

An Undergraduate Academic Journal of Gender Research and Scholarship

Through Gendered Lenses

The Gender Studies Honor Society

Gender Studies Program—University of Notre Dame 2016

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Acknowledgements

This edition of *Through Gendered Lenses* marks its seventh year of highlighting gender scholarship at the University of Notre Dame. The number of those responsible for the success of the journal extends far beyond the breadth of this page, and it is with sincere gratitude that we honor their contributions and commitment.

Through Gendered Lenses would not exist without the Gender Studies Program, which both educates the scholars within these pages and creates a platform upon which gender can be theorized, researched, discussed, and depicted. Abigail Palko, Associate Director of the Gender Studies Program, and Mary Celeste Kearney, Director of the Gender Studies Program, deserve significant acknowledgment for their involvement. Immeasurable recognition is due to Linnie Caye, Program Coordinator, whose sage advice and familiarity with various channels, timelines, and procedures guided the production of the journal. Her invaluable insight was enormously helpful, and the Honor Society is truly grateful.

The Honor Society is indebted to its many generous benefactors. In particular, the Honor Society would like to thank the Office of Undergraduate Studies of the College of Arts and Letters, who have generously underwritten publication of this year's journal with a Teaching Beyond the Classroom Grant. We are grateful to the Boehnen Fund for Excellence in Gender Studies, the Genevieve D. Willis Endowment for Excellence, and the alumni and allies who sponsor the Gender Studies Program at the University of Notre Dame. Their continued support afforded these scholars the opportunities to pursue

their research and allowed for the creation and maintenance of this journal to spotlight their endeavors.

And, these scholars deserve special thanks as well, and all who submitted their work to *Through Gendered Lenses*. Many students are toiling in creative and advanced projects and, though these seven essays represent the most innovative and thorough compositions, countless others across campus are refiguring and reexamining gender in new and notable fashions. We appreciate all these efforts and hope this edition inspires next year's inquiry.

Letter from the Editor

The year 2015 saw great advancements in the global realm of gender studies. Nepal elected its first woman president, 2014 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Malala Yousafzai opened a school for Syrian refugee girls, and Ireland became the first country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage through popular vote. In the United States, the Supreme Court ruled that states cannot ban same-sex marriage and the Military Equal Opportunity policy was adjusted to include gay and lesbian military members.

Gender extends far beyond the pages of this journal, permeating every aspect of our world. As such, the scope of *Through Gendered Lenses* has no boundaries; topics range from discussion of gender roles in Jerusalem food markets, to the impact of quotas on women legislators, to gender performance in rap and hip-hop music. Thank you, truly, to the students featured within this journal for fearlessly delving into complicated and controversial topics, actively researching complexities that frame society, and setting an example of passionate scholarship. Thank you, humbly, to the readers and Gender Studies students for your unwavering support, appreciation for research, and engagement with peers. It is our hope that this seventh edition of *Through Gendered Lenses* provides fresh insight into both historical and contemporary issues relating to gender, and serves as a springboard for future exploration.

Pete Freeman, 2018

Editor-in-Chief

The Gender Studies Program

The Gender Studies Program is an interdisciplinary academic program in the College of Arts and Letters at Notre Dame that offers undergraduate students the opportunity to pursue a major (full or supplementary) or a minor. The field of Gender Studies analyzes the significance of gender—and the cognate subjects of sex, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, religion, and nationality—in all areas of human life, especially in the social formation of human identities, practices, and institutions.

The Gender Studies Program gives scholars the methodological and theoretical tools to analyze gender and its cognates in their intellectual endeavors and to apply the insights they gain to disciplines in the arts, humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. It also provides its students and alumni with an intellectual framework in which the analysis of gender and its cognates can be creatively and critically applied to their personal, familial, professional, and civic roles. In the context of the Catholic identity of Notre Dame, Gender Studies facilitates the study of the intersection of gender and religion in the shaping of ethics, culture, and politics. Alongside our diverse array of courses drawn from across the university, our summer internship and academic-credit internship programs emphasize the holistic and practical life applications of a Gender Studies education at Notre Dame.

If you would like more information about the Gender Studies Program, please stop by our office in 325 O'Shaughnessy Hall or visit our website at genderstudies.nd.edu.

Iota Iota Iota: Undergraduate Gender Studies Honor Society

Iota Iota Iota, or Triota, is an Undergraduate Honor Society composed of sophomore, junior, and senior Gender Studies majors and minors. The Notre Dame chapter of Triota was formed in 2006, and its members are the Gender Studies Program's top students as demonstrated by their overall academic performance. All members have earned at least a 3.5 GPA in Gender Studies and a cumulative GPA of at least 3.0. As the primary unit of undergraduate student service and leadership in the Gender Studies Program, Triota offers gender studies students multiple opportunities to engage their interests in gender issues beyond the classroom setting. Members of Triota contribute to an environment of academic excellence, encourage undergraduate research and scholarship in Gender Studies, foster relationships among students and faculty, promote interest and awareness of gender issues, and academically represent the Gender Studies Program. *Through Gendered Lenses* is their main project throughout the year. Additionally, members of Triota promote the Gender Studies major and minor at various campus events and host study breaks during finals week for all undergraduate majors and minors.

If you are interested in becoming a member of Triota, please visit our page on the Gender Studies website, genderstudies.nd.edu, to learn more about us or to download an application.

