communicate a nationalistic stance, in the way that it frames involves the woman, and her concerns, within the struggle for national liberation.

One of the metaphors stated above took a firm stand with regards to this issue: "to involve herself in the struggle." The term *struggle* draws from the idea of the woman being inside a tumultuous time, urging her to *involve herself* and, quite possibly, build an identity inside this struggle. The active nature of some of these linguistic metaphors is in line with the revolution's aggressive and militant character. This is carried throughout the most of the metaphors with terms like "transcend," "overcome," and "subvert." The idea of participation is strongly forwarded by these metaphors of action.

Another set of meanings drawn from the source domain is the tools used in a battle or revolution. The expressions "on guard," "unsheathe the sword," "quest for peace," map onto the woman these concepts of warfare and ammunition in her struggle for peace, liberation and equal rights. The idea of victory in a battle strengthens the mappings previously made, given that the women fighters or revolutionaries have become pitted against the oppressive forces in society.

Discourse-as-Discursive-Practice

The non-textual elements involved in this conceptual metaphor are primarily the women sector, the government, and the "prevailing forces," which may be taken as patriarchal ideology, labor practices, or traditional gender dynamics in the Philippines that serve to oppress women. The woman is fighting against these forces-- portrayed to be the ones holding managing the flows of power in the society she lives in. The government, for instance, has two faces in the 1980s: the Marcos administration, from 1980 to 1986 and the Aquino administration that took its place after. The literature review has given the events in the 1970s that set the stage for the state of women in the 1980s, citing the social injustices that the Martial Law has inflicted to the women of the labor sector through its being export-oriented economic policies that place women . PILIPINA, one of the women's groups that established themselves in the 80s, saw this administration as a symbol the dominance of patriarchal ideology, as seen in their Statement on Mr. Marcos's Sexist Campaign. In contrast to this, the data showed PILIPINA'a direct alignment with the Aquino administration, describing itself as crusaders for her cause.

Did the change in leadership lead to a better treatment of women? On the one hand, the data shows more texts by women's groups published after the Marcos administration. The first mention of the woman is fighter metaphor was in 1985, halfway through the decade and the end of the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985). There were more women's groups established in the 80s compared to the 70s, as discussed in the woman is movement metaphor, which suggests a widening of the democratic space for the expression of women's both national and gender-specific sentiments. However, in spite of these supposed developments, Aida Fulleros Santos and Lynn Lee showed how the social injustices from the past administration had bled into the next in their book The Debt Crisis: A Treadmill of Poverty for Filipino Women published in 1989. They emphasized the marginalization of women in development, stating that for development to be "meaningful" to women, inequalities brought on by class oppression and those specific to women must be recognized (Santos 22). The analysis cites the government's budget in 1989 as:

> "…having a significant allocation for "infrastructure and other capital investments that have long-term impact on the economy. There is no budget support for women's subsistence and income substitution/generation of economic activities, the budget makes their work, and contribution to the local and national economy, effectively invisible" (23).

This "visibility" mentioned is essential in conceptualizing the woman's presence as a fighter during these times. Though she is prominent in the data shown, other sets of literature could argue against this claim as they are informed by their own analyses of the woman condition.

C. **WOMAN IS MOVEMENT**

Discourse-as-Text

TARGET DOMAIN: women
SOURCE DOMAIN: movement

This mapping, though directly related to women as revolutionaries/fighters, required its own section because it positions the woman inside a larger body, or a "collective," moving toward women's liberation. Beyond individual struggle, women here are seen as a collective force; and the language treats them as such. The physical aspect of movement, or the idea of "moving" in physical space as it relates to the efforts toward women's liberation, is also employed in the linguistic metaphors shown below.

DATE AND SOURCE	SPEECH OR ADDRESS	PASSAGE	LINGUISTIC METAPHOR	MEANING
1980: Proceedings of the Nation's Women's Congress	"Opening Remarks" by Dr. Roqaiya Virgie R. Manlangit	… and we have agreed to approve resolutions that which embody the collective resolve of our group	embody the collective resolve of our group	The "collective" element in the concept of the movement is mapped upon the individual nature of a woman.
		…then the past will always haunt us as we march toward newer horizons and greater heights	march toward newer horizons and greater heights	The woman is presented as an active part of the movement—she is "marching toward" a certain objective. This linguistic metaphor presents another interpretation of the "woman as movement" conceptual metaphor.
February-March 1986: GABRIELA Women's International	"Opening Address" by Nelia Sancho	…the Filipino women's determination to bring together women from various sectors	bring together / collective will	This mapping corresponds to the woman as part of a larger group that brings her out of the household and other

Solidarity Affair in the Philippines		and groups to develop the women's strength and collective will		such oppressive institutions and into the folds of collective action.
	"Opening Remarks" by Sr. Mary John Mananzan	Let us take this opportunity to really bind together, to really try to solve the problems of our country	bind together	The woman is an active element in the concept of binding together. The woman is described inside the "movement."
	"Welcome Remarks" by Petite peredo	We come together as women, from many varying experiences and varying conditions from different parts of the country	come together	The woman moves from being an isolated or separate member of society and becomes part of the collective or the movement.
	"Development of Women's Organization in the Philippines" by Maita Gomez	Nevertheless it [women's movement] survives, continues to grow and increasingly fulfills for us a worldview that corresponds to the actual realities of our experience as women	survives, continues to grow and increasingly fulfills	This mapping corresponds to the physical elements of the concept of "movement." In this light, the woman "survives," "continues to grow," and "fulfills" within the context of the collective, in contrast to how she functions as an individual outside the collective.
May 1986: Lakas ng Kababaihan	"Women Workers and the Unfinished struggle for an Eight-Hour	…all so very necessary for our own march to freedom	march to freedom	The concept of "marching" is associated with the women's movement as one of its actions or

	Work Day" Labor Day Statement			efforts to achieve its goals. The woman "marches" as part of the movement.
October 1986: Women's Peace Committee	"Build Peace—Work For Justice"	We Filipino women march for peace	march for peace	The woman "marches" along with other Filipino women. She is an individual moving with others.
March 1988: The Labor Movement: What's In It For Women	"Opening Remarks" by Josie de Roxas	We ought to lead in advancing our demands	lead in advancing our demands	This mapping contains two linguistic metaphors joined together in describing the woman as movement. The first is the concept of "leading," which refers to an action done for and by a group toward a certain goal. In this sense, the woman "leads" as part of the collective. The other is the concept of "advancing," which also places the woman within the "movement" of the group.
September 1989: Let's Work Together for the Protection of Human Rights of Filipino Women	"The Human Rights Situation of Filipino Women and their Response Two Years after February 1986"	The plight of these women victims provided Gabriela with the impetus to take immediate steps to respond to the mounting cases of women's rights violations	take immediate steps	This mapping highlights the action or movement of "taking a step" that a woman does when she becomes part of the collective.

GABRIELA				

The concept of "movement" has been characterized in the previous chapters as the organization of women toward equal rights and social participation. The woman is placed under the larger context of her gender and class, in that she is a figure marked not only by her immediate, "personal," reality, but also her existence as a "woman" in her community. What separates this mapping from the woman as revolutionaries/fighters metaphor is its emphasis on women's action within the movement. It can be seen in the previous metaphor how the terms *resistance, overcome, subvert, victory* and other such concepts of action are directly against certain oppressive forces, thereby portraying the woman in a site of opposition. In contrast to this, the idea of grass-roots development and increased social participation is put forth by the terms *inspire, raise, lead* and *advancing*. The movement, aside from its being a product of "feminist" ideology at the time, manifests in the texts as an effort to expose, and correct, the injustices suffered by women through their socio-political involvement. In this light, the domains in this conceptual metaphor, and how they translate in the language of the texts gathered, address more gender-specific concerns of women. Women come together, by virtue of their gender, in order to forward their cause as women in nationalist discourse.

The physical aspect of the "woman is movement" metaphor may be related to the woman's participation in the organizations, given the way they manifest as actions taken by the woman in a collective space. The *binding* and *coming* together, the *marching toward peace and freedom*, as well as *taking immediate steps*, show the woman to be in motion-- fueled by her need to be recognized as a valuable stake-holder in society.

Discourse-as-Discursive-Practice

This conceptual mapping places more attention on the women's movement's inner workings. The linguistic metaphors presented refer to the organizations that women form once they involve themselves in wider socio-political discourse as the main non-textual element or institution in the mapping. It has been mentioned earlier how the 1980s had seen more women involvement in terms of social participation and publication of texts that address both nationalist and gender-specific discourse. Marra Lanot, in her essay "The Filipinas Have Come and They're Still Coming," described the women's movement in the 1980s as having erupted from the "crusts of silence and oppression" (62). Though she later draws a distinction between the groups formed in the more radical 60's and 70s and the democratic 80s in terms of class and motivations, Lanot recognized the gender-specific, or as some would say "feminist," discourse called for by the socio-political climate at the time. This supports the findings derived in the data regarding the institutional leanings of the "woman is movement" metaphor.

Before the 1980s, organizing women's groups was seen as a problem given the policies enacted during Martial Law; and even those already formed at the beginning of the

decade, were described as loose in structure, informal, without leaders or hierarchy, and seems perpetually ad hoc or interim (Maranan 72). It is in response to this frustration that Aida Santos Maranan, in her essay "Do Women Really Hold up Half the Sky?," asserted that "the women's movement must grow and strengthen its unity as women and not as classes" (Maranan 73). This, in turn, is precisely the distinction offered by Lanot in her analysis of the women's movement in the 70s and 80s. The MAKIBAKA, having emerged from the female arm of Kabataang Makabayan and the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan,, was composed of student activists compared to the upper and middle classes of the women's groups of the 80s: "they were the women of the bourgeoisie—the landed, the professionals, the housewives…they were politically-inclined matrons who sought justice, freedom, and democracy through peaceful means" (Lanot 65). As proof of this, Lanot presents the assassination of Ninoy Aquino as one of the primary reasons for the sprouting of women's groups in the 1980s. The bourgeoisie, in response to this event, used it as an excuse to release pent-up emotions in protest and prayer rallies, and boycotts of crony-owned newspapers (65). The consciousness-raising this effected upon women who may have been described as "apolitical" before the event showed the shift in demographic within the "collective" of the women's movement in the Philippines.

The crop of texts analyzed in this data, as seen in the linguistic metaphors for "woman is movement," emphasized the need for women from various sectors to come together as women. The collective will of the movement at the time was, perhaps, founded upon the woman's need for representation as herself, compared to the "woman is fighter" metaphor that constructs her in relation to the forces she is fighting against.

D. WOMAN IS OBJECT

Discourse-as-Text

TARGET DOMAIN: women
SOURCE DOMAIN: object

The utterances below structured the woman in terms of her being oppressed as an accessory or tool for the pleasure and use of various forces, as shown in the specific leanings of the texts form which these metaphors are extracted.

DATE AND SOURCE	SPEECH OR ADDRESS	PASSAGE	LINGUISTIC METAPHOR	MEANING
1984: Women's Desk Concerned Artists of the	"Statement on Censorship and Pornography"	For him [Marcos], they are no more than slaves of the family and the objects of men's pleasures	objects of men's pleasures	This metaphor describes the woman as an object in the way that it reduces her functions to being only an accessory to male

Philippines				pleasure. An object's lack of life, identity, and agency is mapped onto the woman who is often sexually and domestically "used" without regard for her "humanity."
March 1988: The Labor Movement: What's In It For Women	"Opening Remarks" by Josie de Roxas	Concrete conditions of women in factories has been put aside	has been put aside	This mapping shows how the woman's concerns are not recognized and as such are "put aside" or "handled" instead of being addressed. This supports the idea that a woman's concerns, or her emotional and psychological state, are of no value in the same way that objects lack the capability to feel burden and concern.
December 1989: Introduction to Women's Health Issues in the Philippines GABRIELA	"AIDS IS HERE! FIGHT AIDS!"	We are the products and the commodities in the transaction of these crimes	the products and commodities	This mapping directly conflates the image of "products" and "commodities" with the woman's image. In this context, the woman is given no space to react to these "crimes," emphasizing her role as objects and goods to which injustices are imposed upon.

This mapping garnered the least number of linguistic metaphors despite its being found at the beginning, middle, and end of the decade. The woman, like an object, is portrayed as lacking voice and agency and, as such, is treated as merely secondary to the men, who are considered to be functioning individuals. The linguistic metaphors here

communicate a gender-specific concern, in that women are being treated as objects by virtue of their gender.

Discourse-as-Discursive-Practice

The woman question is primarily concerned with the woman's disadvantaged position in society. This disadvantage, in turn, proves itself to be diverse and multi-faceted as it manifests in the immediate socio-economic reality of women. The struggle for women's "liberation" at the time recognized the complexity of defining this "disadvantage," as seen in the set of texts analyzed by the study. Cynthia Nolasco, on her essay "The Woman Problem: Gender, Class and State Oppression" presents three "oppressive institutions" as the angles by which the woman question in the Philippines should be addressed. She writes, "the Filipino woman has three statuses but her oppression and exploitation resulting from her living out her roles occasioned not by three separate realities but by only one reality" (78). This serves a succinct way of discussing how most of the linguistic metaphors in this mapping relate to the woman experience.

The first, oppression by virtue of sex, predominantly works on two levels: the first would be the woman's "natural" inclination toward the home and motherhood, and the second, her being treated as a sex object inside and outside the home (Nolasco 82). PILIPINA's statement on Marcos' sexist campaign captures these two levels in its use of the words "slaves of the family" and "objects of men's pleasure." *Slaves* and *objects* attribute to the woman their subordinate nature in relation to how they are seen by the structure of the family and the desires of men. In addition, the utterance "as women, we doubly suffer" creates a link between gender and the burden of living in the Philippines. This also serves commentary on how women are often portrayed weak and are treated as such, as seen in the multiple references to a sort of "false and condescending protection" often directed toward women.

The second form of oppression, that by class, is seen in the data through the plight of women workers and those who belong to the grass-roots organizations within the women's movement. The issues that weigh heavily down on women's workers appeal to the labor sector and the prominence of this concern in discussing the "woman question" at the time. In a way, this oppression may also be aligned with the third kind, that of the state, due to how the institutions that impose hardship upon the lives of women are inextricably linked to the political sphere that allows for their existence. A particular sore point is how women are portrayed in media, the entertainment industry, and the government's tourism scheme. The conjunction of "*exploitative* big businesses" (Nolasco 85) and the proliferation of "smut" and other such forms of skewed representation draws from the dominant, almost immutable character of these forces in popular culture and shows how these interact with the woman's identity as a disadvantaged member of society. Lastly, the oppression by the state refers to government policies that push women to the margins of national development. These are in the forms of export-oriented economic policies and unjust wages for women in the labor

sector. In this light, the oppression by state mirrors some of the sentiments already discussed in the "woman is fighter" and "woman is movement" conceptual metaphor.

DISCOURSE-AS-SOCIAL-PRACTICE

This last level looks at the ideologies and identities employed and perpetuated through the discourses presented earlier in the chapter. The study recognizes that the perspective through which these speeches and addresses were viewed is from the women/women's groups. In saying this, the notions of the "woman" or the identities detailed above are formed from how women see themselves as citizens of the Philippines. They constitute a specific sector's sentiments and motivations which may or may not be in line with how the wider population comprehends their situation. This following discussion shows how conceptual metaphors discussed above, along with the texts from which they were drawn, may deviate from the larger scope of socio-political discourse.

The "woman is home" conceptual metaphor characterized the woman in two ways: on one hand, there were the statements from women's groups that described the woman as part of a disadvantaged sisterhood and a "mother" to future Filipinos and women activists; and on the other, there were clashing perspectives of Western and non-Western feminisms in terms of a global sisterhood that unites women by virtue of gender along with the media's portrayal of the woman as a mother confined inside the household. The matter at the crux of this discussion is representation. The press and the media facilitate the images to which certain identities in society are tied, and as such are sites of power and manipulation. Wilhelmina Orozco comments on this by citing an instance in which the newspaper *Daily Express*, November of 1983, headlined an article as "Legalize Prostitution, Women Urge" after a copy-editor misread the second strategy about decriminalization. She stated how this event of a man confusing or meddling issues on women is a way in which the male-dominated society glosses over the concerns of women (32). This illustration suggests that the perspective forwarded by the women's groups in the 1980s serves as representation in only a number of sectors in society. The permeating nature of media and the press allows them to construct for the woman her identity, regardless of her say in the matter. This dynamic is also found in the "woman is object" metaphor, where the forces that determine the reality of the woman—her gender, class, and citizenship, reduce her to an object that lacks voice and feeling. In reaction to this, the women's groups used their state as a rallying cry for women, banding them together in order to reverse the injustices suffered by the women sector.

This section has shown the active nature of the woman, her potential in the effort toward both national and gender-specific liberation; however despite all this, there stood images and associations, so deeply ingrained in popular imagination l, that limit the woman's own view of herself. The issue of representation at the time rested on the women's sectors ability to subvert and re-orient wider society's biased perspectives on the woman's role. This served as a challenge to the women in the film industry in the 1980s:

Women engaged in film and videomaking have to think in terms of advancing the women's liberation cause and creating a positive image of women on screen as feminist filmmakers and video artists… As women, we have to content with the preponderantly male bias of stereotyping women, the characteristics of which we know already (Affirming Women's Perspectives in Film and Video).

The "woman is movement" and "woman is fighter" conceptual metaphors rally for the coming together of women in order to forward a gender-specific cause: the betterment of the woman's condition in society. This may lead us to assume that such efforts only emanated from the women sector and that the government failed to give importance to women's organizations, given the oppressive policies detailed in the analysis and the general disadvantaged position of women in society. This claim may be weakened by the existence of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, a government agency aimed at the full integration of women, men and youth for economic, social, and cultural development through the coordination of the government and organized private efforts (NCRFW 4). This agency was created in observance of the International Women's Year in 1975 and from then launched the Balikatan sa Kaunlaran, a program that identifies five major areas of concern: conservation, care for children, concern for environment, consumer protection, and commitment to justice. The main target of the BSK are women who constitute 49.4% of the population. It was established to encourage women to move into self-reliance with compassion and commitment to unity for national growth (NCRFW 5). This program advocated a new crop of civic leaders, echoing the efforts of the women sector discussed earlier, where community women were given the opportunity to "share and contribute practical information which is needed in planning and decision-making." The BSK chapter leaders, as of 1985, were all women, with 35% of them being wives of local executives and the rest belonging to this new crop of civic leaders (NCRFW 11).

The Balikatan sa Kaunlaran: A Profile of a Strategy, published in 1985, details how this program raised the women's level of awareness and mobilized them into five major projects, namely: literacy, skills development and training, meetings/lectures/seminars, scholarships, and distribution/solicitation of educational facilities (NCRFW 16). Over-all, the BSK emphasizes that right from the very beginning of implementation, "the women have already been esteemed as active participant-implementors and not mere passive recipients of national development programs" (NCRFW 26). This suggests that the government at the time, at least according to the texts they published, did not discourage women from organizing toward increased social visibility—an assumption seemingly supported by the texts from which the "woman is movement" and the "woman is fighter" metaphors were extracted.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This research project has worked to answer the problem: How is the notion of the "woman" constructed by the metaphors used in speeches and addresses by women published

in the Philippines in the 1980s? In answering this, the researcher combined George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Norman Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis. The set of data to which these theories were applied comes from anthologies and transcription of various proceedings speeches and addresses by women/women's groups. The sub-questions that were also answered in the study are the following: (1) What are the prevalent metaphors associated with the "woman"? ; (2) What characterizes the link between these metaphors and the socio-political environment at the time ?; (3) What metaphors mark the progression of speeches and addresses by women at key historical events of the 1980s? ; (4) What elements in the socio-political environment at the time influenced the writing and dissemination of these texts?

The study identified four main conceptual or identities of the "woman," the woman is home, the woman is fighter, the woman is movement and the woman is object. The most prevalent of these metaphors is the "the woman is home," having occurred 14 times in the 16 texts analyzed in this study. Its occurrence is equally distributed throughout the decade starting from 1980 to 1989. This metaphor conceptualized the woman as part of a "sisterhood" that forwards the advancement of discourse on women's issues, along with her being a "mother" to the future of the women's movement. This high frequency may be attributed to the use of the already prevalent image of the woman as a sister and a mother in popular culture to subvert its own traditional and patriarchal views on the woman. The women's groups at the time re-configured the idea of the sisterhood in order to provide a more grounded and inclusive dynamic in the women's movement.

The second most occurring metaphor is the "woman is fighter," having surfaced 12 times from 1985 to 1989. Here, the woman is situated in the site of battle for equal rights. She is pitted against the dictatorship and the prevailing patriarchal order. The 1980s has been cited as a time in which a more democratic space opened up for the expression of female sentiment. The "fight" for equal rights, at this time, may be seen as an established agenda for the women's groups, given the end of the Marcos regime halfway through the decade. In relation to this increase in female participation, the third most occurring metaphor is "woman is movement," having occurred 10 times from the years 1980-1989. This metaphor dealt with the prevalence of women's groups in the 1980s owing to the various socio-political events in the decade—"Through the years 1984 and 1985, linkages, networking, and solidarity work were strengthened for greater support and cooperation among women's organizations" (Lanot 68).

Lastly, the least occurring metaphor is "woman is object," which surfaced thrice in the years 1984,1988, and 1989. This mapping details the ways in which the woman was treated as an accessory or tool for the man's and the household's sake. The low frequency of this mapping may be due to the women's groups' changing view of their state in Philippine society. There was no denying the gross oppression suffered by the women from various sectors at the time, however, the women's groups displayed more effort in defining the woman in defining the woman within the folds of the movement, thereby establishing an active stance for the Filipina.

The link between these metaphors and the socio-political environment at the time is facilitated by the non-textual elements or institutions that produce and consume the speeches and addresses. The conceptual metaphors identify specific entities that figure into their consumption in larger society, namely: the administrations of Ferdinand Marcos and Cory Aquino, the labor policies, and the women's movement itself. The social class and political affiliations of the women's groups featured in the speeches and addresses did not affect the notions of the woman extracted from the data. Over-all, there was more of a gender-specific motivation behind the identities presented, owing to the more established democratic space afforded by the 1980s.

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Non-violence resistance - Understanding the concept of agency through life experiences of Baha'i women in post revolution Iran

Raha Sabet Sarvestany

Abstract:

In this paper I tried to understand the concept of agency through life experience of Baha'i women and men who had experiences with the Islamic government of Iran after1979 revolution. For that I focused on the interviews which are gathered in a book by Pooran Rahimi .My attempt in this paper was to understand how the concept of agency operated through resistance and religion and how agency could be defined through family and community, and what is the significances of Baha'i women agency?

This essay confirmed that the experiences of Baha'i women could be considered as a significant part of the history of Baha'i community. Also it is caused changes in the involved Baha'i woman's family attitudes, community operations, large society approaches, and even in the Islamic government's policies. My attempt was to realize how powerfully marginalized Baha'i women had an impact on socio- political structure of the community through non-violent, peaceful and religiously inspired actions in order to create awareness, knowledge and a call for social justice.

Key notes: Baha'i women, agency, resistance, Islamic government

Since the birth of Baha'i Faith's in Iran in mid-19th century by Mirza Hussein Ali Nuri, who is known also as Baha'u'llah, which is Arabic for the "Glory of God", it has faced opposition, resistance and persecution through different administrations of Iran. The persecution has arisen from a combination of religious and social factors. Religiously, many Shi'ite Muslims consider the Baha'i Faith as an Islamic heresy. In the Shiite side, Objectionable beliefs of the Baha'is include the idea that there are more prophets to come after Muhammad, that the Qur'an has been upgraded and interpreted by Baha'u'llah writings, that women should play an active role in society, and be equal to men, that there is no importance of the holy war (jihad), and that clergy are not essential due to increased literacy.

A major social factor leading to persecution of Baha'i is emphasis on education which places them in prominent occupations in society. This power and influence can be seen as threatening by the majority. Baha'is also denies the authority of Shi'ite jurisprudence and therefore the essence of Iran's government. Anti-Baha'i response increased under Ayatollah Khomeini. Although oppression slightly lessened in late 1988, Baha'is have always been viewed as illegitimate, enemy of Islam, of spying agent since some of their conferences were in foreign cities, and of being Zionist supporters since their headquarters are in Haifa, Israel. More than 200 Baha'i were arrested, tortured and executed after revolution and since 2005 more than 700 Baha'is have been arrested and more than 150 of them are still in prison. [1]

Love at the cost of life, is a Persian book written by Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), 2011[2]. In this book, she interviewed 33 Baha'i families that one of their family members was executed or was in prison, in the first decade of Iranian revolution. Pooran herself left Iran six years after revolution because her family was threaten and was under pressure by the Islamic government and their properties were confiscated by the Islamic government. In her explanation about the process of writing the book, she mentions that, first she requested a family for an interview and explained that she wanted to print out a book base on their experiences, if they agreed she presented in their home with a recorder. She mentioned that there was no complex or prepared questions for interview. She just asked to introduce them and then explained their life stories from the happy time of their life till they left Iran. She attached some letters and photos to the book .these are from the families who gave her letters and photos of their dearest who were executed.

She explained that the atmosphere of interview was full of deep emotions. The families after long years couldn't prevent their tears while they remembered their experiences. She mentioned same about her feeling while she was listening to the records to perform on the paper. Mrs. Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh) clearly pointed out that the reason of collecting

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[1]History of the Baha'i Faith and Special report of the Baha'i international community march 2013 by the Baha'i international community

[2]Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, 2011, Persian reviewing panel, Baha'i national center, USA

these life stories was to save some parts of the history that happened to the Baha'i community after Iranian revolution for the future generations.

I chose this book because I have access to the life experiences that were narrated by Baha'i women. The author of this book herself is another reason that I chose this book, because she was a woman, had experiences with the Islamic government after revolution, though she wrote a book as an outsider but I can follow her trace as an insider in a way she asked the questioned or chose her interviewees. I studied the book, summarized and translated the interviews. There are 33 interviewees, 27 women and 6 men. Most of the women have been the wife, daughter or sister of the people who were executed and among the people who were executed there were three women. Some of the interviewees experiences prison sentences and bear the witness of the events. Some of the stories which were narrated are quoted from the non Baha'i prisoners or security guards of prisons who explained what happened to the Baha'is in prison.

Most of the wives and children of these families have accepted gracefully whatever happened to their father/ mother and mentioned that it was part of the history of human kind which would effect on the lives of many people who would hear and read about them. They recognized their father/ mother not only as martyr but a real champion who stood in front of unjust regime and asked for their rights and social justice.

Most of the wives narrated that they had a mission from the Baha'i administration for going to visit the religious scholars and government heads of Islamic revolution, to know why they arrested Baha'is and where were the Baha'is who were abducted, and which authorities were responsible to reply to them. All of them mentioned that there was no answer for their questions or the authorities told them lie and made the unclear situation vague. Most of them understood that because the different offices of the government were not working in a harmonized way so they didn't know what the other parts were doing. Disunity and separation between the Islamic authorities made the situation of the Baha'is worse, because fundamentalist groups had a chance to harassed Baha'is. Some of the wives narrated though they had a Muslim friend who wanted to help them but still that person couldn't give them a proper answer for the lack of unity and coordination between Islamic authorities.

All of them articulated that their husband knew that the Islamic government would chase them and were sure that they would be arrested and killed sooner or later. But till the last minutes, they served Baha'i community sincerely and were totally detached to their family properties; moreover they were ready to give their life for their Faith. Also all of them tried to give a same message to their spouse and children in different ways, that they have to be ready for the traumatic dead news, and must pray for their soul. They asked for pray because they wanted to be strong in difficult time.

Most of the wives mentioned that their husband had this opportunity to get out of country before arresting by the Islamic government. They decided to stay in Iran and serve the Baha'i community and welcome the difficulties and suffering with open arms. They recorded that some of the non Baha'i prisoners who were released from the prison, tried to visit them and

explain stories and experiences that had with Baha'is in prison. They were proud that had a chance to be with Baha'i prisoners and observed their courage, faith and love for human kind. They narrated that Baha'is gave their life with joy and believed that their sacrificing would have an effect on the spirit of the world.

Most of the wives narrated how they supported each other while their husbands were in prison, abducted or executed by paying to visit Islamic authorities or arranging devotional gathering for the families that had lost a dear one, to conform them.

Some of The children of the Baha'Is who were executed, were out of Iran at that time to continue their studies and they did some activities related to the events that had happened to the Baha'i community. So usually they wrote the life experience of their father/ mother or translated their father/ mother letters to English and spread it through Medias. Also they did many interviews with news papers, magazines, TVs, and described about the violation of human rights and persecution of Baha'is in Iran. In this way they could raise up the awareness and attention of the world to the events in Iran. In fact those children found that serving is a spiritual and everlasting way to get them freed from the difficulties, pain and suffering.

Some of the wives were Muslim and some of the Baha'is who were executed were Muslim in their early life but after marriage or before that became Baha'i and devoted themselves to serve the faith and teaching the Baha'i principles to the others. All of them not only gave their life but also sacrifices their properties to the Faith and though they had opportunity to save their properties but they were happy to sacrifice their material goods on the way of their faith.

Most of the women narrated Baha'i prisoners were tortured mentally and physically by the Islamic government in different cruel ways and some of them were killed in barbaric ways. Some of these women saw the tortured and lifeless body of their dear ones and described what they saw. Also they narrated how the behavior of Baha'i prisoners had strong effect on their cellmates, especially their steadfastness at the time of torturing and being taken to the hanging place.

Most of the Baha'i prisoners narrated while they were in prison, some of the fundamentalist Muslims used to visit them and argue with them about the reality of Baha'i faith. Aim was to convince Baha'is to become Muslim. For that they carried some Baha'i books and read some parts of the books to prove to the Baha'i prisoners that the books are invalid and they were misled from the main path of Islam. But they couldn't reach to their aim because always Baha'is would explain to them the reality of Baha'i faith based on Quran and showed them the similarity between the essences of all religions.

Most of the women and men who were executed or jailed by the Islamic government were educated people and had jobs such as university professor, teacher, officer, doctor, engineer, and researcher, lower. Somewhere from middle class families and some of them were born in non Baha'i families but later on accepted the Baha'i faith and became as an active member of Baha'i community who serve the Baha'i administrative. Some of them also was born in

Baha'i family but got married to a non Baha'i. All the children who were born in these families accepted Baha'i faith as their religion.

Most of the families in this study had left Iran sooner or later after getting a temporary break from the difficulties and troubles that the Islamic government had made for them. In fact most of them were forced by the government to leave their country because their properties were confiscated and they and their kids were threatened to get abducted, arrested or killed if they remain in Iran.

As an example I would like to choose a few life stories which demonstrate agency, resistance and efficacy of Baha'i women in and out of prison.

Mrs. Badrol muluk Yazdani[3] narrated that her brother was arrested and in less than two months, the Islamic government informed her that he was executed and buried without notifying his family. Then Mrs. Yazdani husband and son were arrested. They were tortured in different ways, for example they used to cover their eyes and take them outdoor and were told that they wanted to kill them, and then they would hear a gunshot near their heads, without shooting to their heads or bodies, Then guards would opened their eyes and ask them to go back to their cell. She said that her daughter who was a teenager used to go to visit her father and brother. She was really overwhelmed by seeing their condition in prison because each time she witnessed how Muslims insulted her father, who was a symbol of inspiration for her, but at the same time he and her brother always made her happy and would give hope for better days.

She also narrated that the first day after executing her husband when her daughter went to school she found that all the students had worn black t-shirts under their school dresses. So she remembered her father's advice: "don't give in to sadness and difficulties, be strong and trust your faith in God ". Badrol muluk Yazdani left Iran with her children after execution of her husband because the government confiscated their properties. Her daughter needed a psychologist for a few years to get released from her pains and sorrows.[4]

Badrolmuluk Yazdani never talked about her role in her family in that traumatic time directly. But I can see her deep and effective influence on her daughter, son and husband. If she was not a strong woman to understand and manage the traumatic situations, if she was weak or passive in those difficulties and if she didn't have a deep belief in Baha'i faith, her

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[3] her brother and her husband were executed by the Islamic government in 1980 and her son was in prison for eight years and passed away after releasing from prison because of his sufferings and tortures that he bearded in prison time. They are from wealthy family and landowner and active in Baha'i administrative.

She mentioned she was a Muslim when she got married to her husband and after few years she became a Baha'i because she studied about the Baha'i faith and learned many things from her husband family and Baha'i community. Later on her brother who was a Muslim got married with a Baha'i girl. She mentioned that whenever I asked my sister in law that how my brother became a Baha'i, she always said that he just observed me whenever I was praying and listen to the Holy words, then he decided to become a believer.

[4] Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page15- 21

husband and son were not strong enough to resist against the tortures that Islamic government imposed on them and their family. She mentioned about her daughter in a way that she was really hurt each time after visiting her father, but she didn't mentioned how her daughter again and again went to visit her father and brother with hope and strong feeling and even went to school, one day after execution of her father to continue her studies.

For me the role of Mrs. Badrolmuluk Yazdanias a Baha'i woman was reflected on the character, feeling and resistance of her daughter, son and husband. Her agency not only consolidated the unity of her family against the persecution of Islamic government, but also had an effect on the relationship structure between Baha'i and non Baha'is. When she narrated that her daughter found her Muslim classmates had worn black t-shirts under their school uniform to show their sympathy to her, it means to me that the way Mrs. Badrolmuluk Yazdani had trained her daughter to accept the traumatic situation, made her daughter ready to courageously explain about their family's difficulties to her Muslim classmates. Clearly the Muslim classmates not only didn't condone the persecutory act but also showed their opposition and resistance to the Islamic policy with wearing black T-shirts under the school uniforms.

The agency of Mrs. Badrolmuluk Yazdani as a Baha'i believer is slightly different from other Baha'i women in this book, in a way that she was a Muslim from a Muslim family back ground, who accepted Baha'i faith after marriage, but her understanding from the Baha'i faith has made her such a strong and deep believer that made her aware of why she and her family must stand in front of the in just and prejudiced people. In my understanding her agency was rooted in her faith, because nothing else can make someone to accept difficulties and execution of her dearest one so majestically and with grace peace.

In another life experience, the Baha'i woman who interviewed was out of Iran when her parents were abducted and executed by the Islamic government. Mrs. Mona Mahmudi[5] narrated when her father was abducted her mother was alone in Iran, because, she and her brother and sister had left Iran to complete their studies few years before Iranian revolution. Her mother had used to write letter to them and whatever Mrs. Mona Mahmudi has mentioned in her interview was from those letters and also her mother's diary. In the last letter from her mother, she had wrote:" I cannot explain our condition in this unpleasant time, your father and many other Baha'is were abducted and executed by the government and we don't know anything about them, even our destiny is vague. I am proud that my time which before was valued by money, today is dedicated to serve people. There is no word to explain my deep spiritual feelings. The condition is very dangerous; there is no guaranty for going out and coming back home safely. I should be very careful because I don't know when the Islamic government would arrest me. That's why I am living with a Baha'i family, at least

[5]Her father abducted and her mother was executed by the Islamic government in1981. She mentioned that her mother was the first woman in Iran who was international representative from Iran in international conferences about aerology in the time of Shah. After revolution the Islamic government dismissed her from her duty. Then she became active in Baha'i community to serve in their social needs. She used to visit the families who one of their members were in prison or executed to give them hope.

some one knows about me if they arrest or abduct me. I can see a new creation of Baha'is around me, though they are burning in the fire of discriminations and persecutions but they are very strong and full of spiritual joy. They are welcoming calamities and disasters with the open heart. They scarified themselves and their properties for the love of Bahaullah. They are not at all similar to other people who are living in this country. My pen is unable to explain whatever I witness by my eyes, wish I could see you and describe loyalty and courageous of the Baha'i friends in these days. My children please pray for me. I am really tired; I want to go to prison like others. Anytime that I remember you in my pray, all my body shakes, I thought about my selfishness! I love you. Your mother".

Mona Mahmudi has written a book about her memory of her parents and attached all the letters and photos which had from them. In this book she has explained that the diaries from her parents in fact are part of the history of Baha'i community of Iran, because they wrote all the events that had happened to the Baha'i community. For example she explained that in her father 's dairy, he has written:" …with some of the Baha'is who are the members of Baha'i administration, we decided to visit some of the religious scholars and government heads of Islamic revolution to explain that the Baha'i community is not a political party and they are not against any groups or party, And explain that They are the citizens of Iran and respect and follow the constitution of Iran and Islamic government, And request them to explain why they abducted, arrested and executed some of Baha'is. But there was no clear answer. Everyone says lie and doesn't want to listen to our petition."

In another part of his diary he mentioned" … religious scholar and clergy men who are living in Ghom, refused to visit Mrs. Movahed, [6]who had asked for petition. When she asked what was the reason that they didn't accept to see her. they had replied:" your son deserved hanging, there is no need to see you", she had said:" why? Did he kill someone?" they had said:" he did worse, many Muslim youth become a Baha'i because of him". Poor lady she is a Muslim from a religious family. She can't understand what is happening around her." In another part he has written:" we are crying but there is no body to listen to us, though we are struggling to find an answer to our questions but there is answer, no justice. All the Baha'is tries to find a way to contact the Islamic government for petition but no one listen. We have No protector except God."

In another part, he narrated an experience about the father of Dr. Samandary who was executed by the Islamic government;" the day after Dr Samandary was executed, his father had gone to the hospital that his son used to work, to comfort his colleagues, also Dr. Samandary's father had gone to the office of his son and kissed his table .

Mona Mahmudi after getting the news about her executed mother with the help of the Baha'i administration of America, the country she used to live at that time , interviewed with tens of national and international TVs , radios, newspapers and explained about the situation of Baha'i community in Iran. In 1982 president Regan invited her to the white house for the

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[6]Mother of Mr. Movahed -one of the Muslim religious scholars who became a Baha'i few years before revolution of Iran and abducted by the Islamic government after revolution.

international human rights committee and asked her to describe the persecution of Baha'is in Iran. She said that those activities were a kind of treatment for her pains and sorrows.

"…Whenever I talked about my martyred parents, I feel comfort and get released from my pains." Mrs. Mona Mahmudi said when she heard that her mother also was executed, she cried until she lost her consciousness. She said:" while my brother and I were attending different interviews, our sister left her family for six months to serve people who were living in disadvantaged areas. She resumed peace and cures her sorrow and sadness through serving others."[7]

The agency of Mrs. Mona Mahmudi was created by her parents' letters and diaries. But the agency of her parents also was created by other Bahais who were executed by the Islamic government. In this case I can see the agency of Baha'i individual. It had not only framed the family structure but also structured the wider society, nationally and internationally. In this life experience I can elaborate on the influence of social and family role and agency of a woman/ man toward the family, community and state. For example the experience of Mrs. Movahed, shows how a woman can challenge a court decision with her words, when she simply had asked: "Did he kill someone?" and they had said:" he did worse, many Muslim youth become Baha'i because of him".   Or the father of Dr. Samandary challenged the authority of decision makers with his action that made them speechless, even the state didn't do any reaction to him when he went to the hospital and comfort Dr. Samandary colleagues. In fact if Dr. Samandary was a spy and a guilty person, his father must not go to his work place and consolidate Muslims.

To me it means that either the Islamic government knew that Baha'is were not spy and guilty and they killed them just for the sake of state security as they did to other political parties in Iran. In order to give a message to the Baha'i community and other political and religious minorities that there is no place for them in the Islamic government. Or they were really suspicious and wanted to know who really they were. They really wanted to know how the Baha'i community nationally and internationally would react to the Islamic state policies. Moreover how the countries like America, Britain and Israel would react with the Islamic government.

Historian researchers claimed that Khomeini overthrew Shah from Iran by the help of America and some western countries which couldn't tolerate Shah's authority in Middle East. [8] Khomeini himself broke all the diplomatic relationships with foreign countries at his time. It seems Khomeini was suspicious to each and every political and religious minority who lived in Iran, in case if they were related to any foreign countries that helped them to get power against the Islamic government. It could be one the reason that the Islamic state killed the Baha'i s in the first decade after revolution.

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[7]Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 22-39

[8] Nahavandi, Hooshang(1971). The last days of Shah. Ketabnak.com. and Parsons ,Anthony(1974-1979).the pride and the fall, translated by Rastin , Manochehr

Based on Islamic constitution and law[9], there is no other reason for killing someone legally just when she/he killed another one purposely. But discrimination and injustice policy of Islamic government based on religious basis for killing Baha'is, had forced them to say or do something that were not reasonable and acceptable even for an old woman who simply sought for her son. The bravely attempts of parents to find their abducted and killed children, gave clue to the Baha'i administrations too, nationally and internationally, that there was no rational and legal reason for abducting, arresting and killing Baha'is.

In Mrs. Mona Mahmud's mother letter, I can see how the resistance of Baha'is rooted in their faith, love of Bahaullah and His teachings. When her mother described about the courage, love, loyalty, spiritual joy, sacrifice, and welcoming calamities and disasters by the Baha'i individuals and community with the open heart, in fact she was explaining her feelings and attitudes. She was reflecting her understanding about the difficulties and persecutions. Moreover she made ready her children for the hard time which was going to come. Her agency as a Baha'i woman also reflected in her children after her execution, when they decided to share the news about the Baha'i community in Iran in western Media and put pressure to the Islamic government to stop discrimination toward Baha'is.

In the life experience of Mrs. Vajdieh Rezvani (Naaji)[10], I can detail the agency of a Baha'i woman encountering the state. She challenged, questioned, resisted and finally transformed the policy of state toward her family. Mrs. Vajdieh Rezvani narrated that one day few soldiers came to her house and asked for her husband. When she said that she did not know where he was, they started biting her with their guns, shouting and pulling her hair and finally pushed her to the kitchen. Noises called neighbors toward her house, but none of them could be of any assistance because they really scared of government. At the end one of the guards had said:" we put you in jail then you will tell us where your husband is." She narrated:" they wanted to cover my head with a plastic bag but one of them was disagree, then they pushed me to a car and one of them sat close to me. On the way, I was praying but one of the soldiers shouted me, so I kept quiet. "She mentioned about a soldier that was very impolite and all the time insulted her. Before reaching to the Evin prison they told Mrs. Vajdieh Rezvani that a soldier found a micro film in her house and she had asked that what the micro film mean was.

Vajdieh Rezvani (Naaji) explained:" they asked me to seat on the floor and nobody talked to me. After few hours a nasty man took me to a room and asked me why I was there? I said:"I don't know, they wanted to arrest my husband and he was not home so arrested me. God knows that I didn't do anything wrong." He told me impolitely:" which God, you Baha'i people don't believe God" I said:" if you believe God too, then you would be next to me not in front of me". He said:" it seems that you don't know who I am" I said:" I have to call my attorney" he said:" you want to see your attorney?!" then he asked the soldier to take me to a solitary cell. It was a very dark, small and dirty cell. The weather was very cold so I covered the floor with my coat and sat on it. I couldn't control my tears, but I told myself that I am in jail because of the love of Bahaullah and my Faith to Him so I have to be strong. I was in

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[9]Constitution of the Islamic of republic of Iran (1979).

[10]Mrs. Vajdieh Rezvani (Naaji)'s husband abducted by the Islamic government in 1980

prison for 17 days; I think I was the first Baha'i woman who was taken to jail at that time. It was a very difficult situation for me, especially one day the interrogator insulted me and Baha'i faith for hours. After that I couldn't control myself, my body shook so I asked for a doctor and he gave me painkiller to become calm and relax.

When I was in prison my husband and brothers in law visited some of the religious scholars and government heads of Islamic revolution, like the son of Ayatollah Khomeini and asked them:" who are the group that arrested my wife, please tell me then I will go and introduce myself to released my wife "he said that they are a crazy and dangerous group, don't show yourself to them." After I released our life style became worse, I couldn't see my husband, he always changed his place but once a while we could see each other for a lunch in a restaurant. My husband explained to me what happened at that time when the soldiers came to our house to arrest him. He said that while I was talking to them my husband called some of the members of Baha'i administration and told them that the Islamic guards came to arrest him. The members of Baha'i administration advised him to run away, so he ran away by the help of our maid. My husband and I loved each other, so whatever happened, we tried to understand the situation and support each other emotionally.