Triota Members 2015-2016

Abigail Bartels	2016
Kristin Brennan	2016
Ellen Chaleff	2016
Celanire Flagg	2017
Pete Freeman	2018
Emily Garrett	2018
Daniella Grover	2016
Connor Hayes	2016
Moira Horn	2017
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Priscilla Rumbeiha	2018
Shannon Sheehan	2016
Christina Vidaurri	2016

The “Real Niggas” of 21st Century Minstrel and Their Video Vixens: A Look at Gender Dynamics, Relationships Between Female Sexuality and Male Sexuality, and Hyper-Masculine Performance in the Hip-Hop and Rap Industry During the Early 2000’s Through the Medium of Music Videos

Amber Kristina Thomas

Amber Thomas '16 majors in history concentrating in American Studies at the University of Notre Dame. Originally hailing from the borough of the Bronx in New York City, Amber has always had an interest in culture, gender, and race and how they are formed through the political, social, and economic systems in our society. Much of Amber's studies revolve around the intersectionality of race, class, gender, and sexuality, and how those social constructions are interpreted through popular culture. In her free time, Amber serves as the President of the University of Notre Dame Dance Company. She also works with Notre Dame Sports Medicine as a Student Athletic Trainer.

Introduction

21st Century Hip-Hop and the Return of Minstrel

From the late 1990's to the early twenty-first century hip-hop underwent a mass commercialization. During this period, hip-hop and rap sales began to expand past their traditionally black fan base and entered the mainstream culture, which was typically dominated by white artists and white consumers. During this time, hip-hop and rap songs began to achieve commercial success, *Billboard* Hot 100 Hits, and even highly publicized Grammy nominations. The widened fan base and growing popularity of MTV, a TV channel devoted to the popular culture of the millennial generation, also led to a change in this now commercially successful hip-hop and rap industry; now, music videos were becoming instrumental to the character, culture and success of hip-hop and rap music.¹

It is this commercialization of hip-hop and rap music, specifically through music videos, that I want to explore. Along with commercial success, there came a change in the narrative of hip-hop music. Female sexuality became a constant (in often vulgar ways) aspect of hip-hop and rap music and culture. A genre that was dominated by men was now shaping a narrative about women, especially women of color, through its lyrics and music videos. In the same sense, black masculinity began to become a performance used to not only authenticate one's claim to black manhood, but to also establish a dominant role in black culture and the black community of America. In this research paper, I will explore the very complex and nuanced dynamics of black gender, sexuality, femininity, and masculinity displayed in hip-hop and rap lyrics and music videos from 2002 to 2005.

¹ "MTV Changed the Music Industry on August 1, 1981. CNN
<http://www.cnn.com/SHOWBIZ/Music/9807/31/encore.mtv/index.html>

This period in particular holds relevance not just because hip-hop and rap became a best selling genre, but also because its growing popularity reached outside the black community. During this time images, stereotypes and connotations perpetuated in hip-hop and rap about black women's sexuality and black manhood began reaching nonblack audiences. This is important because the mass success, coupled with the questionable content of the music and music videos, can say something about how race and stereotypes were being socially constructed not only by black consumers but by nonblack consumers as well.

Because there are thousands of hip-hop and rap songs and hundreds of hip-hop and rap music videos, my sources will be limited. There is no way to comprehensively analyze every hip-hop or rap song that has been made. However, by picking a handful of songs that achieved significant commercial success, the tendencies of hip-hop and rap music from 1990-2005, which helped formulate black gender and sexuality identities and stereotypes for the consuming masses, can be analyzed.

Using the medium of music videos in conjunction with lyrics will present a visual depiction of the sometimes-graphic verbiage of the songs, as well as provide commentary on images of female beauty and masculinity in the hip-hop and rap culture of the time. Music videos are the visual manifestations of a song, and through music videos one can discern in what ways performing black masculinity and presenting black femininity and beauty were acceptable during this time.

In short, looking at popular rap and hip-hop music videos will provide some insight into how black gender, sexuality, femininity and masculinity were taking shape and how stereotypes were being formed when this genre of music began growing in popularity and expanding past a fan base primarily in the black community.

Background

The “Boogie Down” and the Birth of Hip-Hop

First created during the 1970’s on the blocks of the “Boogie Down” Bronx in New York City, hip-hop and rap music brought African-American youths a musical and creative outlet allowing them not only to express themselves, but also to respond to social and political climates that characterized their lives. Since its genesis in the 1970’s, hip-hop and rap have undergone several changes leading to the creation of several subgenres. The history of hip-hop and rap is complex and has been important to the culture of African-Americans since its birth in the 1970’s in the Bronx.

Clive Campbell, most popularly known by his disc jockey name DJ Kool Herc, is considered to have created the basic framework for hip-hop and rap in his 102-unit apartment building at 1520 Sedgwick Avenue in the Morris Heights section of the Bronx. At 1520 Sedgwick Avenue, DJ Kool Herc took the African and Caribbean rhythms that permeated the Bronx during this time, when Black Power and Puerto Rican nationalism were spreading through New York City and the country, and began to engineer them into harmonious rhythms that included nuances of R&B and Motown. The sounds DJ Kool Herc spun were soon heard throughout the Bronx as the parties he performed at became wildly popular. As the new genre of hip-hop was spreading, many other DJ’s came into the mix, including Afrika Bambaataa, DJ Breakout and Grandmaster Flash.²

As the popularity of hip-hop grew in the Bronx and the surrounding boroughs, hip-hop culture began to flourish. Dancers began to compete in crews against one another with moves and routines set to the new sound dominating the minority communities of

² Ogbar, Jeffrey O. G., *Hip-Hop Revolution: The Culture and Politics of Rap*. University Press of Kansas, 2007. Pg. 2-5

New York City. On mats of cardboard boxes, break-dancers who attained the nicknames of “b-boys” and “b-girls,” competed and created a new genre of dance to go hand-in-hand with the distinct, new sound to which they danced.³

Along with the addition of a dance form, hip-hop culture became more entwined with graffiti artists and “taggers,” who were known for their spray paintings on the sides of walls, billboards, abandoned buildings, subway trains, and any other area that allowed for open space to showcase their artwork. Graffiti artist and taggers however, were not a phenomenon known only to the black youths of the Bronx enthralled in hip-hop. During the same time, white graffiti artists, who were tapped into rock and roll culture, held a very similar role, though these two groups never mingled, and the latter was virulently racist. This does not distract, however, from the purpose and place black youths began to carve out for graffiti and tagging in the hip-hop scene of the 1970’s.⁴

By this time hip-hop was becoming a culture and world of its own. The multi-faceted world of hip-hop was solidified when lyrics was brought into the mix. From the days of the Harlem Renaissance, which had taken place 50 years prior and only a few miles away from this new artistic representation of black youth in the Bronx, poetry had been an important part of black culture. The freedom and sincerity poets were able to present through their prose, which was free form and uninhibited by traditional grammar, held a special place in the lives of minority youths who may not have had the conventional linguistic tools to express themselves. From these poetic roots, a lyrical component began to converge with the strong rhythmic beats the DJ’s of hip-hop were creating and manipulating. The lyrical component of deejaying

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

became known as rapping and began to further distinguish itself from deejaying when previously known “lyrical DJs” (who were known for lyricizing over beats) began to distinguish themselves as MCs or “master of ceremonies.”⁵

At this point in the mid-1970’s in the “Boogie Down” Bronx of New York City, a new culture all of its own reached fruition. Hip-hop was now not only an art form of expression and resistance for an often disenfranchised minority youth, it was also a culture and world all its own. Comprised of four key elements, hip-hop was now a multifaceted and self-sustaining genre. Deejaying provided the sounds and rhythms to the streets of the Bronx. Breaking dancing developed into a form of dance meant solely for the accompaniment of hip-hop; and the dance battles that dominated hip-hop culture often aided in supplanting gang violence. Graffiti art and tagging found their way into hip-hop culture and were adopted by youths hoping to spread their unconventional artwork. Finally, perhaps the most formative and influential aspect of hip-hop was added: rapping. Through rapping hip-hop found a clear voice. Grievances, opinions, and thoughts could be verbalized over the dynamic rhythms born from the rappers African and Caribbean ancestors.

In a country where the narrative and image of African-Americans and other minority people had been dominated by white actors and audiences in minstrel shows in the nineteenth and twentieth century, which created caricatures from dangerous racial stereotypes, young minority youths now began to feel they had a say in the depiction of their blackness. With a style created by blacks for blacks came the opportunity for authentic and real images, and portrayals of the black community and the black experience. However, as hip-hop left its safe haven of the Bronx and became subject to a wider, more

⁵ Ibid.

diverse audience, the sudden freedom to show the “realness” of the black experience became controversial, problematic and perhaps detrimental to the image of blackness and black stereotypes.

Issues With “Real Niggas” and Their “Video Vixens”

Hip-Hop Revolution: The Culture and Politics of Rap by Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar (2007) examines the culture of authenticity in the hip-hop industry. The work examines the perceived need for authenticity of the black experience and how it leads to performances of hyper-masculinity. In this industry, black men tend to legitimize themselves as an authentic “real nigga.” As Ogbar explains, “...the term has different meanings depending on context. It can be a term of racial contempt or endearment across a racial line. Still, its use here implies, in no uncertain terms, a masculine black working-class identity that represents the core of hip-hop’s character.”⁶

Hip-hop is an industry that is traditionally dominated by males. Because of this Ogbar provides context and insight into the sexual and sometimes demoralizing imagery and narrative attached to women, especially considering this is a culture that trademarks its authenticity and realness. Ogbar presents an analysis of this saying,

...black women, as well as Latina women have enjoyed a celebration as objects, of status, desire, and prestige in way never before seen in the United States. Too often, however, their beauty is celebrated while their humanity is not. They are offered up for the fantasies and egos of men in a larger artistic framework of masculinist discourse.⁷

⁶ Ibid., 7.

⁷ Ibid., 98.

Using his broad analysis of women in the hip-hop world, I will apply this notion directly to the women of hip-hop and rap labeled “video vixens” - models whose beauty and bodies are utilized throughout the music videos of many rappers.

The work of Ogbar places all these problematic black images and visuals in historical context with other black performances of authenticity, especially minstrel shows from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Ultimately, Ogbar views hip-hop’s current minstrel-esque formula for financial success as a part of racism’s durability and ability to change, adapt and mutate to current social and cultural standards.⁸

This paper will adopt the core principle of Ogbar’s analysis - that hip-hop and rap have come to represent an authentic and real black experience, even though often these experiences and narratives of hip-hop and rap problematically perpetuate stereotypes, which become associated with black culture itself. This stems from the stress the artists place on being real and authentic. Unlike Ogbar, I will further illuminate this issue in hip-hop, rap and black culture by using these ideas to analyze music videos.

Since the release of Michael Jackson’s “Thriller” in 1985, music videos have become an integral part of the music experience. Every successful music single has an accompanying music video. TV channels such as MTV constantly follow the music world and promote artist’s music videos and were also important to the growth of music videos. In the hip-hop and rap world, music videos allowed audiences a first-hand look at the experiences musicians were trying to portray through their lyrics.

Music videos allowed glimpses into the worlds these rappers came from, with videos often shot in their hometowns and

⁸ Ibid., 36.

neighborhoods. The imagery in conjunction with the lyrics provided a strong narrative. The issue, however, is whether the narrative became too stereotype oriented and stop being associated with just the individual rapper presenting it. The authentic and real experiences rappers were presenting as a glimpse of their personal experiences soon became attached to the culture as a whole, and thus the black experience as a whole.