 Finally he and other members of Baha'i administration were arrested and after that we never found any news about them. But with the help of other wives, I could visit few of the religious scholars and authorities of Islamic revolution to ask what happened to my husband and others. There was no answer and they always said that they don't know who arrested them, where they were and what happened to them. "[11]

In fact Vajdieh Rezvani (Naaji) is a symbol of resisting state policy toward Baha'is, because the Islamic government thought if they kept her in prison, her husband would give up to the Islamic government, but he didn't, instead he visited high rank authorities of Islamic government to know who were the people that had arrested his wife, and had abducted other Baha'is and what was the issue. In his letter he explained carefully what he did and why. Vajdieh Rezvani (Naaji) has kept this letter that her husband had written while she was in prison. He wrote:" my dearest Vajdieh my heart is full of your love. Since last Thursday that they have arrested you my eyes is crying blood. You are such a brave woman; you went to prison instead of me. How I can accept this oppression on you. I didn't run away, God and you are witness that I am ready for any oppression and persecution, but I want to know who are the people that abducted Baha'is or arrested you. These days I visited the son of Ayatollah Khomeini and other authorities and told them that I am ready to go to prison but please let me know, who are the people that arrested my wife and other Baha'is and they didn't reply to me. You know how much I love you and our children. Please pray for me to be strong when they will arrested and torture me. When you get released from the prison tell everyone that we were innocent and Baha'i faith is for peace and love. We Baha'is didn't do anything except serving mankind. It is difficult to say good bye to you, my love. I and our children are proud of you. I hope that I would be worthy enough to drink from the cup of calamities."

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[11]PooranRahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 46-59

This letter and life experience of Vajdieh Rezvani (Naaji) indicate how the history of Baha'i community after Islamic revolution through all the persecution and difficulties formed by the Baha'i men and women who had varied attitudes toward difficulties, suffering and distressing moments. Both of them despite of their gender followed their faith, forgot their interests, families and own self and focused on whatever was beneficial for everyone. Vajdieh Rezvani (Naaji) was the first woman who got arrested by the Islamic government in order to force her husband to introduce and give up himself to prison, but in fact her resistance and steadfastness changed the policy of state toward this family and other families. They released her because they couldn't reach to their goal and found that this kind of strategy also would not work for the Baha'i community because they are ready for imprisonment and at the same time they want to know what are the reasons that Islamic government arrest, abduct and kill them. Indeed they look for their social and human rights, justice and clarification of the truth.

The life experience of Mrs. Bahereh Motlagh, Mrs. Afsaneh Habibi and Mrs. Rozita Habibi is important when I want to enlighten the agency of Baha'i woman as a mother, wife and daughter. They narrated about the seven Baha'i who were tortured and killed by the Islamic government in Hamadan in 1980. among these seven Baha'is, there were husband of Bahereh Motlagh and father and uncle of Afsaneh and Rozita Habibi.

Afsaneh and Rozita Habibi explained that on those days, the children of those families who were in different ages reacted to the traumatic situation by looking at their mothers. For example in the first meeting that all the children along with their mothers had with their fathers in prison, the youngest one started crying. Others asked her:" why are you crying, you should be happy?" She cleaned her tears and said:" no I am not crying, the rays of sun bothers my eyes!" in another part they narrated that each Monday was the day for visiting the prisoners but the authorities of prison always made trouble for the Baha'is and they didn't allow them to go and visit their families. So while the mothers went to talk to the authorities to give them permission to visit their husbands, they asked their children to pray and told them:"please continue you're pray, the door would be opened if you pray" and the children just kept chanting the pray even when the authorities didn't give them permission to visit their fathers.

Afsaneh was a young girl when she got the news that her father was killed, looked at her mother's eyes and asked:" what happened?" her mother said:" everything got finished" she looked again at her mother's face and asked:" what do you mean by everything got finished?" and her mother looked at her eyes and with strong emphasis said:" my sweetheart, don't you remember the last time when you visited your father, he hugged you so hard that you told him your bones were breaking? ." Afsaneh said remembered while she couldn't stand on her feet, sat down and cried loudly. But her mother didn't cry.

Afsaneh narrated that the news about the seven Baha'is who were killed by the Islamic government spread in the city very soon and everyone went to the hospital to know what the reasons were that the Islamic government killed them. All the residents knew these people very well because they served them for many years as a doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer… the window of the room that their bodies were placed, was broken, therefore every one could

see how the agents of Islamic government by torturing had killed those well known Baha'is. Some of the people after seeing those bodies beat their head, some of them cried and some of them were speechless. When the hospital authorities gave the lifeless bodies to their families, they put the bodies in a broken ambulance so again there was a chance for everyone to witness that cruelty. The father of one of the killed Baha'is, who was 75 years old, started walking in front of the ambulance so the driver couldn't drive very fast toward cemetery. Behind the ambulance a crowed of Baha'i and Muslim residents were walking. She explained that for a while Baha'is were chanting their Baha'i prayers and then Muslims started chanting their Muslim prayers, but later on all united chanted together "O Bahaullah". It took almost one and half hour to reach to the Baha'i cemetery.

 Although the agents of Islamic government were present and walked between the people but they couldn't say anything they just observed and took photos. The burial ceremony latest till late afternoon, because after washing each body, all went for the last good bye and then all together prayed for the departed. Afsaneh Habibi narrated" I didn't see the body of my father or others but still it is difficult to cut meat while I want to cook" .she explained that those days she was very young and when she heard that her father was killed, became speechless. She was in the bus behind of the ambulance and could see how people came out of their shops and houses and looked surprisingly at the crowed that were chanting pray. Suddenly she got courageous enough to break her silence and brought her head out from the window and addressed the crowed "come and see what happened to the Baha'is". She said:" I remember those days that we used to go for visiting my father and other Baha'is who were in prison. All seven were in one small cell.

It was clear that they cleaned the cell and organized their clothes and personal things in that small cell carefully. It seemed they spent lots of time to adjust the condition of cell for their living. The best part was the way treated us in the time of visiting. They cut fruits and bought some biscuits and offer tea to us. They tried to make fun of their difficulties so we just laughed while we were listening to them. Also they tried to do some handicrafts and present to us or send them to their friends by us. Other prisoners were blessed to have them and they wanted to do something for them. One of the prisoners told my mother that he would like to do something for these people because they were very kind and helped others. My mother asked him to transport the letters that my father was writing in the prison. It was forbidden and if the head of the prison would find him taking prisoner letter to outside prison he would be punished very badly. But he said that he wanted to do it. So my father wrote long letters and in each of them explained about the situation of prison and their interrogations. "

Bahereh Motlagh said:" when our husbands were arrested, some of us (their wives) became the members of Baha'i administration and served the Baha'i community to find solution for the difficulties that the Islamic government created at that time. There were many students who were getting fired from their school because they were Baha'is some of the shops were closed by the Islamic government because the owner was a Baha'i. We also used to go and visit the religious scholars and Islamic authorities in Islamic court to explain to them that Baha'is are not against the Islamic revolution and Islam, why they arrested them or fire them from their schools and jobs? But there was no reply."

She narrated the day when she saw the bodies of the seven Baha'is in the hospital:" one of my neighbors called me and said that one of the nurses who worked in Imam Khomeini Hospital, had called her and said that in early morning some soldiers brought some dead bodies from prison, may be they were Baha'i prisoners. Inform their families to come and take them. It was around 10 am .I went to the hospital and searched for the lifeless bodies. A watchman took me to a dark and dirty room. The lifeless bodies of our dear ones were fallen on top of each other while they were full of dried blood. Their clothes were torn and their bodies were tortured in a barbaric way. One of them had a whole in his belly, two hands of another one seemed to have been pressed by a press machine, the legs of another one were torn and the back of a next one was burned by iron. I couldn't hold my tears; I cried and said loudly O Bahaullah.

But I was proud of them that they were steadfast in their faith. Then I came out of the room and went to the open yard of the hospital. There were many people who asked me what happened to them. They could see the bodies from the broken window, but they couldn't believe what they saw. Why they were killed like that? I explained to them that they were Baha'is and because they didn't recant their faith they were killed. I said:" you must know them; they served you for many years as a teacher, lawyer, and doctor. Did they do anything wrong to you? Their crime was their faith; truthfulness and serving people, nothing else. The watchmen of the hospital came to me and said:" you are in danger, the agents of the government are around you, please be quiet and stop talking". I thanked him but I couldn't be silent. Again I started talking to people, I replied to the questions."

She mentioned that her husband in one of the meetings had told her and her daughters that the Islamic government threatened him that if he didn't recant his faith then they would harass his wife and his daughters. And he replied that whatever they wanted, they could do but he would never recant his faith. She explained that all the city residents heard about the event. The same they the sky became full of black clouds and a strong wind blew with a heavy dust arose in the city and there was a heavy rain in entire night. The day after that everyone was saying that God showed His wrath and nature cried for heedless people who did such a barbaric act.

Afsaneh Habibi narrated after burial ceremony, they went back home but the face of everyone showed pain and sorrow. She didn't want to see anyone so she turned away to avoid seeing anyone. The whole night was terrible but the following day she decided to control her feelings, because she knew that many people would come for comforting and sympathizing. Therefore she asked some friends to help her to prepare tea and sweets to welcome people. Her mother was so sad and her uncle who washed her brother's lifeless body the last day, was crying hardly and couldn't control his emotions. He was such a strong man the day before but that day he was very sad and repeatedly asked people not to talk about the events of yesterday. Because He could see how much the wife of his brother and his parents suffered each time when the experience of yesterday was mentioned. [12]

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[12]PooranRahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 60-113

The agency of Baha'i women in their family as a mother is clearly demonstrated in this life experience. effected on children with words, deeds, emotions, faith and is amazing .When Afsaneh Habibi narrated how all the children waited behind of the gate of the prison to meet their father, I can understand that it was not a passive act, but it was a spiritual journey for them, because their mother asked them to pray and mentioned that their pray would be effective. The experience of the little girl who wanted to explain the reason of her tears and pain in another way, indicated that she reflected her mother and other Baha'i women around her, that they didn't want to give in such hard times. Again in another part of this experience I can see how Afsaneh Habibi articulated about her feeling the day after the event, while she tried to be strong enough to manage the situation as she decided to ask for help to welcome to the people who were coming to her home. She reflected her mother's strength in last few mounts, while her father was in prison. In fact Baha'is tried to practice Baha'i teachings in their everyday life even more meticulously in hard times because they knew that there was no other refuge for their helplessness except their faith.

In the life experience of Bahereh Motlagh as a wife, there are many indications that show how her agency resisted state policy in a way that they couldn't stop her public speech about the legitimacy of Baha'i faith, though they completely disagreed with public speeches by dissidents. Also couldn't stop her responsibility toward Baha'i community while she and other Baha'i women accepted to continue their husband's duty and service inside Baha'i community and visited Islamic authorities to ask for their civil rights, the task that their husbands were accused for that. Moreover when her husband told her that the Islamic government had threatened him if he didn't recant they would harass his wife and daughters. Although she didn't explain more but there is a message from him to his family that the Islamic government will do anything to convince him to recant, but he will not give up. Another message here is that Bahereh Motlagh must be ready and make her daughter ready for more unexpected events. For me nothing just their faith could explain why they were ready to accept persecution without hate and anger but with the spirit of service and dedication.

Few of the wives left Iran when their husbands were in prison, or were out of Iran when their husbands were arrested by the Islamic government. But still they had their influences on their family and society. In the experience of Mrs. Ruhieh Azizi[13] who was out of Iran at the time of execution of her husband I read my husband was executed after one and half year ago with ten other Baha'is. When the news came to us, we decided to translate his letters and spread them in Medias of UK. Many contacted us and asked for interview. My daughter and i did interviews with many news papers, magazines and TV s and talked about the Baha'i situation in Iran and explained how the Islamic government killed Baha'is because they didn't recant their faith. In our city in the presence of the mayor of the city we planted a tree in the name of my husband and they placed a bench in the name of him on which was written: in memory of Habibualh Azizi 1981, *"The earth this but one country and mankind its citizens. Bahaullah"*.

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[13]She was in UK when her husband arrested and killed by the Islamic government on 1980.

Mrs. Ruhieh Azizi role in her society shows that her agency has gone beyond her family and Baha'i community, nationally and internationally. She had created awareness in a western society, which had been far from the events of Iran. Her agency was not for destroying the Islamic state but for showing the world what Baha'i faith was and why Baha'is of Iran sacrificed their lives instead of recanting their faith. There is one letter from her husband which spread in western society through Medias by her. "Although I am in the corner of this prison, but from my bottom of my heart I pray for the unity of mankind, and establishment of great peace in the world. I am satisfied with the divine destiny and mission and beg you to be content with my decision and whatever would happen to me." Mrs. Ruhieh Azizi said that from that letter she understood that her husband would never come back home again.[14]

In Most of the life stories, women and men narrated that non Baha'is were really touched by the behavior and steadfastness of Baha'is . It seems that the Islamic government and people have two different approaches toward Baha'is. The state considered Baha'is as enemy of Islam and against Islamic government, ordinary people considered them as their brothers and sisters in hardship time. There are few life experiences which show how ordinary people regarded Baha'is; Mr. Sirus Asadollahzadeh's father was executed by the Islamic government on 1980. The Islamic government never allowed his family to meet him while he was in prison. But later on, after his execution a Muslim man who was with Baha'i prisoners came to Mr. Sirus Asadollahzadeh family and narrated:" Baha'i prisoners used to serve others based on their profession. For example if someone was a doctor he would visit and cure patients. So inmates liked and respected them so much. I remember the night that the guards called and took Baha'is for execution; all the prisoners turned off the lights and started praying loudly. At first Muslim prisoners were chanting Allah o Akbar and Baha'i prisoners were chanting Allah o Abha, and then all together were chanting Allah o Abha, While they could hear the soldiers were shooting some Baha'is out on open backyard of prison.[15]

In another experience Mrs. Aghdas Farid narrated from a Muslim man who was with her husband in prison. He had said:" then the time came that Mr. Farid was called for execution. I cried and asked him to recant his faith for the sake of his children, but Mr. Farid said that he was glad to sacrifice his life for the sake of oneness of human kind. Then he gave his watch and coat to me and said good bye with a beautiful smile that I never forget that smile."Or in the experience of Afsaneh Habibi when she narrated:"Behind of the ambulance a crowed of Baha'i and Muslim residents were walking. for a while Baha'is were chanting their Baha'i prayers and then Muslims were chanting their Muslim prayers, but later on all became united and chanted together "O Bahaullah".[16] It shows that the policy and actions of Islamic government were not approved the witnessing people.

From the life experiences I could realize that there was no unity and harmony between the Islamic authorities against Baha'is in the first decade after revolution. Though all of them recognized Baha'is as an enemy to Islam but there was no rational reason. Because their understanding about the Baha'i faith was based on religious biases which came from the

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[14]Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 126-137

[15]Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 120-127

[16]Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 114-119

fundamentalist Muslim clergy who saw its benefits in jeopardy by Baha'i teachings and principles. Those fundamentalists not only saw Baha'is as enemy but also whoever was open-minded and enlightened was also considered as enemy. [17]May be for that reason , they couldn't give a proper answer to the Baha'i families and even to international voices which asked them what are the reasons for persecuting Baha'is in Iran.

To me there is another aspect also, may be the unclear and uncertain situation which the Islamic government was created for Baha'i community, allowed it to understand Baha'i administration. Baha'i administration was initially considered as a foreign agency aiming to destroy Islamic culture and Islamic government. It seems the Islamic government could know the nature of this religious organization better through Interrogations and also explanations that Baha'is articulated in Islamic court to defend themselves. The life experience of Mr. Faran Ferdowsi shows how the Islamic government tried to break the resistance of Baha'is and how was the approach of Baha'is to their traumatic situations.

Mr. Faran Ferdowsi[18]narrated:" we were 14 Baha'is who were active in Baha'i administration along with some other arrested Baha'is. They jailed us in a small cell. There was a window without glass and the weather was very cold. They gave each of us two small blankets. We covered the floor with one and with the anther one covered ourselves. There was no place to sleep so we slept while we were sitting. On the second day of our incarceration one of the Islamic authorities who was well-known for torturing Baha'is came to our jail and said:" come out "when we went out he asked each of us individually:" are you a Baha'i?" and started insulting us and said:" how you Baha'is dare to have meeting in Islamic government?" and started beating us with his boots and slapped hardly on our faces then shoved us to the same jail.

After one hour again he called us and gave us a black cloth to cover our eyes, and then he asked us to stand in one line and put our right hand on the right shoulder of a person who was in front. Then a soldier gave a napkin to the first person and said:"hold the other end; you Baha'is are impure so I cannot touch you." He started walking and we followed him with closed eyes in a line. But he never informed the first person that there was a tree in front of him or there was a pit in front of his foot, so we used to fall down or bump into something. I think he made these accidents purposely, because after each of these events he was laughing. As we walked, we reached to some steps, while we were walking up the steps, some soldiers who were waiting for us started beating us with their boots and slapped on our faces very badly.

 Finally we reached to the roof. There was snow and the weather was very cold. They put chair for us and asked us to seat on the chairs with covered eyes. After few minutes the same man who had beaten us the night before came. He was called Toloee. He came and again cursed us and said:" who gave these Baha'is chairs?" They took the chairs and we sat on the

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[17] UKessays. Understanding the enemay system theory politics essay.http://www.ukessays.com/essays/politics/understanding-the-enemy-system-theory-politics-essay.php

[18]His Father was executed by the Islamic government in 1981; Faran arrested with his father the same day and was in prison for few months. He has been a witness that saw many things with his eyes.

floor on snows. In such a cold weather once in a while some guards came and asked us:" raise your hands if you are still a Baha'i?" and each time when we raised our hands they beat us very hard. It happened more than four or five times. For many days they did to us the same as our body became bruised .Another day for lunch they brought us rice and chicken. But there was no spoon, so one of us asked for spoons. They brought some spoons that were very dirty. We couldn't use them so started having the food with our hands, suddenly Toloee came and asked what the lunch was. When he understood that they gave the same food to the Baha'is as other inmates had, he said:" chicken is not for the Baha'I s take their chicken to the other prisoners." When we finished the food they asked:" who are the Baha'is?" and again soldiers beat us very badly.

The other day they took us for interrogation with covered eyes. Usually the interrogators asked first question, after we replied they opened our eyes and would asked us to write the answer on the paper. Then the next question, after replying the next questions, first they beat our heads and slapped our faces then opened our eyes and asked to write down the answer. For ten questions almost we had to seat on the floor which was very cold for eight or nine hours. They took us for interrogation several times and always the questions were the same. Most of the questions were about the degree of affluence and fanatical assets of inmates or other Baha'is. For example they asked how much money you have in your bank account, or what is your car? Also we were asked about other Baha'is address and phone numbers. Toloee had such a strange hatred toward Baha'is, with his will they put us in a jail that was for opiate addicts. That jail was 70 square meters and 200 people were placed there. In fact we couldn't breathe properly. Upon our arrival there was no place for us to sit so we stood up for hours till some of the prisoners went out and then we could find a place to sit. We had to sleep while sitting. The weather of that cell was so polluted that all of us got sore throat. One night a 60 year old man died because of the situation of room.

Every day between 10 to 12 am the guards were whipping the prisoners for different reasons in front of the cells and we could hear their whining and complains. There was not enough food so most of the time prisoners fought harshly for food. All those things made the situation really unbearable. One time my father said:" if we go out and say what we saw with our eyes, nobody would believe." One day after interrogation they asked us to stand in a line facing wall. While we stood up, we heard the voice of a Baha'i woman who was replying to an interrogator. He asked her to repeat a verse of Quran that she explained to him before in order to answer his question. When she repeated, he said:" you Baha'is interpret the verses of Quran in a way that you like". The he came and started beating us very badly. This time the person who slapped us had a very big hand so whoever he slapped fell down. The other guards helped the person to stand up and again that person would slap him.

The other day they called us and asked to seat on a chair with covered eyes. We could understand that we were in the place that Muslims used to pray collectively. While the Muslims prayed few guards came to us and asked us to say:" down with Bahaullah or down with Baha'i". No one said that They bet on 100 Tomans (one dollar) to beat us until we say , then they brought a cable and asked each of us to say "down with Bahaullah ". None of us repeated it so they beat our nose 20 times with that cable. They said:" till you don't say it we

will beat you" they became really angry because of our silence. The weather was very cold so our noise was very sensitive so each whip of the cable was really painful and intolerable. Finally they stopped when the other guards finished their pray.

They took us to our cell, when we opened our eyes; we started laughing because our noses became like a clown. At night when the interrogator asked me what happened to your nose, the soldier who was with me said:" he fell down when I took him to the toilet." I thought with myself why he said such a lie; I am in prison and what they want to do more to me. So I said:" he is telling a lie, he beat us for almost one hour". The interrogator took him to another room. I could hear their talking. He said:" don't torture Baha'is anymore". After that day no soldier or guard beat us but Toloee always used to slap us on face. My father one day said:" all of you were tortured once but I was tortured twice, one time when they beat me and one time when they beat my son".

He also explained to me when his father became a Baha'i, some of the fundamentalist Muslims arrested him along with some other Baha'is and put them in jail and said if they didn't recant from Baha'i faith they would give them the food for cow and donkey. Baha'is said:" we will eat the food for animal but never recant from the Baha'i faith". My father continued:" you are the third generation believing in Baha'i faith and still Muslims torture us to recant our faith. Still they can't believe that Baha'is never recant their faith." He said:" it is because of us, we are as Baha'is has duty to teach Bahaullah's teachings and principle to the world through our words and actions. But we don't do it properly. We became busy with our work, studies, families and some useless activities."

Another Baha'i prisoner said:" when I became a member of Baha'i administration after revolution, I knew that I would be arrested sooner or later, so I tried to not become close and attached to my two year old son, because it would become a big trial for me to leave him." Most of Baha'is said that they had a chance to be out of Iran before getting arrested, but they chose to be in Iran in those rough times time , to help Baha'i community and they knew that though they were in prison , others they were serving the Baha'i community. Their spirits were strong, with all the tortured, they were ready for more and didn't want to give up to the Islamic government and recant their faith. They believed that their dedication and loyalty to the Baha'i faith would awake the dark hearts and sleeping souls in all over the world toward the fact of Baha'i principles which are the remedy of the world's pains. "[19]

I as an Iranian Baha'i who had similar experiences endorsed that even after more than 170 years, still Islamic authorities continue persecuting Baha'is in different ways for different reasons, May be not just because of recanting their faith but for controlling, discriminating and eliminating Baha'is in Iran. It seems that the historical discrimination of Baha'is in Iran had made them ready to bear the difficulties. In fact the historical experiences of persecution of Baha'is in Iran and the consequences have been always in the memory of Baha'i individual and community. That is why Baha'is followed up their ancestors approach and action to the persecution. Although the authoritarian has changed their strategies throughout

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[19]Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 210-233

history, for example after revolution they killed almost 300 Baha'is in the first decade, but after that they changed their policy and just imprisoned them. Also in the first decade of revolution they physically tortured or abducted Baha'is, but after that they put Baha'is in jail but they deprived from their prison rights.

The agency and non violence resistance of Baha'is, individual and community, has shifted the Islamic state strategies although in the power relation structure, still Baha'is was seen as outsider. The Islamic government has called Baha'is enemy, spy and infidel. I am using consciously the word of "Islamic" for state /government, because in my opinion any religious state/ government could do the same to the religious minorities in a same way, unless the state/ government become secular in their constitution and political strategies. It seems Calling Baha'is as enemy has a historical background. Muslim fundamentalist was completely disagreed with the state development programs at the time of Qajar and Reza Shah Pahlavi. In fact many of the Shah's measures were consciously designed to break the power of the religious hierarchy. His educational reforms ended the clerics' near monopoly on education. To limit further the power of the clerics, he undertook a codification of the laws that created a body of secular law, applied and interpreted by a secular judiciary outside the control of the religious establishment. He excluded the clerics from judgeships, created a system of secular courts, and transferred the important and lucrative task of notarizing documents from the clerics to state-licensed notaries. Muslim fundamentalist called those changes westernization and recognized them against the Islamic culture and traditions[20]. They got them as a dangerous to their authorities and identified all the signs which were different with their understanding of Islam, anti Islam. The Baha'i faith also came to exist during that time. Most of the social teachings like equality between men and women and that clergy are not essential due to increased literacy were objected as western idea by clergies; therefore they became against Baha'i faith and identified it as an enemy of Islam.

Another face of Islamic government strategy toward Baha'is has designated in the life experience of Mr. Enayatollah Sefidvash and Mr. Riyaz Sana.[21] They narrated that interrogators usually asked about the properties of Baha'is, the name, address and phone number of other Baha'is, about the Baha'i administration, about if Baha'is would obey the Islamic government, and the main question was if they recant their faith or not. They recorded that there was a court that all the Baha'is token there and told them that they were spy of Israel and other countries like America and they sent money to them, and The only way for releasing them from the prison was to recant their faith.

Usually court called them for three times and if they didn't recant then they would be executed them. And each time after court they tortured Baha'is. Mr. Enayatollah Sefidvash and Mr. Riyaz Sana articulated:" there was a small place under the stairs, which was two meters in two miters, there was no light and heat, very cold and semi dark. We were nine

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[20] The era of Reza Shah. Iran table of content. . And. Nlemar(2012).Islamic Backlash: Westernization and the Iranian Revolution.

[21]They were in prison for different reason but both of them were in prison at the same time with other Baha'is who was executed by Islamic government on 1982-83. They explained the situation and the place that the Baha'is was there.

Baha'is who lived in this place for 50 days. We didn't have enough places to sit let alone to sleep. Each of us had a plastic bag for our personal things that was hanged on the wall. Some of us were old so the others who were younger always tried to give more comfort to the older ones. Each prisoner had ration, but we used to share all the foods. We used to pray every morning together and if any of us was called for interrogation, others used to pray for him. Every Tuesday and Wednesday few men with black masks that we could see only their eyes would come to the prison and called some people. Those people were candidate for execution. It was such a terrible time, nobody could talk and for hours every where was quiet.

Mr. Sana narrated how a Baha'i defended in Islamic court:" one of the Baha'is who was executed by the Islamic government, after last court had said:" the judge told us if you don't recant your faith you will be executed. I asked the judge to give me permission to talk, and he accepted. I explained about the Baha'i principles and teachings. Then I described the duty of Baha'i administration very clearly that they serve Baha'i community for social issues, and then I clarified that Baha'is respect Islam and Quran and obey the Islamic government as far as it is not against the Baha'i teachings. And finally I asked him: is there any Baha'i between the political prisoners? He said: no. then I said: so Baha'is never gets involved in political parties. Then I asked: is there any Baha'i between heroin addict prisoners? He said: no. I said: the duty of Baha'i administration is to educate Baha'is for prevention of getting addicted. Then I said:" all the Baha'is are the same, whether be a member of administrative body or not. If you kill us then others will continue our duties. You don't have any choice; either you should kill all the Baha'is in Iran or exile all of them from the country or accept them as citizen of this country and live with them in peace. The judge didn't say anything just looked at us."

He mentioned that after last court all the Baha'is who had accepted to give their lives instead to recanting their faith, they totally had a change in their attitude toward what they might want to do. One of them who was always saying that he wants to be alive and serve people, now was ready for giving his life, the other one told me:" when you got release you ,should narrate for others what happened to us and why we decided to give our lives instead of recanting our faith. Our story is part of the history of Baha'i faith. New generations has a right to know about this part of history." When the security guards called Baha'is for execution their sentence, 260 prisoners who were in their cells stood up as a sign of respect and everybody was silent; those people said good bye to everyone and they went toward their destiny. [22]

All the life experiences indicated that the Islamic government didn't have any rational evidences for charging Baha'is. In the court they charged them for something that none of them was based on truth. Indeed the Islamic court charged them based on their understanding of Baha'i faith and Baha'i administration and they never listen to the defended that Baha'is articulated to them. According to the constitution of Iran, if somebody charged as a spy should executed[23], so if Baha'is really recognized as a spy why they gave them another

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[22]PooranRahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 240-250, 275-287
[23]Constitution of Islamic of republic of Iran.

option? They asked them to recant their faith and they would be released. It seems that they were also sure that Baha'I s were not spies. But if in any case Baha'is recant their faith, then they could reach to two important achievements; one is that Baha'is accepted that they are spy and also became Muslim and second they could make a file for international impunity that whatever they did to the Baha'i community was correct and legal and Baha'is itself signed and accepted that they were spy of foreign countries. But the agency of Baha'is in this resistance with giving their life changed the mindset of the Islamic government toward Baha'is, they never recant their faith, even they charged for none sense accusations.

It seems that The Islamic government tried different ways to force Baha'is to recant or sing that they were spies or Baha'i administration was against the Islamic government. They not only tortured Baha'is physically and mentally but also as in the life stories of Mr. Enayatollah Sefidvash and Mr. Riyaz Sana it is written the Islamic government made their condition in prison unbearable and humiliating. Baha'is even didn't have a cell; they kept them under stairs, and they couldn't meet their families, and also couldn't have money to buy their needs from the shop in prison. Regardless of all the awful conditions and humiliations, they still had faith and dare to speak in Islamic court which charged them for fake crimes and false accusations. Baha'is explained them that what is Baha'i faith and Baha'i administration. Moreover gave the Islamic government explanation for what they can do with the Baha'is in Iran. :" all the Baha'is are the same, whether be a member of administrative body or not. If you kill us then others will continue our duties. You don't have any choice; either you should kill all the Baha'is in Iran or exile all of them from the country or accept them as citizen of this country and live with them in peace. The judge didn't say anything just looked at us."

Another point in this life experiences and Mrs. Bahereh Motlagh especially, is that, the Islamic government observed Baha'is individual and community reaction, toward its policy. By sending some people between Baha'i community to know how they react to their difficulties, or how they respond to the injustice decisions that the Islamic court made for them. It seems that Baha'i administration was unclear to the Islamic government and even when they saw with their eyes that Baha'is were not part of any political parties or Baha'is were not spy of any country but still they couldn't be free from their religious biases that covered their eyes. Mrs. Parivesh Amini[24] narrated:" one of the Baha'is who was with my father and later on was released narrated that after few meetings with the fundamentalist group who used to come to prison to argue with Baha'is to convince them to recant their faith, on one occasion my father told them:" you really labour to convert us to the Islam; it is better to supervise the rest of prisoners. 250 Muslim prisoners are here, but because of the bad condition of prison, lack of enough food and the harsh behavior of guard, inmates not only are hating and denying Islam, but even they are denying the existence of God! Please pay attention to them."

The Islamic government tried to force Baha'is women who were in prison or gave message to their families and Baha'i community that if they don't recant their faith they will torture and

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[24]Her husband was executed by Islamic government on 1982, page 297-309

kill them. Mrs. Shahla HaghPaykar (Rastani)[25] narrated when she saw the tortured and killed body of her father:" …it was very difficult when I saw his tortured body in hospital. There was a whole in all his fingers; it seems that they made whole with a big nail. I couldn't imagine how much pain my father had to bear. It was horrible to see how he was killed just because he was a Baha'i. He was well known in our city because of his honesty and sincerity. Everyone liked him and respected him because of his sincere services to everyone."

In the life experience of Mrs. Khadijeh Golshani (Momtaz), Mrs. Nasrin and Novin Golshani[26];wife and daughters of Mr. Aziz u ullah Golshani who was tortured and executed by the Islamic government on 1982, I can see how the Islamic government misused the kinship relationship to forced Baha'is to give up their faith. While Mr. Aziz u ullah Golshani was in prison the Islamic government arrested his two daughters. Mrs. Nasrin and Novin Golshani were in prison for a few weeks and were tortured by the Islamic government. They narrated that The Islamic government usually tortured one of them in front of other one, in order to force Baha'is to give them some information about other Baha'is that they didn't know anything about them. But as Mrs. Nasrin and Novin Golshani mentioned, they tried to be strong to give courage each other. The guards were very angry why they didn't cry and give up their faith.

 In another life experience again Islamic government misused the kinship relationship to force a woman to recant her faith. Mrs. Kamelia Abadi[27]narrated: "I knew that my mother was pregnant because one day from the prison she called me and said that you have a brother, but I didn't know that the Islamic court gave my brother to a Muslim family. I came out of Iran after few years but always remember my dear mother and whenever I remember that how much she was in pain and suffered in prison, my tears come down. When I moved to USA, I became familiar with some Baha'is and after studying some Baha'i books accepted the faith. Almost 18 years after I left Iran, one night my phone rang and a man called me: "my dear sister ". The voice of the young man said how he found my phone number and introduced himself as son of my mother, who was born in prison. I started crying and said:" I know you are my brother because our mother called me when you were born in prison and told me that I have a brother". Then he explained that when he was 14 years old he

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[25]PooranRahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 268-274

[26]PooranRahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 252-267

[27] Daughter of Mrs. Iran Rahimpour, who was executed on 1982, narrated that her mother was a Muslim and married to a Muslim man but they had many problems in their life so when she divorced, she had two girls. Her husband didn't give her the custody of children, but she could see them once a while. After she divorced went to Germany to complete her studies and when she came back started working in a company and became familiar with the Baha'i faith and accepted the faith. Later on got married with a Baha'i man but still tried to visit her two daughters.

After revolution because she was active in Baha'i administrative, the Islamic government arrested her. She was pregnant so they couldn't execute her based on Islamic laws. They put her in jail for seven months till her baby was born, then executed her. The Islamic court gave the baby boy to a Muslim family who lost their son in war between Iran and Iraq. And nobody even her husband didn't see his son. Mrs. KameliaAbadi narrated:" I was 19 years old when I got the news about my mother. I couldn't believe it that the Islamic government killed her because of her belief, even my father shocked when he heard about the news, though he always insulted his ex-wife.

understood that he is not the real son for that family and when he asked Muslim mother, she explained that the Islamic court had gave him to her. He said:" my mother was very kind to me and she helped me to find my real mother's family. They gave me some contact numbers which helped me to find you". He was in tears and said that though he is a Muslim but he is proud of her mother, because she gave her life for her faith." [28]

Through this life stories the Islamic government got a message, that even kinship relationship couldn't be a reason for a Baha'i to recant her/his faith, though she expected a baby. It was not only the state but the Iranian society learned that Baha'is has a goal in their life that they willing to leave everything and give up their life for that. As Mrs. Kamelia Abadi mentioned that her brother had said, "That though I am a Muslim but I am proud of my mother, because she gave her life for her faith." To me the agency of Baha'i mother in her children life and Baha'i history is astonishing. She just followed the Baha'i principle which advice her to serve humanity, for that she paid her life without any expectation, but the achievements would go beyond her family and Baha'i community.

Another example of the policy of state to force Baha'is to give up their faith through their kinship and friendship is the life experience of Mrs. Mahshid and Mrs. Mehrshid Bashiri; their father was abducted, tortured and executed by the Islamic government on 1984. They narrated:" we didn't have any news about our father. We didn't know even the Islamic government abducted him or he had a heart attack and had fallen uncurious somewhere. But after a few days the Islamic government came to our house to search our place. They asked us where we hide our father. They searched everywhere for finding documents. Finally they took some books, papers and photos and left the house and emphasized that we have to surrender our father to them. It was such a mess when they left the house. We started to go everywhere to find our father, we were sure that the Islamic government abducted him, because the same day they abducted two other Baha'is too.

But for a few months the Islamic authorities wouldn't give us any proper answer. Each time they would give us different answers. For example one day they said a helicopter came from Israel and your father and others left Iran to Israel. Even one time they called us and said go to the forest and find the body of your father. We couldn't drive the car so we asked one the neighbors to take us to the forest. Our neighbor said:" finding a body in a forest is impossible, they wanted to bother you." After 8 months we found that our father and other Baha'is were in prison. So we went there and asked the security to give us permission to visit him. They didn't accept but after 13 months finally we could meet our father. He had become very thin and weak and all his hair and beard were white. But he was very strong and happy. "

Mrs. Mehrshid Bashiri narrated:" One of the Baha'i prisoners who was released after a few years and was with our father said:" your father was very strong, he never complained about anything. He used to do exercise every day and when younger people asked him why you are doing exercise, he would explain: "I would like to be healthy when I am going for execution". The Islamic government used to took other Baha'is to the place that was the place

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[28]PooranRahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 288-296

for executing other Baha'is. When they were executing your father and two other Baha'is, they took me with themselves and asked me to see them. Before executing your father he wanted to hug me, but the guard didn't allow him, but he tried to do it and told me that I better survive and get out of prison and tell everyone what I had seen". He also mentioned that how the Islamic government tortured Baha'is in prison. For example they whipped our father for 200 times and asked him to walk on the snow after that. The severity was so much that they took him to a hospital because his kidney didn't work."

The Islamic government tortured Baha'i families in a way that they put them in a suspended situation and harassed them with fake news about the one who was abducted by state. It seems that the Islamic government directly and indirectly put pressure in families, individuals and community to reach to their purpose to making Baha'is as Muslim. They were so sure about their success that even in prison at the time of execution they took other Baha'is to watch how their friends were executed, in a hope to recant their faith. For me the reaction of Baha'is to this policy of Islamic state is admirable, because not only they didn't recant but also they give courage and moral support to each other. This part of the memory of a Baha'i who was in prison is thinkable: "When they were executing your father and two other Baha'is, they took me with themselves and asked me to saw them. Before executing your father wanted to hug me, but the guard didn't allow, then he tried to do it and told me that I have to go out and say whatever I saw with my eyes."[29]

The way that Baha'is challenged authorities was not violence, it was learnable and wise In fact they have created a unique history; the concept of resistance without any violence, along with having a faith to serve humanity and not for glorifying a specific religion, community or organization. It seems that the concept of agency for above mentioned persecuted Baha'is were conceptualized in caring, servicing, sacrificing, awareness, resisting injustice and creating a peaceful environment in difficult conditions.

Sharing the life experience of Dr. Ehsanollah Taleem brings another example of what I mentioned in last paragraph. Brother of Dr. Ehsanollah Taleem was tortured and executed by the Islamic government on 1984. [30]He narrated:" one day one of the Islamic authorities told me if you pay two million Tomans we will release your brother. I told when you released I will give you but there came no they didn't reply. I couldn't trust them. Two million was too much at that time and I couldn't risk. Finally after 10 months they executed him, and arrested me. One day one of the Baha'i s who was released after a few years told me that the Islamic government took him to the place that my brother and other Baha'is were executed and asked

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[29]Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 355-368

[30]He also was in prison, tortured but released after few years. He explained that they were born in Jewish family. And when they were in early life their father became a Baha'i so both of them got Baha'i education and became Baha'i. Both were doctor and for many years practiced in different hospitals in their city. He narrated:" my brother was one of the well known doctors in the city many of the Muslim women who never go to the male doctor, trust him and asked him to cure them. When they arrested him he was a member of Baha'i administrative. Our mother was Jewish and his wife was Muslim, so for both of them was very difficult to accept this situation. One time the Islamic court asked his wife to get divorce from him and said:" why she got married with a Baha'i? Baha'is are infidel. And she didn't reply."

him to remove the stool under their feet in the process of hanging. In fact the Islamic government forced other Baha'is to help in the process of execution of other Baha'is. It was one of the mental tortures that the Islamic government did to Baha'is, to force them to recant their faith."

Dr. Ehsanollah Taleem narrated:" each time that they took a Baha'i to whip him they put something in his mouth and cover his face and then whipped him, because they didn't want others to hear their screaming. Baha'is was very calm and friendly with everyone. They made the atmosphere of a school at prison, whatever they knew they would teach to others. For example one of them taught English to others, the other one history, the other one how to work out and most of the prisoners would sit with them and learn from them. They were also very tidy and clean so they had made the prison very clean and organized. Some of them were responsible to distribute the foods between prisoners and some of them washed the dishes and so on. When there was a fight between the prisoners they used to make the situation calm. Every one respected and liked them. "[31]

I didn't see any difference in resistance and agency between Baha'i men and women. It seems that they practiced gender equality in their spiritual and material life based on the Baha'i principles, which is based on equality between men and women. In the life experience of Mrs. Vajihe Akhtari[32], a Baha'i prisoner and also the wife of an executed man and a mother of two sons, many similarities is seen compared to with the life experience of a Baha'i man who was in prison at the same time. For example the life experience of Mr. Enayatollah Sefidvash and Mr. Riyaz Sana or Mr. Faran Ferdowsi who were in prison and got released almost in a same period she got released.

She narrated: "while I was in prison I asked guard to give me permission to meet my husband, but he didn't accept. One day an interrogator said:" you don't reply to the questions", so he asked the soldiers to whip me. But before that, they took me to my husband and told my husband that his wife didn't give the information. My husband looked at me and said:" Vajihe whatever they ask, please answer them." But I didn't give the infomation again, because they asked me about the addresses and names of other Baha'is. And I didn't want to make any trouble for any one. Therefore they whipped me 30 times. It was very painful but I was at peace with myself for what I did." There were many other Baha'i women in the prison with me. Most of them had husbands in prison or they were brought to prison after execution of their husbands.

All of us tried to be strong because we didn't want Islamic government to find any weak point in us to harass our husbands or family. Some Baha'i women were in prison with their small kids, but others left their kids with their families. We tried to practice our pray every day it always gave us energy and new spirit to be strong. We tried to keep our cells clean and tidy. We tried to help and support other prisoners in their difficulties. So they respected and

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[31] Pooran Rahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 369-380

[32] Mrs. Vajihe Akhtari husband was executed by the Islamic government on 1986; she was in prison also for two years. She narrated after arresting her husband, she and her two son decided to leave Iran, but that time Islamic government didn't give passport to Baha'is. So she with her two sons tried to leave the country illegally. Unfortunately the security guard in border of country arrested her and her two sons. Her kids released after few days but she got two years sentences.

liked us. Though the guards asked other prisoners not to talk to us but we could feel that wanted to be friend with us. We never took part in any political conversation that happened in prison and always obeyed the rules of prison as long as they were not against Baha'i teachings. In prison we had pen and paper, so each of us knew any pray or poem wrote it and passed it to others to memorize and chant.

Finally the Islamic court accepted to give me permission to meet my husband in prison. We met four times before I got released from prison. My husband was very strong but I could see how much he had become thin and weak bodily. I never had courage to ask him if they tortured him or not but I could see that he had suffered mentally and physically. "Mrs. Vajihe Akhtari narrated that one year after she was released from prison, her husband was executed.[33]

Conclusion

From 33interviews of Pooran Rahimi's book which I translated from Persian to English, I chose 18 life experiences which could cover most of the elements that I needed to refer to them in this essay. The aim of this study was to elaborate the concept of agency through life experiences of Baha'i women and men who had encounters with the Iranian Islamic government after revolution1979 till 1983. For better understanding I preferred to categorize Iranian social structure to three major parts: state, Baha'i community and larger society. Evidently Islamic authorities (state) including religious leadership has created socio-economical and political crises for Baha'i community to control and direct their lives in different ways in order to maintain their power relationship in a new political structure which came to exist after revolution.

Authoritarian strategies from Islamic government stopped Baha'i official administration and deprived civil rights of Baha'is since 1979 till now (2015). As above mentioned life experiences indicated, the individual and community resistance of Baha'is structured a kind of agency that not only affected the policy of power relation but also, powerfully affected Baha'i family and community also larger society structure. To me it means that how the history of Baha'i faith after Islamic revolution was mapped.