Below, three music videos from massively successful black artists will be analyzed. These songs are “Gold Digger” by Kanye West, featuring Jamie Foxx; “Hot In Herre” by Nelly; and “Candy Shop” by 50 Cent, featuring Olivia. These three videos were chosen due to sales above one million, which certified them as platinum. Each was also nominated for or won a Grammy, generally considered the hallmark in success of American music. Each of these songs was nominated for or won awards at the MTV Video Music Awards, a telling fact. In terms of commercial success, each song also peaked in the top 3 spots of the *Billboard* Hot 100 chart. Furthermore, all earned a spot in the *Billboard* Hot 100 end-of-year chart for the year they were released, and two earned a spot on the *Billboard* Hot 100 decade chart for 2000-2009.

While these songs in no way represent the totality of hip-hop and rap, they do exemplify the dynamic Ogbar, identified in rap music. They show how hip-hop and rap have taken individual stories and narratives of artists and converged them with the black experience because of the cult of authenticity that surrounds hip-hop and rap. However, even more prominently these videos show how these artists, in an attempt to pander to the supposed “authentic” black experience, hyper-perform their masculinity and sexualize and objectify black women.

Nelly’s “Hot in Herre”

One of the first songs and subsequent music videos to fall into this pattern is the song “Hot In Herre” by rapper Nelly, which was wildly successful upon its release in 2002. It is the second single released by the artist on his second studio album *Nellyville*. The song was released on April 16, 2002 and soon became the rapper’s first *Billboard* Hot 100 Hit, selling over 2 million copies and becoming certified 2x Platinum. At the 2003 Grammys, Nelly became the first winner of the newly introduced category, Best Male Rap Solo Performance, and went on to be nominated for an MTV Video Music Award for Best Hip-Hop Video. The song was number 3 on the U.S. *Billboard* Hot 100 year end chart for 2002 and number 32 on the U.S. *Billboard* Hot 100 decade-end chart for 2000-2009.

The song not only landed Nelly his first *Billboard* Hot 100 hit and the 2003 Grammy Award for Best Male Rap Solo Performance, but also cemented itself into popular culture as the signifier of a good time and impending fun for the growing millennial generation. As with all successful songs since Michael Jackson’s “Thriller,” a music video was soon to arrive. The song content of “Hot in Herre,” in conjunction with the visual representation of the music video, speaks to the hyper-masculine and hyper-sexualized depictions of males and females respectively.

The most famous lines of Nelly’s “Hot In Herre” are Nelly rapping in the chorus: “It’s gettin’ hot in here/so take off all your clothes” with a female voice to then respond, “I am getting so hot/ I’m going to take my clothes off.” These two lines alone are problematic but this catchy hook along with other lines suggesting male dominance over female sexuality by simply showcasing material statuses of wealth show a basic issue in the hip-hop and rap music worlds: a female’s sex can be persuaded, traded, bought, and influence by wealth and fame.

While certain lines are more elusive and subtle in their context, lyrics such as “What good is all the fame if you ain’t [f***]ing the

models?" shows that hip-hop and rap culture creates a correlation between wealth and fame and entry into the female body. This song shows that because Nelly is a (seemingly) rich and famous black rapper he automatically has the opportunity to start "[f***]ing the models" as well as to tell a room seemingly full of women to take off their clothes and they comply. The lyrics of the song are problematic and suggestive in nature, but another element of the song that illuminates details about hip-hop and rap culture is the music video.

The music video for "Hot in Herre" begins with Nelly driving past a nightclub with a bustling line of young men and women trying to gain entry into the club. Nelly then simply walks up, with the people parting as he easily bypasses the whole line, and gets into the club. As the rapping starts Nelly is seen with a group of men all wearing baggy oversized basketball jerseys with large and long jewelry and chains hanging down the front of their jerseys, with ornate rings and watches covering their hands and wrists, and flashy gold teeth altering their smiles. This is in stark comparison to the women now visible in the video whose exposed skin is glistening in sweat. Soon these women (or video vixens, as outlined earlier) begin to take off the tight clothes they still have on after Nelly instructs them to do so in the chorus.

The essence of this video is Nelly and his entourage enticing curvaceous and sexy women to want them simply by their mere presence and apparent wealth. While lack of clothes and salacious dancing on the women's part speaks to the sexual nature attached to women in this environment and industry the clothing and actions of the men could be just as illuminating. The long, oversized and baggy jerseys and clothing could be seen as a representation of thug and gang culture. Black males are often associated with gang violence and by Nelly and his pose sporting the attire typically associated with thugs, could reinforce negative stereotypes. This music video is a typical example of masculinity in the hip-hop and rap world are made hyper aware to the

viewer. The fact Nelly is so confident in the fact he will find a woman to have sex with, or even dance with in the club atmosphere, show that Nelly's masculinity competes with other males ability to attract women. Also, the clothing choice of oversized men's basketball jerseys even though none of the men pictured are athletes demonstrates men's need to project their manhood or masculinity. Because Nelly and his entourage lack the physique of a male athlete, which is generally seen as the epitome of masculinity, wearing oversized-athletic clothing and showcasing their wealth via their jewelry, cars, and alcohol bottles, it shows them not only trying to convey their masculinity but also to highlight and enhance it.

This scenario provided a blueprint for a large majority of subsequent hip-hop and rap music videos. A fairly wealthy, in shape rapper manages to swoon all the females by his wealth and fame. Not only does this say a lot about gender dynamics, but it also speaks to how race, class, and status affect masculinity, femininity and sexuality in the black community. While this is only one video, analysis of several other similar sources can really show why this phenomenon has manifested itself so strongly in hip-hop and rap culture.