Baha'i individuals and community resisted persecutions, discriminations and social injustices which were meant to make Baha'is to recant their faith, but failed. Based on the life experiences, Baha'i s resisted mental and physical tortures such as: beating, humiliation, torturing to dead, watching other executions or forcing to get involved in executing other Baha'is, harassment and threatening of prisoner, arranging religious arguments which wanted to convince Baha'is in prison to recant their faith, depriving their prison rights such as: prohibiting to visit their family, proper food, having enough space for seating and sleeping, clean and enough air for breathing, and also other kinds of persecution like: deprivation from higher education, economic sanctions, depravation from religious practices, and some social activities.

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[33]PooranRahimi (Motahedeh), Love at the cost of life, page 386-405

My observation based on the life experiences showed that Baha'is resistance was rooted in Baha'i principles and historical events which happened to their community since 1844. In a critical look, the historical heritage of Baha'is in Iran had been their spiritual source that had an active role on everyday life of Baha'i individual and community. Knowledge about the historical persecution of Baha'is in Iran inspired Baha'is for not only to accept the new wave of persecutions but also to understand the importance of their mission for the creation of new history. To me the Baha'i faith is not just the religion of a group of people that discipline their lives in a certain way but also it is an attitude that historically has formed and evaluated.

This non violent resisting attitude is inspired by the Baha'i principles, is practiced through everyday life of Baha'i individual and community despite gender, economic class, region, educational level and social status. Those life stories indicate that Baha'is had made their decision collectively, but as an individual has been free to act based on their ability and conditions to resist against the state policy. In fact this strategy gave them more power to challenge the power relationship which was unjust to the Baha'is. Family, community, social and historical roles of Baha'i women has illustrated their agency in power relation structure. Baha'i women based on life experiences consciously accepted difficulties and traumatic moments but never gave in as a victim. In the religious and patriarchal society of Iran the family and social roles of Baha'i women have never bounded them. Baha'i women by relying on their faith got their agency to create a new way of resistance toward social injustices.

As an example the life experiences of Mrs. Bahereh Motlagh, who had a public speech about the legitimacy of Baha'i faith was counted as a historical significant. The Islamic government tortured and killed her husband and six other Baha'is in barbaric way because they didn't recant their faith. Although it was a clear message to the Baha'i community that the Islamic government would kill all the Baha'is who would not recant their faith to eradicate the Baha'i faith in Iran, but Mrs. Bahereh Motlagh, could deal with her emotion after watching the lifeless and tortured body of her husband and spoke publicly In order to wake up larger society who were in their religious ignorance. If I say that her powerful words prevented the Islamic government reaction, it is not far from the truth. In the memory of Baha'is and Muslims this kind of act has not been new. Tahirih Qurratol Ain [34]in Babi and Baha'i history and Zainab [35] in Islamic history are the perfect examples of the agency of women in religious text. They not only broke the religious traditions in patriarchal society that didn't allow them to give speech publicly but also through their speech awakened the sleeping spirits of people who were mesmerized of the religious biases and ignorance.

The agency of Mrs. Bahereh Motlagh represented the two historical examples in her time. Her words which were powered by her faith brought Muslim and Baha'i community together at the funeral ceremony of Baha'is that were killed by the Islamic government, Though she

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[34] Afagi, Sabir.(2004).
https://books.google.co.in/books?id=u_4CBxfhsnIC&pg=PA49&lpg=PA49&dq=Táhirih+Qurrat+al+ain&source . seen on 05/08/2015
[35] Women in Islam, the prophet's daughter Zainab. http://www.islamicbulletin.org/newsletters/issue_8/women.aspx . seen on 05/08/2015

didn't do her speech in this respect but the consequences of her sincere act created the spirit of compassion. To me her speech also gave courage to a Baha'i old man who had tried to slow down the speed of ambulance carrying the body of his son (killed by authorities)by walking in front of it. Her action gave courage to non Baha'is to show their resistance to the state policy in a collective act. Her agency was not in order to create a mass anger toward the Islamic government. Her agency was a dialectic discourse with the social structure and authorities that I could say effectively has transformed the policy of state toward Baha'is till now at least in case of torturing in barbaric ways.

All the cases demonstrated that Baha'is attitude toward the social injustice was not based on violence or creating anger and hate but it was based on service to human kind. In fact the concept of agency was   operationlized in terms of service Baha'i prisoners knew their sacrificing would convey awareness about the legitimacy of Baha'i faith nationally and internationally, when as a wife, daughter, son and relatives took responsibility to talk to the national and international authorities for their civil and human rights, when they effectively helped other prisoners mentally and emotionally or by their professions even in prison, when as a prisoners talked to the authorities to clear the mission of Baha'i administration and principles, when they powerfully tolerated different kinds of tortures to establish their standpoints to the authorities and prove their equitable claims to human rights. To me the key point of their agency is that Baha'i prisoners consciously lived by (their faith) in their everyday lives even in rough moments.

Non violence resistance in form of service, challenged the authorities, probably awakened some dormant conscious minds, and enlightened and clarified misunderstandings. In the meantime, the roles of Baha'i women as an individual and in their social and family roles have been significant. As a wife and mother, they talked to the religious scholars and Islamic authorities even when they didn't know what would happen to them, they emotionally supported other Baha'i women who were in traumatic and painful situations, they trained their children with their spiritual strength which rooted in their faith and taught them how they should face difficulties and persecutions, their steadfastness also influenced larger society, and also their properties crossed the boundaries of material life for betterment of the world. To me their agency could be summarized in three concepts of training, caring and service.

Another aspect of importance of Baha'i women's agency is that the history of Baha'i community after revolution could have been totally different If Baha'i women would have cultivated the seeds of hate, enmity, revenge and anger in the heart of their family members and Baha'i community. The Baha'i community still tolerantly and patiently lives in Iran under different pressures without showing any reactive violent action. Evidences show that they effectively influence the mind set of many people who are encountering Baha'is in their everyday life. [36]

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[36] Baha'i world news service. And HRANA, human rights activists' news agency

Usually we need theory to understand the situation to improve the social conditions. Though I am looking for that but this essay theoretically confirms the Giddens's structuration theory and his reviewer Margaret Archer[37] to explain the life experiences. Based on Giddens reductionism, structure and praxis are inextricably linked but Margaret Archer believes that structure and practices must be distinct objects of sociological analysis. [38] Though I am not going through details of these theories but what I learned from them helped me to understand that structure and agency are not fix objects, though there is an intensive interlinked between them. But historical process would transform and evaluate their efficacy and operation on each other. In this regard I think that the Islamic government didn't have a particular strategy toward Baha'is but historical elements before Islamic revolution had created a kind of understanding about Baha'i faith which structured the Islamic state policy toward Baha'i community after revolution. The agency and resistance of Baha'is as individual and as community have directed and changed the policy and power structure. It means that through this theory probably Baha'i community and state had found a better way to understand each other. If the assumption of profound and permanent changes in social structure and state policy through non violence act, service and revival demands any evidence, undoubtedly the life experiences of this essay would be more than sufficient.

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[37]The Cambridge dictionary of sociology; Bryan S Turner, page15-17

[38]Giddens's structuration theory as expressed in the constitution of society1989 is widely regarded as the most thoroughly developed set of sociological concepts that turns on the relationship between agency and structure. Giddens's work has influenced numerous empirical works, and new substantively oriented innovations in structuration theory are currently under development by the British sociologist, Rob Stones. Giddens's structuration theory has also attracted a great deal of criticism, most extensively from another British sociologist, Margaret Archer. She argues still alia that Giddens is guilty of a strange form of reductionism in which structure and praxis are inextricably linked. She believes that structure and practices must be distinct objects of sociological analysis. However in her main criticism in realist social theory 1995, Archer appears to misinterpret the level of analysis on which Giddens writes in ontological terms, that is in terms of how the duality of structure and agency generates social life at large.

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PROJECT MINE THE GAP

Kristin Haffert

This paper for the Tomorrow People Organization's Annual Women's Leadership and Empowerment Conference in Bangkok, Thailand in March 2016, shares the approach of a new global initiative launching early this year to increase women's participation in the workforce, called *Project Mine the Gap*. We intend to:

- Provide concrete takeaways for participants to advance economic empowerment and women's leadership in the workforce in their own countries;
- Identify alliances, networks and information that can support one another to advance women in companies; and
- Support women activists with case studies and examples that underpin the benefits of a gender diverse labor force.

Many companies are unaware of the concrete data demonstrating the untapped economic power and deep opportunity that can be mined from a more gender-diverse workforce. *Project Mine the Gap* was launched to help companies, government agencies and other organizations harness the productive power of a gender diverse and gender transformative workforce, in order to realize their performance objectives. *Project Mine the Gap* is seeking allies to support women in the workforce, to build their confidence and a strong inner voice while educating organizations about the need for organizational change that includes adjusting policies and practices that facilitate greater equality.

According to McKinsey Global Institute, "women are half the world's working-age population but generate only 37% of GDP."[1] Yet, women could contribute $28 trillion or 26% to the global economy by 2025.[2] In another study that examined 25 Fortune 500 companies with the best record of promoting women into high positions, they saw higher profits of 18-69% when compared to the median Fortune 500 firms within their same industry.[3] Gender-diverse leadership has been proven to help companies better make decisions, lead, innovate, and increase financial performance. For example, gender inclusive teams can predict outcomes better because they can draw upon on a more diverse body of experience related to gender roles.[4] Although *Project Mine the Gap* is a global initiative, officially launching early this year, and is beginning to harness interested parties to support the movement and shift organizational culture related to gender, especially in companies.

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[1] McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) *Power of Parity*, Executive Summary (2015). http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/growth/how_advancing_womens_equality_can_add_12_trillion_to_global_growth

[2] McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) *Power of Parity*, Executive Summary (2015). http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/growth/how_advancing_womens_equality_can_add_12_trillion_to_global_growth

[3] *Break gender stereotypes, give talent a chance, Toolkit for SME Advisors and Human Resource Managers*, International Training Centre of the ILO in partnership with the Association of European Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Eurochambers), (2008).

[4] "Gender & Work: Challenging Conventional Wisdom," Eagly, Alice H. *Harvard Business Review* (2013). http://www.hbs.edu/faculty/conferences/2013-w50-research-symposium/Documents/eagly.pdf

PROJECT MINE THE GAP & APPROACH

Project Mine the Gap is a data-driven initiative created by Haffert Group (http://www.haffertgroup.com/) and Solid Grounds Strategy (http://www.jessicagrounds.com/) who have several decades combined of in-depth experience working hand-in-hand with women in business, politics, government, and
civil society across the globe. We are sharing the inspiration for and approach of *Project Mine the Gap* today, the first initiative of its kind, to make you aware of it and to provide you with some of data that you can also utilize in advocating for women's participation, leadership and influence in the workplace. *Project Mine the Gap* has curated a methodology for changing organizational culture from the leadership to the rank and file of organizations using a two-pronged approach to:

- Cultivate a transformative process for women and men in the workplace, based on various gender-based strategies; and
- Facilitating institutional policy changes and practices through active engagement from the C-suite to staff at all levels and across gender lines.

Our approach is based on global data from Credit Suisse, McKinsey & Company, Thompson Reuters and others, as well as our extensive work with women from more than
100 countries. We take a systematic approach to working with women in a company, with the leadership, and with the rank and file employees together.

INSPIRATION

The inspiration for the Project emerged largely from the award-winning work by Jessica Grounds and my work that focused on women's participation in the public sector. Jessica Grounds co-launched Running Start over a decade ago to recruit and train young girls to get involved in politics. I founded the women's leadership and gender equality section of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) under the leadership of former US Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. After witnessing a consistent set of barriers related to
women advancing across our work with the public and private sectors and with political parties, we curated our own approach to addresses them. The approach is based on our business training and repeatedly witnessing an often-glaring lack in strategy to address women's leadership as part of talent management and recruitment, for example, in influential companies based in the US and working throughout the world.

As of 2015, the research on the benefits of women in the workplace and gender diverse teams and decision-making has only started to surpass superficial findings on women's leadership in the workplace. With more women in leadership positions for longer periods of time, more global data exists tracking and analyzing attributes often associated with women's leadership and identifying their role in organizational performance. The
findings are promising. *Project Mine the Gap* is establishing an international foundation
to make this research mainstream knowledge through assisting companies and other organizations to design a long-term strategy for shifting efforts on gender diversity and women's leadership by anchoring it to outputs, across industries.
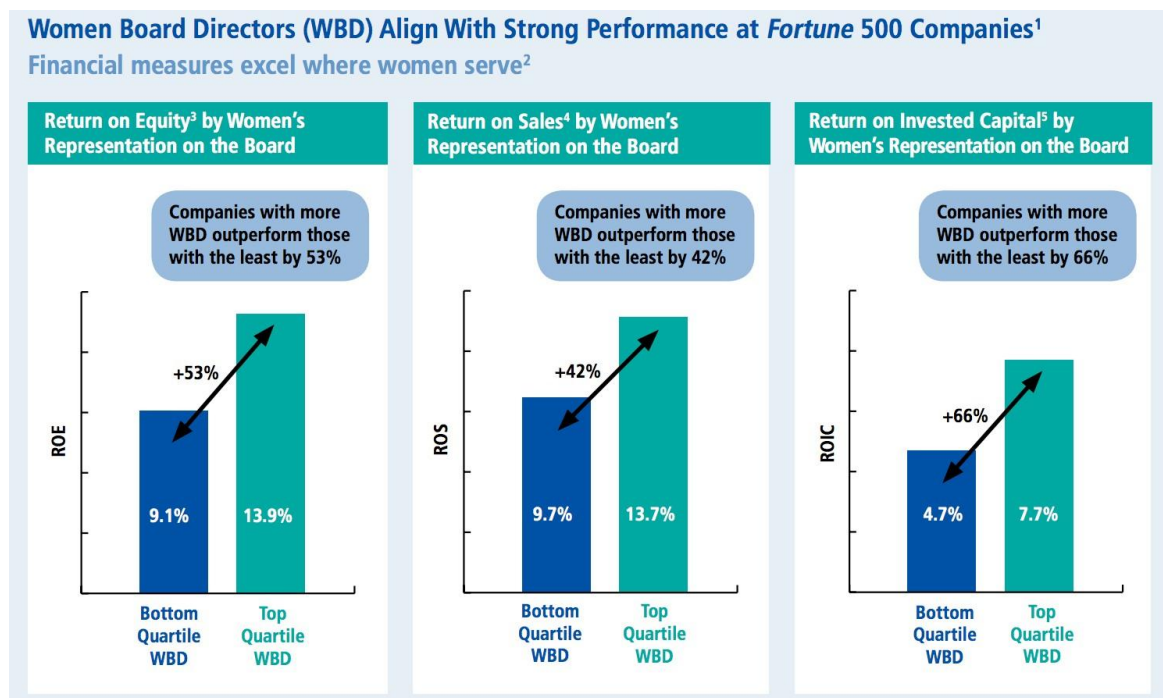
EVIDENCE

Let's look at how women contribute positively to the workplace and what this means for outcomes.

- In a scenario where women play an identical role in labor markets to men, $28 trillion USD or 26% could be added to the global GDP by 2025 (consider the impact of this at the country-level).

<u>Improved Financial Performance and Long-Term Economic Benefits:</u>

- When 25 Fortune 500 companies with the best record of promoting women into high positions were examined, they saw higher profits of 18-69% when compared to the median Fortune 500 firms within their same industry.[5] (The Eurochambers study used revenues; assets; stockholders' equity for this measurement.)
- Companies with higher representation of women board of directors saw higher financial performance in three important measures: Return on Equity, Return on Sales, Return on Invested Capital

Women Board Directors (WBD) Align With Strong Performance at *Fortune* 500 Companies[1]
Financial measures excel where women serve[2]

Return on Equity[3] by Women's Representation on the Board	Return on Sales[4] by Women's Representation on the Board	Return on Invested Capital[5] by Women's Representation on the Board
Companies with more WBD outperform those with the least by 53%	Companies with more WBD outperform those with the least by 42%	Companies with more WBD outperform those with the least by 66%
+53%	+42%	+66%
Bottom Quartile WBD: 9.1% — Top Quartile WBD: 13.9%	Bottom Quartile WBD: 9.7% — Top Quartile WBD: 13.7%	Bottom Quartile WBD: 4.7% — Top Quartile WBD: 7.7%

<u>Innovation:</u>

- A Forbes study of 321 large global enterprises – companies with at least $500m in annual revenue – showed 85% agree or strongly agree that diversity – of which gender is a component - is crucial to fostering innovation in the workplace. (Forbes)

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5 *Break gender stereotypes, give talent a chance, Toolkit for SME Advisors and Human Resource Managers*, International Training Centre of the ILO in partnership with the Association of European Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Eurochambers), (2008).
http://www.businessandgender.eu/en/products/1break-gender-stereotypes-en.pdf

- Research by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and EUROCHAMBERS, suggests linkages between gender balance in management teams and innovation capacity.[6]

Decision-making:

- Within a group working together, the presence of a woman within the group is one of the key factors that influences the group's collective "intelligence" or in other words the ability of the group to make successful decisions."[7] (Credit Suisse)
- Gender inclusive teams can predict outcomes better because they can draw upon on a more diverse body of experience based on gender roles.[8] (Eagly, *Harvard Business Review*)

Ability of Leadership to Target its Market/Consumers:

- "Women represent a growth market more than twice as big as China and India combined. They control $20 trillion in global consumer spending, own or operate between 25-33% of all private businesses, and earn an estimated $13 trillion. This "power of the purse" is growing rapidly; expectations are that it will swell to $18 trillion by 2014. For companies that figure out what women want, the future looks rosy indeed."[9]
- Companies such as InBev which owns the Coors beer brand and Bic, the French manufacturer of pens and other items are examples of two companies that failed to reflect the interests of their female (and many male) consumers in marketing and branding campaigns that gained them bad press coverage and implied their decision-making was out of step with their customers.

PHILOSOPHY

The fundamental philosophy of *Project Mine the Gap* is that gender diversity leads to an
improved bottom line or economic outcome. Organizations must cultivate a culture that facilities broad participation across gender and demonstrates its value for gender differences in leadership. Therefore, the initiative is about both women *and* men, and people of any gender identity. *Project Mine the Gap's* core approach of culture change requires the investment of institutions - and hinges on proactive efforts by **individuals at all levels in an organization and particularly at the top, an investment in structural changes to policies and practices that create sustainable opportunities for gender-**

[6] *Break gender stereotypes, give talent a chance, Toolkit for SME Advisors and Human Resource Managers*, International Training Centre of the ILO in partnership with the Association of European Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Eurochambers), (2008).
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https://hbr.org/search?term=sylvia+ann+hewlett,+melinda+marshall,+and+laura+sherbin

diverse contributions, and tailored support to women – for organizational success.
Select trainings or singular initiatives build awareness but are not sufficient to build the social capital of women in an organization. A consolidated effort to realize full contributions across gender in an organization and the transformation that can accompany it also requires more than modifying select organizational policies. We encourage companies to make sustainable changes to practices and policies that will diversity decision-making, make it easier for women to move up and become influencers in their company.

Project Mine the Gap helps companies play the long game while achieving short and long-term milestones. Companies are missing an opportunity to reach and understand their full market potential - which can be costly. Companies have an opportunity to address talent gap issues through more gender-aware and accommodating efforts related to recruitment and retention, for example. Our Project is cultivating leaders of all genders by educating them about gender diversity and related opportunities and by providing them with the tools to manage and lead a gender-diverse workforce for superior outcomes.

PARTNERSHIPS
We hope to get input from conference participants to inform *Project Mine the Gap*'s evolution and to build the Project's reach and depth. We seek to build the global awareness of the value and data-proven difference that comes from women's leadership and a gender –diverse global workforce. We realize that companies are in different places on this issue and in some cases are interested in aspects of gender diversity or
women's leadership. We are encouraging our partners to stay ahead of the market and not to take a piecemeal approach. Culture change is required for companies to realize sustainable organizational shifts that invite gender-diverse participation and leadership. We hope to strengthen existing global efforts to convey the ultimate progress that a gender-diverse workforce can bring to development solutions, national economies and global development.

Push and Pull Factors of Japanese Male and Female

Self-initiated Expatriates (SIE)

- Case Studies from Bangkok and Hong Kong-

Kazuko YOKOYAMA Ph.D.[1]

Abstract

With increasing numbers of people working for international corporations and cross-cultural organizations, studying international human resource management is becoming ever more important. Comparing processes and practices among organizations and countries can allow us to see how they are influenced by social and economic factors. This research takes a comparative, international approach to understanding HRM focusing on emerging Japanese male and female self-initiated expatriates (SIE) in South-East Asia. Six case studies of emerging Japanese self-initiated expatriates working in Bangkok and Hong Kong are presented and discussed. The research argues that Japanese males and females, who were educated and trained in Japan, transfer the knowledge and skills they gained in their home country to their businesses overseas, particularly in emerging markets in South-East Asia. This paper mainly investigates the pull and push factors influencing male and female workers as well as what motivates them to embark on a self-initiated career. Yet more importantly, it highlights differences between the career paths of Japanese males and females.

Key words: Japanese SIE, Entrepreneur, Career Development, Pull and Push Factors, Motivation, Gender.

1. Introduction

Research on self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) has increased significantly in the last few years (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013; Doherty, 2013, Beitin, 2012; Cao, Hirschi, & Deller, 2013). As Vaiman, Hasleberger and Vance (2015) state, there is no clear definition of SIEs. The definition criteria by Cerdin and Selmer (2014) goes someway to defining the SIEs

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[1]1 Professor, Faculty of Business Administration, Graduate School of Toyo Gakuen University. 1-26-3, Hongo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, 113-0033, Japan. Email address: kazuko.yokoyama@tyg.jp

described in this paper in that the SIE engages in self-initiated international relocation, but the SIEs in this paper choose not to work for an already established company but to set up their own. Research on this aspect in a non-Western context, particularly Japanese, is a new addition to the field and contributes to Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry's (2013) call for research that is context specific.

This research paper presents six case initial studies of emerging Japanese male and female self-initiated expatriates working as entrepreneurs in Bangkok and Hong Kong. Although the author conducted interviews in Schengen city, China, their cases were not included in this paper. In this study, the SIEs are studied at the micro-level, their psychological and individual-level experiences. It argues that Japanese who were educated and trained in Japan, transfer the knowledge and skills they gained in their home country to their businesses overseas, particularly in emerging markets in South-East Asia. It is the start of a wider study, qualitatively exploring worker motivation and career development among Japanese expatriates.

2. Literature Review
2.1. Context of Japanese HRM

Japanese HRM practices have been the subject of much research in the field. Much revered in the 1980's, the practices were under close scrutiny. Traditionally, in Japan, the recruitment of new employees generally occurs in the spring. Companies select graduating students through a series of interviews, document-based screening and aptitude-based testing. They tend not to pay attention to the department the student graduated from or their field of specialization. They are more concerned in hiring students from top-level Japanese universities, based on their potential; the objective is to mold the student to the needs of the company (Yokoyama, 2014). Promotion panels in Japan usually judge candidates not only on their performance in their job but also on what is termed their '*hitogara*'– which loosely translates as the balance of their personality. This is the Japanese concept that believes it is important to be able to work in a harmonious manner while in a company, and that the ability to work without causing conflict to others is well respected. As such, promotion often occurs within the company as the senior managers are more aware of the candidate's every day working style and ability to work with others. As such it was rare for large companies to recruit mid-career professionals from outside the company. This feature of long-term employment, or the so called life-time employment scheme, was a cornerstone of Japanese HRM. In line with this, employees' salaries were not based on performance, but on seniority within the company.

Yet, since the 2000's there have been calls for Japan to change. Dalton and Benson (2002) suggested there was a sense of crisis occurring in Japan. While Matanle (2003), Aoki, Jackson and Miyajima (2007) and Schaede (2008) observed a move towards and an adaptation of Western management concepts.

Moriguchi (2014) provides an detailed account of the development of Japanese HRM practices from 1914, arguing that it may be time to develop a 'more diverse and flexible' Japanese style of HRM, encouraging companies to develop more 'innovative' HRM practices (Moriguchi, 2014:74). After the explosion of the bubble economy in 1990, many Japanese companies faced competition from outside Japan. In an attempt to reduce costs the companies tried to reduce costs, introducing performance-based HRM. These changes indicate a change in direction and have resulted in Japanese employees taking initiative of their own career.

With regard to studies concerned with the management of Japanese companies overseas operations, the most well-known and classical ones are those of Ishida (1985) and Koike (1996; 2006). At present, the most well-known studies are those of Shiraki (1995; 2006). Ishida (1985) examined the characteristics of Japanese managers deemed successful in overseas operations. He also examined the transferability of the Japanese-style management practices to overseas operations and pointed out the problems that occur in these contexts. Koike (1996) compared the way of work between Japanese blue-collar employees in Japan and blue-collar employees in the Japanese subsidiaries overseas. He found that the Japanese-style management practices could be transferred outside of Japan. Shiraki (1995) examined human resource management practices in Japanese subsidiaries in South East Asia and China. He found that Japanese companies make greater use of Japanese expatriates compared to western multinational companies. However, these studies are all company-specific, there have been no studies by Japanese researchers that have specifically examined entrepreneurial Japanese SIEs from a gender perspective.

2.2. Japanese Women in Society

Ideas concerning national and international society and the concept of diversity management, particularly the way in which it has been employed within companies, has become a pertinent topic in Japanese HRM research. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare in 2007 showed that the number of female managers above chief level in Japan was as low as 4.9%. This reflects that female human resources are not well utilized in Japan and it will take time to increase the number of women in the workforce, despite the government's protestations that '*Japan is back*'.

The *Equal Employment Opportunity Law* that was passed in 1985, aimed to achieve a society where men and women participate in work on an equal basis. However, at companies with more than 100 employees, the percentage of female staff members at *kakaricho* (section chief level) and above in Japan is only 7.9%. This is considered to be extremely low when compared with 40% across all grades in the UN Common System. Furthermore, when female representation at the managerial level is reviewed, the situation is also far from convincing. The number of female staff members at the *bucho* level (directors and above) is only 3.1% in Japan while it stands at 28% in the UN Common System.   A further survey in 2008 by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare found that the percentage of females recruited on career track (*sogo shoku*) paths in the private sector was only 16.9% in the companies that had implemented the career-track employment management system.   Additionally, only 16.7% of women in the public sector are on Japanese civil servant career track positions (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2012). The representation of women at managerial levels is still very low in Japan.

Not only are women not represented equally in the work force but there are also discrepancies in payment structures. Using detailed personnel records from a large Japanese manufacturing firm, Kato, et al. (2013) was able to identify the sources of inter-firm gender gaps. They found that after controlling for basic human capital variables, there were 19% and 28% gender pay difference among unmarried employees and married ones, respectively. Additionally, they found that on average unmarried women earn 17% less than unmarried men. Men, when they get married, enjoy a significant marriage bonus, often around 12% more than unmarried men. While women receive a marriage penalty of 6.5%. Kato's research showed that the gender pay gap widens as workers marry, which can result in a gender pay gap of 36 percent in total earnings. The following section outlines the new governmental strategy to leverage the power of women.

2.3. Career Development

Recent research on career development in Japan is focusing on how Japanese employees are taking initiative in their careers. Increasing numbers of Japanese are seeking to move away from the traditional recruitment patterns, to navigate their own life and career path, as opposed to putting their career and trust in the hands of their employers. Defining a career as a series of roles, which one needs to do, and a combination of these roles, previous research by the author found that particularly young Japanese graduates, with experience overseas, wanted to navigate their own careers (Yokoyama, 2014). During the establishment stage of their career (see Figure 1), many young Japanese take initiative to gain further qualifications.

Figure 1. Super's Career Development Theory (1986)
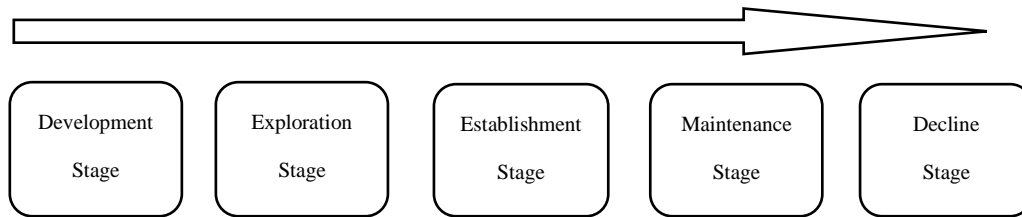
In the middle of the 20th century D. H. Super (1986), an American put forward the Theory of Life Stage in which life was divided into five development stages: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance and decline, and established a comprehensive theory with the emphasis on the importance of self-concept and how it relates to career development. Following that, Super claimed that the development of one's career and personal growth mutually affect each other. This Career Development Theory is summarized as shown in Figure 1.

Development stage (Birth to 14), the first life stage, the period when children develop their capacities, attitudes, interests, socialize their needs, and form a general understanding of the world of work.

Exploration stage (Ages 14-24) is the period when individuals attempt to understand themselves and find their place in the world of work. Through classes, work experience, and hobbies, they try to identify their interests and capabilities and figure out how they fit with various occupations. They make tentative occupational choices and eventually obtain an occupation.

Establishment stage (25-44 years) is the period when the individual, having gained an appropriate position in the chosen field of work, strives to secure the initial position and pursue chances for further advancement.

Maintenance stage (45-65) is the period of continual adjustment, which includes the career development tasks of holding on, keeping up, and innovating. The individuals strive to maintain what they have achieved, and for this reason they update their competencies and find innovative ways of performing their job routines. They try also to find new challenges, but usually little new ground is broken in this period.

Decline stage (over 65) is the final stage, the period of transition out of the workforce. In this stage, individuals encounter the developmental tasks of deceleration, retirement planning, and retirement living. With a declined energy and interest in an occupation, people gradually disengage from their occupational activities and concentrate on retirement planning. In due course, they make a transition to retirement living by facing the challenges of organizing new life patterns.

On the contrary, Schein (1985), an American defined the career as the occupation throughout one's life, a way of living through one's life, and the way of expressing one's life. A career anchor is one's self-image of competence, motives, and values. During the course of their vocational life, people develop an underlying anchor that will guide their life. He identified five possible career anchor constructs: (1) autonomy/independence, (2) security/stability, (3) technical-functional competence, (4) general managerial competence, and (5) entrepreneurial creativity. Follow-up of his studies in the 1980s identified three additional constructs: (6) service or dedication to a cause, (7) pure challenge and (8) lifestyle. Schein also pointed out the role and importance of the mentor.

A well-known Japanese study with regard to career development is that by Ota (1999) who advocated the concept of *shigoto-jin*[2] . According to his research, a *shigoto-jin* is an employee who acquires skills and abilities that will enable him/her to negotiate and carry out work on an equal basis with his/her employing organization. In Ota's studies, the focus was primarily on men in the workplace.

These reviews suggest that career development studies have been mainly conducted in the United States and have a history of over 100 years. On the contrary, in Japan, the field of career development studies started only at the end of the twentieth century.

In 1995 The Japan Business Federation (*Nikkei-ren*) recommended the introduction of performance-based management practice[3]. Their recommendations suggested that Japanese corporations no longer needed to ensure job security and lifetime employment for all of their staff members. Since then, some individuals employed by Japanese corporations take responsible for their own career development and do not need to depend on their company. As a consequence, both individuals and organizations in Japan are paying more attention to the field of career development.

2.4. Self-initiated Expatriates

[2] Literally means man of work in the Japanese language.

[3] The Japan Business Federation (1995). *Japanese Management in a New Era.*pp32.

In this paper, self-initiated expatriates are defined as people who expatriate themselves from their home country without the support of an employing company (Inkson and Richardson, 2010). Research on SIEs is succinctly summarized by Doherty (2013) in her review paper on directions for future research in this field. As discussed in her paper there are different levels through which to analyze SIEs. In this study, the SIE are studied at the micro-level, particularly their psychological and individual-level experiences. Table 1 adapted from Doherty (2013) shows the constructs/variables in current and future research on SIEs. Although there is much research on the meso- and macro levels, this literature review will focus on research conducted on the micro levels.

Table 1. The constructs/variables in current and future research on SIEs.

(Adapted from Doherty, 2013)

Micro-level
Individual characteristics
Demography
Family situation
Motivational drivers
Qualifications
Work attitudes
Job organization, location
Job satisfaction, commitment
Career orientation
Career anchors
Career success
Psychological contracts
Career capital

Exploring the micro-level capabilities, research by Brauch (1995) explored the push-pull mechanisms. Many SEIs have a sense of adventure or desire to travel, sometimes they wish to escape from their current circumstances (Doherty, et.al 2011). Inkson and Meyers (2003) and Baruch (1995) were also able to confirm various motivations, push and pull factors influencing SIEs. These include economic, social or legal drivers and or an inner sense of adventure. They can be classified as explorers – those who wish to see the world, goal

seekers – those who have clear goals and escapers – those seeking to escape personal situations (Barry, 1998 in Inkson and Meyers, 2003).

Research on Japanese SIEs is an under explored field. The only research on SIEs relating to Japan is one by Peltokori and Froess (2009) which identified differences between organizational expatriates (OEs), those who are dispatched by their home companies to international posts, and self-initiated expatriates (SIEs), those who make their own decision to live and abroad. However, the target group of this study was expatriates who live and work in Japan and not Japanese who work overseas.

Research by Froese (2012) explored the motivation and cross-cultural adjustment of 30 academics in South Korea. The study identifies various motivation factors, such as a desire of international experience, attractive job conditions, family ties and the poor labor markets in the workers home countries. Although the target field of this research does not correspond to the one the author is pursuing, motivation factors, particularly in cross-cultural adjustment are worth comparing in the Asian cultural perspective.

2.5. Research Question

Two research questions framed this research:

RQ1: What are the motivation drivers that influence female and male Japanese SIEs to work outside Japan?

RQ2: What are the subjective push and pull factors that influence Japanese female and male SIEs?

This research explores the motivation factors as well as the push and pull factors expressed through the narrative interviews and cases presented. Additionally, it attempts to look for similarities and differences in career paths between the genders.

3. Methods

3.1. Multiple Case Studies

The current study emerged from a previous study of Japanese international civil servants working in the UN. Based on an initial survey of 170 Japanese respondents and 24 follow-up interviews with Japanese staff members, it was found that approximately 50% of the Japanese

staff members have had prior work experience and education in Japan. It was found that there are many structural differences between the HRM practices used outside Japan, particularly in the UN, and Japanese corporations. As a result of this previous study, which was a quantitative study and through the qualitative interviews, the author found that Japanese female respondents showed higher overall satisfaction at their duty stations, combining their job satisfaction with satisfaction of living at their duty station, while male Japanese respondents acknowledged their job satisfaction only and could not appreciate livings of their duty stations. As a follow up to this study, the author decided to look more specifically at Japanese male and female self-initiated expatriates in Asia, taking a qualitative approach, to construct detailed narratives of their lived experience.

In 2014 and 2015, exploratory research was conducted in Hong Kong, Schengen, China and Bangkok. The author conducted 17 in-depth interviews with respondents. All respondents were born, educated and trained in Japan. Based on their own initiative and with various motivations, the majority of the respondents moved overseas and became successful entrepreneurs. This research explores how six of these successful entrepreneurs transferred the business skills and knowledge they obtained in Japan into their new positions and how they sought out and built networks and mentors in their new communities. This analysis is a micro-analysis, specifically focusing on individual characteristics, family situation, life stage, motivational drivers, job organization, satisfaction, career orientation, anchors and success.

The interviewees were selected via a snowball sampling method. In Bangkok, the interviews took place in the library of Personnel Consultant Manpower (Thailand) Co. LTD located in the center of business district of Bangkok in February 2015 and the author interviewed eight Japanese collaborators. In Hong Kong, the author interviewed seven collaborators and they were conducted in various places close to the workplaces in March 2014. In addition to Bangkok and Hong Kong, the author also visited Schengen City, China in August 2013 and interviewed two collaborators at their workplace. Each interview took approximately two hours. Interviews were recorded and field notes were taken. Field notes and transcripts were transcribed and checked with the respondents for accuracy. Finally, the transcripts were coded and analyzed to provide a clear and concise narrative of the career paths of these self-initiated expatriates.

4. Presentation of Cases

The six cases in this study were selected via snowball sampling. The following section presents a detailed account of in-depth interviews conducted with the six respondents in 2014-2015 and a constructed narrative of the respondents' career paths.

Table 2. Summary of Cases
* Years since becoming entrepreneur
Gray boxes indicate female cases.

	Sex	Position	Industry	Age	Education	*	Previous experience Outside Japan
A	F	CEO (BKK)	Accounting	41	Undergraduate	1	Pen pal at junior high school, Language Program in Ireland, CPA in USA
B	F	CEO of small business (BKK)	Healthcare	45	Junior College	10	Worked for Japanese company in Thailand
C	F	CEO (HK)	Food retail business	65	Vocational School	10	Flight attendant, expatriate housewife, GM (General Manager) Japan society
D	M	CEO (BKK)	Consultancy & retail businesses	37	Undergraduate	11	Worked for a major Japanese automobile company in Asia
E	M	CEO (BKK)	Hospitality	36	Undergraduate	7	Backpacking in Asia
F	M	CEO (BKK)	Service (Recruitment)	45	Undergraduate	20	Camp in USA, University in USA

4.1. Case A

The interview with Case A was conducted on March 1st 2015. Ms. A. was a graduate of Dokkyo University, Faculty of Languages in Japan. At junior-high school, Ms. A. had a pen-

pal which ignited her interest in foreign countries, people and languages. At Dokkyo University there were many returnee students, so the environment in which she studied was very international. While she was at university, she took one year off and attended language programs in Ireland.

After graduation, Ms. A. took a job at a venture capital company where she was recruited into a career track and for three years she worked in the accounting section. However, she found that at that company she would not be able to use her language skills so she changed the company and started working for Pfizer Japan. At that time, her boss was American and the majority of her co-workers were non-Japanese. At work, although she used English she was unable to develop her accounting skills so she felt unfulfilled. Two years later she moved to Avaya (Lucent Technology), a company that sells telephone systems for call centers. In this position she was able to work as an accountant. She was sent on assignment to Singapore for one year and worked in the company for three years in total. She took leave from the company for health reasons and moved to the U.S.A. with her husband. While she was in the States, she gained a CPA license but on return her and her husband parted ways. Ms.A. returned to Avaya but found it was difficult for her to work in Japan. She started looking for a job in South East Asia and was offered a job in Bangkok by a Japanese-run accounting consulting firm. There were three Japanese working at the company and fifty Thai employees. The company gave consultation to over two hundred Japanese-affiliated companies. Ms. A. was an audit manager, using her CPA and English skills as she checked the accounts of over fifty companies.

Ms. A. became overwhelmed by the workload at the company and her boss advised her to set up her own company, offering to provide her with clients. Following this advice, she set up a company with start-up capital of 2 million Thai Bhats, equivalent to 6 million Japanese yen. She now employs four Thai employees and has contracts with thirty companies overall. Ms.A. works on the regular monthly accounts of twenty-five companies which provide stability for her business.

As for professional development, Ms. A. has a USA CPA license, certificates in accounting and skills in Thai language. She is very fairly satisfied with her current work, yet she seeks to find a better work life balance. When Ms. A. was in Japan she did not have any mentors but now, in Bangkok, she has a few mentors through her work. Her networks consist of her clients and an association of Japanese entrepreneurs in Bangkok. In her social circle, she has networks through her belly-dancing class. Ms. A. plans to continue to live overseas and at present although her base is in Bangkok, in the future, she may move her base to another ASEAN country. To her, job satisfaction is most important in her life. Ms. A. stated that her

experience in Japanese companies was not so useful for her current career. In contrast, her work experience with American-affiliated companies was extremely useful to her career as it helped prepare her for the relationships and work she has now with her clients. She believes it is important to be happy and in order to be happy one needs a certain level of income, the quality of work and work life balance are important. Ms. A's career anchor is to develop a win-win relationship with the people she is working with and if this is achieved, other things will come. Her dream is to expand her company through staff education.

Table 3. Case A. Career Path

Year	Career Path
Junior High School	Pen-pal relationship with student overseas
18-23	University student, majoring in foreign languages, took part in a language program in Ireland.
23-26	Worked at a Japanese venture capital company in Japan.
26-32	Worked at American-affiliated companies in Tokyo. One year assignment in Singapore.
32-34	Lived in the USA, obtained CPA.
34-36	Returned to the previous American-affiliated company in Japan.
36-38	Worked for a Japanese company in Bangkok.
38 - present	President of her own consulting and accounting firm, employing four Thai in Bangkok.

4.2. Case B

Ms. B. was 45 years old at the time of interview. She graduated from a Japanese Junior College.[4] Upon graduation, she took a clerical job at a travel agency to make money while she was deciding what to do for her future. She quit her job at the age of 23 and took and was fired from various jobs over the next 10 years due to her alcoholism. At the age of 33 she took a new job and was asked to go to Bangkok to sell Japanese pillows in a Thai department store. This was a turning point in her life and career. She successfully sold all the pillows she

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[4] A Japanese Junior College is a 2-year college that is more vocational in focus.

took with her. From time to time, she was asked to sell Japanese goods to the Thai market so made a number of visits to Bangkok. Ms. B. decided to spend some time alone in Thailand, to read books, refresh and contemplate her future. While she was there she attended a seminar run by the Japanese Overseas Association. It was here that she met Mr. F. and took part in early morning study group sessions to learn about business. It was at this point that she decided she could run her own business called *Kenko Plus* [5](Health Plus). At the age of 35 she built up her company, initially selling healthy bedding and linen but now sells any products associated with health and well-being. She now employs eight Thai workers. As a result of the Great East Japan earthquake, she invited her parents and sister to live in Bangkok. Her parents sold the family house in Japan and moved permanently to Thailand with their pension.

Through Case F., Ms. B. was able to connect with different Japanese companies. He was able to introduce her as a consultant to Japanese-based companies. She stated that when she makes any major business decisions she runs them past Case F and she believes would not have been able to achieve all that she has without the support of Case F. After she changed her daily habits, she found her life changed dramatically. She now wakes at 3:00 am or 4:00 am in the morning to tackle the most important work. She then reads books and goes to the sports gym before going to bed at 8:00 pm. Ms. B. appreciates the troubling years she had at the beginning of her career; they helped to shape her future.

To Ms. B, money is a major driving force behind her business, the more cash she has, the better she can do. She believes that money can be used towards her next challenge. She hates competition and just wants to do what she believes in, she is highly satisfied with her life and career at this point. Case B's career path is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Case B Career Path

Year	Career Path
High School	Ordinary student
18-20	Junior College
20-23	Travel Agency

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5 kenkoplus Co.LTD. http://www.kenkoshop.co.th

23-33	Changed jobs repeatedly
33	Was asked to go to Bangkok and sell Japanese pillows at department store.
35	Established a company
At present (45)	CEO of a company called "Health Plus", selling health-care goods, air-purifiers and other related goods.

Case C.

Ms. C. was 65 years old at the time of interview. After high school, Ms. F. attended vocational school at the YMCA, where she studied English. She was recruited as a flight attendant for a major Japanese airline. She worked for the company for three years before she married. While she was raising her children, her husband was asked to work in Hong Kong, so as a family, they relocated. When she went back to work she got a job as a manager as a Japanese restaurant for a couple of months. After that, she was selected as a General Manager for the Hong Kong Japanese Club, a very prestigious society, where she worked from 1994-2004. In 2004, at the age of 55, the mandatory retirement age, she retired. In the meantime, her husband passed away. Through her network with the Japanese club, she decided to set up a food delivery company[6] called *Fine Japanese Food Co. Ltd.*, supplying Japanese food to Japanese restaurants in Hong Kong. She began with four employees and has now expanded to ten Hongkongese employees. Ms. C. teaches her staff Japanese service and hospitality standards, *omotenashi*[7]. She stated that she had a higher level of satisfaction while working at the Japanese club as now she has a very heavy sense of responsibilities and is under pressure to continually make a profit. Ms. C. felt that her work experience at the Japanese airline was extremely useful in preparing her for her future.

Table 5: Case C Career Path

Year	Career Path
High school	Ordinary student

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[6] http://www.finejpfood.com.hk

[7] Hospitality in the Japanese manner

18-19	Vocational school at YMCA
19-21	Flight Attendant
21-44	House wife
44	Expatriate wife in Hong Kong
45-55	General Manager in Japanese Club
55-65	CEO, food delivery company mainly to restaurants in Hong Kong

At work, she is trying to delegate all the work to her staff. In the near future, she hopes she can step back and try something new. Her concern at present is that Hong Kong is becoming more Chinese-controlled and influenced, making it difficult to predict the future. Although Ms. C's daughter is married and living in Tokyo, and her son is living in Germany, she remains in Hong Kong. She respects her heart and goes with her gut when making decisions. As a career anchor, Ms. C. said that when she can't find the solution by thinking, she has to move her body, take exercise, eat well and enjoy life in her own way. Case C.'s career path is summarized in Table 5 above.

4.3. Case D

The interview with Case D was conducted in February 2015. Mr. D was a graduate of a top-tier Japanese university. Table 6 summarizes Mr. D.'s career path. During his university studies, he attended an international liberal arts course, where he met students from various South-East Asian countries. Mr. D. tried to get a job through the traditional Japanese recruitment route. Although he failed to get a position in his first choice of company, he did receive a job from his second choice. As a graduation trip (which is traditional for Japanese college students before they embark on their career) he travelled through South East Asia to meet his friends. When he was in Thailand, he heard that Toyota Motors, Thailand was looking for Japanese local staff. He abandoned his plans to go back to Japan to enter the traditional Japanese company and took the position at Toyota in Bangkok. While he worked at Toyota Motors he said he gained many professional skills. His clients were executives of leading Japanese companies in Bangkok. Through these connections he learned much about international business. In particular, he stated he could better understand the relationships with *zaibatsu* (conglomerates) such as overseas Chinese, Indian and American companies. He understood the relationship between all these channels. He also said that although he was young, a fresh graduate, he learned how to behave within the organization and how to manage local Thai staff. At the age of 26 he decided to step away from his job and to open

his own company[8]. At that time, he needed 1,500,000 yen, i.e. approximately US$12,000 as start-up capital.

Table 6. Case D Career Path

Year	Career Path
High School	Regular Japanese student
18-22	University Student (Majoring in Commerce)
22	Failed to get an offer from his first company
23	Traveled around SE Asian Countries and got a job offer from TOYOTA Motor Thailand
26	Established a market research company with US$ 12,000
36	Started a joint venture business of dry cleaning company in Japan
At present (37)	President of a consulting firm, employing four researchers. President of a dry cleaning company with 40 employees. Now has 13 shops and will expand to 20 shops within 2015.

Mr. D. started a consultancy firm with four researchers. For example, his company researched about the safety of elevators in major tourist hotels and fed this information back to Japanese-based tourist companies[9]. Other projects he started were concerned with pets and elderly care. He was contracted to do market research for eleven Japan-based companies. He used his in-country experience and networks to build a portfolio of clients. Through doing these marketing research projects, he was able to identify a new, niche market - dry cleaning business. He decided to embark on a joint venture with a leading dry-cleaning company in Japan. The Japanese company provided the technical assistance and he provided the in-country knowledge. At the time of interview, he employed 40 Thai workers (15 at the factory, 15 at the shop and 10 at the office). Now, he has 13 shops and during year 2015, he intends to expand to 20 stores throughout Bangkok. Mr. D. reports to his Tokyo partner periodically. Eighty percent of his salary comes from his consulting company and 20% of his income

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8   ASEAN JAPAN CONSULTING Co.LTD. Homepage:www.asean-j.net

[9] In 2006, there was a fatal elevator accident in Tokyo. After this event, many Japanese were concerned about the safety of elevators, especially when travelling overseas.

comes from his cleaning business. He says he works in the cleaning business as it is enjoyable.

Mr. D. did not have any mentors when he first started work, he developed his skills through reading books, however, now, Case F, is his mentor. Mr. D. states that in order to do work successfully, trust and sincerity are most important. His long-term plan is to expand his market research consultancy into neighboring countries and continue to have a base in Thailand. Mr. D. has a Japanese wife. At first, his father-in-law did not approve of him, as he worked overseas. Yet after the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, his opinion changed. His wife lives with him in Bangkok and is attending Thai language school. Mr. D. continues to study the Thai language and is able to communicate with locals in their language. He feels he has an ability to foresee various business opportunities. He is focused on maintaining a high salary and achieving growth in his company. He is highly satisfied with his personal and professional circumstance.

4.5. Case E

Mr. E first had his eyes opened to working overseas through his uncle. His uncle travelled overseas and often brought back gifts for his nephew. His older sister was an office worker who did clerical duties at the company where she worked, enjoyed visiting overseas 2-3 times per year for vacation. In addition, she studied for a year in Italy, to learn Italian. He attended the same university as Case D, but he said he was not a serious student. When he was a freshmen, he went backpacking for one month in Thailand. He took the opportunity to travel in every school vacation and made a decision not to be a salaried worker but to start his own company. By his final year of university he made a clear plan to be in the restaurant business. He went through the traditional recruitment procedure and specifically decided to seek a position with a particular Japanese *izakaya*[10]chain. He chose this company because if an employee worked for more than five years at the company, they would provide them with a loan of up to 50 million yen to start their own business. He was offered a job with the company and worked his way up through positions in the front of house, back of house, store manager and eventually area manager.

At the age of 28, Mr. E. quit the company. He planned to open a restaurant in Tokyo. At that time, a Thai businessman who was a friend of his father, happened to visit Tokyo. His father explained his son's plan of opening a restaurant to his friend. Then, the Thai friend advised him to abandon his plans in the Japanese market due to the declining population and to try to establish the business in Thailand instead. Mr. E. decided that if he was to set-up his business

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[10] An *izakaya* is the equivalent of an English pub, where they serve snacks to accompany your drinks.

in Thailand, it was highly likely to be successful, so he decided to move to Bangkok and start preparing for his future. On arrival in Bangkok he attended Thai language school for six months. At school, he met many people and learned how to set up a business. He also met with Case F who gave him much advice. In the latter half of his six months, he started to prepare to set up his company. After a year, he was able to open to his first restaurant called *My Porch*[11]. Mr. E. needed 18 million yen to open the business. He was able to put up 5 million of his own savings and the remaining 13 million was raised through investors (father, father's friends, Thai friends and other friends) without the need to take out a loan. During his time working at the *izakaya* in Japan, he had head-hunted staff from Japan to work in Bangkok. One chef accepted an offer to work with him in Thailand yet he was specialist in western food not Japanese food. As such, Mr. E. decided to be flexible with the style of his restaurant and changed the focus from entirely Japanese to a Japanese-Western hybrid style restaurant. He chose a location next to a Japanese supermarket, where Japanese expatriate wives would come to do their shopping. His restaurant proved popular with these women who would take a Japanese-style lunch during the week. It became a hub for the Japanese housewife community. The first three months were not successful but from the fourth month Mr. E began to make a profit.

In the second year, Mr. E decided to expand his business. A small Thai massage parlor in the same area was declared bankrupt. As a result, the landlord offered Mr. E. the opportunity to rent and reopen the Thai massage parlor. He immediately took this opportunity and decided to open a high quality, focused on cleanliness and high-level of service as well as technique provided in both Japanese and Thai. The price was 10%-20% higher than the average Thai massage parlor shop but tourists and Japanese expatriates were prepared to pay the increased price.

Table 7. Case E Career Path

Year	Career Path
High School	Ordinary Japanese boy
18-23	Student (Education) Backpacker travelling from Chiangmai, Thailand to Singapore Decided to be an entrepreneur
23-28	Worked for five years at a Japanese restaurant

[11] www.my-porch

28	Opened a Western-style restaurant called *My Porch*, next to a Japanese food supermarket in Bangkok
30	Opened a massage parlor called *At Ease*
31	Opened a KARAOKE Box
32	Opened "At Ease" second shop
33	Opened a Sweets shop. Failed and closed.
34	No expansion. Started travelling ASEAN countries
35	Opened *My Porch* in Hanoi, Vietnam
At present (36)	Owns five restaurants and related shops

In the third year, Mr. E. decided to expand further to open a *Karaoke*[12] box for Japanese tourists. It was a successful endeavor. He added a second store in year five, in addition to a sweet shop. However, the sweet shop was unsuccessful and he decided to close it. In the sixth year, he decided to travel around Thailand and neighboring countries to look for more opportunities. In year seven, he opened the first branch of his restaurant in Hanoi, Vietnam. In the future he wants to do business in Japan and become a bridge between Japan and other ASEAN countries. Mr. E. does not like to borrow money for his business, although he had to do so in the past. He follows the business model of just leasing properties so he can easily close the business if it is not successful. He makes comparisons between his businesses to see which are successful and if they are seen to be failing, he withdraws them from the market. He believes that when he starts new businesses he performs better. So he looks for opportunities to challenge himself.

Similarly to Case D, Case E cites Case F as his mentor. His career anchor is the Japanese idiom *'nasebanaru'* that can be translated as where there is a will there is a way. Table 6 summarizes Mr. E.'s career path.

4.6. Case F

Mr. F. is renowned among Japanese expatriates in Bangkok as the most successful Japanese businessperson in Bangkok. As a child, he was a boy scout. While he was in high school he

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[12] Karaoke means singing to taped accompaniment. In Japan, it is one of most popular kinds of entertainment.

took part in a two week scouting camp in the USA that really opened his eyes to study in the USA. He went to university in Oregon and majored in Business Administration. During his time studying overseas, he decided he wanted to become a businessman, but not like a traditional Japanese salaryman. He had an image of a traditional Japanese salaryman through reading Japanese *manga*[13] as a child. This image remained with him and he did not want to follow that route. He decided he wanted to work in a country other than the USA or Japan.

Table 8. Case F Career Path

Year	Career Path
Elementary School	Boy scout
High school	Two weeks camp in the USA
18-22	University in the USA (Business Administration)
22	Job hunt in Malaysia, but failed
23	Arrived in BKK and found a job at a real-estate agency
23 24	Establish a company with a friend with the assistance of a Japanese investor Started an employment placement service company with assistance of a Thai investor
At present (45)	His company is the biggest employment placement company in Thailand and is expanding business to Myanmar

As can be seen in Table 8, after university, Mr. F. went to Malaysia to find a job but was unsuccessful. From Kuala Lumpur he moved to Bangkok and for two weeks, he looked for a job. He eventually found a job at a real estate agency. He worked but quickly decided that he could do the job successfully by himself. Six months later, with a friend, he opened his own real estate agency in Bangkok. He received start-up funds from a Japanese investor. Initially, he provided a one-stop-service for real estate needs but wanted to change to a recruitment

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[13] Japanese cartoons.

business as he could see that many Japanese companies were beginning to invest in Thailand, resulting in a huge need for this type of business. However, his investor did not approve of this change, so he changed the investor and started his company from scratch, with four employees, two Japanese and two Thai, with a start-up funds equivalent to 7-8 million yen. He is now the CEO of his own recruitment company[14] with sixty Thai employees and thirteen Japanese employees. The company has now become the biggest in its industry in Thailand and has expanded into Myanmar.

As for professional development, after Mr. F. moved to Bangkok, he started to study the Thai language, founded the Japanese Overseas Association in Thailand and became a member of the Rotary International club.

Mr. F. is highly satisfied with his personal and private circumstances. He sends his children to Japanese boarding school as he wants them to be brought up with the values of being Japanese. He feels like his success has depended on his ability to listen carefully to others. He is concerned with making others around him happy and believes if he can do this, he will also be able to live a happy and successful life. He feels that as an employer, he has to continue to create value for his employees, if not, the employees will not be satisfied and will be less productive. Mr. F. lives by the words, 'don't extinguish the fire, keep having passion.' He says these words motive and inspire him to keep going.

5. Discussion

In this paper, the author focused on successful Japanese SIE entrepreneurs in Bangkok and Hong Kong and found the following eight push factors:

5.1. Exposure Overseas in Exploration Stage
Case D and Case E backpacked and visited South East Asia at the time of university and Case F participated in Boy Scout camps in the USA in high school. In addition, Case C visited various countries as a flight attendant in her early twenties. Additionally, Case A was exposed to life overseas through her pen-pal and interactions with returnees at her university. These experiences were one-time events, but as they occurred during the Exploration stage of a career it is argued that they became a strong push factor and motivational drive for the individual to become a SIE. Case B is the only case where the individual was not exposed to overseas in the exploration stage.

5.2. Age at the Start of Business

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[14] Personnel Consultant Manpower (Thailand) Co., LTD. http://www.personnelconsultant.co.th

Al the male cases, D, E and F, started their businesses at the early stage of their Establishment stage (Super, 1985), namely Case D at 26; Case E at 28; Case F at 24 years old. It appears that age is a very important factor when starting business. In fact, these three Cases made decisions about their future career direction during the university period. As such, it could be argued that youth is a push factor towards Japanese male SIEs becoming successful entrepreneurs. On the contrary, all female respondents started much later at age 40 (Case A), 35 (Case B) and 55 (Case C). In these female cases, they attempted to establish a traditional career and life from the outset but during the course of their life, they found they needed to make continual adjustments and finally moved outside their home country later in life. It appears the male and female approach is different, with males becoming entrepreneurs from an earlier age.

5.3. Flexibility

Almost all cases made adjustments in the course of their career development. This relies on them to be flexible in their thinking and approach to business. Case A was unsatisfied with her career in Japan and the working style did not fit her way of working. Her daily commute of one and a half hours each way did not allow her to find a work life balance. She wanted to work for a company that was more flexible and a better fit her character. She decided to work for a company that would respect her flexibility and now, as an entrepreneur she can control her own work-style and time.

Case D expanded his business to a niche sector, i.e. dry cleaning business; Case D opened a Japanese-hybrid western restaurant in Bangkok, although he initially planned to open a Japanese restaurant in Tokyo. Case F started the real estate business first, but he changed his business field to recruiting company against the opposition of a Japanese investor. As Case B found a health-care business successful in Thailand, she started her own company instead of working for an already established company. Case C did not intend to be an entrepreneur in Hong Kong; however, she chose to start a new business in delivery of Japanese foods to Japanese restaurants in Hong Kong. In reviewing all the cases, they are all very flexible in their thinking and made adjustments when necessary in their lives. An individual's ability to be flexible is considered to be a push factor.

5.4. Motivation

Regarding initial Motivation Drives, it was found in the course of individual interviews that all collaborators fluently expressed their views, speaking in words of their own. The initial

motivation drives of Case E and F are similar, i.e. they did not want ordinary lives of Japanese salaried men. They wanted to navigate their lives using their own initiative. The initial motivation drives of the remaining cases vary and were contingent. Case D failed his first choice at his job hunting in Japan and chose a position of local staff in Bangkok.

Regarding their long-term motivation drive, all six cases showed similar high aspirations. Case D has a strong wish to expand his market-research consulting in the neighboring SE Asian countries. Case E dreams to be a bridge between Japan and ASEAN countries. Case F is in the process of expanding his business in Myanmar, and possibly in the other ASEAN countries. Case C has a plan to start a new business in Hong Kong.

Thus, it could be concluded that these successful male cases chose to navigate their lives in the course of their Exploration Stage or early Establishment Stage. Consequently, they encountered many opportunities through their business in SE Asian Countries, which enhanced their long-term motivation drives. However, female cases are different, Japanese female entrepreneurs started their career much later than Japanese males.

5.5. Start-up Capital

It is necessary to hold start-up capital when starting a business. As women in the study started their business later in their career, they already had their own start-up capital. Case B was also able to have funds from her parents, while Case A and Case C had their own funds at age 40 and age 55 respectively. On the other hand, when Case D, E and F started their business at the early stage of *Establishment Stage* (Super, 1986), i.e. during mid-twenties, it was necessary for them to get some part of the initial start-up capital from investors. Although the interview collaborators in Bangkok asserted that it was easy to register a company and start up business in Thailand, these cases could obtain their start-up capital in their mid-20s when they were still quite young.

It appears that the role of investors is very important, although this issue was not deeply investigated during interviews. The author did not ask the question relating to start-up capital in Hong Kong. However, it is assumed that it is more difficult in Hong Kong than in Bangkok to start business. Having capital available appears to be a strong push factor for these SIEs.

5.6.   Support from Family

Support from family members is also argued to be a significant push factor. For example, Case D's father worked in China as an engineer and he supported his son's plan of working in Bangkok instead of working for a traditional company in Japan. Case E's father had a Thai businessman friend who gave him advice, became his investor as well as his mentor. Regarding Case F, he was the eldest son in his family. However, his father approved him of studying in the USA, respecting his son's dream and the decision of working outside Japan. As can be seen, the males started their entrepreneurial careers at a younger age, as such; they relied on the support of their family. On the contrary, as females began later in life, they were much more independent from their family.

5.7. Career Anchor

All the cases have similar career anchors. Case A discussed the need to establish a win-win relationship with clients. The career anchor of Case D is trust and sincerity, that of Case E is if one does ordinary things done in developed countries properly in developing countries, they will be successful; that of Case F is that if one makes others around him happy, he can be happy; that of Case B is after one changed one's daily habits, things will move better way and Case C's career anchors is to respect her heart. One can conclude that it is important to have a career anchor to carry out daily work, especially when confronting tough times and that these push a SIE to be successful.

5.8. Mentors
Interestingly, Case F is the mentor of Case D, Case E and Case B. Other interview collaborators whom the author spoke with also quoted Case F as their mentor. Apparently, Case F is the founder of Japanese Overseas Association in Thailand and a member of Rotary International Club in Bangkok. One can assume that as Case F was a boy scout as a boy, he still has the same spirit to work hard and succeed. The author is highly convinced that Case F took a significant role in helping develop younger Japanese entrepreneurs in Thailand and that having a strong mentor is a push factor for SIEs.

Table 9: Summary of Cases
Note: Gray shade indicates female cases.

	Location	Motivation Drive (short, long)	Adjustment	Age at Start of Business	Career Anchor	Mentor	Push Factor	Pull Factor

A	BKK	Short - Expand business Long – Staff development in accounting	None	38	Establish win-win relationships	Clients	-Learned the working style of an American company in Japan -Spirit to take on new challenges -Release from Japanese traditional lifestyle	-Decline of income
B	BKK	-Help people through health goods -Expand business with cash	Expanded to healthcare and wellbeing	35	Healthy life-style changes one's life	Case F	-Mentor -Support from family -Earthquake in Japan	
C	HK	-Provide fine Japanese food -Launch a new business	-Expanding to home delivery -Delegating work to staff	65	Respect her hearts		No family responsibility	Daughter lives in Tokyo
D	BKK	- High salary and achieving growth -Expand business in neighboring countries	Expanded to niche market, dry cleaning	26	Trust and Sincerity	Case F	-Travelling SE Asia at university -Support from of family -Earthquake in Japan	
E	BKK	-Expand business -Bridge b/w Japan and	Opened Japanese-western hybrid	28	Where there is a will, there is a way	Case F	-Travelling S.E. Asia at university -Support from	

		ASEAN countries	restaurant				family	
F	BKK	-If he can make others happy, he can be happy -Expand his business	Changed from a Real Estate business to a Recruitment company	24	Do not extinguish the fire, keep having passion	Listen to senior Japanese who have had a business	-Many Japanese companies make direct investment in Thailand	Eldest son

6. Limitations

The cases discussed in this paper have many push factors and do not seem to have significant pull factors. It was found that the workers are successful and they receive higher income compared with their peers in Japan. However, some collaborators who were not included in this paper were not so successful. Some expressed that they received low income compared with peers at university in Japan and some were an escape group from their circumstances (Doherty, et.al 2011). Consequently, it will be necessary to analyze more unsuccessful cases in future research.

7. Conclusion

This research is an exploratory study, focusing on emerging Japanese male and female self-initiated expatriates (SIE) in South East Asia. This paper investigated the push and pull factors and motivations for embarking on a successful self-initiated career along with differences between genders in relation to career path development.

It was found that through talking with these successful entrepreneurs, from a gender perspective, there is a difference between males and females. The males tend to start their business when they are young, on the contrary, female entrepreneurs did not initially intend to start to a business, but through the course of their life, they decided to establish their own company, in a foreign country, much later in life. As females start their business when they are older, they have already prepared their start-up capital and can be less dependent on outside investors. Additionally, they are able to make more independent decisions, rather than getting advice or support from their family. Both groups have flexibility in their approach to life, a strong career anchor, and mentors.

The Japanese cases presented in this study fit well with the description of SIEs described by Sullivan and Arthur (2006), in that they are non-conformist, self- reliant, self-directed and proactive, and operate with a high degree of personal agency.

Based on in-depth interviews with Japanese SIE entrepreneurs in Bangkok and Hong Kong, this study found eight push factors, namely, 1). Exposure overseas in exploration stage, 2). Age at the start of business, 3). Flexibility, 4). Motivation, 5). Start-up capital, 6). Support from family, 7). Career anchor, 8). Mentor. It was also found that their short-term and long-term motivations are both very high. As the cases presented in this paper were all successful SIE entrepreneurs, many push factors were found and few pull factors were found. In other words, the more one has push factors, the more one can be successful.

Through this study, it was found that the role of career education development at university is very important because students need to go and explore the world and design the basic direction of their future career during university as all this appears to be the time when individuals first become exposed to life outside Japan. Thus, it is more important for a university to provide exploration opportunities for students to build their future career plan. An emphasis should be put on exploration in career design courses, not just the traditional recruitment and employment schemes. Also, it is again important for a Japanese university to provide classes and opportunities for students aiming to become SIEs such as how to become an entrepreneur, how to manage local staff, how to behave within the organization, etc.

It is argued that the relationship between motivation and age is an important factor when becoming a self-initiated expatriate. In the future research, it will be necessary to further investigate this relationship

Lastly, it is essential to have some amount of start-up capital when one starts business. Many cases obtained their start-up capital from investors. It appears there is an established network with investors. As this aspect was not deeply investigated throughout the interviews, it will be necessary to explore who are the investors, what is the role of investors and the conditions of the investment.

Future research also needs to extend the target group from not only successful Japanese SIEs but also at unsuccessful SIEs.

Finally, future research needs to be expanded to Japanese SIEs in other South-East Asian countries such as Cambodia, Myanmar, and Indonesia, where there may be different cultural elements and/or business practices.

Acknowledgements

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Sister founders in sociology -
Democratisation of Contemporary sociological education

Lejla Mušić, Assistant Prof.
Faculty of Political Sciences

Sister founders is coin term defined by Mary Jo Deegan, in order to mark accomplismant of Female in sociology. Dorothey Smith and Jessie Bernard coined the term the *feminist enlightenment* or female stream sociology development. Ecofeminist manifesto negotiates respect of nature as Gaia, Mother, and Feminine Deity that has the self-inherent laws . Mary Jo Deegan investigates the reasons why are female names marginalized in fields of sociology, specially focusing onto the binary divisions that are inherited from Antique philosophy.

Mary Jo Deegan questiones *Are there women founders in sociology*
 (1990:1-463) ,   *Women founders in sociology*, gives responds in 53 women founders in sociology, and in appendix of this work even +66 are mentioned. Rarely mentioned in *male stream* sociology, only by profeminist masculine authors . (1990:4-5).   [1]„ At Bosnian and Herzegovinian only Departmant of Sociology(as only subject to be studied), there is not even a one female academic in sociology, nor emerita, nor full time professor, neither associate, there are only female assistant professors. The only one professor, Zlata Grebo(former Dean, only female Dean at Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo), is full time professor of statistics in retirmant, and Safeta Kovo(Sarajevo University, Faculty of Political Sciences, Departmant of sociology, Bosnia and Herzegovina) that reached the full time professor position, recently died[2]. Old recidive from dark ages in sociology , for females is that there were destined to be diminished in sociology and destined to enter in social work or politology professions. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, discriminations against female sociologists as professionals stil exists. The ASA(American sociological association), had even 13 females for it's president(1906-2013). [3]

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[1] Mary Jo Deegan mentiones(1990:4-5) : „Abbot Edith, Jane Addams, Arendt Hannah, Green Balch Emily, De Beauvoir Simone, Bernard Jessie, Sophonisba Breckinridge, Ruth Shonle Cavan, Mary Elizabeth Burroughs Coolidge Roberts Smith, Coser Laub Rose, Davis Bement Katharine, Diggs Ellen Irene, Donavan Frances, Eaves Lucille, Gilman Charlotte Perkins, Hagood Margaret Jarman, Hawes Amy, Holingworth Stetter Leta, Huber Joan, Hughes Macgill Helen, Kelley Florence, Kellor A. Frances, Kingsbury Susan, Klein Viola, Kollontai Alexandra, Komarovsky Mirra, Briant Lee Elisabeth, Hum Lee Rose, Lopata Znaniecka Helena, Merrel Lynd Hellen, Maclean Marion Annie, Martineu Harriet, Masaryk Alice, Myrdal Alva, Olesen Virginira, Parsons Clews Elsie, Riley White Mathilda, Baer Rose Caroline, Rossie Alice, Shanas Ethel, Smith Dorothey, Spencer Garlin Anna, Taeuber Irene B, Taft Jessie, Talbot Marion, Swaine Thomas Dorothey, Van Kleeck Marie, Wax Rosalie, Webb Beatrice, Wells- -Barnett Ida, Plum-Williams Hattie

[2] According to the prof. Emeritus Nijaz Musabegović(2012:172) statement, since the establishment of Sociology Department at Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo, in 1964/1965 , the following female profesors worked within the Department: "Zlata Grebo(Dean of Faculty of Political Sciences) , Ina Ovadija Musafija, Fadila Čengić, Olga Kozomara(Head of the Department), Desanka Ikić(Phd title *Socio-economical aspects of women employment in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1975), Safeta Kovo(Sociology of Family), Milena Bošnjak Somborski, and female asistants Željka Mudrovčić(went ot work within UNHCR sector and published *Sexual and gender based violence in post conflict Region: The Bosnia and Herzegovina* in 2001) and Jasna Miloš".

[3] First female president was Dorothey Swaine Thomas in 1952, Mira Komarowsky(1973), Alice S.Rosi(1983), Patricia Hill Collins(2009)(Mary Jo Deegan 1990: 9), Cecillia Ridgeway(2013),... Elected presidents for 2014 and

Maria Gimbutas founded (Eislar 1987) that there were several cradles of civilisation; some of them egalitarian such as Minoan period of rule on island Crete[4] . Occasional pictures from that period of time represent women standing on the thrones receiving the offerings (the fruits, whine, and seeds) by men[5]. The most of these society are labelled as primitive, therefore it is necessary in spirit of recent meditations of John Monaghan and Piter Just in work *Social and cultural anthropology*, emphasizes that cognition of cultural values of subjective character, and metaphor of cultural glasses describes that similar to changes of location on map and socialisation, our statements differ. To be capable to understand the cultures of others, refusal of colonial imperial patriarchal dominant ideology of Western observer, demands being consciousness the ones own culture glasses, followed by transition to decentred position of independent observer. Fundamental difference of these societies could be seen in societal comprehension of care, tenderness, non-violence as female, but not less valuable than maleness that is not identified with domination, but the power as shared concept stands for potential for action not for dominion[6] .

Binary oppositions

Table 1.

Male	Female
Culture	Nature
Ratio	Emotion
Father	Mother
Sun	Moon
Form	Matter
Active principle	Passive principle
Rational substance	Material substance
Contract	Nature
Free Will	Natural Law
Mind	Body
Artificial	Natural
Civilized	Primitive
Spirituality	Materiality
War	Peace
Master and Pleasure	Private

2015 are female as well, Annete Lareau(2014) and Paula England(2015). Elected president for 2016 is female as well, Ruth Milkmen.

[4] Ibid

[5] Ibid

[6] Ibid

Ethic of dominance	Slave and Pain
War Ethic	Care Ethic
Logic of dominance	Logic of care
Artistic work	Kitsch

Male stream, (having the male in center) vs. *female stream,*(having the female in center) is binary that represents modern period. In the postmodern period the mentioned differences were diminished by transgender ideas. The basic problem is identification of women with non-rationality, mindlessness, emotionalism, by which their exclusion from public and academic sphere is justified. Ecofeminism with its powerful activism since Chupko movement in India, trough the development of agricultural unions supported by Vandana Shiva, until the formation of Institute for Social ecology where the first ecofeminist Conferences were organized, under the influences of Eco feminists Yenestra King, Val Plumwood until public demonstration against the oppression of feminine identity and nature, accomplishes the active fight with risk as mark of postmodern reality. Besides the female ecofeminists and feminists, grows the number of male authors as well. Besides Zimmerman, Cheney, Sylvan, who similarly to Carter situate ecofeminism as the most important and the most complete eco movement of Contemporary age. Patricia Shipley mentions debate care ethic vs. justice ethic laded by American psychologists, Carol Gilligan and Lawrence Kohlberg.[7] Kohlberg was supporter of traditional approach on unobjectivity of feminin subject under the influence of emotion, while Gilligan thinks that ethic of care only develops emphaty for others while as subjectum represents part of interpersonal relations, having the higher moral values[8]. Formed out of radical feminism, under the influence of marxistic feminism and socialism, ecofeminism promotes ethic of care in interpersonal relations, as well as the relation to others, against oponing term of logice of dominance. Ethic of care, according to ecofeminist Karen Warren, markes the potential that connects the femininty and nature, emphatic abilities of women and man inable them for deeper understanding of relations in nature, conflicts as well as the peace processes, implicately involving social distance from other in order to understand her/his world as „the alternative to egoistic interpretations of subjectivity as something that need not to be connected to others or nature ”. Hiperdistancing, blaze shyzo, hobo identity could have the negative consequences. Wyll Kymlicka in his political theory proposes the concept of feministic ethic of care. Dichotomies of public and private should be broken, because the ethic of care should be widened into the public discourse, and Kymlicka[9] defines it as „a. concept that influens the learning of moral principles(justice) vs. developing of moral dispositions(care); b.moral cognitioning c. Moral concept, focused on justice and fairness vs. responsability and relations(care)“. Bosnian and Herzegovinian philosopher and sociologist Babić-Avdispahić Jasminka, in work *Ethic, democracy and citizenship*, introduces the intersection of Care Ethic as feminist interventions into the citizenship discourse, stating that authoress Sare Ruddick and Jean Bethke Elshtain, „emphsize importance of motherhood“[10], or ethic of care „for new model of citizenship “[11]. Unlike the masculinistic ethics that promote logic of dominance as condition for action in

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[7] Kohlberg was Gilligan' s mentor , and disupute was concerened with gender difference in ethic and moral judgment

[8] Shipley, P. , *Rational women in feminist debate*, refer at in Atelier for philosophy, Social Sciences, and psychoanalyses, Jun, London, 2000, pp. 109.

[9] Kymlicka, W., , *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, pp. 265.

[10] Babić, Avdispahić, J., *Ethic, democracy and citizenship*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 2005, pp. 129.

[11] Ibid

patriarchally founded social systems, Bosnian and Herzegovinian sociologist and philosopher Mujkić[12] has noticed that it „is necessary by the redescription of our cognitions and feelings and widening of we-intention reviling the suffer of those who we consider to be other". Ethic of care is bioregionalism that should involve relation in neighbourhood, respect for envirnoment, reciclation of waste, being familiar with surroudings and effects of ecological accidents on environment as foundation for acction. Value of care for others has subversive and oppositional force in era of even greated alienation process, and Rosemarie Tong percives the possibility of the conflict transcedention in identification masculine attributes to women, and feminine attributtes to male as a sign of postmodernism.

Ecofeminist Manifesto uncovering the methodes for cognitions of care ethic concepts that belongs to both genders equally.

Globalisation factors influence the strengthening of the care ethic concept

Promotion of this concept is nested in frames of *profeminist masculine*[13] movements, and eexample of that represents the work of spokesperson of National Organization Man against Sexism Ben Atherton-Zeman *'s Male Manifesto*, in which he proposes active involvement of man in raising up the children and prohibition of racism, ostracism, and sexism and adopting the multiplicity of ways to reveal masculinity. Dona Haraway's Cyber Manifesto, completely negates differences between man and women, because cybernatisation annulets gender division of labor and leads to egalitarism of gender relations, but transgender as well as category of human existence. If we analyze the works of eminent sociologists and feminists we can notice that manifests develop shared idea of tendency for deconstruction the traditional gender roles, and creation of gender equal world. Since Frankfurt school Manifesto, through the ecofeminist Manifesto until the Male Manifesto the injustice global women discrimination ideology is developed in order to make it scientifically impossible by cyber feminist and biotechnologist Dona Haraway, who thinks that rapidation of surgical interventions and technologisation, influence the public sphere egalitarisation, and women become the part of the global discourse and active global involvement in World problems factor of Contemporary Era. Authoress such as Uma Narayan, Nira Yuval Davis, Tine Davis, Francien Van Driel, Chandra Mohanty, Gaytri Spivak, Vandana Shiva brake a silence on Third World Women discrimination, as well as discrimination of the other nation and other color. This postcolonial feminist thought represents part of Global World politics of World Commission on social dimensions of globalization, which in its report entitled Fair globalization: creating the opportunities for all[14]: „We want to make the globalization means of sharing human welfare and freedom, and bringing the democracy and development in local unions in which people live. Our shared goal is to make consensus for joined action that will accomplish this vision, in order for this process developing to involve states, international organization, economy, work, and civil society". During this process it is necessary for the most vulnerable categories to be protected, according the Commissions evaluation being women, indigenous people, and poor worker[15]. Globalization must become ethically and ecologically conscious process that will at the same time become

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[12] Mujkić, A., *Short history of pragmatism*, *introduction to democratic thought*, Printcom, Tuzla, 2005, pp. 88.

[13] Representative of this movement is profeminist masculinist John Stoltenberg who founders his theory on radical feminist pro egalitarian perspective in relation in between genders and creation of contemporary identity. The origin of the term is antic definition of ecological androgyny and the ultimate end of masculine studies is feminine masculinity and masculine femininity. Authors such as sociologist Denis Altman and Jeffrey Weeks explained this non disparate egalitarian perspective of modern and postmodern.

[14] *Fair globalisation:creating the opportuinities for all*, The World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, ILO Publication, April, 2004, pp.2.

[15] Ibid, pp.4.

simultaneously even more faire and more inclusive[16]. Prominent sociologist Manuel Castells participated in this Commission work as part of expert team. Eco feminist political is based on Eco feministic political philosophy, and its regaining of consciousness is necessary to sociological theory. Questioning the deconstruction of traditional gender dichotomies initiated the work of sociologist Sherry Ortner Is *women for man, the same as nature for culture? (*1984); this dichotomy represents the origin locus of patriarchal oppression. Eco feminist politics in its philosophy questioning following questions: [17]:"1. Question of nature/natural become the places of exclusion, relations that specially influence women, colored people, homosexuals, nonhuman categories of existance"2.What is the political status of the entity that we call nature, environment, or world transcendent to humans. 3. How come that nature itself is excluded out of domain of political? 4. Could nature have political personality? 5. As discourses of environment, politics, gender dichotomies, politics, gender ideologies, are interpolated and integrated? 6. In what way theories on race, queer theories, and postcolonial theories help ecological project of overcoming the anthropological~ domination over the natural world?" As it has been previously deducted, care ethic as concept subverts traditional masculine ethic of dominance and justice as heroic ethic, emphasizing that globalisation demands transition to regional relations of cooperation and tolerance all over the world. Which way to take in order to implement ethic of care towards the practical implementation of this strategy, making the cognitions transparent to wider public and demystification of term ecofeminist manifesto as locus of construction of care ethic? Sociologist Ariell Salleh negotiates for ecofeminist care ethic and opens the question of need for *ecologically conscious sociology*. That power holds only ecofeminist ethic concerned with nature, morals, gender, and consciousness intersection. It is necessary to be conscious of environmental problems, problem of destruction of nature thorough the ideological identification of women and nature. Significant *locus* for creation of sociology promoted by Salleh „ecologically literate sociology" [18]are gender based division of work and Marxists critic of gender division of work. Geopolitics as contemporary approach to political discourse involves movements such as eco feminism, eco Marxism, social ecology, deep ecology[19] and ecologically conscious sociology is presupposition of modern sociology. Modern division of labour is origin of human alienation from nature, therefore it should be deconstructed towards the involvement of native and gender sensible perspectives towards the indigenisation, hold Uriy and Dickens, and that basis represent ecofeminist politics defined in Ecofeminist Manifesto, written by sociologist and lawyer Rian Eisler. Ecofeminist political philosophy and with it interpolated sociology stands for powerful response to modern period crisis and it is particular postmodern gender dichotomies deconstruction progenitor towards the transgender and for women and subordinated masculinities, for indigenous and native people, and person of third age, more egalitarian society. Postmodern sociology radicalizes statements of modern theories into the post human era and annulets the ecofeminism into the ecofeminist human progressivism. *New ecological paradigm for sociology*, state sociologist Robert E.Dunlop and Catton that have noticed scant of sociological focus on ecological problems of 1979[20], is necessary. Ecofeminists Maria Mies, Ariel Salleh, Vandana Shiva, and English sociologist such as Peter Dickens, Anthony Giddens. American sociologist David Harvey hold

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[16] Ibid, pp.4-7.

[17] Malory, C., *What Is Ecofeminist Political Philosophy? Gender, Nature, and the Political*, Sixth Annual Joint Meeting of the International Society for Environmental Ethics, Allenspark, Colorado, 2008, pp. 309-310.

[18] Salleh, A., *Ecofeminism as Sociology*, Conference of the International Sociological Association Research Committee on Environment and Society(RC24), Cambridge University, July 5-7, 2001, pp.74.

[19] Ibid, 61.

[20] Giddens, A., Sutton W.P., *Sociology: introductionary readings*, third edition, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 95.

that setting aside practical forms of knowledge and cognition represents loss of the relation with organic nature and resulted in alienation. It is necessary to exchange the alienation with the emancipation suggests Dickens[21]by the involvement of the ecofeminist perception of the "Eco political problems such as equality, cultural diversity and difference "Giddens[22]defines modernity as "monster, runaway engine of enormous power that destroys everything in front of it, influences the socialized nature and social institutions. Because of that reason it is necessary to define the ecofeminist [23] politics and to define its goals. Political should have been, even progressively envisioned should become the space "where the ecological subject are formed, contextualized, destabilised, reformatted[24], and democracy should become identical with public sphere[25]. Rosemary Tong perceives the eco feminist politics as the most significant form of politics necessary for the new age especially because of care ethic that palliates bioregional relations of cooperation. Bioregionalism includes: „living the „rooted"life, with developed consciousness of ecology, economy, and culture of locus in which we live[26]. Globalisation does not lead to education of depolitisation of gender, and results in „globalisation of masculinities" that connecting the local and global makes the masculinities possible places for critic of traditional hegemonic masculinity concept by the introduction of multiplicity of masculinity concept simultanously deconstructing traditional approach to gender roles and oppening the space for implementation of care ethic as ecofeminist perspecitve. Discourse on intersection of gender and developoment, and its global charachter until now is mainly focused to achivments of women from Third World countries, and authors Alain Greig, Michael Kimmel, James Lang indicate on group joint in year 1999. as a part of work team of UNDP- named male group for gender equality that had noticed crucial problem of global discurse on gender relation:" standpoints on gender as mainly female problem, not enough space for male in discussions on gender equality , limited number of places for male in gender mainstreaming processes"[27]. Luck of space for male in this discourse must be exchanged with creation of wider space for their experiences of opression, luck of power, marginalisation, and opression of male from top of the hiearchy in goal for avoidness of discourse „women as victim, male as problem" ideology to deconstruction „ nor every women makes a victim nor every male represents a problem" Blagojević[28] on the other side warns that globalisation brings also global negative myzogenic interpretations of women and womenly on which speaks Devaleaux such as „stupid women(sponzored women), bussiness women (focused towards the carrier without scrupula, usual women(that speak too much and talk unimportant things) , fatal women, mothers-in – law(enviuous, uggly, evil)". Origin of this stereotipisation is already mentioned and that is the matrix for gender dichotomies where it is necessary to mark the difference „ Balcan and Europe, nature and technology, emotion and rationality"[29]. Balcan, nature, emotion are attributes of

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[21] Salleh, A. , *Ecofeminism as Sociology*, Conference of the International Sociological Association Research Committee on Environment and Society(RC24), Cambridge University, July 5-7, 2001, pp.64.

[22] Giddens, A., Sutton W.P., *Sociology: introductionary readings,* third edition, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 41.

[23] Orgin of ecofeminism are radical feminism and socialistic feminis, especially Marx theory

[24] Malory, C., *What Is Ecofeminist Political Philosophy? Gender, Nature, and the Political*, Sixth Annual Joint Meeting of the International Society for Environmental Ethics, Allenspark, Colorado, 2008, 313.

[25] Ibid, 315.

[26] Zeman, Z., Geiger, Zeman, M., *Introduction in ecology of sustainable communities*, Social Sciencies Institute Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, 2010, pp.78.

[27]Ibid, pp. 187.

[28] Ibid, 234.

[29] Ibid, pp.230.

weaker gender and therefore they suggest opression, conflict, turbolences, lesser importance, feminine in patriarchal interpretation. The way of female interpretation is not deconstructed yet and in Bosnian and Herzegovinian perspective is presented because of the posttransitional period that results in retraditionalisation and repatriarchalisation. Negative sociological cathegory, especially analyzed from sociology of gender discourse, have shown that traditionalisam and patriarchy are strengthened by new and advanced technologies whose effect deconstructs by subversive acts and radically attacts cyberfeminist and ecofeminist movement. Political consciousness of ecofeminism settled in Bosnian and Herzegovinian posttransitional period is extremely needed and valid praxis for fullfilment of gender equality and minimalisation of negative globalisation consequences. Negative examples of globalisaton Axford, Browning, Huggins, Rosamond, Turner and Grant named *vectors of globalisation*[30], among whom the global haos represent the most frapant and the most apocaliptic part.

Ecofeminism represents more coherent and more gender sensible project of gaining the ecological rights because it distinguishes from deep ecology for its concern with dichotomies masculine/feminine, while deep ecology movement such as Earth First!, claims Carter, are misogynistic and transmit the gender unequal patriarchal messages[31]. Arriel Salleh demands making the sociology ecologically literate and powerful ecofeminist political engagement helps poor, marginalized, without rights, to come to their rights negating the dominant patriarchal matrix recognizing the dichotomies as origins of oppression.   Transcending the gender dichotomies are accomplished by *womenism*, progressive humanism, progressing, *cyber* cultures, feminist term of transversal politics, ecofeminist politics that become places of abolishing the negative globalisation consequences. The most elegant example that negotiates progressive humanism has shown Fukuyama's work *Trust* [32]: „There is significant belief that people around the world are the same under the skin, and that the approved communications will result in better". Future perspective according to Steger[33] must involve "critical globalisation theory", with a goal of establishing the egalitarian and less violent global order. Ecofeminism in its goal is helped by postcolonial feminist, queer movement, progressive eco womenism, Fukuyama's ideas (of trust), indigenisation[34], bioregionalism, geocibernetics[35] and environmentalist nationalism[36]. As Amartiya Sen[37], Harvard professor and expert in field of

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[30] Vectors of globalisation are world nation-state, postcapitalistic world economical order, clash of civilisation, global disorder

[31] Carter, N. , *Strategy of environmental protection*, barbat, Zagreb, 2004, str. 16.

[31] Ibid, str. 77.

[32] Fukuyama, F., *Trust, social virtues and forming the wealth*, Sources, Zagreb, 2000, pp.404.

[33] Steger, Manfred B., Introduction*: Rethinking the Ideological Dimensions of Globalization*, In Manfred B. Steger, ed. *Rethinking Globalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004.

[34] Adjustment of strange praxsis to local conditions and fullfillment of local in Axford et al., *Introduction to politology, political culture* , 2002, Zagreb, pp. 500.