Kanye West's "Gold Digger"

Several years following the emergence of this new hyper-masculine portrayal of hip-hop artists and rappers, this song by Kanye West further projected the macho and successful rapper who could attain anything through his wealth and fame. However, this song also further strained and complicated the gender dynamics that were beginning to plague this hip-hop and rap industry, which was now immersed in the world of "pop music." Songs such as "Gold Digger" not only deepened a historical fetishizing of the sexuality of women of color

that had hovered over black culture since the days of Josephine Baker, but also reaffirmed notions of black female dependence.

“Gold Digger”⁹ is a song recorded by rapper Kanye West featuring vocals from singer Jamie Foxx. The song was released as the second single from West’s sophomore album *Late Registration*. On September 5, 2006 the song reached #1 on the US *Billboard* Hot 100 chart. Eventually selling over 5 million copies and being certified 5x Platinum, at the 2006 Grammys the song was nominated for Record of the Year and Best Rap Solo Performance, winning the latter. During the same award season “Gold Digger” was nominated for Best Male Video and Best Hip Hop Video at the MTV Video Music Awards. “Gold Digger” is the 9th most successful U.S single of the 2000’s. The song was number 58 on the U.S *Billboard* Hot 100 all-time chart.

“Gold Digger” speaks about the supposed problem men with money, particularly rappers and athlete, face due to women chasing after their wealth. The main chorus of the song goes “Now I ain’t sayin’ she’s a gold digger/ but she ain’t messin’ with no broke niggas.” This song extends the idea that beautiful and sexual women go after men with money.

The scenes that dominate the music video are shots that alternate between either Kanye West rapping, Jamie Foxx singing, a women in lingerie dancing on Kanye West or various women in Victoria Secret-esque lingerie posing on fictional magazine covers. These fictionalized magazine covers are perhaps the most problematic visuals presented in the music video because of the suggestive, objectifying and explicit language, titles and subtitles paired with them. These magazine covers have titles such as *Vixen Magazine*, *Fantasy Magazine*, *Hot Fun*, and *Sweet Stuff*. The fictional magazines also host subtitles such as

⁹ “Kanye West – Gold Digger ft. Jamie Foxx.” YouTube video, 3:41. Posted by “KanyeWestVevo,” June 16, 2009. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vwNcNOTvZy>

“Bold, Beautiful Bodies,” “The Best of the Best,” and “Red Hot Spanish Girls.” This song condemns women for using their sexuality and bodies to lure men; it at the same time reinforces and fetishizes voluptuous and scantily clad women of color.

All these magazine covers project and portray women as desirable to male sexuality. The women are all extremely attractive and dressed in some sort of lingerie or bikinis that better show off their physique. In the video these scenes aren’t stagnant pictures: meaning the women are actively moving and posing while the magazine cover acts as green screen background. In these short scenes, they move and pose suggestively, while holding eye contact with the camera. They also engage in activities such as blowing kisses and smiling in order to further maintain male attention. All of these activities in conjunction with magazine covers advertise these women, their bodies, their sexuality and their sexual prowess through the use of titles such as *Sweet Stuff*, *The Best of the Best*, and *Hot Fun*. This reinforces the notion of buying and selling black bodies, which has been a part of American history since the times of slavery. And to top it all off, all these fictional magazines ask for a price of only fifty cents.

Women of color have long been eroticized and commodified for their bodies and ethnic features. Instead of this song simply praising the bodies of women of color or presenting them through a narrative that could attempt to reclaim their sexuality, Kanye West and Jamie Foxx pander to the existing notions and stereotypes that follow women of color, even offering to sell images of “the best of the best” of “red hot Spanish girls” for only fifty cents. However, it is not only the music video portrayal of the song “Gold Digger” that is problematic; the lyrics throughout the song also reinforce dangerous stereotypes about black women and their work ethic.

Black women have long been pictured in American discourse as perpetuating laziness and poor work ethic. They have long been

shamed with titles such as “welfare queen” and “baby mama,” titles that devalue their integrity and work ethic. This song perpetuates this demonization of women of color through the term “gold digger.” “Gold Digger” refers to women who go after a man for his wealth and financial stability, and for monetary gain. This song personifies “gold diggers” as women who will do anything to get a man with money, even if that means “trapping” him with a child. The chorus of the song is: “Now I ain’t sayin’ she a gold digger (when I’m in need)/but she ain’t messin’ with no broke niggas.” This is repeated twice in during each chorus that shows up during the song three times. It is obvious these lyrics from the chorus equate a “gold digger” to a woman who doesn’t want a “broke nigga.”

The song even goes further, by characterizing one awful “gold digging” woman. The song portrays this woman to be someone who intentionally got pregnant then told a wealthy man who wasn’t the father that he was, just so that he could financially take care of the child (and the woman) for eighteen years. The verse containing this saga is especially telling because it shows what wealthy rappers and artist such as Kanye West and Jamie Foxx truly think of women who claim to have children with wealthy men. In this verse, the victim is a football player fresh from the Super Bowl who still drives a Hyundai while “his baby mama’s car and crib is better than his” and “she went to the doctor and got lipo with [his] money.” Kanye even claims this woman did this before earlier in the song when she says. “From what I heard she got a baby by Busta / My best friend says she use to [f***] with Usher.”

This verse is the crux of the whole song in its problematic portrayal of the “gold digger,” is portrayed as an attractive woman of color. Kanye West not only reinforces a stereotype of the black female “gold digger” as someone who finds a man for his money, but he adds to the persona by projecting her to be someone to lie about the father of

her children not only to get money from the man for the child, but to also provide herself with luxuries such as cars, houses and plastic surgery.

“Gold Digger,” like “Hot In Herre,” created a strained, skewed, and problematic relationship between minority rappers and women of color. While Nelly’s song and video can be analyzed for explicitly hyper-masculine performance and the lure wealth and fame have on women, Kanye West’s “Gold Digger” in a way explores the negative repercussions of having women gravitate towards a man for his wealth and fame. The song and corresponding video shows a more negative and contentious experience between black rappers and black women, who seemingly use their sexuality and beauty to lure wealth rappers and athletes. “Gold Digger” presents a negative scenario where one’s wealth and fame have led them to having to provide for a woman who has “trapped” him with a child that may not even be his.

This song was and remains massively popular, ranked as the 9th most successful song for the decade of 2000-2009, and the 57th highest grossing song of all time. Yet when this song is put into context along with the grossly sexual depiction in the music video, the historic background of black female sexuality and work ethic, and the reflective nature hip-hop seems to have on black culture, it seems this song could be doing some subconscious harm to the black image, particularly for black females.

50 Cent’s “Candy Shop”

One final music video that represents a form of hip-hop wallowing in sexist cultural tropes is this rap song by 50 Cent. Rather than presenting an individualized tale of triumph and tribulation, he instead presents a narrative of black fame and wealth that panders to popular culture. “Candy Shop” is the second single released from

rapper 50 Cent's sophomore album *The Massacre*.¹⁰ The song features vocals by Olivia and remained in the #1 song position on the *Billboard* Hot 100 charts for over six weeks. At the 2006 Grammys the song was nominated for best rap song, and at the 2005 MTV Video Music Awards was nominated for Best Male Video. The song eventually became certified Platinum. The song was number 8 on the U.S *Billboard* Hot 100 year end chart for 2005 and number 52 on the U.S *Billboard* Hot 100 decade-end chart for 2000-2009.

In the way the "Hot In Herre" presented hypermasculinity as the means for Nelly to attain female attention and Kanye West demonized women who went after men solely for their money through their sexuality, 50 Cent's and Olivia's "Candy Shop" perhaps presents the most straightforward example of my argument that black rappers objectify and sexualize women. "Candy Shop" is totally and completely about sex. Sometimes through the use of innuendos and implicit context and other times through outright, direct denotation. Regardless, this song is about sex and one wealthy, famous, black rapper who is particularly skilled in eliciting sex from women.

All of the lyrics from this song, when coupled with the visuals from the video, portray a harmful and problematic vision of women of color, the only women in the music video. Like "Hot In Herre," the music video starts with 50 Cent arriving in a luxury car at a huge mansion. Once inside the mansion, beautiful women surround 50 Cent and he begins rapping the chorus, which is all innuendo relating to fellatio.

In the chorus 50 Cent uses language that suggests he is almost giving permission to Olivia (who is providing the female vocals and thus response) to perform this oral sex act on him as if it were an honor she should feel thrilled about when he says "I'll let you lick the lollipop."

¹⁰ "50 Cent - Candy Shop ft. Olivia." YouTube video, 4:10. Posted by "50CentVevo," June 16, 2009. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SRcnnfd15BA>

Olivia's ensuing response acts as a validation of his crude language, suggesting that it is okay for him to act so patronizing. However, the chorus is not the only part of this song that alludes to sex or how honored a woman should feel once she has had sex with 50 Cent. In fact at one point 50 Cent straightforwardly says, "If you be a nympho, I'll be a nympho."

Later in the song 50 Cent says, "I got the magic stick, I'm the love doctor" and "I'm a seasoned vet when it comes to this shit." Both of these statements imply that having sex with him is something that should be admired because he is so good at sleeping with women. After the latter lyric 50 Cent again returns to his patronizing and self-righteous view of his sexual prowess by seemingly congratulating the woman he thought did well during sex and "worked up a sweat" by *allowing* her to again please him orally. "After you work up a sweat you can play with the stick."

The words on their own are worth volumes but when coupled with the images from the music video, a major difference in the sexuality of 50 Cent and the sexuality of Olivia and the other girls in the video is highlighted. 50 Cent projects a macho, alpha male persona in part because he is the only man in the whole music video as opposed to the almost dozen girls; and also in part due to his demeanor and styling throughout the video. 50 Cent is seen wearing expensive jewelry and diamonds and even a fur coat at one point, while all the women are in tight fitting corsets, lingerie and low cut tops. In one scene a woman in a pornographic nurses outfit is seen kissing and rubbing on 50 Cent. Throughout the video the intention and sentiment is clear: 50 Cent can get any woman he wants and if he chooses to "let her" engage with him sexually, it is she who should be grateful.

50 Cent, like many of the rappers before him and many rappers after, shows a sexual ownership of female sexuality in a way that gives him the right to expect sexual satisfaction from women. Nelly displayed

his masculine supremacy over female sexuality when he command women to take off all their clothes, and Kanye West displayed a similar ownership when he dictated what made a woman a “gold digger.” All these videos provide a glimpse into what current hip-hop and rap culture says about blackness, sexuality and gender.

Conclusion

All three of the videos mentioned in this paper were made by self-identifying black men and contained black women as the main models and focus of each video. It seems that the chance these videos would further set back the portrayal of blacks and women were lost to the rappers, who themselves are the children of black women. However, the blame cannot solely be placed on the rappers, as they are a part of an industry where many voices and opinions are heard before anything is produced or distributed for sale. Many people are needed to make a music video, and the fact no one thought perpetuating negative images of black women and hyper-masculine images of black males is saddening, yet also not surprising. People stick with what they know and in terms of black success in the entertainment industry, that almost always comes with some sort of nod to the stereotypes and images that dominate perceived black culture. Creating art that showcases blacks in a manner that has shown commercial success previously is easy to fall into. For the black community sex and violence help sales for black artist and black images.