[35] Geokibernetics acoording to Croatian sociologist Cifrić, I., *Science and social changes* , Environment and development, 2000, Zagreb, pp. 422-423 represents governing the environmewnt, or global ecological menagment with global cooperation in governance with global natural recources

[36] Croatian sociologist and feminist Galić B., *Science and social changes* , Environment and development, 2000 , Zagreb, pp. 21-39, defines term as narrowly connected to bioregionalism conceptionas the advanced sort of nationalism because it negates tendention towards ewtnical violence, rasizm, and militism cause of fundation on concept of bioregionalism(bioregional cooperation founded on Care Ethic)

developing economy, sociology of poverty, emphasized „ if person could have more than one identity then choice between national and global becomes competition on everything and nothing" instead of that in spirit of feminist transversal politics of identity, our identity must become global without us being forced to change our particular identities.

General Conclusions

The biologism perceptions in contemporary era, are visible in Jeremy Riffkin's theory ((Biotechnological society). In this book, it has been emphasized, what can happen if the fast technological advancement influences the crossing of species? Riffkin's relations towards the contemporary technology is completely negative, and pictures and metaphors of possible happenings, genetically engineering, is evil science in his perception, which is directly interconnected with alienation problem , because in his *Who will pay to God*, opens the question of emotional socialisation and adjustment of persons that are supposed to be created in the laboratories[38]. Presuppositions that the crossing in between the species by biotechnological surgeries can produce *humanises (*humaneeze)or slaves , the half-human and half-monkeys, as well as the cross-species of humans and mouse, that can lead towards the creation of human mouse , which is not proved data yet, but it is still timid and it has shown possible problems and risks with which the overpopulated planet life is overwhelmed. These are only few of drastic consequences that can be produced and raised by the utter production of biologic and the biotechnological advancement. It is presupposed that human as human being itself has its own human dignity , and that it is the unquestionable , in newest or postmodern ethics, to raise a question: „ Do animals have moral dignity ?". This question is raised by Joseph de Jardin in his work, the Ecological ethics or introduction to ecological philosophy , when the focuse is moved to questioning of elementary ethical statemants with regards to cogintions on the existance of the tests, that were conducted by the American organisation for the examination of the medicaments and their toxic attributes. Bauman and Singer, as postmodern ethical philosophers , in their works, will emphasize that the moment of suffering that animal can feel, necessary means implicitly the inherence of their moral dignity, because if they can suffer and if it can hurt them, that means that they have the moral diginity that must not be humiliated. It has been noticed that tests L50, are used for bringing the toxical matters in the animal bodies, after which they slowly die, and toxicality is measured by the speedness of their death, how fast can day after the medicament has been given to them, for which it is generally unspoken fact that it has toxical attributes.[39]In all this , the animals, are being used for food, fashion trends, luxury (wardrobe, pearls, shoes), biotehnological tests, circuses, coridas, and other places where it is questioned wether the human do have moral dignity when they continiously destruct the environment arround them. Tom Regan in that period, in his speech, raises certain questions in USA, in relation to survival and destruction of animals. Bauman in his work the postmodern ethics argues „ The morality, endemical and unbribable irrational, in regards to , that it can not be calculated, therefore is not visible as following of non personal rules, therefore undiscribable as following the rules that are by principle , universal. Normal call, is personal, it is related to my personal responsability, and it can not be callmed, by the consciousness that others do that for me, or that I have already done my part by following what others had done. If rules do not exist, my disposition is bigger, because I can not be assured by the following of normes that I had noticed in others , memorised and imitated. As a moral person , I am alone, even though I as

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[37] Professor and teacher on Harvard, winner of Nobel Prize for Economy

[38] Riffkin, in Pens , G.(2007), *Klasični slučajevi medicinske etike(Classical cases of Medical Ethics)*, Beograd(Belgrade) : službeni glasnik, str. 288.

[39] De Jardin, J. (2006), *Ekološka etika, uvod u ekološku filozofiju/Ecological Ethics :introduction into the ecological phylosophy*, Beograd/Belgrade : službeni glasnik.

a social person is always with others, I am free , but still catched in dense tissue of normes and bans. As Maurice Blanchot has said : Everyone here has his/hers jail , but in that jail each and every person is free"[40]. The same question will be raised on moral dignity of plants, discussed by authors Peter Tompkins and Christopher Bird[41] , in mentioning Pierrea Sauvina, Marcela Vogela, Judith Allen that analaysed and demonstrated the interrelations in between humans and animals, by special apparatus movements: „ Two animals had been put onto the same machine , the one leaf felt over the one. The other plant reacted on the pain of the other plant."[42]. If the measure of our ethical care , is formed on the question weather the beings for which we should care are capable of suffering, than the plants are for certain , suitable for care. Ernst Tugendhat [43], thinks that the animal organisms rights, are defended in the best possible way by feminist care ethic, because if they are capable of suffering than we have to take care of them. David Degrazia [44], in work The animal laws, deepens this concept of call for moral duty , forbiddening the experiments on animals, such as the fear tunnel and the origins of disspear, because they destroy their organs. " The relations human-animal must be re-examineed again. We belong to more holistic community of essentias , capable of suffering, but to nature as well." [45]. That belonging to the same community or the feeling of co-existance, isnot moral but it might influence moral , therefore on the traces of the Kant's, Shopenhauer's, Wolfov's ethical theories, the animal care ethic should be developed. Ursula Wolf , in use with new types of ethics introduces, the ecological ethics as well. In her essay „Do we need the ecological ethics"? , "As the subject of moral examinations are the essences capable of suffering, care ethic, calls on emphaty as origin of moral conduct" [46]. Rosemarie Tong[47], in lecture *Globalizing of the feminist care ethic*, thinks that the overcoming of the global ecological crisis and alienation, emphaty and care ethic that is precondition of acomplishing the global egalitaranian cooperation. Ethic of care demands bioregionalism that needs to involve relations in neighborhood, the respect for natural environment, the recycling the waste, the environmental cognitions, the recognitions of environment and the ecological disasters effects onto the environment is thought of as basis for the reaction. The possibilities of transcendencies are interpolations, integrations, that can be made visible in ascribing the masculine attributes to female and female attributes to males that is the main feature of postmodernism.

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[40] My adjusted translation of Bauman's work *Postmodern ethics /2004/*

[41] Bauman, *Postmodern ethics*, (2004). Oxford: BIackwell Publishing.

[42] Tompkins, P. i Bird, C. (2006), *Tajni život biljaka, Zadivljujuća priča o emocionalnim odnosima između biljaka i životinj*a/*Secret life of plants, Fascinating story on emotional relations in between plants and animals*, Beograd/Belgrade: Liber, str. 39.

[43] Ibid, str. 153-171.

[44] Degrazia, D.(2004), *Prava životinja/ Animal rights*, Sarajevo: Šahinpašić, , str. 99.

[45] Tughendhat, E.(2003), *Predavanja o etici/Lecture on Ethics*, Zagreb: Jesenski i Turk, str. 165.

[46] Ibid, str. 165-166.

[47] Philosopher and ecofeminist, Departmant of Philosophy , North Carolina, Charlotte, USA, lecture Globalizing a Feminist Bioethics of Care(Beograd, 2011).

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Spiritual Beliefs of Career Women in Malaysia

Gina Zanolini Morrison
Associate Professor, Global History & Languages
Wilkes University, PA USA 18776

Abstract

With the west's emphasis on empiricism and logic, many eastern beliefs might seem so strange to western ears and eyes that they are kept hidden. But spiritual beliefs are common among the people of Southeast Asia (Braunlein, 2013). "If one can discover the experiential logic behind these ideas, the ideas become less strange and the owners of the ideas cease to be strangers" (Belenky, et al. 1997, p. 242). Keeping the goal of cross-cultural understanding in mind, and using the lens of women's ways of knowing, the researcher plans to study the spiritual beliefs of women of several nations—Malaysia being the venue for the pilot.

Malaysia is a developing nation unique in its diversity of backgrounds and beliefs. The proposed study will investigate Malaysian career women who must use their own ways of knowing to reconcile a home life in a culture where spiritual beliefs are accepted and validated, with a career in a global marketplace where western bias leads to a more narrow view on religion and spiritualism. This presentation will offer the rationale for the proposed study, clarify the methodology, and solicit feedback from those in attendance.

Sustaining Afghanistan's Economic Future
through Women Entrepreneurship

Dr. Nicole Dhanraj, Ph.D.

Dr. Hilary Johnson-Lutz, Ph.D.

Dr. Thomas Rzemyk, Ed.D.

Abstract

Afghanistan's history of war over the past three decades has caused significant struggles to rebuild in terms of economic sustainability. Since 2001 and the beginning of the troop withdrawal in 2011, Afghanistan has undergone substantial political and social transformation. Though billions have been invested via foreign aid funds, Afghanistan remains one of the poorest and most dangerous countries in world. Progress has been small, especially in terms of empowering women as key contributors to the economy. This literature review evaluates the tools and strategies used to help women move forward as contributing members of society through educational and entrepreneurial opportunities. The review also presents strategies to balance cultural traditions of women in response to women empowerment through globalization. The findings of this study highlights the importance of empowering women, creating leadership opportunities through entrepreneurship that will contribute to the overall long-term economic sustainability in Afghanistan. The recommendations of this study are also aimed to help poorer nations with similar cultural traditions to integrate women in the economic sector and empower them to help shape the country's future.

The Cultural Identity of Migrant Women in Bizkaia and Gender Roles

Transformations and Empowerment

Geographical Characteristics and Empowerment: Bizkaia (in Basque), Biscay (in English), Vizcaya (in Spanish), is a province of Spain, within the Basque Country. Its capital city is Bilbao. Observing the data by the Basque Institute of Immigration "Ikuspegi", the number of migrant people in 2014 was 140.917. The total number of women that migrated that year was 34.164.

General Objectives: To learn about the assignment of gender roles in the countries of origin of migrant women and if changes occurred after the migratory process, due to the self-improvement and independization in the host society.

Specific Objectives: 1) To define the interrelation between culture and the socially constructed gender functions. **2)** To determine whether the cultural identity of migrant women impacts on the adjustment to the new society and see how strong it is. **3)** To ascertain the intensity of their cultural identity before and after the migratory process. **4)** To discern if there are obstacles within the culture that do not allow women's liberation and to discover how migrant women transformed and empowered themselves after migration.

Hypothesis: 1) Migrant women's perceptions towards gender roles in their own culture change, because of the new environment, followed by their independization and self-empowerment. **2)** Their experiences as women add new dimensions to the problem of inequality.

Methodology: 1) Exploring social reality, human behavior and mutual understanding by using qualitative research techniques. **2)** Describing the social world and acting as an agent of change.

Exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling was used for this investigation. Five migrant women from Morocco, El Salvador, Colombia, Algeria and Senegal, were interviewed. A provisional questionnaire with open-ended questions was designed. The duration of the interviews was from thirty minutes to two hours

Results

Gender Roles: Gender is a socially constructed norm and the same roles are assigned in different countries: **1)** To marry in order to find happiness, and subsequently, to procreate. **2)** To do the domestic chores and to be care – providers. **3)** To be submissive and to serve the others. **4)** To learn to forgive and resist bad treatments for the sake of preserving the nucleus family. **5)** To be the dependent citizens of society.

Cultural Identity: Between the two cultures; Mixed feelings about the identity; Nurturing of the positive aspects and rejecting the negative aspects that impede the freedom of the persons and interfere with their life choices; Liberation from some identity norms and the moralism intended for women by the social and religious norms.

Empowerment: Changes and strengthening after observing and living in a new society; Consciousness – raising and becoming active in the feminist movements; Able to dedicate to the "self", be decisive, independent, self-confident and free (a feeling of liberation); Courage to open themselves to new perspectives.

Relevant Bibliography

Feminisms: V. Davis & Srinivasan (1994); L. Lindsey (1990); Mirón (2006); Hyde (1994). **Gender Roles:** Amorós (2000); L. Lindsey (1990); Del Valle (2010); Astelarra (2006); Molina (2000); "Emakunde", Instituto Vasco de la Mujer (2014). **Empowerment:** Escudero (2014); Murguialday (2006); Rubio (2014); Pacheco (2014). **Immigration:** Vila & Vila (2005); Sipi Mayo (2004); Marrades & Serra (2013); Vicente (2006); Roco (2014); "Ikuspegi", Instituto Vasco de la Inmigración. **Culture and Identity:** Amorós (2000); L. Lindsey (1990); López (2000); Martin (2006); Del Valle (2010); Agra (2000); "Emakunde", Instituto Vasco de la Mujer (2014). **Methodology:** Jurgenson (2003); Peräkylä (1997); Kohler-Riessman (2004); Bloor (1997); Goldstein (1994); Reid (1994); Cohler (1994); Oakley (1999); Miller & Glassner (1997).

Simona Sokolovska

Sylff Young Leaders Fellowship grant holder

University of Deusto

simona.sokolovska@deusto.es

THE FEMININE NATION: A POSTCOLONIAL FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF THE ICONOGRAPHIES OF MARIANNE AND MARIA CLARA IN THE FRENCH AND PHILIPPINE ONLINE PRESS

Abridged and Translated from French

MA. CHARNINA VICTORIA Z. MAGUDDAYAO

University of the Philippines Diliman

cvam2005@yahoo.com

Abstract :

Using articles from online portals of French national dailies *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde* and *Le Parisien* and Philippine national dailies *Philippine Star*, *Philippine Daily Inquirer* and *Manila Bulletin*, this comparative study aims to discuss and analyze the nation and national identity by examining representations of women through the respective national iconographies of Marianne and Maria Clara, which embody postcolonial, patriarchal, republican and neocolonial ideologies in France and in the Philippines.

This paper employs a postcolonial feminist approach to analyze and deconstruct multiculturalism in France and neocolonialism in the Philippines. On one hand, Marianne embodies republican values essential to the establishment of an universal Frenchness which projects France as a colonial world power and a culture of pleasures. In imitating and associating themselves to the image of Marianne, marginalized women pass off their otherness as sameness. On the other hand, representations of Maria Clara dichotomizes the traditional woman of the past vis-à-vis the modernized woman of the present through the appropriation of neocolonial influences.

In conclusion, analysis of the texts displayed how these representations of Marianne and Maria Clara are insufficient to portray the specificities of reality, in particular the realities of marginalized, impoverished and immigrant women.

Keywords : postcolonial feminism, hybridity, multiculturalism, neocolonialism, republicanism, imitation, Third World vs. First World, colonized vs. colonizer, modernization, universalism, appropriation, public and private space, civilizing mission

Chapter I

Introduction

Where is the woman's image? She appears on magazines and brochures to model the newest cosmetic or the latest domestic trend. She is on television programs, films, comic strips and other forms of media as the nurturing mother, the obedient housewife, the voluptuous lover or the courageous heroine. Media would often capitalize on the woman's image based on physical appearance, on talent, perhaps on character, and yet this exact emphasis on her visual and symbolic appeal makes her an ideal effigy of ideology - an icon that can symbolize, personify or represent an ideal, a concept, a belief, a movement, a group, or, for the purpose of this study, even a nation.

Like Russia's *Rossiya-Matushka,* Britannica from the United Kingdom, Germania of Germany and many other female personifications of nations around the world, choosing images of women as national symbols is not an unusual tradition. These representations serve as an attempt to establish a national identity through iconography, which presents itself through various mediums, whether tangible or intangible, such as embassy logos, monuments, stamps, fashion or even everyday conversations. More importantly, these representations of women as national symbols project the myth of a universal femininity (Narayan 95) – a collective image that designates an apotheosis of the ideal for other women to idolize and aspire to achieve.

In the case of this research, it is therefore notable that France and the Philippines share a significant similarity: both have leading women figures used to symbolize and embody the nation. Parallels between France and the Philippines do not end here, however. France, described at once "a classic nation-state" and "Europe's leading immigrant society" (Walzer 37) has aimed to establish a universal Frenchness to unite these two conflicting ideas and promulgate idea of a diverse yet united nation under a sole French national identity. The Philippines, on the other hand, who has spent most of its long and significant history as a colony of three world powers, still struggle to establish a common identity among its patriots. In this sense, the researcher justifies the comparison between the two countries not only in terms of the gender of their respective national icons, but also regarding the common yet contrasting presence of postcolonial and neocolonial conditions within their feminine iconographies.

In France, this icon is the woman with the Phrygian cap: Marianne. Signifying what is truly and genuinely French, Marianne has taken the form of popular celebrities like Brigitte Bardot and Laetitia Casta, thereby concocting an image of a woman that radiates both beauty and courage, vulnerability and intensity. Despite a pre-established imagery, representations of Marianne have changed and evolved to suit current situations and recent discussions within France's sociopolitical spheres. Recently, however, representations of Marianne have begun to stray from the blond, bold and blue-eyed attributes of Bardot and Casta, in an attempt to encompass the visual realms of the usual and the everyday through adapting the images of women more commonly seen in most French societies today - that is to say, the immigrants, the political refugees and the natives of territories who are neither white, Christian nor native-born. As these attempts provide representations of the marginalized that do not seem to embody a dominant republican imagery of the French national identity, these images of women have stirred and incited feminist and postcolonial discussions from academics and civilians alike. Time and time again, Marianne has proven

that she possesses the capacity to divide France as much as unite its people under a tricolor flag, a symbolic cockade and a unifying and universal French identity.

In the Philippines, this woman is Maria Clara, a fictitious character from national hero Dr. Jose Rizal's infamous novel *Noli me Tangere,* released during the darkest hours of the Spanish colonial regime. Rizalian scholars have established Maria Clara's likeness to Rizal's lover and fiancée, Leonor Rivera, to whom Maria Clara's character has indebted her most dominant traits. Unlike Marianne who is meant to directly embody the totality of a common French national identity, the ideology behind Maria Clara relies on a more metaphorical and literary representation of the Motherland, the *Inang Bayan* (Retana cited by Terrenal 3), through an amalgamation of Rizal's love for a woman and his passion for his nation. Maria Clara has also been a prominent icon of Philippine popular culture, which manifests through various cultural mediums such as fashion, dance, theatre etc. All these depictions of Maria Clara, as they seem, promulgate and promote her status as a timeless symbol of traditional Filipina beauty based on the values of modesty, purity and chastity. Her iconography entails an idealized femininity that reflects the nation from the traditions of its colonial era to the nuances of its modern, neocolonial period. Now, she appears in fashion magazines, in TV programs and in films and even in discussions in the dating scene as a modernized symbol, emancipated from the chains of her once-domestic existence.

As such, both Marianne and Maria Clara play significant roles in the emergence and development of national consciousness in each nation (Joaquin cited by Terrenal 3; Agulhon, "Marianne: réflexions sur une histoire "314), but each icon represents contrasting national images. On one hand, Marianne personifies a well-cultivated inspiring depiction of liberty and the glory of the French Republic ("Marianne, réflexions sur une histoire" 313), whereas Maria Clara represents the tragic victim driven to lunacy, a symbol that at once condemned and romanticized the systematized and systematic oppression in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial regime – taking into account the ideologies that surround the formation of an idealized national identity (Heuer 48-49) within altogether different yet similar contexts. In this sense, the current research problematizes how the tradition of using woman icons as personifications of France and the Philippines is indicative of the inherent power asymmetry in their respective societies which limit the participation of women in national discourses within virtual and perceptual domains. More importantly, it aims to examine and analyze how these virtual and perceptual representations of women are insufficient to exhibit the specificities of reality and the discussions that surround multiculturalism in France, neocolonialism in the Philippines and, more notably, the formation of identities in hybrid cultures entrenched within these phenomena.

Statement of the Problem

By employing a postcolonial feminist analysis, this research examines the respective iconographies of Marianne and Maria Clara which contribute to the construction of universalized and idealized images of femininity in each nation. The researcher owes the juxtaposition between the two icons to their principal similarity: both icons are women who have influenced the formation of the respective national identities they embody.

Through a deconstruction of the First World vs. Third World dichotomy in accordance to a postcolonial feminist approach, the researcher discusses the presence and the manifestations of important postcolonial concepts such as hybridity, multiculturalism and neocolonialism embedded within the French and the Philippine texts, and thus poses the question, how are women from each nation misrepresented and oppressed by national iconographies that embody patriarchal, republican and neocolonial ideologies?

Scope and Limitations

This research will discuss and analyze articles from different sections of French dailies *Le Figaro, Le Parisien* and *Le Monde* and Philippine national dailies *Philippine Star, Manila Bulletin* and *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, written by various journalists between the year 2000 and 2014. The researcher believes that this particular time period is the most suitable for the study considering the choice of corpus which depends on the availability of texts online, as well as public access. The choice of articles is limited to keyword searches of "Marianne," "Maria Clara," "Filipina" or "Filipina woman," "femme française" ("French woman"), "femme idéale" ("ideal woman"), and "mouvement feministe" ("feminist movement"). The selection is based on the reasonable and valid arguments posed in each article, the frequency of the mention of keywords and the relevance of the content (See Annex for a list of articles). It is important to note, however, that not all articles gathered for this research was used as part of the analysis; and that secondly, these articles are gathered online, which means that they are published either or both on paper and online. At this point, it is therefore necessary to provide a brief profile of each French and Philippine daily newspapers used for the purposes of this research.

To represent the French press, the researcher has chosen *Le Figaro, Le Parisien* and *Le Monde. Le Figaro* , a right and center-right French daily, holds the 7th place among the most-read French dailies since 2014, with more or less 1, 445, 000 readers according to a survey from AudiPresse. On the other hand, *Le Monde,* a left and center-left newspaper ("La couleur politique des médias") prides itself as the most diffused broadsheet internationally owing to its availability in 120 countries ("Qui sommes-nous?"). The newspaper holds the 6th place among the most-read French dailies. Finally, *Le Parisien,* or *Aujourd'hui en France,* is the first newspaper in Paris and in Île-de-France. This newspaper specializes in the dissemination of general, factual and neutral information. In comparison with *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde*, the editorial line of the daily promotes "political neutrality and proximity with the readers" ("la neutralité politique et de proximité avec son lectorat"). In 2014, *le Parisien* held the 3rd place among most-read French dailies, with a readership of 2,451,000 from AudiPresse surveys.

According to writer Clyde Thogmartin in his work *The National Daily Press of France,* French national dailies and their style of journalism exhibits deviant and unabashed writing styles as compared to conventional, objective journalism. Thogmartin classifies French journalism, particularly journalism in national dailies, as "opinion journalism" (5) since French national dailies usually reflect a pre-established ideological position. Thus, the readers of each establish a niche market based on their support and belief on the ideological position reflected on the newspaper of their choice. In addition, media critic Claude-Jean Bertrand explains that the French public is interested on provocative statements and finds a newspaper without a position too bland (Bertrand cited by Thogmartin 5). These points affirm that French national dailies indeed play a significant role not only to the cultivation and formation of public opinion, but also to the participation of the public within France's sociopolitical spheres and national interests. To better understand these dailies, according to Thogmartin, one must be heavily invested in French political and cultural life.

Considering this information, the researcher justifies the selection of the aforementioned newspapers by their varying positions within France's political and social spheres. *Le Figaro* represents right and center-right ideology which entails a deep association with the republican system and values of classic liberalism and social conservatism. Director-General Alexis Brézet describes *Le Figaro* and its readership as "liberal but not dogmatic, conservative but not backwards-looking, European but not Euro-

optimist, driven to defend French culture but at the same time, open its doors to the world (Brézet, "Le Figaro se réinvente;" "libéral mais pas dogmatique, conservateur mais pas passéiste, européen mais pas eurobéat, attaché à défendre la culture française mais ouvert sur le monde"). *Le Monde,* on the other hand, presents itself as the newspaper of the Left and therefore supports feminist, antiracist, ecologist and alterglobalization movements, as well as adapts to modern realities (Delapierre, "Guide de l'adhésion au Parti de Gauche "). Finally, the researcher chose *Le Parisien,* a national daily that claims to reject serving any interest, political party, clan or business ("La rédaction du Parisien cherche à garantir son independence"). The researcher considered *Le Parisien* instead of *Libération* which rivals *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* in terms of sales and audience in order to establish a balance between right, left and neutral positions and to more effectively capture and illustrate the depth and diversity of France's opinion journalism.

To represent the Philippine press, this research uses *Philippine Star*, *Philippine Daily Inquirer* and *Manila Bulletin*. *Philippine Star*, particularly its online portal *philstar.com,* presents itself as a gateway to entertainment and news for the Filipino community. According to their web site, *Philippine Star* aims to bind Filipinos from various parts of the world through access to the latest events, trends and news in the country as a whole. *Manila Bulletin,* on the other hand, prides itself with its fascinating history as the first newspaper of the Philippines to be released in the market, as well as the oldest Philippine newspaper to be published. In comparison with *Philippine Star*'s mass appeal, Manila Bulletin has tended to its continuous chain of magazines for all Filipinos in all walks of life to continue their relations with investors and publishers ("Company Profile of Manila Bulletin"). Finally, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* which holds the 1st place with a percentage of 46.54 among subscribers according to a survey by Nielsen Consumer and Media View in 2012, also presents itself as a newspaper veering locally and internationally. PDI's place in the list is followed by *Manila Bulletin* with 33.79% of subscribers and *Philippine Star* amassing 30.34% of subscribers.

In the Philippines, the press has played an important part all throughout Philippine history amidst a climate of political reforms towards freedom and independence. Thus, the Philippine press has created countless heroes in history like Graciano Lopez-Jaena, Antonio Luna and national hero Jose Rizal himself, who have all proved in countless moments in Philippine history that the pen is mightier than the sword. According to an article by Ramon Tuazon from the *National Commission for Culture and the Arts,* the Philippine press is known for being one of freest and liveliest in Asia because of its dominantly liberal and American style, characterized significantly by the antagonism of the Philippine government. Today, the press is criticized for its sensationalized reporting that focuses on advertisements, brands and popular images ("The Print Media: A Tradition of Freedom"). This research examines articles from *Manila Bulletin*, *Philippine Daily Inquirer* and *Philippine Star* with some sections from its tabloid version, *Philippine Star Ngayon,* to analyze the formation of libertarian principles through these publications.

Importance of the Study

Essentially, this research aims to contribute to feminist studies concerning the role of feminine iconography to the construction of national identity. As its corpus deals with online press, the research considers cyberspace as a well-used political and cultural domain which can be "an arena in which identity can be radically altered" (Jones and Poster cited by Ignacio 551), particularly regarding the inherent dynamism of representations of national identity through the years and in different forms of media. Through this study, the researcher aims to prove how these idealized, universalized and misrepresented depictions

promulgate the oppression of women in the context of everyday life.

Outline of the Study

The 1st chapter contains the Statement of the Problem, the brief presentation of the conceptual framework, the scope and limitations and the importance of the study. This section also includes a brief profile of each newspaper, particularly concerning the ideology, the readership and the reception of each national brand. Chapter 2 contains the review of related literature which details the theoretical paradigm of the research, which is postcolonial feminism. This chapter establishes the link between these theories and the construction of national identity through feminine symbols. The contrastive context will be discussed in the next chapter.

The 3rd chapter focuses on the context and the construction of femininity through Marianne in France and through Maria Clara in the Philippines through analyses of the historical, political, social and cultural backgrounds of their respective iconographies throughout their respective histories in their corresponding nations. Chapter 3, divided into 2 parts for each icon, examines the tradition of having a personified representation for the nation, in particular a feminine symbol. These sections aim to explain the concept of national iconography, the continuous representation of Marianne and Maria Clara and the contribution of each symbol to the formation of national identity in the respective frameworks of multiculturalism in France and neocolonialism in the Philippines.

Chapters 4 and 5 tackle the corpus and present a postcolonial critical discourse analysis through the articles. Finally, the 6th chapter concludes the research by explaining the relevance of the analysis in viewing the oppression of women through universal femininity.

Chapter II

Universalized femininity and national identity in postcolonial discourse

In this chapter, the researcher will attempt to elaborate on the roles of women in the construction of national identity through post- and neocolonial discourses. Considering the common attribute of Marianne and Maria Clara, which is their gender, this chapter will first discuss feminism/s, their differences and their commonalities. After situating their iconographies in a feminist framework, the researcher will focus on postcolonial feminism as the conceptual framework of this study through the exploration of postmodern thought and its contested harmony with the political agency inherent in the discourse of feminisms/. In explaining the significant alliance between these two contesting theories, the research aims to locate itself within postcolonial and neocolonial discourses through a discussion of idealized and universalized femininity leading to misrepresentations of marginalized women.

Lastly, the researcher will attempt to situate the postcolonial approach as central to the construction of the nation, of nationalism, and consequently, national identity, as well as trace the development of the construction of the nation and of nationalism by discussing the idea of modernity that flourished during the Enlightenment.

Feminist political action and postmodern double coding

Considering the subject of this study, it seems evident that feminist critical theory is an obvious choice for the analysis's conceptual framework. According to poststructuralist feminist theorist Chris Weedon, feminism is characterized by political engagement focused on power relations between women and men in a society. These power relations favor a patriarchal structure of society that justifies the subordination of interests of women as compared to those of men. According to Weedon, this patriarchal structure manifests through the institutions that represent women biologically and socially. In this sense, a feminist perspective entails an understanding of opposing forces within the prevailing definitions of being a woman, promoted by institutions present in the society like the workplace, the family, politics, social security, medicine, religion and media (1-5)

However, there are several kinds of feminist political efforts that can oppose each other's approaches, thus leaving only an advocacy to battle the patriarchy as their sole uniting characteristic. As an example, Weedon discussed the distinctions among the principal positions of liberal, radical, and socialist feminisms regarding the patriarchal system of the society as the source of the oppression of women.

Liberal feminism aims to achieve overall equality between the two genders in all domains without resorting to a radical overhaul of the sociopolitical system in effect. (Weedon 1-5). Therefore, liberal feminism prioritizes social opportunities between the genders without making a disruptive influence on the dominant social structure. Moreover, liberal feminism considers the discriminatory application of hard and soft laws as the principal cause of the oppression of women. For example, a dominant feminist movement in the Philippines, the National Federation of Women's Clubs, fought for women's suffrage in 1937 without paying much attention to the institutions that restricted and controlled the political knowledge and consciousness of women during this time (Roces 6, Peczon-Fernandez 819), thus putting the plight of women and the nation in a more vulnerable position than before. In fully directing their efforts to earn women the right for suffrage, a privilege previously limited to the nation's male citizens, liberal feminists have paved the way to a system that gives the same opportunities between the two genders without upsetting the current social system.

Radical feminism, however, does not accept this system itself. Its principles argue that the only way to affirm a woman's femininity and to gain liberty is through the total exclusion of men and the patriarchal structure of the society. Radical feminism establishes the notion of a common and unchallenged femininity as a gender identity and seeks to establish a new social order without the traces of any patriarchal influence. A perfect example of this feminist movement is FEMEN, a radical feminist organization in Paris famous for their sextremist protests against societal institutions such as the political arena, religion, and sex industry that restrict their supposed inherent liberty of women. Unabashedly, FEMEN declares their aim as "complete victory over patriarchy." FEMEN's philosophy considers the female body as a weapon against the restrictions of patriarchy, and thus, sextremists of FEMEN protest with their breasts naked and exposed as their nudity symbolizes their liberty.

Lastly, socialist feminism considers gender as merely a product of history and of the current social system, and is thus part of a larger network of ideas and discourses. Patriarchy is a social system in itself, and it is in many ways linked to other forms of oppressions of gender, class and race. To abolish these oppressions, socialist feminism seeks to transform the social system, which includes public and private spaces within the lives of women. This social system is seen to be changing constantly (Weedon 1-5). As an example, the research considers the ideology behind GABRIELA, or the General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action, a Philippine feminist organization, which is strongly influenced by principles of socialist feminism. In the organization's website, GABRIELA states that their advocacy fights for the right to "fair and non-sexist representation in all social, political, economic and cultural spheres" (Our Declaration of Principles"). The organization's socialist ideology addresses attempts to encompass and establish multiple institutions as sources of oppression of women by proposing a continuous change of the social system.

Undoubtedly, these three sub-categories of feminism present three different perspectives, yet their common agenda does not fail to highlight the political nature inherent in feminist discourse. Though varying in practice, these three approaches to feminist theory give light to three different perceptions of a patriarchal social system, with but a common insatiable desire for reform. This desire for change, as well as the power relations that govern these changes, are evident in each situation, and thus affirm the political agenda that characterizes feminism/s.

However, because of these contradicting approaches, simply a feminist approach will not suffice to facilitate an analysis of universalist grand narratives that govern Marianne and Maria Clara. And thus it is relevant at this point to discuss principles of postmodernism, which touches on the subjects of universal and idealized representations through its concepts of double coding, its attention to difference and duplicity, and its rejection of universalizing Western grand narratives.

Postmodern thought generally represents duplicity, difference, and contradictory criticism- distinct attributes described by postmodern theorist Linda Hutcheon as a phenomenon quite like "saying something whilst at the same time putting inverted commas around what is being said" (1-2). According to her theory of complicitous critique, postmodern thought has the capacity to subvert but at the same time reinforce; critique but also highlight an ideology, a concept, a text, etc. This contradictory tendency evokes a paradoxical and parodying effect thus giving postmodern concept a distinct theoretical attribute that is "double-coded, contradictory and self-aware" (1-2, 14).

Considering its double-coded exposition of duplicity and difference, postmodernism was referred to as an "incredulity to meta-narratives." In his work *The Postmodern*

Condition, French theorist Jean-François Lyotard uses the term *modern* to refer to any kind of science that legitimizes itself through metadiscourses, and which launches an explicit call to a grand narrative from which the word *postmodern* comes. In this sense, Lyotard's postmodern thought expresses his skepticism to the grand narrative of the Enlightenment during the advent of Western philosophy (Lyotard xxvii-iv), which supposes that Western philosophy has established itself as a legitimized concept and source of truth. This grand meta-narrative of the Enlightenment constitutes a dominant, universal and privileged discourse that silences the voices of opposing forces, exemplified by the dominance of modernist and universalized theories of Western and North American philosophy (Marchand and Parpart 2).

Lyotard's skepticism has brought to light and emphasized postmodernism's rejection of universalism, a concept that purports a common experience and truth that overlooks all local and cultural conditions. By supposing that there is a common existence that lies within a hegemonic and dominant culture, universalism ignores the colonial and exploitative experiences present in the human condition ("Of Mimicry and Men: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" 104). In summary, postmodernism rejects the notion of a universalized narrative of the world that ignores the nuances of social phenomena, in maintaining that everything is a product of culture and representation.

However, complications on theory do not stop here due to the conflict posed by postmodernism's double-coded paradox and feminism's direct and change-oriented political nature, both of which counter each other's foundations. Critics of postmodernism claim that postmodern thought cannot complement feminist agenda due to its emphasis on difference and duplicity. Philosopher Jean Baudrillard criticizes the political ambiguity of postmodernism, claiming that the postmodern diminishes the universe as a universe without any possible meaning as it deconstructs and destroys itself (Baudriallard 24). By exposing the incredulity of universalized ideas taken as truths, postmodern thought also calls for its own notions of truth. Even Linda Hutcheon, famous for her work *The Politics of Postmodernism*, describe postmodern thought as ambivalent as far as politics is concerned, without sufficient theorization nor strategies of resistance (138).

Another manifestation of the theoretical gap between the two concepts is the inevitability of several kinds of feminisms to all draw on an exceedingly centralized, universalized view of women as a social group in order to construct a common identity – which is exactly one of the universalizing tendencies postmodern thought seems to question. According to writer Myra Macdonald, the question is how the postmodern and the feminist can be reconciled despite the idea that the word "woman," in the context of feminist agenda, can be considered as a universalized concept (38). When taken to extremes, postmodernism's love affair with difference and duplicity can undermine women's solidarity and subvert the collective action of feminisms (Marchand and Parpart 19).

In order to respond to this conflict, postmodern feminists such as Nancy Fraser and Linda Nicholson have proposed ways to reconcile postmodernism and feminism. In their work "Social Criticism without Philosophy: An Encounter between Feminism and Postmodernism," they argue that what is needed is not just a reconciliation, but rather a strategic engagement and a complementary relationship (84). Feminism, to Fraser and Nicholson, is rather like a "quasi-metanarrative," composed of grand social theories of history, society, culture, and psychology that identify the causes and particularities of sexism within an intercultural context (92). Consequently, they argue that feminist and postmodern theorists do not need to reject grand narratives or grand theories in order to address political issues, by replacing the single, established image of the woman and femininity by nuanced concepts of constructed social identities whilst considering the question of class, race,

ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation (101).

Fraser and Nicholson's strategic engagement presents a convenient adaptation of postmodern attributes useful for and complementary to the political objective of feminism, with the ability to transform each other's weaknesses into their own strengths, and vice versa. By combining this rejection of universal ideas coming from Western patriarchal discourses, the emphasis on difference and duplicity, and an unabashed political agenda, the postmodern and the feminist birth a theoretical paradigm that exposes what is hidden, gives voices to what is silent, decenters what is dominant and most importantly, brings forth what is marginalized (Curti 2). This complementary relationship was identified as postcolonial feminism.

Postcolonial feminism and the woman in imperialist discourse

Postcolonial feminism was formed in response to the feminisms of the West, which, according to theorist Uma Narayan, represent women as a universal social group with one common experience, without consideration to the nuances of race, social class, ethnicity, or sexual preference. This approach criticizes how disenfranchised women, the immigrants and the marginalized, are misrepresented by the media and their other depictions in the Western psyche (95). Under the pretext of a collective voice for the subaltern, postcolonial theorists argue that these universalized feminist movements and protests "establish situations wherein the oppressed can supposedly express themselves" (Deleuze cited by Spivak 69). These arguments, phenomena, and movements, according to Spivak, justify the foundation of an advanced capitalist neocolonization (69).

But before discussing postcolonial feminism, one should turn their attention first to the key concepts of postcolonial theory, in particular hybridity and third space of enunciation by Homi K. Bhabha and Orientalism by Edward Said, which paved the way to multiple efforts of theorists to understand and deconstruct long-standing notions of colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism. Postcolonial discourse according to Bhabha is characterized by hybridity, imitation, and ambivalence which describe the manners of resistance of colonized peoples against colonial powers (Hudddart 1). Essentially, Bhabha claims that the heavily dichotomous grand narratives of the colonized against the colonizer, the oppressed vs. the oppressor, the Third World against the West, etc. present a limited view of postcolonial discourse that overlooks a deeper, more nuanced relationship. Essentially, postcolonial theory is a literary and theoretical movement launched in response to the colonial and imperialist era that fueled Europe's civilizing mission during its four hundred years of expansion. Said distinguishes imperialism as the practice, the theory, or the attitudes of a dominant center that imposes its authority on other territories; and colonialism as a result of imperialism characterized by the implantation and the establishment of colonies ("Culture and Imperialism" 8). Neocolonialism, consequently, signifies all the forms, manners, and manifestations of control and authority on former colonies after their supposed independence. This discourse claims an exchange of ideas, meanings, and cultures between the colonizer and the colonized by establishing a dominant culture and a common hegemonic experience.

This link shared by the cultures of the colonized and the colonizer constitute the theory of the Third Space of Enunciation, or the space wherein all declarations and cultural systems are constructed. Bhabha's theory of third space seeks to undermine the dichotomy between the colonized and the colonizer by emphasizing the active agency present within the psyche of the colonized through hybridity, ambivalence and imitation.

Hybridity refers to the construction of transcultural identities caused by

colonization, thereby signifying a collapse in the heavily polarized identities that separate the identities of the oppressive colonizer and the colonized victim. A meaningful understanding of hybridity, according to Bhabha, should also be able to discredit the exoticism of cultural diversity through hybridized identities ("The Location of Culture" 37-38). Ambivalence, on the other hand, signifies the continuous fluctuation between the feelings of repulsion and attraction for an object, a person, or an action (Young 161). Ambivalence deconstructs the prominent binary opposition between the colonizer as the oppressor and the colonized as the oppressed, which then leads us to the last concept. Imitation refers to the hesitant, often unsuccessful attempts of the colonized to imitate the colonizer through adaptation of their culture, beliefs, institutions, and values. Keeping in mind the ambivalent relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, these attempts are unsuccessful and insufficient due to its continuous production of distinction to establish a reformed and identifiable Other ("Of Mimicry and Men: the ambivalence of colonial discourse" 86).

In summary, Bhabha maintains that considering and propagating the notion of a fixed dichotomy between the oppressive colonizer and the colonized victim proliferates an erroneous concept, due to complex cultural exchanges and various social interactions between two sides. More importantly, Bhabha's postcolonial philosophy pertains to a colonial age that is ever-changing and continuous – a colonial era that did not really end, in which postcolonial perspectives of the colonial past affirm, recognize and influence a colonial present.

On the other hand, Edward Said's Orientalism tackles the hegemonic perspective of the projected West in its construction of a universalized grand narrative of the East. Said defines Orientalism as a way of thinking that relies on the distinction between the West and the East, in terms of not only fixed geographical borders, but also social, cultural and ideological margins (2). This distinction, of course, thrives on a dominantly Western perception of the East, particularly by a post-Enlightenment European perspective:

> Without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (3-4).

The aforementioned key concepts of postcolonial discourse provide the foundations by which an understanding of postcolonial feminism may flourish, but it is important to remember that postcolonial feminism is a response to the insufficient and hegemonic representations of disenfranchised women even within prominent Western feminist circles. In the same manner, Bhabha's third space of enunciation and Said's Orientalism are contested as well by feminist theorists due to their neglect of contextual differences, particularly of, yet again, the specifications of gender and class.

Postcolonial feminist theorists like Aihwa Ong, Chandra Talpade Mohanty and Reina Lewis specify and point out how postcolonial discourse that revolves around the representation of women in the Third World can enact dichotomized representations of women in the framework of an exceedingly imperialist discourse. In their works entitled "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses" and "Colonialism and Modernity: Feminist Representations of Women in Non-Western Societies," Mohanty and Ong respectively point out principles that tackle their perspectives on postcolonial discourse through a critique of the established dichotomies that plague the polarization of the Third World Oriental woman and the liberated Western woman.

Mohanty's work confronts the creation and continuous representation of the Third World woman as a monolithic subject according to prominent Western feminist texts – a

notion that works on the grounds that Western women are either completely or almost free from patriarchal constraints of an obsolete, non-progressive past. This creates and propagates a stark binary opposition between the emancipated woman of an advanced and developed society and the tragic, oppressed woman of the Third World. According to her, these opposing representations are central to universalist suppositions that promote and establish a hegemonic and oppressive Western feminist discourse (335-337).

Moreover, these representations give birth to further inflexible and inaccurate generalizations instead of accomplishing well-informed analyses on the specificities of history and culture. As a result, Mohanty maintains that they merely continue the colonization of Third World women and promulgate the notion of "Third World Difference," or the automatic subordinate distinction of Third World women:

> For in the context of a first/third world balance of power, feminist analyses which perpetrate and sustain the hegemony of the idea of the superiority of the West produce a corresponding set of universal images of the Third World woman, images such as the veiled woman, the powerful mother, the chaste virgin the obedient wife etc. (352).

On the other hand, Ong's critique confronts the double-coded irony present in the principles of prominent Western feminism/s. Ong's work maintains that the irony of Western feminism rests on the idea of a non-feminist Other, led by post-Enlightenment Western philosophy. The two principal ideas of this era – rationalism and individualism – are used to evaluate the cultures and histories of the societies outside the West. In effect, the principles of Western feminism/s distinguishes the non-Western woman as the non-feminist Other.

Ong and Mohanty's works both addresses Western feminism's tendency to explain and represent the situation of women through one sole reality, thus propagating a narrative of erasure wherein other realities of women who come from all the classes, races, ethnicities, cultures, and regions of the world are overlooked. In response to predominantly European and North American feminist perspectives, postcolonial feminism deconstructs Othering and confronts the notion of the Third World woman as the "Other" (Giligan and Spelman, cited by Marchand and Parpart 7). Mohanty and Ong, most importantly, depict an Othering that relies on a primary binary opposition: on one hand, the Third World woman as the Other, represented in the poverty and vulnerability that is intrinsic to her piteous yet ostensible condition; on the other, the First World woman as an icon of modernity, of self-sustainability and of both financial and symbolic liberty. Essentially, this leads us to a universalized representation of women as both a participant in an imperialist cultural production, and a *beneficiary* of this culture.

Considering the abovementioned principles, it is therefore important to establish that postcolonial feminism does not critique Western feminism/s alone, but also the postcolonial traditions spearheaded by Said and Bhabha. According to an analysis by postcolonial theorist Reina Lewis, both Bhabha and Said follow a model of enunciation and Orientalism, respectively, in all its "classed and gendered specificities" (Lewis 41), without a regard whatsoever to local and cultural differences. More importantly, Lewis's work identifies women as the "Other-within" Said and Bhabha's postcolonial discourses. Lewis maintains that Said's Orientalism creates a homogenized discourse articulated by a colonial subject that is "unified, intentional, and irredeemably male" (17). This trait further highlights women's role as the Other-within in the imperialist discourse: even if Orientalism proves the existence of asymmetrical power between races, this same discourse excludes women as participants in the production and reception of imperialist cultures (18).

In summary, postcolonial feminism presents a response to the inadequacy of either postcolonial theory or feminist theory alone to fully address continuous misrepresentations of the marginalized, which then further propagates a dichotomized perspective of the Third World submissive and the First World liberated. It is not simply a question of East and West, of the Orient and the Occident or of the First and the Third World, however. In recalling the principles of Said and Bhabha, structured dichotomies such as those mentioned above neglect reliant and integrated discourses as well as identities and subjectivities that make up these discourses, one of which includes the discourse of the nation. The following section discusses nationalism, the creation of a nation and of a national identity and their significant links and influence to the representation of the universalized woman.

The nation, nationalism and national identity

The discussion on postcolonial feminism in the previous section reveals the issues that plague a dichotomized view of the Occident against the Orient, specifically the universalized representations of women between and within this broad space. The research will now narrow it down to the nationalist discourse which concerns itself with the creation of a national identity as well as the propagation of the principles of nationalism stemming from the 19th century. The researcher must now examine the role and representations of women in this respect, following the arguments proposed by theorists of nationalism and socialism throughout documented history.

According to modernist nationalist Ernest Gellner, the formation of the nation is a result of a profound rupture in the course of human history which brought forth the advent of modernity and industrialism ("Nations and Nationalism" 125). Gellner, a modernist theorist, presents the nation, nationalism and the nation-state as products of need, objective and practical, facilitated by a process of development and motivated by the historical, social and economic conditions of a modern, industrialized society ("Thought and change" 160, Day and Thompson 41).

This modernist perspective envisaged a preindustrial society – an "agrarian age" characterized by a horizontal societal structure that assigns a definite social position for each its members. This perspective distinguished the existence of two types of cultures; the local, which is more available to the masses, and the high, which is more isolated. According to Gellner, these cultures in general do not interact until the point of domination of one over the other and do not encourage cultural imperialism, thus remaining, in its simplest sense, horizontal, both in structure and in implementation. Members of this pre-agrarian society shall remain within the predetermined spaces and separated through horizontal differentiation based on a social caste or a social structure of class ("Nations and Nationalism" 12-13).

However, during the advent of industrialism, these cultures and preindustrial societies were perceived to be too traditional and thus obsolete, since the concept of modernity began to require a sense of a justified, unified identity - nationalism. According to Gellner, the members of a nation came to love their culture because it became necessary to go with the times by justifying and legitimizing their social and economic lives in a modern, industrialized society. Essentially, Gellner considers the construction of the nation and the birth of national consciousness as part of the process of development, a step required to become more "modern" and more advanced, and a tool to reject the traditionalism inherent to an ancient, horizontally-structured agrarian age (Bendix cited by Day and Thompson 51).

The theory of ethnic origin of Anthony Smith, however, does not support the notion that the nation is only an "invention" motivated by industrialism and modernity. According to

Smith, an ethno-symbolist, the concept of the nation has been present throughout human history in the form of ethnicity, or *ethnie*. His approach claims that national cultures were not merely concocted out of need during the modern era, but was instead continually present in various sociocultural elements that come from pre-modern ethnic communities. In his famous book *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, he introduced a definition of *ethnie*:

> …Ethnie (ethnic communities) may now be defined as named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity (32).

Smith maintains that these myths and memories shared by a group of individuals within a strong ethnic group awaken national consciousness. By installing a sense of a collective identity, *ethnie* highlights the need to defend the nation using these memories and these shared myths ("Myths and Memories of the Nation" 9). Therefore, Smith rejects the concept of a transformative break or epistemological rupture in the form of modernity and industrialism; *ethnie* was not merely a human invention but human nature, present from the very beginning of early civilization. With respect to his efforts, the ethnic group, which evokes a sense of belonging and of integrity, is located in the center of the nationalist discourse up to this day.

Smith, for the most part, considered and distinguished between two types of *ethnie* which purportedly facilitated the transition from pre-modern society to a more widespread modernist era: the lateral and the vertical. Lateral *ethnie* refers to an ethnic community that is extensive, in which the cultivation of national consciousness is limited to the aristocratic echelons of a lateral social system. This higher, more selective group of perceived nobility cannot share similar cultures with those of the lower classes, but they can extend their influence to other *ethnies* – a trait essential to their survival and longevity ("Myths and Memories of the Nation » 18, « The Ethnic Origins of Nations "76). Smith's works reiterated that although eminent symbols and signifiers of the ruling class or family do not interact and intervene with the production and creation of perceived lower cultures, they possess the capacity to influence and enable the formation of a dominant ethnic identity through shared myths and memories. A relevant example of this within the context of the research is the French monarchy's fleur-de-lis flag, which is a prominent and well-reproduced insignia of French absolutism until the French revolution. The symbol's roots, however, can be traced back to the 15th century, during the reign of Clovis and the Capetian kings. The flag embodies a symbol of the ruling class whose supremacist narratives have succeeded in evoking the lateral *ethnie* through the conservation and continuous representation through common ethnic myths and memories.

The second type of *ethnie* is vertical or intensive. Whereas lateral *ethnie* limits itself to individuals of the ruling class, vertical *ethnie* is characterized by a strong filial sentiment that may or may not overlook social status, most commonly unified by established links that are spiritual or religious in nature ("Myths and Memories of the Nation" 18-19, Day et Thompson 67).

The principal distinction of these two types of *ethnie* rely largely on the grounds by which it contributes to the ideology behind nation formation. On one hand, lateral *ethnie*'s longevity and extensive nature allows it to establish and facilitate a national consciousness that is more territorial in concept. The shared myths, stories, memories and cultures of the dominant *ethnie* gradually integrates with and becomes the culture of the masses – a characteristic that heavily hints at cultural hegemony and neocolonial mentality. On the other hand, the vertical *ethnie*'s intersecting domain gathers and unites cultures of separate communities in order to amalgamate these cultures into one national culture and ideology (Day and Thompson 68). In this sense, it may seem that nations who possessed a more vivid and more established ethnic history are seen to be

more unified and more distinguished than others.

Nonetheless, Smith's ethno-symbolist approach risks a tricky assumption: the notion that there is only one real and singular source of *ethnie*. In trying to encompass an entire nation's varying cultures and ideologies in the search for one common unifying *ethnie*, this approach has the tendency to ignore a multitude of varying national discourses that may or may not fit into its projected unifying effort. For this reason, Smith's approach remains challenged by social and national theorists over time (Day and Thompson 81-83).

In response to the essentialism of the *ethnie*, one of the most famous approaches today to theorize the nation is the constructionist approach, led by nationalist theorist Benedict Anderson and his concept of the "imagined community." In his most popular work *Imagined Communities*, Anderson pointed out three paradoxes that surround the construction of the nation. They are: "the objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists, the formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept…the 'political' power of nationalisms vs. their philosophical poverty and even incoherence"(5).

First, the concept of the nation according to Anderson can be at the same time modern and ancient. Objective modernity emphasizes the inclination of modernist nationalists such as Gellner to designate the formation of the nation as a manifestation of modernity, and thus as an indicator for progress and development. However, symbolists claim that the nation, or at least in terms of the sense of kinship and integrity like that of Smith's *ethnie*, has existed throughout human history since antiquity. These varying points of view place both nation and nationalism between the blurred lines of modern and ancient. Secondly, the idea of a nation natural and universal enough to define its own identity does not accord with its particularities. Up until today, it is assumed and required that each individual must have a nationality not only as part of her identity but as a testimony of belonging in a community; nonetheless, the nation itself remains an exclusive concept - a way to alienate others through shared national symbols, painstakingly acquired official documents and established borders that will enable the rest of the world to distinguish what belongs and what doesn't. The nation, in this sense, both includes and isolates; it inspires unity and kinship on one hand and propagates alienation and distinction on the other. And finally, the nation imposes on a political power capable of uniting a group of individuals, but suffers a lack of philosophy. Anderson points out that the nationalist discourse has failed to train philosophers and geniuses such as Weber, Marx etc. because of this lack (5).

These three paradoxes constitute a significant perspective to analyze the nation: the nation, along with the constructed identity and the sense of nationalism that accompanies it, is not a product that determines the machinery of forces and social structures, but a fortuitous consequence of human actions. Essentially, the constructionist approach purports that the nation is neither a result of historical conflicts nor an eventual manifestation of linear development; rather, nation and nationalism deals more with the perception of identity (Bauer cited by Day and Thompson 84).

The nation, therefore, is an "imagined community." It is "imagined" because it is impossible for all members of a nation, large or small, to know, meet or talk to each other, and yet in their mind they can share the same sense of communion. The nation not only exists through a certain sense of belonging among these members, but also through the sense of isolation among other nations. The framework is always fixed, and there exists no nation that wants to form a community with the rest of the world. In addition, the nation is imagined as sovereign, whose roots go way back to the philosophy and values of the modernist era, with its essential epistemological breaks such as the Enlightenment, the Revolution etc.,

highlighting human reason and freedom. Finally, the nation is imagined as a community because of its ability to evoke the sense of a camaraderie so deep that it can maim, kill or cause violence (Anderson 7).

In this sense, Anderson maintains that the formation of the nation and the emotive responses triggered by a sense of nationalism, facilitated by the exploration of the non-European world and the advent of the written press, are only social constructs, inventions of the mind motivated by action and human agency. However, it should be noted that the word "imagine" in this context does not mean "wrong". For Anderson, this "imagination" in fact enables the concept to become a social reality (Day and Thompson 89).

National symbols and the woman of virtual space

At this point, the researcher has already explored several approaches and perspectives to analyze the nation and nationalist discourse. Each approach presents varying approaches, but in general, the arguments highlight one particular characteristic of the nation: its capacity to evoke the sense of belonging, and at the same time, of isolation. In order to establish the projected identity and belongingness, nationalism can manifest itself through shared elements such as language, iconography and symbols.

Some theorists, however, claim that the response of citizens to national symbols is never "natural." According to an article by Michael E. Geisler in *Nations and Nationalisms: A Global Historical Overview*, national symbols operate as a way to unify the nation, as a cultural, historical and ideological construct; and the state, as an empirical reality (112). Geisler explains that upholding a unified nation requires a collective relationship which organizes people through shared values, concepts, ideas, beliefs etc.:

> A symbol reduces the enormous complexity of communication by using a concrete sign as a kind of shorthand for a web of interrelated concepts, ideals, and value systems. The larger the collective to be held together by the symbol, the more complex is the signification process, that is, the process of attaching meaning to a symbol to which all members or subsets of the group can subscribe (111-112).

The Philippines and France, for example, both use women to symbolize the nation. As is mentioned, employing the image of the woman to represent the nation is neither an isolated case nor a linguistic nuance, as is the case for the French language and most romance languages which assign genders to their nouns (Heuer 43-58). Feminine and masculine personifications such as Marianne, Maria Clara, Britannica, Uncle Sam etc. are representations of gendered nations. By assigning gendered characteristics to represent the nation, these symbols can foster and promote the idea of a femininity or masculinity that adheres to idealized values and dominant ideologies propagated within the cultures of the nation (Benton cited by Day and Thompson 123).

In response to this, nationalist feminist Cynthia Enloe claims that these gendered representations reduce and limit the role of women in the nationalist discourse within the symbolic and virtual domain. Enloe maintains that nationalism is merely a manifestation of a masculine memory, a masculine humiliation and a masculine hope (44). Of course, women take roles that maintain the honor and integrity of the nationalist scene, though always within the margins, as housewives, female teachers and missionaries. Roles of women in the nationalist discourse are domestic, limited within the frontiers of the private, whilst leaving the public sphere to their perceived more capable male counterparts. The nation thus becomes the public space, the world of political citizenship, civic responsibility, and the

privileged (49). This phenomenon shows a conflict between the woman represented on the flag of the nation and the woman in reality: the real woman, domesticated, her rights subordinate to those of men, and the idealized woman according to national symbols, strong, courageous and free enough to inspire unity and, in many cases, violence. These epresentations of women do not only reinforce the traits of a woman from an idealized perspective, but also confine the involvement of women within the domain of the visual and the perceptive when it comes to the formation and cultivation of national consciousness (Landes 31).

Representations of women in postcolonial discourse, as well as the dichotomy of the First World against the Third World, lead us to an observation: though the woman symbol is a prominent ideological and emblematic choice for visual national representation, it cannot reflect the blatant negligence for the roles of women in nationalist and imperialist discourses (see fig. 1). Essentially, both discourses, spearheaded by their respective theorists, overlook the role of women in the creation, production and reception of cultural and social institutions.
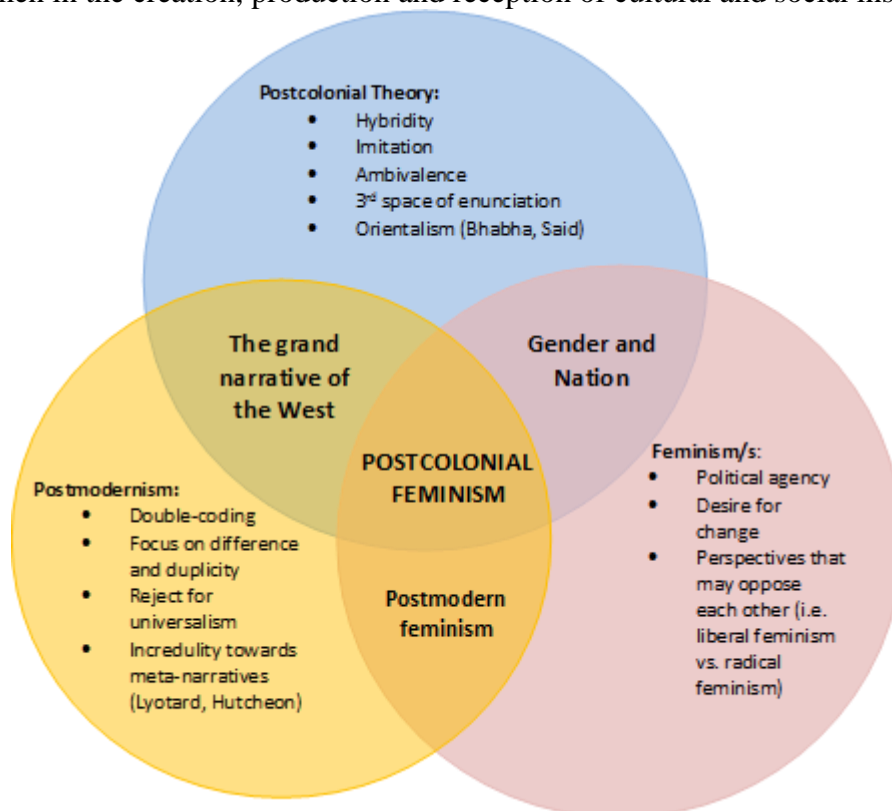

Figure 1. A Venn diagram that consolidates all the approaches and theories discussed in this chapter according to their importance in this research.

In this chapter, the researcher has detailed the adversarial relationship between postmodernism and feminism due to their differing and conflicting political and apolitical leanings. The research has thus far discovered a link between the two through postcolonial theory according to Said and Bhabha, as well as discussed the intersectionality of oppression through postcolonial feminism according to Mohanty and Ong. In consideration of these principles, the study has located these theoretical paradigms within the discourse of the nation, nationalism, and national identity according to Gellner, Smith, Anderson, Lewis and Enloe. In the next chapter, the analysis will begin by a genealogy of the epistemological shifts that have influenced the present iconography of Marianne and Maria Clara.

Chapter III

Marianne and Maria Clara: the anatomy of icons

When one speaks of Marianne, there is always a tendency to picture Eugène

Délacroix's Marianne in his painting *La Liberté guidant le peuple aux barricades* (Liberty leading people to the barricades)*,* leading men into battle in all her fierce and bare-breasted glory, the tricolor flag in one hand and a bayonet in the other. This classic representation of Marianne has been so overused, canonized and popularized that it has continually yet erroneously conjured a timeless and surreal imagery of the French Revolution without actually being the French Revolution – it was, after all, a depiction of a political revolt more or less 100 years after, which is the uprising of July 1830 against King Charles X. In spite of this crucial detail, Delacroix's classic portrayal of the Lady Liberty, much like Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, has been associated with the French Revolution in different forms of media across the world – from parodies to appropriations to album covers – which has cemented its canonical status that is unabashed and inflexible. Like any malleable historical and social figure, however, Marianne has changed through the times in accordance with the sociopolitical situation of the nation she embodies.

In 2003, feminist organization *Ni Putes ni Soumises* (Neither Whores nor Doormats) supported by the *Assemblée Nationale* launched a march condemning the ghettoization and discrimination of women in the suburbs with Marianne as its primary symbol. In stark contrast with Delacroix's Marianne, however, these 14 portraits of "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui" ("Mariannes of Today") do not seem to share aesthetic similarities with the ferocious fair-skinned brunette that is the Lady Liberty. These 14 Mariannes are full of joy and brimming with pride as they parlay their inspiring speeches and quotes representing the France of today – diverse yet unified, republican yet multicultural, a nation-state but a society of immigrants. France is no longer a nation struggling for liberty in the 19th century – today, France has become liberty itself, bearing the burden as the protector and liberator not only of its marginalized and disenfranchised people, but of the rest of the world.

In the same way, Maria Clara has embodied the nation all throughout Philippine history. As early as their formative years in secondary education, young Filipinos are already introduced to this lovely heroine from *Noli me Tangere* who embodies significant values of an ideal, like modesty, chastity, timidity, kindness and loyalty. In the heart and soul of the Filipino, Maria Clara remains a timeless character as protagonist Juan Crisostomo Ibarra's lost lady love – a sweet, gentle girl who would sashay into a room gracefully, in a skirt the draws everyone yet reveals nothing, and a fan perched on her delicate fingers, hiding her alluring smile.

Like Marianne, however, Maria Clara has to go with the times. In this time of commercialized imagery, there exists a continuous obsession for the modernization of Maria Clara through fashion, filmic depictions and sexual behaviors. Just recently, a cultural debate has exploded within the ranks of the NCCA or the *National Commission of Culture and the Arts* regarding the misrepresentation of the Philippines, Jose Rizal and the Filipina through a female video game character in the Tekken series with the emotional stability of Maria Clara yet with a costume too revealing to handle (Campoamor cited by Mateo). Rizalian scholars and cultural experts were engaged in a discussion in response to the flak the character was pulling in, as it was perceived to be an insulting representation of Jose Rizal – the character was named "Josie Rizal" – the Philippines, and ultimately, Maria

Clara. Considering this event, it is therefore notable how this particular representation of the Philippines has stirred negative responses and upset a strong prevailing image of a projected Philippine national identity through Rizal and Maria Clara. In assigning and perpetuating values of modesty and simplicity to the Filipino woman, Josie Rizal was branded as a travesty, a grossly misinterpreted model of an ideal. Like Marianne and France, Maria Clara portrays the Philippines of today as a nation that attempts to preserve a fragmented national identity but at the same time modernize itself through imitation of neocolonial influences.

In this chapter, the researcher aims to provide a genealogy of the respective iconographies of Marianne and Maria Clara to reveal how, despite their significant differences, they can both be indicative of the same postcolonial conditions of hybridity, appropriation, ambivalence and republican and neocolonial values, respectively. The succeeding section shall first discuss Marianne, the feminine symbol of France. The researcher will thus attempt to explore and discuss the earliest traces of Marianne's iconography but also the intersections between Marianne and national, republican and patriarchal ideology which cemented her universal image.

Marianne of liberty, of the Republic and of France

Supposedly a name formed by combining the two most popular names of women in

France, "Marie" and "Anne," Marianne is a prevalent French symbol represented throughout France, be it through more physical mediums such as embassy logos, busts in Mayor's offices, statues or postage stamps; or through cultural expression such as TV and journal ads, comic strips and showbiz vernacular. Marianne is usually presented and associated with various other French symbols, such as the Phrygian cap - the red cap from Rome and Anatolia worn by slaves that were recently freed, now appropriated as a symbol of revolutionary unity against the former absolute monarchy of France known as the *Ancien Régime*. Marianne also wears the tricolor cockade as decoration that goes with the cap, adorned with cock feathers in three colors, once worn as a symbol of soldier's patriotism during Louis XIV's rule ("Assemblée nationale - Marche des femmes des quartiers").

This analysis of Marianne's iconography aims to illustrate how the propagation of this imagery has contributed to the formation of an exclusively French national identity in the advent of immigration and multiculturalism in modern societies. The genealogy will be done in three parts based on dominant representations of Marianne: as a goddess of Liberty, as a republican symbol and finally, as a woman of France.

The Goddess of Liberty

According to historian Maurice Agulhon, Marianne's origins as the universal Woman-Goddess, or as the abstract idea "Liberty" to be more specific, have never been solely French. Liberty's personification of the abstract traces its roots from the common culture of the educated world ("culture commune de la partie du monde éduquée"), in particular within remnants of graeco-roman society who worshipped Olympian gods and goddesses, as well as the beginnings of Christianity in Europe and in North America. Like other symbolic women such as Justice with her scale, Truth with her mirror and Agriculture with her scythe, Liberty and her Phrygian cap constitutes and represents a pre-established imagery ("Marianne: réflexions sur une histoire", 314).

In this sense, the link between the image of the woman with the Phrygian cap and the

name "Marianne" was not immediately associated (313). In fact, when the image of Liberty was chosen as the Seal of the Republic in 1792, she was then overshadowed by other dominant symbols to represent Paris, like the "genie" of France, Mercury, Minerva and other feminine figures (Hunt 62). It seems that before Marianne's association to the

French Republic, she was also a hybrid of various hegemonic structures and cultures dominant at the time during the graeco-roman era. The allegory of Lady Liberty, however, began radically changing in the end of the 18th century and in the beginning of the 19th during the French Revolution. In the midst of brewing political and civil unrest throughout French history, Marianne's universal image treaded lightly between reinforced representation and total disappearance as time went by. Marianne, in this sense, was never just an abstract Woman-Goddess, but a symbol of a dominant republican ideology and the current French republic while morphing into different forms across various points in history.

The Republican Symbol

Today, one knows Lady Liberty as Marianne, the face of the French republic. But as Agulhon has mentioned, the links between republican ideology and the symbol of Liberty has changed before, during and after the French Revolution. The French Revolution was not simply a revolt against oppressive authority – it was a celebrated event in human history which served as the foundation of the Western model of the modern and democratic nation-state and thereby introduced a new type of national consciousness around the world (Arnason 215). In the same manner, the revolution fueled various transformations in Marianne's iconography. As the first epistemological shift that enabled Marianne's association to the French Republic, the Revolution provided the immediate Frenchness Lady Liberty was lacking through the establishment of French republican values, namely universalism, which promotes a common hegemonic experience for all of human life; secularization, which refers to the separation of the Church and the State; liberalism, which believers in the necessity of social liberty; civilizing mission or *mission civilisatrice*, which has justified the actions of colonial powers to lead the Non-European world to civilization; and lastly, the separation of the public and private space, which limits the participation of women within the borders of the virtual and symbolic.

And thus, from the Second Empire, Marianne and Republican ideology have begun to share a common destiny ("Marianne, réflexions sur une histoire" 313). As the new symbol for the State, Lady Liberty's once-emotionless abstraction became a young woman with a neutral yet determined expression with her pike and Phrygian cap. Primarily, it seemed that this Republican Marianne, borne out of the Revolution, was created to oppose the absolutist ideology of the *Ancien Régime* by switching the royal and kingly masculine figure into a feminine allegory of the nation (Hunt 88, Heuer 43, "Marianne, réflexions sur une histoire" 314). Thus, in 1870, busts and statues of Marianne were distributed in order to "help instill the values of the new regime" (Agulhon cited by Kelly 18), thereby signifying a shift from the monarchy to an establishment of a liberated, modern and democratic republic.

In addition, Marianne was also compared and associated with Joan of Arc, a prominent feminine symbol during the Medieval Age which fueled the interests of the 3rd republic – Marianne who represented Republican values, and Joan of Ark which symbolized France's loss of territory owing to the fact that she came from Lorraine (Kelly 3), and who, as a saint, attests to how the presence of Catholicism in the nation influenced the positive reception for Marianne in France because of her similarities to another prominent woman figure in Catholic faith – the Virgin Mary.

In instituting the French Revolution as an historic event that led the Western world to democracy and modernity, the concept of a universal French identity began to form. As was

expected, the Revolution has incited many others of its kind in different parts of Europe and the world under the notion of a singular, hegemonic and universal experience. Marianne, as the woman symbol of both French originality and reject of the *Ancien Regime,* however, is situated in a paradox of sorts: she has become the symbol of the French national identity, but at the same time, she has become *merely* a symbol, dehumanized and detached from reality, confined within the universal discourse of Marianne, as was the case of the women of "Mariannes d"aujourd"hui" (Winter 239). And thus, the French Revolution not only incited the formation of the French national identity – it has also justified a civilizing mission based on grounds of superiority and thus established public and private spaces between genders.

The women of reality, of course, did not share Marianne's feminine glory. According to a work entitled *Women, Equality and the French Revolution* by Candice Proctor, the French Revolution, a movement for the liberty and the establishment of rights of citizens, has ignored the rights of women because of the notion that the well-being of women are subordinate to that of their male spouses, and thus it is redundant to concern the nation with the interests and opinions of women who solely depend on their male counterparts. Proctor claims the Revolution has indeed worsened the state of women in France due to the eradication of their already "limited political power exercised by female fief holders and religious communities in the *Ancien Régime,* (…) destroyed along with all other feudal privileges." What few women exercised as a privilege was denied to the rest as a right (76), and thus Proctor declared the French Revolution as merely a patriarchal affair with a feminine symbol.

Thus, Marianne is a contradiction, an ironic manifestation of a patriarchal initiative, because never in the political history of France will a woman be permitted to hold formal political power (19). The imagery of the woman in the Phrygian cap contradicts the realities of women in France. The power of Marianne, the power of the woman, is nothing but allegory, bound by the virtual and symbolic, a façade that obscures the inherent masculinity of republican discourse (Reynolds 102).

The Frenchwoman and the deconstruction of the French nation

After discussing the significance of Marianne during the French Revolution and her contribution to the formation of republican ideologies, the researcher will then try to associate this identity to multiculturalism in France, particularly through the situation of women immigrants, and thus proceed to examine and challenge the binary oppositions that govern this condition.

Among the most famous and successful representations of Marianne is that of the sexy star Brigitte Bardot, followed by Laetitia Casta, Catherine Deneuve, Evelyn Thomas and several other stars with the same appeal. Every three years, a new model to represent Marianne is unveiled, and the face of this Marianne becomes the image of France on stamps, in town halls, in embassies, in parks and in popular culture. Since the woman as a symbol has always been linked to eroticism, these attractive Mariannes are not novel ideas. According to theorist and writer Joan Landes, female representation during the Revolution depicts Marianne as a symbol to induce eroticized patriotism as a way of encouraging men to sacrifice for the nation-state (Landes cited by Heuer 4). Thus, the concept of *Motherland* was issued as an incentive for men to defend the state and family, to oppose the enemies of the nation and ultimately to protect this desirable female body that they possess as citizens.

This sexualized representation of Marianne not only reinforces the constraint of women within virtual space, but also invokes the commercialization and affirmation of the

French identity. In presenting Bardot as Marianne, this portrayal promotes the stereotype of France as a seductive culture and a world center for pleasure (Hewitt 20). More importantly, these representations do not only perpetuate a universal image of the French woman but also establishes certain standards for being French. In this sense, they reinforce a dichotomy between the Frenchwoman - modernized, attractive and sexually liberated - and the conservative women of the Third World, depicted as poor, obedient and limited by patriarchal chains, thus recovering "monolithic representations of the 'French' nation in terms of race, social class and Western conventional standards of feminine beauty" (Weber-Fève 177).

In response to the aforementioned dichotomy established, the researcher must now veer back to the exhibit "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui." The exposition presented 14 portraits of Mariannes that bear no resemblance to stars like Bardot, Deneuve or Casta – women who are black, Arab, Hispanic etc. – as they try to "disrupt this comfortable space of a starised, white, normative Marianne put entirely at the service of the ruling class " (Winter 234). Critics of the movement have questioned its purpose, particularly because of the conflict between republican ideology, which envisages universal Frenchness, common and pure, against discrimination of immigrants in France:

> On one hand, this march and demonstration create a medium for so-called subaltern or marginal expression in (female) body and voice, a positive leap forward for women‟s movements and the goal of many postcolonial artists or scholars. But on the other hand [this demonstration] recuperates mainstream and certainly *Front national* stereotypes of beur existence in France (Weber-Fève 175).

In this sense, the objective of the movement rests, once again, in a paradox. On one hand, it promotes the fight against oppression of immigrant women on the grounds of recognizing the disadvantaged identities neglected by a so-called universal Frenchness. On the other, it also affirms and strengthens the concept of a universal Frenchness by imitation. By wearing the Phrygian cap and the French tricolor, these 14 women "imitate important French iconography through their costumes and succeed in displaying their otherness as sameness" (Weber-Fève 175).

Most importantly, the exposition reveals two important aspects that govern the multicultural condition and immigration in France: the presence of hybridized identities and imitation. These identities deconstruct the dichotomy between the traditional and colonized third world woman and the modernized woman of the West through an amalgamation of cultures and values. "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui," therefore, can be insufficient to recognize these hybridized identities because of the presence of imitation and the exploitation of diversity. In addition, the organization leading the movement, *Ni Putes ni Soumises*, adheres to the same binary opposition between the colonizer and the colonized under the pretext of a unifying representation of both through an immigrant Marianne of today.

In conclusion, the iconography of Marianne and its development throughout the history of France is paradoxical in three ways. First, this iconography is unstable and malleable, which ironically opposes the notion that Marianne is a single, universalized symbol of France, its people and their Frenchness. Second, Marianne's image as an allegorical woman contradicts the current situation of women during and after the Revolution. Marianne is a woman but she was never created, developed nor maintained for the benefit of women. Finally, Marianne's iconography aims to represent a universal image of Frenchness and France, but she, herself, has been traced to come from multicultural origins. The three points encompass and divulge a paradoxical iconography that may or

may not reveal the current postcolonial condition in France. After examining Marianne's iconography through a thorough genealogy of her development as an icon, the research shall now discuss and compare her with the second female icon. The next part of this chapter is devoted to the supposed apotheosis of the ideal Filipino woman, Maria Clara.

The Many Faces of Maria Clara

Arguably, the Maria Clara today is an accumulation of many faces: Maria can be seen not only on the pages of the novel *Noli me Tangere*, on television or on historical films, but also in lyrics of songs, in theater performances, in styles of dance and in the latest fashion trends. It is therefore necessary to examine the historical, social and cultural context surrounding the iconography of a hybridized Maria Clara to reveal its iconography. In this section of the chapter, the researcher will present a genealogy of this icon in three parts: Maria Clara as a biographical character, as a literary heroine of the Spanish colonial regime and as a neocolonial icon of today.

Maria Clara, Rizal's biographical character

It is often said that Rizal created the character of Maria Clara after his beloved fiancée, Leonor Rivera. Speculation of many a Rizalian literary scholar indicated that there are many similarities between Rivera and Maria Clara, and therefore it is generally accepted that Rivera serves as the inspiration or prototype for the character. Both critics and supporters of Rizal affirm this notion because of the existence of written biographical tales about the relationship of Rizal and Rivera and its parallels to the story of Juan Crisostomo Ibarra and Maria Clara in the novel.

Documented biographical traces about the life and personality of Leonor Rivera describe a woman who shared the same tastes as Maria Clara. Like the heroine Maria Clara, Rivera was kind and modest. She played the piano, she sang and she loved music (Osias 274-276), as well as possessed the tendency to become overly emotional. The relationship between Rivera and Rizal lasted throughout Rizal's years as a student in Europe, as both parties remained faithful to their engagement for 11 years. Some letters between Jose Rizal and Leonor Rivera, written under the pen name Taimis, were recorded during the period of separation between the two. The peculiarities of these letters show some behavioral similarities between Leonor Rivera and Maria Clara. For example, in this excerpt, Taimis wrote:

> Cuando me extrañé muchísimo ví that Tenías tú y carta candy á mi no; al principio pero cuando me Decian No. CREIA, porque no esperaba como tú que una persona, haria semejante cosa; pero después convencí me that tú eres como una rosa abierta recién that al principio y muy rosada Olorosa; pero después there is going marchitándose ("Epistolario RIZALINO" 16-17);
>
> [I was surprised when I saw that you sent a letter to Dad but not to me. Before, I did not believe that someone like you is capable of doing something like that. But I just realized that you're like a rose that was cut - fresh and fragrant in the beginning, but gradually dies after. (Researcher‟s translation)]

This except indicates the type of relationship between Rivera and Rizal and the similar behavior of Rivera and Maria Clara, particularly that Leonor is a sensitive woman, easily disturbed by the fact that Rizal wrote a letter to his uncle but not to her, his lover, and reminiscent of how Maria Clara scolded Crisostomo Ibarra in the 7th chapter of the

novel for not writing enough letters during his time in Europe as an educated *ilustrado*:

> "Have you always thought of me? Have you never forgotten me on all your travels in the great cities among so many beautiful women?" ("Au Pays de Moines" 58)

> "You must not touch this, she said, tapping the palm of his hand lightly. It's a letter of farewell.
> The one I wrote to you before leaving?
> Have you ever written me any other, sir?
> And what did I say to you then?
> Many fibs, excuses of a delinquent debtor, she answered smilingly" (60)

But more importantly, it went down in history that Leonor Rivera, like Maria Clara, made a sacrifice for love, although less noble. Maria Clara sacrifices her love for Ibarra by choosing a marriage with a man to whom she does not harbor any affection, Linares, to preserve the honor of his parents and at the same time save his life. Leonor, on the other hand, made her sacrifice in a different situation. In a letter from Rizal to his friend Ferdinand Blumentritt, he expressed his distress upon the news of Rivera"s marriage:

> My sweetheart (Leonor Rivera), who was faithful to me for more than eleven years, is going to be married to an Englishman, an engineer of a railroad company […]. Oh ! Don"t be surprised that a Filipina should prefer the name Kipping (the engineer) to that of Rizal; no don"t be surprised, an

> Englishman is a free man and I am not (Rizal cited by Bocobo 170).

In this excerpt, Rizal attributes the failure of his relationship with the absence of freedom. During this period of Rizal's life in the year 1891, the name "Rizal" posed a threat of persecution: a detail which Rizal described in the last part of the letter. Rizal was spiteful neither towards Kipping nor Rivera, but towards the lack of freedom in his family and in his nation. Essentially, Maria Clara became an amalgamation of Rizal's love for both Leonor

Rivera, the woman of his life, and his nation, whose freedom he was dearly and genuinely passionate about.

Maria Clara, fictional heroine of the Spanish colonial regime

Maria Clara, secondly, is the heroine of a literary work set in the Spanish colonial era. This particular imagery has driven scholars and students to view Maria as a personified metaphor of the nation during an oppressive regime. Expectedly, it was the weakness and gentleness of her character that sparked several debates about her idealized iconography. According to Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil, a journalist who marked Maria Clara as "the worst misfortune that has befallen Filipina women in the last one hundred years" ("Maria Clara" 29-31), Rizal may not have intended to describe Maria as a model for the Filipina ideal. Nakpil believes in the possibility that the construction of Maria Clara as a character "merely succumbed to the dictates of [a] literary vogue" (31) full of tragic heroines, sweet and unfortunate, and as weak and lovely as the blushing leading ladies of famous authors like Dickens, Dumas and Tolstoy. In fact, as Nakpil has remarked, one must only read Rizal's epistolary work entitled "Letter to the Young Women of Malolos," a piece of literature that expresses Rizal's admiration for the women insurgents of the Malolos uprising for their courage, to guess what kind of woman Rizal would actually fall for. In support to this,

celebrated Filipino novelist Nick Joaquin in his work *The Novels of Rizal - An Appreciation*, claimed that representations of Maria Clara as the tragic lady love recalled images of Victorian heroines of English and American literature "who blushed and averted their eyes at the most innocent mentions of bedrooms" (Joaquin 72). This sense of timidity and playfulness makes Maria Clara a "mock Victorian figure," as it glorifies weakness and finds courtly feminine behavior as a sign of tremendous appeal.

However, according to feminist author Albina Peczon-Fernandez, it is not only Maria Clara who ended up as a product of the episteme of the era, but Jose Rizal himself. Peczon-Fernandez delves into the epistemological shifts of the 19th century, when demand for socio-political change in society and ways of thinking has become more apparent, specifically on the issue of gender equality, thus evoking the commitment of feminist movements to affirm the important role of women in the transformation of society. This phenomenon was called the "Woman Question." Peczon-Fernandez claims that Rizal was reluctant to include traces of the "Woman Question" in his groundbreaking novel. Perhaps Rizal, fueled by an incongruous desire to save his nation, had thought that the principles of feminism/s can cause a division in the nationalist movement. Moreover, she maintained that Rizal belonged to a "sexist colonial culture" (Peczon Fernandez 809). Maria Clara is indicative of this argument – after all, she is a *meztiza*, a beautiful woman with blonde hair, white skin and with half-European facial features. This preference for foreign physical traits may have involved Rizal's image of a desirable woman at the time.

Nevertheless, it is Maria Clara's personality and behavior whichconstitutes as her most criticized characteristic. She was a perfect girl of her time - timid, docile, religious, gracious and courteous in all social situations. These qualities recall the points of a famous work during the Spanish colonial era which details specific behavior for specific social situations, "Ang Pagsusulatan ng Magkapatid na Urbana at Felisa ukol sa Magandang Asal." Written by Padre Modesto Castro in 1848, this work is an epistolary text between sisters Urbana and Felisa who exchange advice for Honesto, their brother, about proper conduct. It may be noted that the advice comes mostly from Urbana, which, according to her name, is the most urbanized among the three, thus evoking notions of urbanized civilization vis-à-vis the primitiveness of Felisa and Honesto's provincial life.

It is therefore relevant to note that the Spanish regime implemented the *réduccion* during their colonial period, which is a colonized relocation effort of settlements into a *poblacion,* an organized community with the church as the center of power and activity. In relation to the text, Urbana can signify the effort of Spanish colonizers to impose its concept of civilization through the *réduccion*. It is also important to note that the text was used to teach women proper conduct, with women as primary characters, but the writer, of course, was a priest. Considering the repression of sexuality and self-expression among women as mandated by conduct manuals such as the aforementioned text, the Spanish colonial period was said to entail a "colonization of woman's mind and body" (Quindoza- Santiago 25).

Works of Rizalian and various literary scholars have attested to the notion of a sexist colonial culture that influenced Rizal while writing his characters. According to renowned historians like Miguel Loarca and Robert Fox, women in pre-colonial times lived in a society that gave them important positions in the sociopolitical sphere, one of which is the popular *babaylan*, a priestess and spiritual leader for native residents. Married women or citizens also experience a more agreeable position in the family as a woman and a mother. According Loarca, men love their wives and give much importance to the sexual pleasure of the woman in a marriage. Purity or virginity before marriage were most likely never even a question; so much so the Loarca, who was a foreign historian, described pre-colonial women as "beautiful but immodest" due to his supposed lack of sanctions for adultery and immodesty. In addition, according to Fox, the husband and wife work in an egalitarian relationship regarding family decisions such as property and maternity (Fox cited by Quindoza Santiago- 22). It is also considerable possible that divorce was permitted and the property of each

souse remains individualized during or after a marriage. These examples show that the relatively more agreeable positions of women in the family within the pre-colonial society reinforce the notion of a sexist culture inherent to the Spanish colonial regime.

After having explored Maria Clara's supposed origins as a character as well as delved into the influences, events and activities that may have led to her creation and reception of her literary persona, the research will now veer beyond literary context and within the Philippine national consciousness.

Maria Clara, a hybrid of national, postcolonial and neocolonial ideology

Like the mango, the narra, the *sampaguita* and the carabao, Maria Clara's image promotes national symbolism: a sense of belonging shared by ties of kinship, pride, culture; or, as Anderson has argued, an imaginary community. She signifies, with her classic humility, her refusal to live a life of riches, her modesty when it comes to choice of garments etc., a national ideology deeply rooted in Christian faith and tradition. In this sense, Maria Clara is a possession shared by a community, a symbol who makes this community Filipino, an indicator of an established and projected identity. Over time, Maria Clara's classic values were continuously reinforced by tradition, glorified by a predominantly Christian national identity, looming over women as a furtive ideal known as the *dalagang pilipina* ("Filipina lass"). Maria Clara is no longer just a heroine readers would fawn over – she has become a force behind certain feminine notions of an idealized national identity shared, reinforced and exchanged within ties of an imagined community, and thus a personification of the *Inang Bayan* ("Motherland") which Rizal himself has declared in *Noli me Tangere*:

> "To me you seemed to be the fairy, the spirit, the poetic incarnation of my beloved country, lovely and loving, simple, full of candor, a daughter of the Philippines, this beautiful country that welds together the great virtues of Mother Spain and the fine qualities of a young nation, just as in your being all that is noble and beautiful which adorns both races is merged; and this is why your love and the love which I cherish for my country are fused into one magnificent passion! ("Noli me Tangere: Unexpurgated" 49)

In an article about national representations within the novel *Noli me Tangere,* writer Quentin Terranal examined Maria Clara"s national iconography through the three major male characters in the novel, namely Elias, Crisostomo Ibarra and Father Damaso. According to Terranal's analysis, Cristostomo Ibarra signifies education and democracy, a dream Rizal has long envisioned for his country; Elias, a rebel from the lower classes forced to give up everything due to a hopeless system of recurring oppression, symbolizes rural groups and non-Christian minorities; and lastly, Father Damaso, her most direct link to Spain, who embodies the dominant Catholic influence in the Philippines. In this sense, Maria Clara, as the bastard *meztiza* daughter of Pia Alba, yet another tragic Filipina, and Father Damaso, personifies a reconciliation of sorts between the Philippines and Spain. Maria Clara's literal and metaphoric hybridity makes her the perfect representation of a distinct Philippine culture borne out of contradicting Western and Eastern influences, a culture that is both uniquely Filipino yet heavily influenced, alluring and tragic at the same time - a culture which Terranal referred to as "*meztiza* culture" (5).