These videos show that the repercussions, stereotypes and imagery of slavery and Jim Crow are still around today; however, they are now under the guise of portraying the authentic black voice. Blacks in America have a long, storied and heartbreaking history and when an opportunity came for black Americans to take some control over their images and stories, prejudice and stereotypes still manage to cloud the

narrative. Each of these three music videos speaks to a trope of the past. "Hot In Herre" asserts that wealthy and famous men can attract women for sex based on these alone. Black women have long had issues with prostitution rates and being sold to the highest bidder. "Gold Digger" demonizes a woman who uses her child to "trap" a man for his wealth to ensure her financial stability, and to make it all worst the child isn't truly his. Poor black women are still condemned with the term "welfare queen," women who just have children and expect the wealth of others to take care of them through government assistance. "Candy Shop" sexualizes women in a way that makes them objects, purely for the enjoyment of a male during sex. During slavery countless numbers of black women were raped and sexually assaulted because their entire wealth was seen in their bodies. While the finer points of the imagery have changed the greater, overarching story has remained constant. These videos show that it is still incredibly hard for blacks to maintain a positive identity.

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**Training Technopreneurs: Potential Solutions for Improving
Female Technopreneurs' Self Efficacy in Switzerland**

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The relationships between gender, technological literacy, and motivation to internationalize businesses were examined for one sample group: male and female Swiss entrepreneurs in the tech sector. Similar effects on technological literacy¹¹ and business internationalization are shown for all participants and support earlier research on the relationship between gender, technological literacy, business internationalization, and an entrepreneurial venture's output. Additionally, the motivation to internationalize a business proved stronger for more technologically literate individuals than for individuals who were not exposed or exposed very little to technology during their childhood and teenage years. Implications for educators and policy makers were discussed, and areas for future research outlined.

Introduction

Across the world, roughly six women participate in entrepreneurship for every 10 male participants (Kelley 29). This ratio varies by country, with the economies of Switzerland, Guatemala and Brazil reporting equal numbers of male and female entrepreneurs, and Singapore and Thailand reporting slightly higher female participation than male participation. However, Pakistan, Iran, and Bangladesh report two females for every 10 males participating in entrepreneurship (Kelley 29). Entrepreneurs included in these findings have participated in entrepreneurship to varying degrees.

Switzerland is known for fostering and promoting gender equality in the entrepreneurship space. One explanation for equal participation among male and female Swiss entrepreneurs is that over

¹¹ Technological literacy can be defined as an individual's ability to appropriately and effectively use computers and computer programs to access, manage and create information. The type of literacy in my study involves mostly the use of technology and less the creation of it.

the last ten years, the trend of more women perceiving business opportunities has steadily increased. In 2014, 70 percent of Swiss women reported seeing entrepreneurial business opportunities compared with 66 percent in 2013 (Brush). Yet, female-founded ventures in Switzerland are less successful than male-founded ventures as measured by output and growth. According to a Global Entrepreneurship Monitor study in 2013, male-founded Swiss startups are significantly more successful than female-founded Swiss startups (Kelley).

Background

Male and female entrepreneurs are active to different degrees. Activity, as measured by TEA (Total Early-Stage Entrepreneurial Activity), is defined as the percent of working age population (18-64 years old) both that are about to start an entrepreneurial activity and that have started one for a maximum of three and a half years. TEA quantifies early stage entrepreneurship and is used by the GEM as its measurement of entrepreneurial activity for the 2012 and 2013 studies referenced in this paper. TEA is usually highest for factor-driven economies, and lowest for economies with high GDPs. Qatar (16.4 percent TEA), the United States (13.8 percent TEA), Australia (13.1 percent TEA) and Canada (13.0 percent TEA) hold the highest TEA rates for innovation-driven economies. On the other hand, Japan (3.8 percent TEA) and Italy (4.4 percent TEA) rank last in early-stage entrepreneurs. Geographically, African economies hold the highest TEAs with one third of adult populations identifying as early-stage entrepreneurs. Of all economies, European economies hold the lowest TEA rates (7.8 percent TEA in EU economies, 6.0 percent TEA in non-EU economies). Switzerland, a non-EU economy, has a relatively low TEA rate of 7.1 percent.

Recent data suggests that men are up to 75 percent more likely than women to be active entrepreneurs in middle-income countries compared with 33 percent in high-income countries and 41 percent in low-income countries (Minniti 12). In other words, male entrepreneurs typically participate more actively in their respective entrepreneurial ventures than do female entrepreneurs. While Switzerland, a high-income country, hosts a near equal number of male and female entrepreneurs, its entrepreneurial activity is relatively low compared with the EU and particularly the United States.

While the term 'active' is referred to in this study as a measurement and is relevant to the GEM's data, the term is problematic. Male activity and female passivity are terms that have fueled gender stereotypes and inequality for centuries, and can be traced back to Aristotle's views on sexual reproduction. For this study, the term 'active' will be used specifically to indicate the percent of working age population both about to start an entrepreneurial activity and that have started and managed an entrepreneurial venture for a maximum of 3 years and half. This definition is consistent with GEM's definition.

Susan Bordo discusses this gendered stereotype of male activity and female passivity and its origins in her 1993 book *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. Bordo argues that "Aristotle's opinion that the conception of a living being involves the vitalization of the purely material contribution of the female by the 'effective and active' element, the male sperm: [T]here must needs be that which generates and that from which it generates; even if these be one, still they must be distinct in form and their essence must be different. If, then, the male stands for the effective and active, and the female, considered as female, for the passive, it follows that what the female would contribute . . . would not be semen but material for the semen to work upon. This is just what we find to be the case, for

the catamenia [menstrual materials] have in their nature an affinity to the primitive matter” (Bordo 12).