However, feminist critic Caroline Hau approaches Maria's hybridity in a different manner. In her essay "Philippine Nationalism and Engendering of the Revolutionary Body," Hau focuses on the gender politics and power relations entrenched within Maria's projected national personification. According to Hau, Maria Clara's function as a national icon, as a

metaphor of the nation, is merely ornamental. In the novel, readers have more than enough evidence to realize that her adoptive father, Capitan Tiyago, who was a powerful yet submissive businessman in the novel, treated her as a possession, a lovely addition to heighten his social prestige, a decorative instrument to affirm a display of power. Indeed, her idealized beauty, often described as a parallel to that of the Virgin Mary, is an object of affection and respect among the residents of San Diego and Binondo. In this sense, Hau establishes a link between the fictional heroine within the novel and her national signification beyond its pages:

> The *meztiza* Maria Clara embodies, by her mixed blood, Ibarra‟s spiritualized dream of amalgamation between Filipinas and Mother Spain. Maria Clara‟s virtue and ethereal loveliness are no less attributes of a personified nation than of her own as an individual (Hau 46).

However, Maria Clara as an icon is not just limited purely to literary mediums; she is also a strong and resounding presence in a pop culture riddled with American influence. A relevant example would be the Maria Clara gown, a style of formal garment for ladies named after the fictional heroine. The Maria Clara gown is a version of the traditional Philippine *terno*, which consists of a *camisa*, a short blouse with sleeves, an *alampay* or scarf, a *saya*, a long skirt, and a *tapis*, a shorter, lighter skirt worn over the *saya* ("Terno" seasite.niu.edu).

Following the inherent conservatism of the Spanish colonial regime, this traditional attire for Filipina women, also considered a national symbol amongst others, was named *maria clara,* after the timeless icon of the *dalagang pilipina*.

More recently, however, attempts to makeover Maria Clara's classic but old-fashioned charms became almost all at once a fashion statement, a performance or a popular song lyric, keeling over to the demands of subversive, scandalous appeal. A viable example would be a dance production led by Benildanze, dance troupe of the De La Salle College of St. Benilde. A certain dance show, entitled *Love, Dance and Mompou*, featured a "gay"

Maria Clara – played by, of course, a transwoman - with the intention to provoke conversation of subversion through a more provocative performance and an interesting casting choice. Another example would be certain parts of the lyrics of a rock song by Bamboo, a famous rock band in the Philippines celebrated for the nationalistic themes in their songs, entitled "Probinsyana" ("Provincial lass"), which seem to describe and bemoan the lack of a Maria Clara in more modern settings while glorifying the traditional charms of the provincial lass:

> "Pag sa umaga pisngi namumutla,
>
> pag nakasaya maaakit ka
>
> Ang kanyang lakad, mabibighani ka
> Di biro, babaeng probinsyana
>
> Ang kanyang lakad mabibighani ka
> Nasaan na ang aking Maria Clara?"
> [Her cheeks are red in the morning
> She looks enthralling in her *saya*
>
> Her gait will captivate you
> A provincial lass is no joke
> Her gait will captivate you

Now where is my Maria Clara?] (Author's translation)

From fictional heroine to metaphorical character, from national icon to modernized bearer of pop cultural references, Maria Clara's iconography has proven time and again that she is no longer just a fictitious reincarnation of Rizal's lover. She is a hybrid, a *meztiza* of cultures, values and identities that molded and influenced her, her creators and her audience. Taking the form of specific dominant cultural discourses of every era, Maria Clara embodies the ambivalent relationship between the Philippines and its colonizers, thus breaking down the binary opposition that designates colonized and colonizer through a continuous exchange of signs and ideas.

After exploring the cultural, literary, historical, political and social contexts of the respective iconographies of Marianne and Maria Clara, the research must now detail its postcolonial feminist analysis of the corpus, which comes from selected articles in French and Philippine online press.

Chapter IV

Who is Marianne: representations of Marianne in the French online press

This chapter presents the researcher's critical discourse analysis of articles from *Le Figaro*, *Le Parisien* and *Le Monde* from the year 2000-2014, which aims to pinpoint and examine the manifestations of Marianne's iconography in various forms of media as documented by the articles, as well as scrutinize how a French national identity is affirmed and reinforced but at the same time limited and constrained through representations of Marianne. The researcher divides the analysis into three main points: Marianne as a subject of debate that showcases France as a fragmented society; Marianne as the driving force to the fantasy of a universal Frenchness; and lastly, Marianne and the curse of the symbolic woman within the virtual space.

Marianne: always a subject of debate

Every three years beginning from the 5th republic, the president has to choose a new model for Marianne. This new face of France will then have to be placed and plastered on all possible cultural products in France such as busts, monuments or stamps. In situating mere physical attributes as the main playing field, Marianne can become a sexy star, an elegant actress, a provocative journalist or a founder and leader of a militant group. It seems that Marianne can become the Anywoman as long as she looks the part - a phenomenon that leads to a significant dilemma. How is it possible for a woman who evokes strong, pre-established imagery to take the shape of any woman? How is it possible to establish the boundaries by which one can consider a model an ideal depiction or an insufficient representation of Marianne? Because of this dilemma, Marianne, as well as all the women who have walked a mile in her bare yet courageous gait for three years, becomes recurring subjects of dispute. Some titles of articles on Marianne and her representations have made this clear:

"La Marianne mahoraise fait scandale[2]" (Marianne from Mayotte incited scandal")

"Marianne enceinte, une pub polémique" ("Pregnant Marianne, a controversial ad")

"Le nouveau timbre Marianne: l'autopsie d'une fausse polémique" ("The new Marianne stamp: an autopsy of a false controversy")

In these titles, the words "scandal" and "controversy" are constantly used to refer to the discourses and discussions that surround representations of Marianne. It may be easy to dress up any woman with a Phrygian cap and a tricolor flag, but it is something else to ensure a balance between the physical attributes and Republican values associated to Marianne and the model's personality, beliefs and consequently, mass appeal. Considering the breadth of Marianne's influence on national and cultural discourses, it may be impossible to please everyone with regards to a *proper* representation. There will always be a fatal flaw: she could be too sexualized, too simple, too provocative, too strong or too weak.

Figure 2 The controversial ad of clothing brand "Pardon" which features a Mahorais Marianne holding a broom. Rolin, Gaelle, and Brenna Daldorph. "La Marianne mahoraise fait Scandale" Madame Figaro. Lefigaro.fr, 15 Mar. 2012. Web. 21 Mar.

As an example, in a publicity by "Pardon!" (see Fig. 2), a ready-to-wear clothing brand in Mayotte, the choice of model who played Marianne became a topic of scandal for her dark complexion; with a broom as her bayonet in one hand and the tricolor flag in the other, she recalls, once again, Delacroix's classic Marianne in *Liberté guidant le people aux barricades*. This ad features a Mahorais Marianne, black, wearing their traditional sun mask, *m'sindzan*o, and a pristine white dress revealing her bare breasts. This imagery provoked controversy because of three main problem areas: first, show of skin, much less bare breasts, is a clear violation of a strict Islamic dress code prominent in a predominantly Muslim island; secondly, her color and her race as an attribution to the broom in her hand, which raises a discussion about the stereotyping of black women in Mayotte as domesticated vis-à-vis the popular image of the modern Parisian woman; and finally, her origins, which evokes the subject of Mayotte's recent departmentalization as a territory of France in the Indian Ocean, considering that the ad was launched primarily for this occasion.

To provide a brief context, "Pardon!" is a French ready-to-wear brand in Mayotte founded by German Peter Mertes. To celebrate the island's recent departmentalization, the brand has launched an ad that shows a Mahorais Marianne. The ad not only stirred whispers within the community but also among their neighbors, the Comoros Island, with whom Mayotte shares a rocky relationship due to conflicts of discrimination after Mayotte was declared a French territory - a socioeconomic benefit not available to their neighbors who are currently suffering from economic instability (Rolin and Daldorph). Mertes defended the use of the broom and cited Mayotte's hygiene-related deficiencies. To further promote tourism, Mertes justified the broom as a symbol of the brand's advocacy to keep Mayotte a clean place to promote tourism (Mertes cited by Rolin and Daldorph). However, debates

surrounding the publicity uncover the intersection between racial and gender stereotypes, prompted by the image of a housekeeper with a broom as a representation meant to invoke feelings of pride, nationalism and a strong sense of protection over the maintenance and cleanliness of the community.

Furthermore, Marianne's show of skin and her use of the *m'sindzano*, a traditional emblem of Mahorais culture very much like the Phrygian bonnet, has continued to irk critics, owing to the fact that exposure of skin is generally frowned upon in Muslim cultures such as that of the Mahorais. In an attempt to embody Marianne's image through a Mahorais woman, it is likely that the brand tried to unify and appeal to two cultures through Marianne as part of a celebration between France and its recently departmentalized territory. Daldorph explains this phenomenon in the English translation of the article, recalling the visit of former President Nicolas Sarkozy in Mayotte:

> When Nicolas Sarkozy traveled to Mayotte several years ago to welcome the Mahori to the French family, the scene was far from the typical images of the 'French identity.' The Mahori are predominantly Muslim, many women
>
> (especially) wear traditional clothing and face masks and many speak Shimaore, a Swahili dialect, as their first language (Daldorph).

However, in claiming that there is a universal French identity without considering a minority culture's specificities, particularly the control for women's fashions inherent to Muslim populations and Islamic faith, the uncharacteristic and exoticized usage of the *m'sindzano* and the discriminatory conflicts surrounding the islands of the Indian Ocean because of this departmentalization, the publicity becomes shocking and scandalous.

Through this ad, the researcher was able to examine the makings of a Marianne debate through physical and aesthetic standards. However, a model chosen to be Marianne's new face is never merely just a girl with the right looks; she must be someone who embodies the Republican ideal in accordance to its imposed values. To illustrate this, the research will take for example the controversy surrounding the new face of Marianne chosen by President François Hollande: Ukrainian sextremist, leader of FEMEN and political refugee Inna Shevchenko. On the 14th of July 2014, François Hollande unveiled the new Marianne, a beautiful image of a woman with a graceful face, a fleshy mouth, huge, intense eyes and flawless hair, sporting a Phrygian cap (Benjamin; "un visage gracieux, une bouche charnue des yeux immenses, des cheveux défaits, mais domestiqués par un bonnet phrygien.") The design for the stamp was created by graphic artists Olivier Ciappa and David Kawena, who are known for promoting same-sex marriage through their art, and chosen by French high school students representing 30 French academies. Hollande's decision to use high school students as judges recalls the significance of Marianne as the woman of freedom, education and youth. At first glance, Marianne's new face did not purportedly present any problems as far as French universalism and hegemony are concerned: the chosen model is white, beautiful and young, with a spirit of courage and a passion for freedom. Despite this, just hours after Hollande unveiled the new face of Marianne, Parti Démocrate-Chrétien ("Christian Democratic Party") and its president Christine Boutin appealed to boycott the stamp and proposed a resignation of François Hollande from his post. Exploding with a massive conflict of values and interests between the PCD, a conservatist political and social party in France, and FEMEN, a radical feminist organization in Paris famous for their sextremist events and their vocal support for same-sex or homosexual marriage, the two opposing sides have started a Twitter war and provoked a national debate worthy of a media circus. Below is an exchange of posts on Twitter that highlights two opposing ideologies published in an article entitled "Timbre inspiré d'une Femen: des anti-mariages gay appellent au boycott" ("FEMEN-

inspired Stamp: Anti-homosexual Marriage Groups Call for a Boycott"):

> [F]élicitations et bon dimanche @Olivier Ciappa. [Il] est beau ce timbre !
> [Q]ui est le modèle une belle anonyme ? [Une] création ? » (Medouga)
>
> ("Congratulations and good Sunday @OlivierCiappa. It's pretty, this
> stamp! Who is this anonymous model? Your own creation?")

> @mapyntonga C"est plusieurs femmes mais surtout Inna Shevchenko.
>
> @OlivierCiappa @femmeninna (Ciappa)
>
> ("@mapyntonga There's a lot of models but it's more Inna Shevchenko.
>
> @OlivierCiappa @femmeninna")

> La nouvelle Marianne est une FEMEN ! LIBERTÉ,
> ÉGALITÉ, FEMEN ! (Femen_France)
>
> ("The new Marianne is FEMEN! Liberty, Equality, FEMEN!")

> Maintenant tous les homophobes, extrémistes et fascistes vont devoir me
> lécher le cul lorsqu"ils voudront envoyer une lettre. (Shevchenko)
>
> ("Now all homophobes, extremists and fascists must lick my ass in order
> to send a letter")

> APPEL AU BOYCOTT du timbre #Femen 1 outrage à la dignité de la
> femme, à la souveraineté de la #France, demande retrait du timbre de
>
> l'outrage (PCD)
>
> ("CALL FOR BOYCOTT of the #Femen stamp! An outrage to the dignity
> of the woman and the sovereignty of #France, we demand the boycott of the
> outrageous stamp!")

> La nouvelle Marianne à l'image du gouvernement : christianophobe, haineuse
> et idéologue ! #ONLR #Femen #Résistance (Printemps Français)
>
> ("The new Marianne is the image of the government: christianophobe,
> hateful and ideologist! #ONLR #Femen #Résistance")

In these Tweets, the PCD and its supporters believe that Inna Shevchenko as Marianne is an affront to essential Republican values of France today (Kovacs, de Mallevoüe) and a contemptuous insult to the dignity of women and the sovereignty of France as a nation. It is also remarkable how the Tweet of Femen_France changed the motto of the Republic, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" into "Liberty, Equality, Femen," thus evoking the sense of national identity that comes with Marianne while at the same time promoting FEMEN's role in it. By associating the name and principles of FEMEN to the French Republic, the stamp inspired by Shevchenko sparked not only a controversy over an artistic choice, but a debate regarding the contested uniformity of French national identity through its representations.

In an article entitled "Timbre Femen: Marianne pour tous ou Marianne pour quelques-uns?" ("Femen Stamp: Marianne for all or Marianne for some?") the writer zooms in on an internet forum discussing the new stamp, and it seems that the response is automatic to *Le Figaro* subscribers: the drawing and design are not consistent with Republican values associated with the symbol. Recalling the Republican values discussed in the third chapter, Marianne should be able to embody universalism, *mission civilisatrice*, liberalism, secularism, and separation of private and public spaces. In the forum, internet users reiterate how the FEMEN leader is a poor fit to embody one or more of these core values:

> "Cette Marianne n'est pas une Marianne pour tous, mais celle de quelques-uns." (DominiqueD2B)

> ("This is not a Marianne for all but one for some.")

> "Si ce timbre représente Marianne, comment se fait-il qu'on ait choisi une réfugiée politique pour modèle?" (gibus15)

> ("If this stamp shows Marianne, how is it that we chose a political refugee as a model?")

> "Serait-ce beaucoup demander de faire dessiner Marianne par un artiste français?" (Tarseiche17)

> ("Would it be asking a lot to have Marianne designed by a French artist?")

According to these comments, the stamp is no longer simply a matter of design or physical similarities between the model and Marianne, but a question of the origin of the design and the designer. One commenter, at least, considers it necessary to question the nationality of Ciappa and Kawena to justify their choice – after all, one must be native-born French in order to create a French symbol only for the French. In addition, the use of the phrases "for all" and "for a few" indicates a sense of belonging and a sense of otherness. One may belong to "all," which can mean France and French origin, or one may belong to the "few," those that they are not, ironically, members of "all." In this sense, the requirements to symbolize Marianne rest once again in a paradox: one must be truly, simply and singularly French, but one must also be a symbol "for all," and thus one must embody a universal Marianne who can be singular and collective at the same time.

The disparity in values between PCD and FEMEN as well as comments and Tweets of internet users in these forums may signify that each individual envisions their own Marianne in their mind, with their own meticulous roster of physical attributes, their own choice of suitable models and their own judgments on her ability to personify the core values of a Republican ideal. To address this dilemma, one must have a Marianne who satisfies all these criteria, a representation of Marianne that is a mixture of all women, a Marianne that captures all aspects and all angles of being French. Therefore, one needs a universal Marianne based on the concept of universal Frenchness.

Marianne and the myth of a universal Frenchness

To recall the points discussed in the notion precious section, it was detailed how the of a universal Frenchness – a representation of Marianne that encompasses all the aspects of France and the French republic – is ideal to embody the Republican ideal in accordance to its values.

Figure 3 A photo that juxtaposes Kawena and Ciappa's Marianne stamp and its model, Inna Shevchenko. "Timbre inspiré d'une Femen : des anti-mariage gay appellent au boycott" . Le Parisien. leparisien.fr, 15 Juil. 2013. Web. 21 Mar. 2015

inna shevchenko @femeninna   26 min
FEMEN is on French stamp.Now all homophobes,extremists,fascists will have to lick my ass when they want to send a letter. @Femen_France

According to an article by Ciappa himself entitled "Le nouveau timbre Marianne: autopsie d'une fausse polémique," (The new Marianne stamp: autopsy of a false scandal") he revealed that presenting a universal Marianne was exactly his objective when designing the stamp. Ciappa claims that Shevchenko is not the only model; rather, the design is a mixture of several female icons such as Shevchenko, actress Marion Cotillard, politicians Christiane Taubira and Roselyne Bachelot, as well as employs a mélange of several artistic styles like Renaissance art, comics, Japanese manga and Walt Disney's animation aesthetic (see fig. 3). Ciappa combines all these inspirations and styles to create a "universal" Marianne - a Marianne to whom everyone can project their own imagined character (Vertaldi, Ciappa). Thus, Ciappa claims that a controversy regarding his choice of model is useless because of his design's massive reach and universal appeal:

> "Demandez aux personnes autour de vous à qui leur fait penser cette Marianne. Les uns évoqueront la vierge Marie, certains Falbala dans Astérix, d''autres une princesse Disney, d''autres encore une héroïne de manga. Aucune réponse ne sera la même, mais chacune sera "vraie." Et c''est tant mieux."
> ("Ask people around you what they think of when they see this Marianne. Some will say the Virgin Mary, some Falbala in Asterix, others may see a Disney princess, others a manga heroine. No answer will be the same, but each will be "true." And that's good." [Researcher's translation])

Ciappa's Marianne, which presents itself as having the capacity to evoke different truths about the same representation, is uniform and diverse at the same time. In choosing to portray a specific woman through signs, symbols and figures closest to French culture and identity such as Panacea and the Virgin Mary, a woman who embodies all women rendered in different artistic styles, it is possible that Ciappa tried to achieve a universal representation through a mixture of cultures and perspectives amidst a grand, all-encompassing celebration of Frenchness.

However, critics and opponents of FEMEN have proven to be persistent as they regurgitate issues regarding the validity of Shevchenko's origins and French identity. In an article by Solene Cordier entitled "La naturalisation imaginaire de la Femen Inna Shevchenko" (" The Imaginary Naturalization of FEMEN Inna Shevchenko"), critics challenged the new Marianne's national roots. Evidently, the fact that Shevchenko is not

completely naturalized yet presented itself as an opportunity to boycott the stamp under the grounds of the unjustified alignment between France's national icon and a mere political refugee. According to the article, the debate sparked after, of course, another Tweet from Shevchenko, followed by Femen_France:

> After a long struggle I got my passport! Very proud it's written
> French Republic. Have a nice day, fascists! (Shevchenko)
>
> Marianne a récupéré ses papiers ! Bonne indigestion les fachos ! femeninna
> @LaManifPourTous (Femen_France)
>
> ("Marianne has recovered her papers! Good indigestion fascists!
> @femeninna @LaManifPourTous")

These Tweets highlight an important part of being "French" and being a citizen of a nation - the possession of a passport or at least any official document recognized by the government. According to her Tweet, Shevchenko considers obtaining the papers as a triumph, based on her celebratory tone. In their Tweet, Femen_France also used the name "Marianne" to refer to Shevchenko. Combining the images of Marianne, the French national symbol, and the "triumph" of acquiring documents that prove French nationality, this fiasco has created a sardonically ironic scene: here comes a Marianne who needed to prove her own Frenchness.

Moreover, conservatist groups in France such as the PCD have continuously gone against FEMEN's radical sextremist advocacy. According to their website, FEMEN declares sextremism as its own brand of feminism: "Our god is a woman! Our mission is protest! Our weapons are breasts! And so FEMEN was born and sextremism was set off. " In an article entitled "Les Femen, meilleurs ennemies du féminisme" ("FEMEN, worst enemy of feminism") which features an interview with Lydia Guirous, an expert on French feminism, the specialist talks about her contempt for FEMEN's "terrorist acts" (de Mallevoüe) that betray and undermine the feminist cause ("trahissent et nuisent à la cause féministe"). Guirous further claims that FEMEN trivializes its own advocacies owing to their hypersexualized tactics. Guirous considers FEMEN''s sextremist advocacies as a regression of feminist struggles since the 1970s ("régression des combats féministes depuis les années 1970") which encourage the objectification and sexualization of the female body. More importantly, she believes that FEMEN does not take into consideration the political environment in France at all and therefore does not contribute to the evolution of French feminism:

> Malheureusement les Femen n'ont pas intégré cette évolution et n''ont pas
> compris que la situation des Françaises n''est pas celle des Ukrainiennes,
> desTunisiennes ou des Indiennes. Nous ne sommes pas au même niveau
> d''évolution de nos droits.
>
> ("Unfortunately FEMEN has not integrated this development and does not
> understand that the situation of the French is not the same as that of the
> Ukrainian, Tunisian or Indian. We are not on the same level of evolution
> of our rights.")

Another argument against FEMEN is the disparity between French feminism and

FEMEN's "hyper-mediatized sextrémism," according to an interview with Loubna Méliane, supporter of the feminist movement *Insoumises*. According to Meliane, FEMEN's activism rests and belongs within the margins due to its attachment to warrior-soldier lexicon and

discourses ("vocabulaire guerrier, militaire") – something far from French culture (Autain cited by Marteau). This supposed culture clash between French feminists and activists of FEMEN proved to be brutal. In lieu of this disparity, opponents of FEMEN believe that the activist group relies merely on the kindness of the French authorities ("bienveillance des autorités françaises") in order to be given license to continue their hateful demonstrations that are primarily anti-religious and subversive to the French western culture. With this advantage, it seems that Paris has become the base of the new Amazons of the East ("nouvelles amazones de l"Est").

There are two points to consider regarding the examples above. First, perspectives against the methods of FEMEN seem to be based on the inconsistency between the principles of FEMEN and France's core Republican values. In addition, it is remarkable how the image of Frenchness was built around these exchanges through a dichotomy between French feminism and FEMEN' sextremism operating within the margins of Western French society. These two points demonstrate the inadequacy of a universal Marianne, and proves the illusion that is Ciappa's goal to establish a universal Frenchness.

Clues that indicate this argument are demonstrated through the use of the terms "terrorism" and "Western society," which establishes a strong dichotomy between those who are members of Western society and the "terrorists" who threaten those members. Also, the use of the words "modernizing" and "regression" to refer to culture, society and development of feminism indicates a linear perspective of development, dividing cultures, societies and the world feminisms between two parties: the modern or progressive and the traditional and regressive. In fact, comments of Guirous and Méliane are obvious indicators of this concept: they say that the French situation is different from situations of the Ukrainian, Tunisian and Indian, making FEMEN's activism "far" from French culture. This statement, of course, presents its own complications, considering France's current multicultural condition and its continuous influx of immigrants from all parts of the world. All these indications further support the claim that Marianne's iconography cannot possibly represent a universal Frenchness for she rests within a multitude of paradoxes: uniformity and diversity, multicultural and republican, belonging and Otherness.

To illustrate this phenomenon, the researcher has to cite the 14 women of the exposition "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui." The display presents 14 portraits of Mariannes from various races, different physical attributes, and who came from various professions and social environments (see Fig. 4 as an example), all draped over the frontispiece of the *Assemblée Nationale*. The exhibit is the final stage of the "Marche des femmes des quartiers contre les ghettos et pour l'égalité," promoted by *Ni Putes ni Soumises*, a movement that condemns insecurity, discrimination and violation of human rights of women in disadvantaged neighborhoods. These 14 women who come from "disadvantaged neighborhoods" in France don the Phrygian cap and tricolor flag to embody the values of the Republic, which are liberating and

Figure 4 One of the 14 portraits of women in the exposition "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui". « Assemblée Nationale - Marche Des Femmes Des Quartiers ». Assemblée Nationale. Assemblée Nationale. Web. 3 Apr. 2015.

protective against the temptations of national disunity, whether discriminatory or community... [as well as] all the barbaric excesses of the fittest [and against] the draconian despair of the suburbs where immigrant women generally live. ("toutes les tentations de disunion nationale, qu"elles soient discriminatoires ou communautaires…toutes les dérives barbares de la loi du plus fort [et contre] le désespoir liberticide des banlieues »,

où les femmes immigrées habitent généralement").

     An article entitled "Être représentée en Marianne est une vraie fierté" ("Being represented by Marianne is a real pride") by Stéphane Sellami features an interview with Samira Cadasse, one of the 14 faces in the exposition. This young mother of two is also involved in discussions of secularism and the fight against community withdrawal and ghettoization. According to her, being part of an exposition that celebrated 14 women from different origins is a real pride for her as a woman, especially amidst and despite their obvious physical differences:

> Même si je m'appelle Samira et que j'ai les cheveux frisés, je me considère comme une Marianne d'aujourd'hui. Avant d'être black, blanche ou beur,

nous sommes des citoyennes à part entier de ce pays et dignes représentantes.

("Although my name is Samira and I have curly hair, I consider myself

as a Marianne of today. Before being black, white or Arab, we are citizens of the country and we are worthy representatives." [Researcher"s translation])

In Cadasse's comment, she maintains that women are "French" and are "citizens" before being black, white or Arab. As a declaration of her otherness, she highlighted her foreign-sounding name, Almira, and her curly hair. In this sense, this comment not only affirms the fact that she perceives herself as "othered" but also reinforces the notion of universal Frenchness through Marianne. By imitating Marianne, wearing her dress in three colors, donning on the Phrygian cap and exposing her image on the frontispiece of the Assemblée Nationale, Cadasse declares that she belongs to a French community that acknowledges her despite her "different" physical attributes, a nation that includes black, white or Arab identities.

This, however, is imaginary. Between Republican ideology, which envisages a common and pure universal Frenchness, and the ongoing discrimination against immigrants in France, critics have questioned how the movement recuperates mainstream and certainly *Front national* stereotypes of beur, or Arab, existence in France (Weber-Fève 177). Although the intention is noble, it is notable that these representations of beurettes and other women in the exposition are stereotyped images of poor women who live and suffer poverty and discrimination within the margins of society.

And thus the movement, like Ciappa's stamp, promotes a universal Frenchness that can include and protect these women from the suburbs, claiming that a Republican representation of women through Marianne can bring about the end of discrimination against them. Furthermore, the use of the word "aujourd'hui," which means "today," in "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui" point to the recurring concepts of modernization and the dichotomy between the First World and the Third World, the West and East, the Occident and the Orient. By assimilating into France and embracing French identity through imitations of Marianne, these women from the suburbs have become "modern" or "new" – they have become, indeed, women of *today*. By donning on the symbolic Phrygian cap and painting their souls in three colors, these 14 women try to imitate important French iconography through their costumes and succeed in displaying their otherness as sameness (Weber-Fève 175). And this imitation, this semblance of uniformity, feeds the imaginary notion of a universal French identity.

Marianne and the curse of the virtual woman symbol

Through the aforementioned texts, it is notable how the stamp and its model exist primarily in different planes: the stamp as an established symbol within France's media circulation, while Shevchenko remains in the margins, persecuted and othered for the "terrorist acts" of her militant group. The situation is similar considering Mahorais women vis-à-vis the Mahorais Marianne depicted in the ad. Lastly, representations of Marianne by NPNS present opportunities to manipulate not only the iconography of Marianne malleable enough to fit their propositions, but also the bodies and faces of the real, struggling women behind those smiling portraits, highlighting their otherness, capitalizing on their diversity, as a form of mimicry - as a form of similarity. This shows us that Marianne as an image will never be sufficient as a representation of women in reality. Within nationalist discourses of

power, the only position for women is through Marianne, always grounded in the virtual space of the symbolic and the perceptual, established and reinforced by recurring imageries on cultural products such as ads, busts, stamps and posters draped on the frontispiece of national buildings.

This goes back to Delacroix's Marianne – bare-breasted Lady Liberty in all her universalized French glory. Ciappa himself said that Delacroix has influenced his choice for the FEMEN stamp, aligning the image of a courageous, bare-breasted Marianne to FEMEN's topless protests:

> J'ai choisi Inna Shevchenko comme modèle, après des jours et des jours d'"essais et de recherches, elle incarne le mieux les valeurs de la République, liberté, égalité, fraternité. Le féminisme fait partie intégrante de ces valeurs. Et la Marianne, au temps de la révolution était seins nus, alors pourquoi pas rendre hommage à cette fabuleuse FEMEN ?
>
> ("I chose Inna Shevchenko as a model, after days and days of drafts
>
> and research, because she best embodies the values of the Republic: liberty, equality and fraternity. Feminism is integral to these values. And Marianne was topless during her revolution, so why not pay tribute to this fabulous FEMEN?" (Researcher's translation))

Marianne's function as a malleable figure provides an opportunity for people to attach universal meanings, as did Ciappa, envisioning a woman symbol that is diverse and uniform, signifying both the unity and diversity of the French national culture, as well as to invite other cultures to assimilate in this singular, unified, diverse, all-encompassing universal Frenchness. Using stars such as Bardot, Deneuve, Casta and others, a universalized Marianne introduces the French nation as a world center for pleasure (Hewitt 20) and as seductive, alluring global colonial power.

However, in the instance these models take a step further from where they are supposed to be and what they are supposed to become, like being too fierce and aggressive as the FEMEN leader, or having the wrong skin color and incorrect object in her hand like the Mahorais Marianne, it is almost certain that this Marianne will incite public controversy. Outside Delacroix's perfect image, the Mariannes that threaten the values of the Republican ideal are ostracized because of their faults. When the image becomes too real and when women get too close for comfort, people begin to talk about putting them back in their place.

This is the curse of the woman in the virtual space. Marianne is a blank image. People try to include Marianne and bring her in the same plane of existence as all women, but the abundance of Marianne busts in the city hall has never satisfied the lack of women in public and political spaces, never freed them from their continued confinement in private and domestic spaces, and ultimately never denied the fact that neither a stamp nor an advertisement nor a movement with Marianne's image on it can show the real situation of discrimination, abuse and suffering among marginalized and disadvantaged women. As a critic of "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui" mentioned, this exposition and all other expositions of Marianne belong in another galaxy, far from the socioeconomic reality and the realpolitik of the daily lives of citizens continually stigmatized and marginalized (Winter 238).

In summary, this chapter has treated three arguments on the representations of Marianne on *Le Figaro, Le Monde* and *Le Parisien*. First, that there are certain requirements on physical attributes, race, behavior, beliefs etc. to become the new face of Marianne. Each individual has her own image of Marianne, thus leading to attempts to establish a universal

Frenchness, an imaginary phenomenon that hides the specificities of reality. And finally, this reality reveals Marianne as an empty image that limits the participation of women in the symbolic domain and contributes to reinforcement and promulgation of misrepresentations of disadvantaged and marginalized women, immigrants, political refugees and citizens of French territories. After probing Marianne's representations through these points, the researcher now presents the analysis of representations of Maria Clara in the next chapter.

<center>**Chapter V**</center>

<center>**Who is Maria Clara: representations Maria Clara in Philippine online press**</center>

After examining representations of Marianne, this chapter will lay out the researcher's analysis of Maria Clara's iconography according to her representations in articles from

Philippine Star, Philippine Daily Inquirer and *Manila Bulletin*. The research will treat this this subject in three points to trace significant structures and neo-colonial influences governing Maria Clara's idealized image as a woman behind the fan, as a progressive, modernized icon of neocolonial influence, and lastly, as a hybridized figure and cultural appropriation.

"Nasaan na ang aking Maria Clara:" The woman behind the fan

It is no question that Maria Clara leaves an impressionable image. She is not merely a character in a novel, but a timeless symbol in Filipino culture that embodies the values significant to an entire community's ideal. Behind her status as a pop culture icon is an established portrait of an ideal woman, not just of Rizal's, but of every Filipino.

This ideal goes out to several other textual representations of Maria Clara. In "Meet the modern Maria Clara," "Maria Clara Who?" and "Will the real Maria Clara please stand up?," Maria Clara's idealized femininity was both affirmed and questioned in comparison to the image of today's modern woman. These articles give examples of the "modern" Maria Clara through citing primarily Western influences that manifest in different ways, from filmic representations of women in Hollywood, international fashion trends, general practices during dating and courtship as well as behaviors in public.

In "Meet the modern Maria Clara" by Nicola Sebastian, the author identifies several types of Filipino women in comparison to the stars of movies and American popular culture like Zooey Deschanel, Kristen Stewart and Rihanna. Sebastian uses these icons to compare the situation of women in "a not-too-distant past where Filipino girls were expected to behave, think and even laugh properly" vis-à-vis the situation of women today, in a modernized, liberal society wherein choices, identities and preferences are respected. By juxtaposing the traditional image of Maria Clara as the coy, blushing maiden behind the fan with modern images of women who are not afraid to show skin, who take on a wider array of roles in the society and who are not afraid to be weird and funny, Sebastian's stance establishes a dichotomy between the repressed, controlled traditional woman of the past and her better, freer, happier modern version.

On one hand, the traditional woman stirs memories of a tougher life as a woman in a culture of gender inequality. Personal activities, social concerns, employment and relationships are limited by social, academic and religious institutions. Behaviors and discussions on sex and sexuality are silenced and regulated as chastity and purity are considered as motivations for marriage. On the other hand, the modern woman is the woman *liberated* enjoying a more flexible existence, with more opportunities to choose from, more romantic and sexual relationships to partake in and more freedom to create an identity through fashion, makeup, styling, lifestyle and other means of expression. In associating

Maria Clara's classic traditional image to the demand to imitate and idolize popular icons of today, this phenomenon creates two sides of Maria Clara: the traditional lass, bound by an old-fashioned yet conservative ideal, and a modern woman liberated from the chains of oppression, reckless and subversive.

This distinction is a common theme among the three aforementioned articles. In

"Maria Clara Who?" by Tamara Benitez, she also cited examples from American pop culture

such as Madonna, Britney Spears and Ally McBeal to represent subversive behavior, and evoked images of the modern woman through her rather uncharacteristic choice of too revealing clothes and her attitudes to sex:

> Who has the young Filipina become ? Britney Spears ? Ally McBeal ? Worst, Madonna ? See her as she bids farewell to her *patadyong* and *payneta*, and trades them off for those oh-too-revealing midriffs and micro-mini skirts!

In this excerpt, Benitez uses clothing as evidence to prove the modernization of young Filipino women, by leaving traditional national outfits behind to adapt styles and looks of American icons like Madonna, Britney Spears and Ally McBeal. Furthermore, by making a reference to the *patady*ong and *payneta*, garments that are parts of the traditional Filipina costume, the text strengthens the link between national identity and behavior of women and associates the changes in styles and looks of modern women to Maria Clara's idealized national iconography.

However, in an article entitled "Will the real Maria Clara please stand up?" author Lexi Schulze maintained that Maria Clara's classic traditional image has always been prone to influence and change through her sexuality. In fact, as this article discusses the dating scene and relationships in Philippine society, Schulze wrote that the ability to be more subversive, more deviant and more sexually liberated has always existed in the consciousness of the Filipino woman. To illustrate this point, she used a creative approach to define and describe the types of women in the Philippine dating scene. Schulze invokes mathematical and biological discourses to classify these types of women and to specify the perfect blend of traditional and modern. The example below shows a basic classification of women according to their sexual attitudes, using a creative writing style that mimics a mathematical equation:

$$V \text{ (Virgin)} + S \text{ (Slut)} = (M) \text{ aria } (C) \text{ lara} = MC$$

According to this equation, Maria Clara, unlike the images of a conservative woman continuously reinforced in various forms of media, is a mixture of virgin and whore. The perfect Maria Clara was never totally conservative. Her coyness is intentional; her innocence merely heightens her desirability and her sexual charm. In invoking the image of Maria Clara to embody the careful and traditional woman but simultaneously subvert this image by disproving Maria Clara's lack of playfulness and sexual aggressiveness, the text addresses a familiar dual perspective:

> …There is a beautifully nasty duality to Maria Clara"s being. Like two sides of a coin, the whole would not be worth 10 pesos (…) if both sides didn"t exist. There is certainly a brand of coyness to her, not exposing everything at once to get the imagination going.

In this excerpt, Schulze identifies two faces of Maria Clara, or in this case, the ideal

Filipino woman in the dating scene. On one side is the Maria Clara already known for innocence and prudence; on the other, is the hidden trickster, totally aware of her sexuality and her subtle and irresistible allure. The idealized Filipino woman of today is both these Maria Clara's - a woman who is innocent but intelligent, attractive but prudent, attentive to her sexuality but reserved enough to deserve a marriage proposal.

The discourse of the traditional woman vis-à-vis the modern woman is also a recurring theme in fashion, particularly among designers who work with the *maria clara* gown. Several articles tackle designers from here and abroad who have jumped on the modern Maria Clara bandwagon through their contemporary recreations of the iconic gown. The titles of these articles are indications of this argument:

> "The rise of the modern Filipiniana"
> "Young designers redefine the 'maria clara'"
> "The rebirth of the terno"
> "Masters and Millennials: maria clara reborn in face-off"

Usage of the words "modern," "redefined" and "rebirth" implies the presence of change, or at least attempts to change, revise or remodel a pre-established image. More importantly, usage of the terms "master" and "millennia" indicates a tension between the generations of artists who come from different eras. Claiming that this tension stems from varying ideologies of two generations, a "face-off" becomes the marketed theme of the fashion show, which banks on opposing styles of older artists who believe in traditional elegance and younger designers as the voice of the contemporary, willing to even out the playing field through their "juvenile, light and sexy" redefinitions (Moral).

These articles covering representations of Maria Clara in the world of fashion once again affirm a familiar duality between the traditional woman and the modern woman as well as demonstrate how Maria Clara's modern representations are deeply rooted in culture and Philippine society through American neo-colonial influences. More recently, however, neo-colonial influence and its manifestations are at the center of debates in the Philippines due to a controversy regarding the proposed and recently approved Act for Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health, more popularly known as the Reproductive Health Bill or RH bill.

Maria Clara as a neocolonial force

In the previous parts of this chapter, articles discussed the manifestations of a dichotomy between the traditional and the modern as far as Maria Clara is concerned, associating the image of a modern woman to a transformative, progressive sexual liberation. This notion is affirmed through the construction of a subversive Maria Clara that challenges all its associated limits and restrictions on sexuality, lifestyle, fashion, public behaviors and personal preferences imposed by the traditional Maria Clara image of the past. This affirms the role of sexuality in the discourse of modernization and therefore, involves a debate between preserving the importance of modesty and the more liberating assertions of modernized sexual behaviors.

Currently these oppositions are directly addressed in an ongoing issue on current president Benigno Aquino III"s approval of the Republic Act 10354 or the Reproductive Health Bill. The RH Bill is a law which mandates the access of the poor and disadvantaged communities to ample education and information regarding the reproductive organ. According to the official government website, the RH bill includes the promotion of various

family planning methods, particularly the distribution of provisions and adequate and effective products such as condoms, contraceptives, pills and injectables that do not violate abortion laws in the Philippines. Targeted individuals are those from disadvantaged backgrounds, especially the youth and people with disabilities. The bill claims to promote gender equality through its support for the interests, sex lives, choices, and health of women, as well as to help reduce an alarmingly increasing number of cases of teen pregnancy in the country, causing poverty through overpopulation.

As expected, the bill is confronted by the opposition of conservative associations and organizations, especially, of course, the Catholic Church. The Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines or CBCP, the supreme body of Catholic authority in the Philippines, declined an invitation to debate with legislators regarding the aforementioned bill. The CBCP opposes the law because of its tendency to associate the artificial methods of family planning to abortion, which is prohibited in the Philippines according to legal and religious laws. More importantly, conservative Catholic organizations believe that access to methods that prevent pregnancy may encourage perverse and provocative behavior, especially amongst couples who are not married yet (Montenegro). These events have caused a division between those who oppose the bill, pro-life, and those who support its implementation, pro-choice.

In "Maria Clara learns the ABCs of reproductive health," Maria Clara's image was used to draw attention and promote the principles of the RH bill. During a tourism event celebrating the 65th anniversary of the Battle of Manila, Manila tour guide Carlos Celdran and sex columnist Ana Santos organized a group of women who wore a Maria Clara costume while distributing condoms. The organizers believed Maria Clara was apt not only to the event's historical theme and aesthetic, but also fit to promote an important sexual advocacy. The gimmick was called "The ABC's of Reproductive Health," wherein A stands for "Abstinence," B for "Be Faithful" and C for "Consistent and Correct use of Condoms." For Celdran and Santos, Maria Clara is the perfect model to represent the promotion, as her status as the epitome of purity, innocence and Filipina beauty makes her an appropriate and ironic symbol of sex education.

It is apparent, however, that the gimmick largely depended on the shock value by capitalizing on Maria Clara's sexuality, or lack thereof, to promote reproductive health. Just the mental image of a subversive Maria Clara distributing condoms, a product associated to perverse sexual behavior, created a fascinating twist to the cultural event while at the same time expressed the organizers' support for the RH Bill.

However, debates on morality and sexual perversions are not the only concerns about the RH Bill. According to Dr. Bernardo Villegas, a columnist for the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* famous for his pro-life arguments, moral consequences and affronts to sacred religious affairs are not the only flaws of the act. In an editorial, he argued that the Bill is merely a command from the Obama administration, a deceitful ploy of the United States' ulterior motives disguised as a helpful law promoting poverty alleviation ("No need for an RH Bill, now or ever," "No to RH Bill" inquirer.net). Villegas makes a reference to accusations and speculations that these so-called reproductive health provisions are waste products from pharmaceutical establishments in the United States. In this sense, Villegas" arguments highlighted neo-colonial discourses present in the proposition, approval and implementation of the RH Bill.

As such, controversies surrounding the representations of Maria Clara and its influence on women not only strengthens a dichotomized perspective on the subject of modernity, but also proceeds to embody neo-colonialist forces of the United States in political, cultural, social and economic domains. And yet the notion that Maria Clara is

simply a neo-colonial icon that can transform a traditional woman into a modern individual is a concept with defects. Her iconography, rather, is based on appropriation and attempts to imitate and align itself to Western models.

Maria Clara: hybrid and appropriation

In an article entitled "Maria Clara, Sisa," writer Michael Tan assigns significant characters in *Noli me Tangere* such as Father Damaso, Maria Clara, Capitan Tiyago and Pia Alba to represent figures in the Philippines" sociopolitical sphere. He claims that, despite all the differences and changes of time and development, women are still oppressed as women were in the novel through pro-life oppositions against the RH Bill, whom he called "the modern incarnations of Padre Damaso."

Tan invokes metaphorical meanings for each character in Maria Clara"s paternity: conservative Catholics who oppose the RH Bill are Padre Damaso, the moralizing authority that oppresses women through their twisted beliefs; women in the past who live a godly, lifeless existence are Pia Alba, who identifies herself only as a mother because she has no other choice in a patriarchal society; the current Philippine government and President Aquino are Capitan Tiyago, who bows to foreign interests and views the nation as an ornamental product; and finally, the victimized nation is Maria Clara - the hybrid lovechild of three problematic institutions in Philippine society:

> Maria Clara is a powerful metaphor of powerlessness… Rizal's Maria Clara and the millions of Maria Clara that have followed is the product of Padre Damaso Verdolagas and Pia Alba. A modern translation: clerical despotism and a colorless, lifeless piety.

In associating these metaphorical images to current dire situations, Tan tickles emotion and evokes national consciousness among readers by comparing the oppressive institutions and their victims to the characters in the novel. Essentially, these figures explain the meanings behind the hybridity of Maria Clara and prove the timeless relevance of the novel. Maria Clara is not simply a preset image that can be transformed from traditional woman to the sexually liberated modern woman - Maria Clara is a hybridized symbol, literally and metaphorically, borne out of the union of an oppressed postcolonial nation symbolized by Pia Alba; a patriarchal, colonial power and moralizing authority represented by Damaso, and finally, a current corrupt government that promotes neocolonial interests as portrayed by Capitan Tiyago.

But more than a hybridized symbol, Maria Clara is an appropriation. As several articles have demonstrated, representations of Maria Clara in various mediums tend to create a subversive Maria Clara to follow the waves of modernization. However, these modernized and westernized representations are insufficient in its imitation because Maria Clara will never be the same. Articles like "Meet the modern Maria Clara" and "Will the real Maria Clara please stand up?" depict a Maria Clara who can choose her own lifestyle, create her own identity and make decisions about her own sexual behavior – a Maria Clara much like her Western, primarily American, counterparts. But the controversy revolving around the RH Bill proves she can never be enough to achieve a perfect imitation of the American woman, because of dominant ideologies deeply rooted in her iconography. Above all, it is important to note that these imitations are circulated amongst a bourgeois society, who can wear *maria clara* dresses for social occasions, who can totally relate to the lifestyle of Britney Spears or Zooey Deschanel, and who primarily have more access to American popular culture.

Therefore, Maria Clara is not a symbol of a transformative progress or a muse modernization due to the disparity of power relations between Philippine society and Western societies. This transformation is inadequate in its imitation because Maria Clara is a hybrid – all at once the traditional, the modern, and all the influences that can change and define her.

In the next chapter, the researcher will conclude the study by stating how Marianne and Maria Clara's iconographies constitute two hybridized identities that contribute to misrepresentations of oppressed and disadvantaged women.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher will conclude the current research by providing a response to the problem garnered through analysis of texts. Through analyzing Marianne and Maria

Clara‟s representations as well as the ideologies and power relations that surround them, the researcher examined how their iconographies contribute to the construction of national identity of each country through strengthening, affirming, reinforcing or demonstrating principles of universalism, neocolonialism, hybridity and appopriation. In addition, the researcher discussed significant similarities and differences between France and the Philippines as a colonial power and a postcolonial nation, respectively.

Employing a theorization of the postcolonial implications present within national, postcolonial and neocolonial discourses, one can see that Marianne and Maria Clara are great narratives that can change all throughout history but at the same time maintain their preset imagery within the national consciousness of their countries. By trying to deconstruct the inherent dichotomies in these narratives and detailing a discussion of the intersection of feminism and postmodernist thought, the researcher has found that a postcolonial feminist approach has the capacity to address issues of difference, misrepresentations of marginalized and hybridized identities, and finally, bring about a consolidation of idealized femininity based on the establishment of national identities.

Representations of Marianne in the French online press demonstrate the need to have a proper incarnation suitable for the promotion of a universal Frenchness, which entail the separation of private and public spaces, the implementation of secularism, the establishment of France as a colonial power, and ultimately a brand of liberalism that demonstrates modernity and cements a Western model for the rest of the world to imitate. The need to represent Marianne rests on these significant values, thus leading to controversies and national scandals that divide France between the conservatists and the liberals. Take for example the case of Mahorais Marianne, a shocking ad of a Mahorais woman who imitates Delacroix‟s Marianne, as well as the controversy over the FEMEN stamp which found itself at the center of national debates over choosing a political refugee as Marianne's new face.

Through these two texts, it became apparent how France has continually attempted to include marginalized identities to the dominant portrait of a universal French identity. By claiming that the image of Marianne can unify the departments and the territories of France under a single flag, a single culture, a single symbol and a single identity, the brand "Pardon!" provoked agitation among the residents of Mayotte and among French conservatists. Similarly, the FEMEN stamp aimed to broaden the discourse of universal French identity by choosing a political refugee and a Ukrainian feminist activist as a model. In both cases, Marianne is used for

the purpose of unifying and consolidating a universal and common identity through gender and symbols, particularly the bare breasts, the iconic dress, the courageous visage and the maternal gait. However, these attributes prove to be counter-productive as participation of women in the nationalist discourse limits them in the virtual space, domestic and private.

These controversies serve as strong evidence of the importance of race, skin color, religion, ethnicity, beliefs, political affiliations and distinctive behaviors to effectively represent the Republican ideal. A separate exposition launched by NPNS sought to address this exact problem by presenting 14 portraits of " Mariannes d'aujourd„hui" while explicitly stating its position against the discrimination of immigrant women from disadvantaged backgrounds. The exhibit featured 14 different representations of women who come from different backgrounds and social statuses. Adhering to the pretexts of a unified French identity within a liberating and protective nation, this exhibition uses imitation to pass the otherness and diversity of these women as uniformity.

While the aforementioned French texts focus on the establishment of a universal and uniform Frenchness, articles from the Philippine press proved to highlight a tendency to appropriate the image of Maria Clara to American icons. This appropriation tries to represent Maria Clara as a modern Westernized woman, unlike its traditional image as a paragon of modesty and chastity. In presenting a picture of a subversive Maria Clara who underwent changes in a progressive, transformative manner, these representations also establish and reinforce a strong dichotomy between the traditional Third World woman and the modern westernized woman in the developed world. This phenomenon extends beyond the literary and out onto domains closer to Filipino daily life, such as fashion, art, the dating scene and other aspects of pop culture. The texts cited American icons like Madonna and Brtiney Spears to embody sexual liberation and emancipation of women from the shackles of traditional and oppressive life. In the articles about Maria Clara‟s new look, the discourse of modernization of traditional elements such as her behavior in public, her decisions about her sex life and even the length of her skirt manifest themselves in the middle of this dichotomy.

Take for example, the texts that address the controversy of the RH Bill, which divided Filipino citizens between pro-life groups who are against the Bill, and pro-choice who support the Bill. In response to the strong influence of the church, two provocative supporters launched a small campaign for the Reproductive Health Bill while using the image of Maria Clara to distribute condoms. By associating this icon of modesty and chastity to condoms, the campaign achieves a shocking but fascinating effect.

Similarly, the RH Bill is criticized among its opponents because of its origin, a memorandum from the US government and President Barack Obama. This part of the proposal sparked discussions on neo-colonial influences of the United States in the Philippine government. In this sense, the association of the discourse of modernization to American icons as well as the promulgation of the image of a subversive and progressive Maria Clara to establish an appropriate image of modern women is indicative of neo-colonial ideologies that surround the iconography of Maria Clara.

At this point, one can observe similar elements between the two icons. First and most evidently, representations of Marianne and Maria Clara use imitation to signify and embody women immigrants and modernized women, respectively. On one hand, the FEMEN stamp, th "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui" and publicity events are attempts of providing women from the ghetto, a Ukrainian political refugee and a woman in the French territory of Mayotte as French women with voices and representations under a common universal French identity through an imitation of Marianne. On the other hand, the modernization of Maria Clara which extends to several mediums such as the gown's new look, the imagined sexual emancipation brought about by the RH Bill and the appropriation of American icons manifests through the image of a Maria Clara that mimics the modern woman of the West.

Imitation exists in both cases, but it is remarkable that, considering the aforementioned representations, the object of imitation is different. The underprivileged in France mimic Marianne as a testament to their imaginary inclusion to the common French identity, but representations of Maria Clara imitate westernized icons as proof of her modernization. The manner is parallel but the directions are opposing: France veers towards the exterior for the purpose of promulgating a concept of France as a world power, the Philippines veer towards the interior, while welcoming and receiving neocolonial elements to become more "modern."

Secondly, the representations of the two icons deconstruct binary oppositions which govern the postcolonial and neocolonial era through hybridity. On one hand, the multicultural condition and the third space in France, as demonstrated by immigrants, political refugees and communities in the territories, break the dichotomy between the colonizer and the colonized through the amalgamation of cultures supposedly under one universal French identity. On the other hand, the appropriation of American icons and combination and interdependence of cultures as affirmed by the modernization of Maria Clara refute the duality between traditional woman and the modern woman.

And finally, to address the problem, though Maria Clara and Marianne are parallel in some ways, their roles are different. While Marianne attempts to include immigrant women but limits the participation of women in the virtual and symbolic space, Maria Clara tries to imitate Western identities through a notion of gradual modernization, transformative, dichotomized and consequently bourgeois. Universal Frenchness and neocolonial imitation are merely insufficient misrepresentations of disadvantaged communities and identities.

This research addressed the postcolonial and neocolonial perspectives of the iconography of Marianne and Maria Clara, but in this era of globalization, is there still a place for nationalism, national consciousness and national identity? Moreover, it is also notable that the corpus of current research is limited to materials that are more available to the middle class, as the dailies are quality newspapers, published online, and in the case of Filipino newspapers, written in

English. Considering the study of materials closer to the masses, such as tabloid newspapers of each nation, will there be a difference in the ways in which the iconography of Marianne and Maria Clara are represented and used?

Appendix

French newspaper	Title	Date of Publication	Author	Section
Le Figaro	« Pour plus de Marianne dans les mairies »	28 mars 2014	Juliana Bruno	Société
	« Marianne à l'université »	19 août 2011	Sidonie Sigrist	Société
	« Marée rouge »	19 mars 2012	Emeline Le Naour	Société
	« Le Front national lance le collectif Marianne pour conquérir les étudiants »	04 mars 2014	Emmanuel Galiero	Étudiant - Actualités
	« Brigitte Bardot Bardot… »	19 septembre 2009	Henry-Jean Servat	Culture - Rencontre
	« La Marianne mahoraise fait scandale »	15 mars 2012	Gaëlle Rolin, Brenna Daldorph	Société
	« Le nouveau timbre Marianne accusé dès réception »	16 juillet 2013	Aurélia Vertaldi	Culture
	« La nouvelle Marianne des timbres postaux est une Femen »	15 juillet 2013	Stéphane Kovacs	Société
	« Timbre Femen : Marianne pour tous ou Marianne pour quelques-uns ? »	06 mars 2014	Farah Hamelin	Société - Vox
	« Vague de mobilisation pour le retrait du timbre «Femen» »	07 février 2014	Delphine de Mallevoüe	Société
	« Ces bustes de Marianne inspirés de stars »	15 juillet 2013	-	Actualité - Photos
	« La Marianne dénudée de Quimper délogée du Hall de la mairie »	24 juillet 2014	Marc de Boni	Insolites

	« Les Femen, meilleures ennemies du féminisme »	24 avril 2014	Lydia Guirous	Société - Vox
Le Parisien	« Timbres : l''imprimerie des Marianne »	22 juillet 2013	Benjamin Jérôme	Société
	« Timbre inspiré d'une Femen : des anti-mariage gay appellent au boycott »	15 juillet 2013	-	Société
	« Le nouveau timbre Marianne en partie inspiré d'une Femen »	14 juillet 2013	-	Culture
	« Etre représentée en Marianne est une vraie fierté »	12 juillet 2003	Stéphane Sellami	Actualité – Vivre Mieux
	« Le FN lance Marianne, "collectif étudiant" pour la "méritocratie" »	08 mars 2014	-	Actualité - Politique
	« Ils veulent faire souffler l'esprit de Marianne »	23 mars 2011	-	Actualité
Le Monde	« Marianne enceinte, une pub polémique »	18 février 2010	Elise Barthet	Société
	« Le FN crée un collectif étudiant pour s'implanter sur les campus »	09 mars 2014	Nathalie Brafman	Politique
	« La naturalisation imaginaire de la Femen Inna Shevchenko »	09 janvier 2014	Solène Cordier	Société
	« Le nouveau timbre Marianne :	19 juillet	Olivier Ciappa	Idées

	autopsie d'une fausse polémique »	2013	(artiste et créateur du timbre)	
	« Le radicalisme des Femen irrite l''Eglise et embarrasse le mouvement féministe »	21 février 2014	Gaelle Dupont et Stéphanie Le Bars	Société

Philippine newspaper	Title	Date of publication	Author	Section
Philippine Star	« Meet the modern Maria Clara »	9 juin 2012	Nicola M. Sebastian	Lifestyle
	« Maria Clara Who? »	11 mai 2002	Tamara Benitez	Lifestyle
	« Will the real Maria Clara please stand up? »	13 octobre 2007	Lexi Schulze	Lifestyle
	« Maria Clara learns the ABCs of reproductive health »	07 juin 2010	-	Lifestyle
	« Maria Clara »	04 mai 2009	écrivain anonyme	Dr. Love (conseil d''amour)
	« The rise of modern Filipiniana »	29 juin 2012	Geolette Esguerra	Lifestyle
	« The pros and pluses of real women »	21 juillet 2010	-	Lifestyle
	« 100 years of women's rights »	9 mars 2011	-	Opinion
	« All about women »	16 mars 2005	Rosalinda L. Orosa	Opinion
	« Gemma Cruz as inveterate Rizalian »	5 mars 2014	Bibsy M. Carballo	Entertainment
	« Benildanze performs Love, Death, and Mompou »	9 novembre 2006	-	Lifestyle
	« Divine reinvention »	9 novembre 2012	-	Entertainment
	« Young designers redefine the „maria clara" »	19 septembre 2014	Alex Y. Vergara	Lifestyle
	« Lanuza''s intriguing	05 août 2013	Jack Teotico	Lifestyle

	narrative of „The Interrogation of Maria Clara" »			
Philippine Daily Inquirer	« Maria Clara as Mary Magdalene? A fresh look at „Noli"»	24 juin 2012	Ino Manalo	Lifestyle
	« Maria Clara, Sisa »	10 juin 2010	Michael Tan	Opinion
	« Today"s Filipino woman stronger than yesteryears" »	19 avril 2011	Tita Engracia	Opinion - Letters to the Editor
	« „The weaker sex" »	16 mars 2014	Conchita C. Razon	Lifestyle
	« Women first in heart of First Filipino »	30 décembre 2008	Gerry Lirio	Opinion
	« Masters and Millennials: The „maria clara" reborn in „Face-Off" »	7 décembre 2014	Cheche V. Moral	Lifestyle
	« The renaissance of the terno »	25 mai 2014	-	Others
	« Maria Clara (1) »	10 mars 2014	Gemma Cruz-Araneta	Opinion
	« Maria Clara (2) »	12 mars 2014	Gemma Cruz-	Opinion

			Araneta	
Manila Bulletin	« Framing Andy Warhol »	08 septembre 2014	Hannah Jo Uy	Lifestyle
	« Nostalgia »	21 juillet 2014	-	Lifestyle
	« Girl power »	31 août 2014	Regina G Posadas	Lifestyle
	« Proud Pinay »	04 avril 2014	Jane Kingsu Cheng	Lifestyle

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THE WOMEN VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN KASHI VIDYAPEETH BLOCK OF VARANASI DISTRICT, U.P., INDIA

DR. SHWETA YADAV

Abstract

Violence against women has become universal phenomenon. The women bear multiple burdens in serving all the family members, doing household works, caring children, cooking food and adopting the family planning. Women's health is tied up with social, cultural, economic and political factors, whereas their nutritional status substantially influences entire aspects of their lives and that too has consequences not only for the women themselves but also for the well being of their children. Violence against women is the result of historically unequal power sharing between men and women. It is said that in all patriarchal societies violence has been used as an important tool for suppressing the rights of women within the family and in society as well. In the study area about 24 percent married women opined for some kind of domestic violence. The magnitude of violence is greater in illiterate and low income group families especially of scheduled castes and Muslim communities. Husbands and mother in laws are more responsible for such violence. Family matters and dowry are chief reasons behind the domestic violence. In the area under study there is no mechanism for reporting as well as minimizing the domestic violence.

Key words: Abuses, Nature and frequency of domestic violence, mode of domestic violence

Dr. Shweta, Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, Vasanta College For Women, Rajghat Fort, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, U.P., INDIA

Introduction

Violence against women is a violation of women's human right and serious health problem of epidemic nature which affects the general health as well as reproductive health. The concerned health problem may relate to depression, illicit substance abuse and sexually transmitted diseases (HIV/ AIDS). Abuse often limits the ability of women to manage their reproductive health and abuse during pregnancy has long lasting effects on the development of foetus and new born. The declaration on the elimination of violence against women adopted by UN General Assembly (1993) defines violence against women as "any act of gender- based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". Domestic violence encompasses violence against women within the family i.e. physical and mental assault of women, usually by their husbands, male partners or relatives (Mitra, 2006). Under Australian law, use of the term "domestic violence" refers exclusively to violence committed by a heterosexual partner and includes physical injury, intimidation or serious harassment, willful damage to property, indecent behavior without consent, or a threat to commit any of these acts (Alexander, 1993). Women experience domestic violence at far greater rates than men do, and women and children often live in fear as a result of the abuse that is used by men to maintain control over their partners (Hegarty et al., 2000).

Violence against women is the result of historically unequal power sharing between men and women. It is said that in all patriarchal societies violence has been used as an important tool for suppressing the rights of women within the family and in society as well. Incidence of violence against women is very high in South Asia due to its patriarchal social systems. This is also true for Indian society and has been frequently reported by many social scientists. Kumar, 1991 and Wadley, 1977 have observed that all predominant ideological trends promote male hegemony and women have to adjust themselves within this framework. According to a WHO study presented at Geneva 52% of the women worldwide were physically assaulted by close male associates at least once in their lives. According to one report 60% women in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka face domestic violence. Each year more than 20,000 women in Australia seek shelter in Women's refuges and take out protection orders (Alexander, 1993). A 1996 survey by the Australian Bureau of Statistics found that 23% women who have been married or in a defacto relationship have experienced violence by a partner. In India numerous studies conducted in different parts of the country have reported the situation of violence against women. National Family Health Survey3 depicted that 29.1% and 37.7% women were the victims of domestic violence (physical assault) since 15 years of age in urban and rural areas respectively. The survey also revealed that more than 50% women accept violence within the home as normal. About three out of five women considered wife beating justified at least on one of the six grounds - neglecting the house or care of children, going out without permission of the husband, showing disrespect to in- laws, not cooking food properly, infidelity, and failure to bring home enough money or goods. Thirty-four percent

Objectives and Methodology

For assessing and understanding the nature and magnitude of different kinds of abuses against women in a micro region like Kashi Vidyapeeth block, Varanasi district, following objectives have been taken into account.

- Caste, education and income wise magnitude of domestic violence
- Frequency of domestic violence
- Mode of domestic violence
- Type of domestic violence
- Reasons and effects of domestic violence

In order to fulfill the above objectives, 400 sample married women respondents were chosen from 10 villages (3 villages each from below 1 km and 1-3 km distance; and 2 villages each from 3-5 km and beyond 5 km distance) encompassing more than one percent of the total households of Kashi Vidyapeeth Block. In this process 100 respondents have been selected from each distance category. To give the due representation to each prominent community as per their share in the total population, sample includes 40 percent General / advanced community, 34 percent Other Backward community (OBC), 10 percent Scheduled caste community (SC) and 16 percent Muslim community.

About the Study Area

Kashi Vidyapeeth Block consisting of 36474 households, 119 villages and 13 nyaya panchayts, lies in Varanasi District between 25º 10′ N- 25º 22′ N latitudes and 82º 52′ E - 83º 03′ E longitudes. It is a part of Uttar Pradesh that is one of the biggest and backward states of the country. The study area embraces an area of about 143.4 0sq. kms with 258946 persons added in the populations as per 2011 census. It is located near Varanasi city. Area under study characterized by 47.19 per cent female population, 55.5 per cent female literacy and total density of 1806 per sq. kilometer.

Analysis and Discussions

To know the nature and dimensions of domestic violence against women 400 married women were surveyed across the different communities/ castes of Kashi Vidyapeeth Block (Varanasi District). In this study extent, frequency, mode, nature (type), reasons and effect of domestic violence have been ascertained. About 24 percent married women (96) of the study area have reported some kind of domestic violence. In deed this figure appears much lower than the actual number because village ladies have tendency to hide such happenings due to fear of bad name to their families. It is clear from the table 1 that the lowest proportion of the domestic violence has been reported by general category women (13.8%) followed by the women belonging to O.B.C. community (27.2%). The domestic violence is more common in women of scheduled caste (40%) and Muslim community (32.8%).

Table 1: Caste wise domestic violence against married women

Community/Caste	Yes	No	Total no. of respondents
General	22 (13.8)	138 (86.2)	160
O.B.C.	37 (27.2)	99 (72.8)	136
S.C.	16 (40.0)	24 (60.0)	40
Muslim	21 (32.8)	43 (67.2)	64
Total	96 (24.0)	304 (76.0)	400

Source: Personal Survey, The figures in parentheses indicate the percentage.

Education wise domestic violence against women depicts that this phenomena is more common in illiterate as well as in less literate women than more literate women (above high school). Similar trend can be observed if the analysis of domestic violence is seen with regards to income. The domestic violence in married women is more in lower income group than that of the higher income group women.

Table 2: Education wise domestic violence

Education	No. of respondents
Illiterate	37 (38.5%)
Primary	16 (16.75)
Jr. High school	20 (20.80%)
High school	16 (16.7)
Intermediate	5 (5.2%)
Graduate	2 (2.1%)
Total	96 (100%)

Source: Personal Survey

(A) Religionwise domestic violence against married women
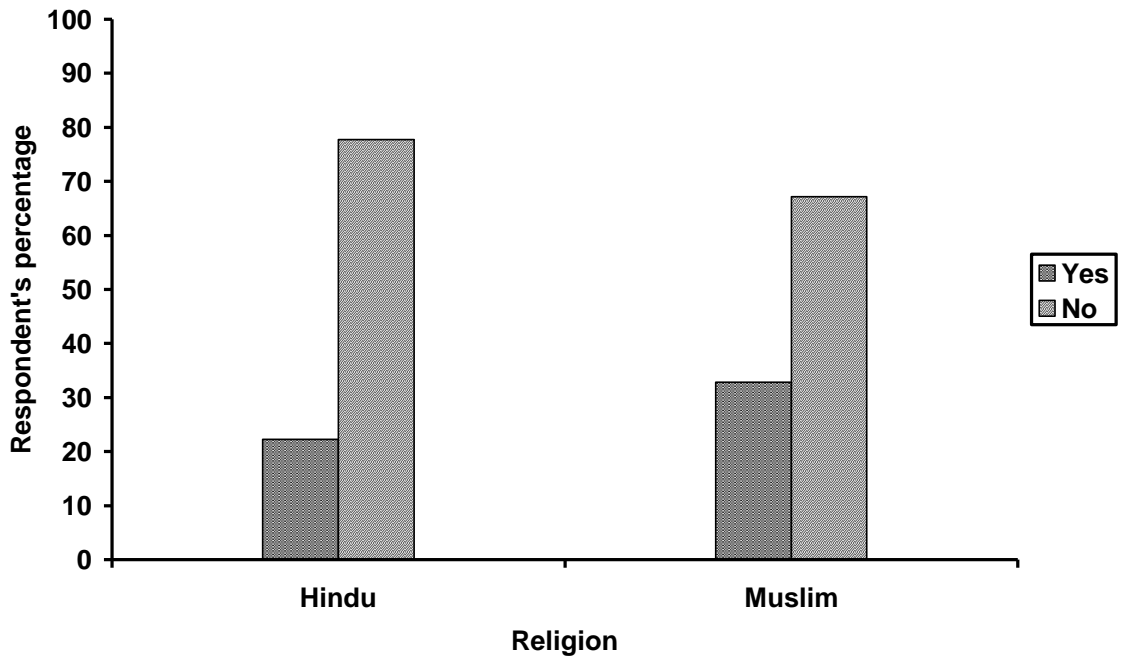
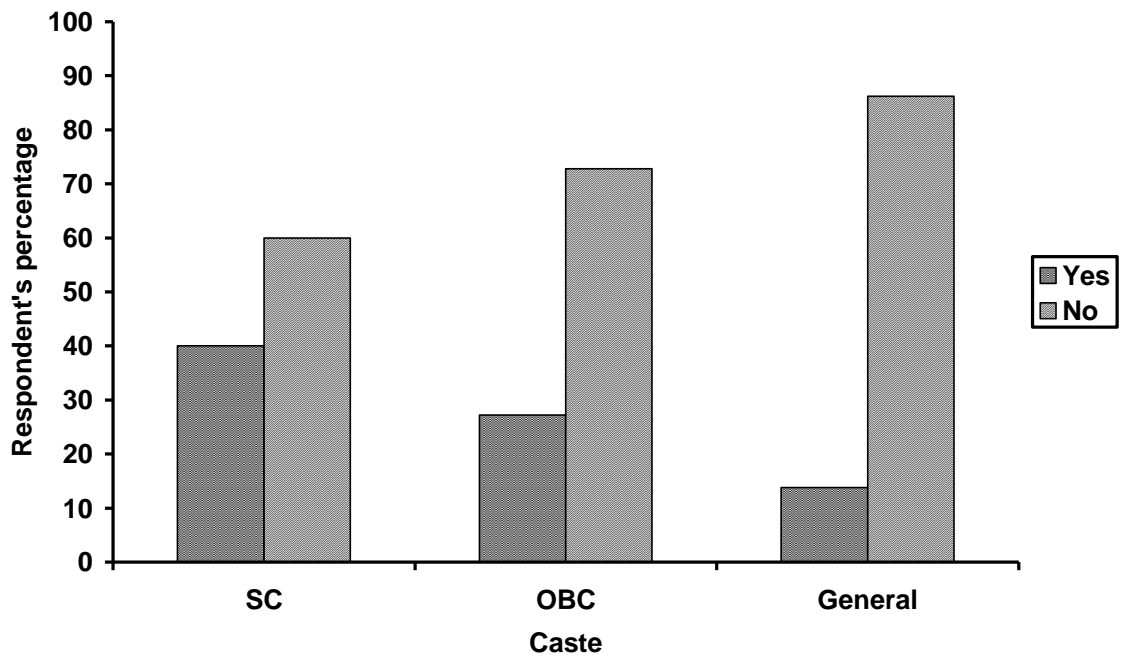## (B) Castewise domestic violence against married women

Fig. 1

Table 3: Income wise domestic violence

Monthly Income (Rs.)	No. of respondents
<1000	38 (39.6%)
1000-3000	23 (23.9%)
3000-5000	23 (23.9%)
>5000	12 (12.5%)
Total	96 (100.0%)

Source: Personal Survey

With regard to the frequency of domestic violence 31.2 percent of the victim women (96) have said frequent violence while 42.7 percent women reported occasional violence and26.1 percent replied in favour of violence occurring rarely. Table 4 displays caste wise frequency of domestic violence. More frequent domestic violence has been reported by the women of scheduled caste (50%) and Muslim community (38.0%). Higher proportion of occasional and rare domestic violence has been found in the women of general and O.B.C. communities.

Table 4: Caste wise Frequency of domestic violence

Caste	Frequent	Occasional	Rare	Total no. of respondents
General	4 (18.2)	10(45.5)	8(36.4)	22
O.B.C.	10(25.0)	17(47.2)	10(27.8)	37
S.C.	8 (50.0)	5(31.3)	3(18.8)	16
Muslim	8(38.0)	9942.9)	4(19.0)	21
Total	30(31.2)	41(42.7)	25(26.1)	96

Source: Personal Survey

After knowing the magnitude and frequency of domestic violence, it becomes essential to know the mode of violence i.e. who is responsible for such violence. This study portrays that husband, father- in- law, mother- in - law and sister- in -law are the chief agents of domestic violence against women. Among various agents husband and mother in law comprise almost equal share (42%) in domestic violence against married women.

(A) **Religionwise persons committing domestic violence**
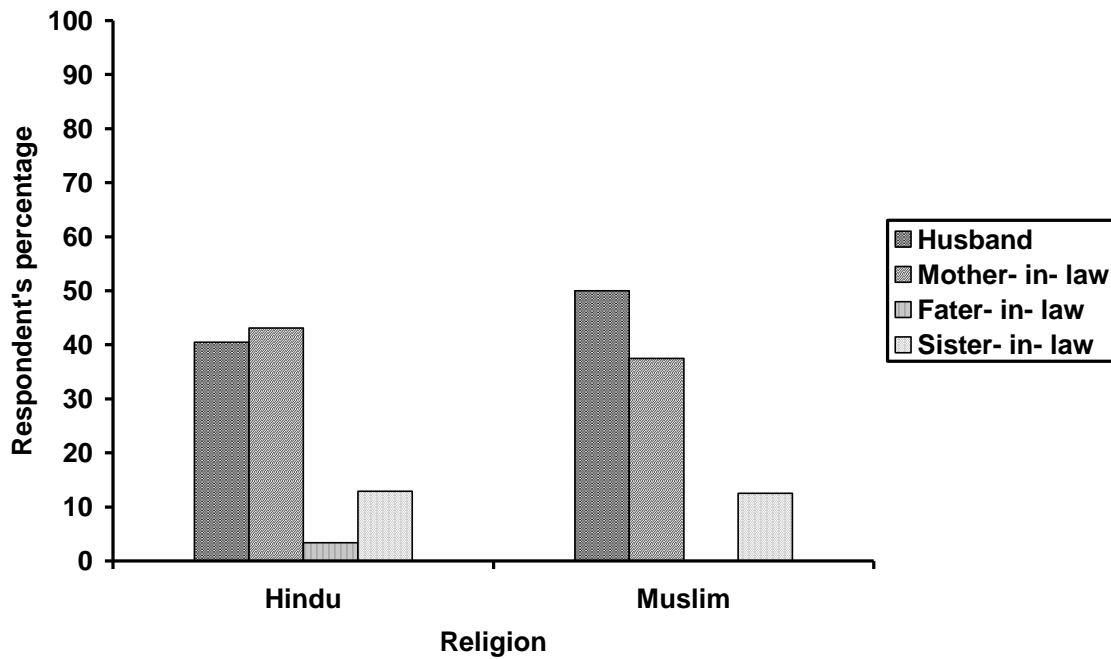
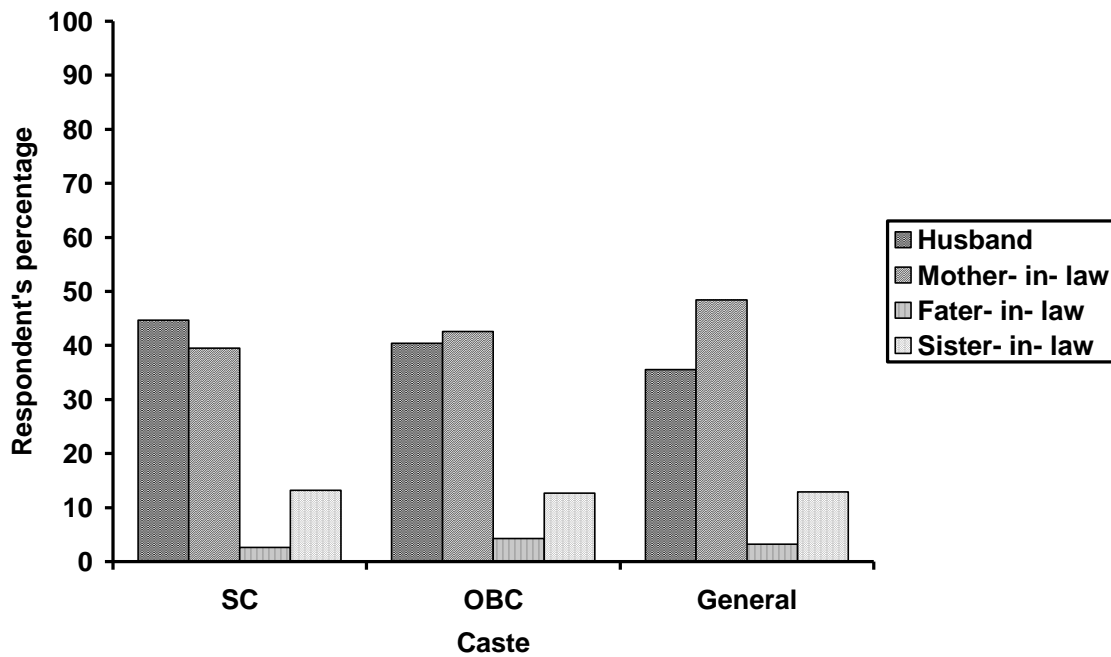**(B)** **Castewise persons committing domestic violence**

Fig. 2

If the mother and sister –in- laws are clubbed together, the percentage of such women exceeds 54 of the total agents responsible for violence. Thus the inference 'women have played greater role in domestic violence against themselves in Indian society' comes true. It is pertinent to mention that in general and O.B.C. community mother- in- laws have higher

share (above 42%) in domestic violence while in Muslim and scheduled castes husbands themselves are responsible for domestic violence against married women (see table 5).

Table 5: Caste wise mode of domestic violence

Community/Caste	Husbands	Mother in law	Father in law	Sister in law	Total no. of respondents
General	11 (35.5)	15 (48.4)	1 (3.2)	4 (12.9)	31
O.B.C.	19 (40.4)	20 (42.6)	2 (4.3)	6 (12.7)	47
S.C.	17 (44.7)	15 (39.5)	1 (2.6)	5 (13.2)	38
Muslim	16 (50.0)	12 (37.5)	-	4 (12.5)	32
Total	63 (42.6)	62 (41.9)	4 (2.7	19 (12.8)	148

Note: Number of respondents is more than the actual victims due to the multiple choices.

In order to pinpoint the entire scenario of domestic violence, an analysis of kind / nature of violence is imperative. According to Australian Medical association "Domestic violence is an abuse of power. It is the domination, coercion, intimidation and victimization of one person by another by physical, sexual or emotional means within intimate relationships". They have categorized all types of abuses into four categories namely physical, verbal, economic and social abuse.

In the study area five types of violence have been reported. Taunt, abuse, physical assault, threat to divorce and mental assault are notable categories of domestic violence occurring in the area under study. Slapping, pulling of hair and pushing them have been reported under physical assault. Here mental assault includes denial of liberty, income, food etc. In Kashi Vidyapeeth block maximum victims (46) belonged to O.B.C. community followed by Scheduled caste (39). Maximum (35.14 percent) married women are victim of taunt and 27.27% are victims of abuse. About 16 percent women each were suffered by physical assault and mental assault. The lowest category is of threat to divorce (11.48%). Slapping and hair pulling are the chief sub - categories of physical assault. Physical assault is the cruel form of domestic violence and it is more common in scheduled caste women.

Table 6: Caste wise type of domestic violence

Caste	Taunt	Abuse	Physical assault	Mental assault	Threat to divorce	Total
General	12 (38.7)	5 (16.1)	2 (6.5)	2 (6.5)	10 (32.3)	31
O.B.C.	18 (38.2)	8 (17.0)	8 (17.0)	6 (12.8)	6 (14.9)	46

S.C.	10 (26.3)	8 (21.0)	10 (26.3)	6 (15.8)	5 (14.3)	39
Muslim	12 (37.5)	9 (28.1)	5 (15.6)	3 (9.4)	3 (9.4)	32
Total	52 (35.1)	30 (27.3)	25 (16.9	17 (11.5)	24 (16.2)	148

 Source: Personal Survey

The survey also tried to know the reasons of domestic violence against married women. Four reasons such as family matter, dowry, mistake made in work and reproductive issue have been revealed by the respondents as the chief causes of domestic violence. Dowry reason relates to the torture for not bringing enough cash and kind at the time of marriage. Reproductive reason is normally related to birth of a male child. Out of 171 multiple responses, the highest respondents (37.4%) opined family matter as the main reason of domestic violence against women. Dowry (26.3%) came as the second cause of violence followed by mistake made in domestic work (21.1%) and reproductive issue (15.2%). Family matter and dowry are more prevalent in the women of General community, O.B.C. and Scheduled caste. Most important fact of this study is that Muslim women have opined reproductive issue as the chief reason (35.1%) of domestic violence against them in their married life. This reason may be attributed to the desire of Muslim men for more children including sons.

Table 7: Caste wise reasons of domestic violence

Caste	Family matter	Dowry	Mistake made in domestic work	Reproductive issue	Total no. of respondents
General	16 (43.2)	10 (27.0)	8 (21.6)	3 (8.1)	37
O.B.C.	25 (43.9)	16 (28.0)	11 (19.3)	5 (8.8)	57
S.C.	13 (32.5)	13 (32.5)	9 (22.5)	5 (12.5)	40
Muslim	10 (27.0)	6 (16.2)	8 (21.6)	13 (35.1)	37
Total	64 (37.4	45 (26.3)	36 (21.1)	26 (15.2)	171

 Source: Personal Survey

Domestic violence against married women leads to many social, psycho- somatic health problems in women as well as negative effects on children. Many times physical and mental (psychological) assaults result into the hospitalization of the women for treatment and counseling. During assaults on their mother, the children of battered women are at risk for injury themselves, either deliberate or incidental (Nelson, 1984). The negative effects on children may include anxiety, depression, aggressive behaviour, disobedience, emotional distress and carrying out abuse in the future (Irwin and Wilkinson, 1997). Table 8 clearly evinced that 35.1% women respondents opined that domestic violence against women creates health problem followed by 29.8% women who gave opinion in favour of bad effect on their

well-being. About 35% women responded that the effect of domestic violence is found on the right and dignity of women. The majority of the general and O.B.C. community women went in favour of health and well-being as main effect. In Scheduled caste well-being is the chief effect of domestic violence followed by health effect.

Apart from health problem, domestic violence against women costs more on economy. In terms of economic loss due to domestic violence, a Canadian study showed that the total cost to abused women and to government due to domestic violence was more than $ 3.2 billion in 1993 (Greaves, et al., 1995).

Table 8: Caste wise effect of domestic violence

Caste	Health	Well-being	Right	Dignity	Total no. of respondents
General	13	12	9	9	43
O.B.C.	25	16	10	12	63
S.C.	6	10	5	4	25
Muslim	16	13	8	3	40
Total	60 (35.1)	32 (18.7)	28 (16.4)	51 (29.8)	171

Source: Personal Survey

Conclusions and Recommendations

Domestic violence is a complex problem including physical assault; mental, sexual and emotional abuse such as social isolation and financial deprivation; taunt, etc. Despite the lack of common agreement, domestic violence appeared as a hidden universal problem of general mass. As such the clinical doctors must be aware about the potential indicators of domestic violence so as to cure the victims accordingly. Considerable variations in the nature and frequency of domestic violence across the castes, education and income categories have been observed in this study.

In order to reduce domestic violence against women there is an urgent need for strengthening the local network to report the violence correctly and efficiently. Besides, clinical guidelines should be formulated for identifying and treating victims of abuse; and providing support to survivors of violence, counselling services for women and children on the pattern of 'kid help line' working in developed countries; and promoting the right and fundamental freedom, right to equality in family and right to equal protection under law. A testimony therapy (hearing story of torture from the victim and suggesting follow-ups) being practiced in developed world need be promoted to help torture victims in India too.

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Women and Dating: Moving Toward Relationship Empowerment through Online Dating and New Technology

Dr. Jennifer Rhodes

Abstract

Women in developed countries often bemoan their dating opportunities. Their complaints about less than quality partners and their desires for a career and a relationship lead these women to forget that the have the luxury to choose their relationships. In comparison to women in countries with limited access to the Internet or other technology, women in first world countries have the ultimate power and freedom to create the life they want. Perhaps nowhere else in the world is this sentiment more embedded in the culture than in the United States – yet women continuously give up their power and freedom while dating; often curating their lives to please their partners. This talk will discuss the current trends and research in online dating and concretely address the various reasons why women continue to give up their power in this arena and discuss the growing list of opportunities that online dating and technology present to help women reclaim their authenticity and power while exploring healthy relationships. I will also explore how these new technologies may help women in less developed countries begin to question the status quo and provide educational opportunities to help women learn to navigate an ever expanding global network of relationship options. Finally, special attention will also be paid to how technology can be used to help women with a significant history of relational trauma begin a safe process of exploring their future relationship options.

Outline

    Highlights on the research of online dating
    Prevalence of usage of online dating and review of global demographics
    Women's preferences regarding use of online dating
    Reasons why women give up their power: Review of Vanity Fare article
    How to use online dating more effectively: Brief Case Study
    Providing women the freedom to explore
    Freedom to practice dating and relationship skills
    Opportunities to collect data on potential partners
    Dating in the age of an expanding international opportunities
    Abuse and Violence: How technology can create a layer of safety for traumatized women
    Avoiding the misuse of technology and protecting the woman's right to choose

Women in Parliament: Does Increased Participation Lead to Improvement in Perceived Level of Corruption?

By Samaneh Khademi

Abstract:

Fifteen years ago, Dollar, et al. demonstrated a nexus between women in parliament and actual levels of corruption. This paper seeks to understand if increased participation of women in parliament leads to improvement in the <u>perceived</u> levels of corruption. A comparative -quantitative method or cross-national analysis was done for 168 countries in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) using the "percentage of women in parliament," "seat allocation," "gender gap," and "political regime" as variables. Results show that the presence of more women in parliament through quotas does not improve the <u>perceived</u> levels of corruption, nor is there a correlation between women in parliament and perceived levels of corruption in countries with authoritarian political systems or gender prejudiced societies. This paper ends with a case study on Iran.

Keywords: Corruption, women in parliament, gender equality, political regime, quota, Iran

MA in Sociology, University Instructor and Social Researcher.

Women, Leadership, and Education as Change

Ellyn Lyle, PhD, and Dustin MacLeod, CD

Abstract:

Answering the call for research that seeks to bridge theory and practice for the advancement of social justice, we offer a creative collaboration between a social equity scholar and an active serviceman in the Canadian Armed Forces. Within a theoretical framework of leadership for social justice, we will draw on the literature as it specifically relates to women and the potential of learning and lived experience to bring about a paradigmatic shift in power and politics. Particularly attentive to the challenges for women leaders in male-dominated fields, this paper will present Golda Meir as an exemplar.

About the Authors:

Ellyn Lyle taught in the public and private sectors, and in college, before transitioning to the university context where she currently serves as Associate Dean and Chair of the Leadership Department. Committed to bridging theory and practice, she works hard to create spaces for learners to engage meaningfully with their studies. She champions critical thought and positions education as change. Her current research interests include: transdisciplinary approaches to improving praxis; reflexive inquiry; socially just leadership; and the role of [auto]biography as it informs teaching, learning, and leadership.

Dustin MacLeod has more than a dozen years to his credit as a Canadian infantry officer and has supported Canada, the U.S. and the UN in various tours. In his own leadership, he has lived the ideals in a very tangible way about which equity scholars write. He has been awarded several medals and commendations for his efforts.

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Women's Leadership Retreats:
Re-Connecting with and Empowering East-West Center Alumnae

Authors: Christina Monroe (attending), Gretchen Alther, Ivee Cruz and Nina Dutra

For sixteen years, the East-West Center in Hawaii has conducted professional programs linking interdisciplinary analysis of emerging regional issues with experiential leadership learning. These programs help advance the Center's goal of a peaceful, prosperous, and just Asia Pacific. Now with more than 500 alumni from over 50 countries, the Center is asking itself: how can we continue producing meaning for alumni while capitalizing on this network to test programs and products?

One answer is to launch a series of one-day Women's Leadership Retreats. Run by a small team of alumni and staff, these retreats address alumni desires to re-engage with Personal Action Plans—an activity of the Center's professional programs that focuses on past, present, and future selves. Pilot workshops already held in Honolulu and New York, and events planned for early 2016 in Bangkok, Jakarta, Yangon, Chengdu, Boston, and Honolulu, are furthering the founding team's understanding of the diversity of women's personal, professional, and leadership experiences and needs, and how those change with time, interests, and context.

As we experiment with the model, our current questions focus on group composition, curriculum, pedagogy, and results: What benefits do the retreat space offer, and how might these be impacted by gathering women with similar social identities and life situations (e.g. recent mothers, teenagers, singles, seniors) or by intentionally forming widely-diverse groups? Is there an optimal balance of solo reflection, and small- and full-group sharing? How do we measure impact? What is the role of trust? Are there commonalities among women's experiences, and if so, how does this connect with our pedagogy?

The founding team, as a community of practice, is exploring these questions through action research. We seek to optimize retreats that enhance the Center's programs and alumni network and, ultimately, empower women as leaders.