This view caused Antonie van Leeuwenhoek in 1677 to note that, upon examining sperm under a microscope, he saw what he thought to be tiny animalcules “pressed out of the shapeless dough of the menstrual matter” (Bordo 12). This idea of male activity and female passivity was further entertained by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel who noted with regards to men, women, animals, and plants that “The difference between men and women is like that between animals and plants. Men correspond to animals, while women correspond to plants because their development is more placid and the principle that underlies it is the rather vague unity of feeling. Women are educated—who knows how?—as it were by breathing in ideas, by living rather than by acquiring knowledge. The status of manhood, on the other hand, is attained only by the stress of thought and much technical exertion” (Snow 107). These notions of differing activity in males and females have carried over to today, Bordo argues, and now influence pregnancy and family planning. These notions perpetuate the stereotype that the mother will stay home with the child while the father pursues his career. For female entrepreneurs, however, the decision to spend time with their families or their businesses is difficult, as they experience societal expectations for family obligation that their husbands do not. In the end, both factors often take female entrepreneurs away from their businesses and perpetuate the notion of male activity and female passivity.

Entrepreneurs engaged in Switzerland’s research and development technology sector experience higher profits and output than those engaged in other sectors. In the Swiss economy, about two-thirds of the funds for Swiss research and development (R&D) are supplied by industry and the rest by federal and cantonal governments, a high proportion by world standards. In 2000, the most recent year for

which data is available, expenditures for R&D totaled \$5,316.302 million, or 2.63 percent of GDP, of which the business sector accounted for 69.1 percent (“Switzerland”). And because only 28 percent of female Swiss entrepreneurs’ ventures are tech-related (Simard 2), men are engaged in a more ‘active’ industry - the tech sector - as measured by the 2013 GEM women’s report (Kelley 29).

Another explanation for the gap between successful male-founded businesses and female-founded businesses in Switzerland can be found by looking carefully at perceptions of opportunity by sex. Young men 18 to 24 years old are the most likely age group to perceive opportunities out of all males. But this male propensity to perceive opportunity drops significantly after the age of 35 (Rossi 954). These findings were published in 2012. But for women, the perception of opportunities, while lower for the 18-24 year old age group, remains steady and for the 45 and over group even exceeds that of men (Hughes). These perceptions of opportunity are directly related to fear of failure, Hughes argues. Women in the younger age groups have a much higher fear of failure, which declines across older age groups. For men the opposite is true: their fear of failure rises by age group. In other words, young women are less likely to see opportunities, have a higher fear of failure, and are therefore less likely to engage in entrepreneurship than men. And in a youth-dominated entrepreneurial industry, this gives Swiss men the upper hand over their female counterparts.

Why are female Swiss entrepreneurs in the tech sector seeing fewer opportunities and experiencing a more elevated fear of failure than male Swiss entrepreneurs in this same sector? Karen Hughes and Jennifer Jennings argue that it is due to socialization - women are less often socialized to be economically independent, or to be entrepreneurial. In their 2012 book *Global Women's Entrepreneurship Research: Diverse Settings, Questions and Approaches*, the two claim that

women face barriers to success in entrepreneurial pursuits that men do not. These barriers could be rooted in anything from their education to the social treatment received from other entrepreneurs. Similarly, the GEM report shows that while participating in the same entrepreneurial activities as men, such as startup camps, business meetups, and entrepreneurship conferences, female-founded businesses perform worse than male-founded businesses as measured by earnings per year.

At the same time, societal attitudes about entrepreneurs might play a role in discouraging younger women. Barbara Bird, author of the 2002 work "A Gendered Perspective on Organizational Creation," claims that the myth that entrepreneurs are heroic, risk taking, independent, innovative individuals who are born with these traits is still pervasive. She writes about asking her class at Babson College to name the first entrepreneur they can think of. Unanimously, her students will shout out the names of Bill Gates, Jeff Bezos, or Mark Zuckerberg, she writes. From this, Bird gathers that the characteristics of entrepreneurs - heroic, risk taking, independent, innovative - are nearly always associated with male entrepreneurs. And so the combined effect of younger women being socialized away from entrepreneurship along with the role modeling of entrepreneurs as male heroes might just discourage younger women. This discouragement can cause a higher fear of failure, lower perceptions of capabilities and lower likelihood of seeing opportunities (Bird 62). Very possibly, these factors lead to a more passive participation in entrepreneurship in the tech sector than male participation, as measured by TEA.

For this study, I will be focusing on the effects of this passivity in female Swiss entrepreneurs as it relates to the success of their tech-oriented businesses.

Hypothesis 1: Swiss women in the tech sector will display less entrepreneurial self-efficacy than their male counterparts.

Hypothesis 2: Swiss women in the tech sector perceive fewer opportunities for starting a business in the next six months than their male counterparts.

Hypothesis 3: Swiss women in the tech sector are less active in their pursuit to internationalize their businesses than their male counterparts.

Methodology

Overview and Participants

In order to test my hypotheses, I analyzed data gathered in my study conducted between December 27th, 2014 and January 10th, 2015 with varying age groups representing different points in entrepreneurial careers within the Swiss tech industry. Twelve Swiss men and women answered questions on their attitudes, skills, career perceptions, and technological literacy. A total of twelve surveys and interviews were analyzed.

Sample Limitations

For practical purposes, a non probability method of sampling was used, and the final results are not representative of the whole population of entrepreneurs in Switzerland's tech sector. Six participants were recruited from an initial invitation to participate. The other six participants were recruited from snowballing. All twelve participants were involved in entrepreneurial ventures that involved technology. Eight were female and four were male.

Though I intended to have a more representative sample population across fields of entrepreneurship, my subjects ended up mostly in the field of technology.

Due to my two-week stay in Switzerland, my sample size for subjects was limited by a time constraint. Additionally, entrepreneurs age 20 - 35 were more accessible than entrepreneurs ages 36 - 65. The 20 - 35 age group was more accessible because more entrepreneurs in this age range responded to my initial recruitment email. However, I was not seeking out this specific age group of entrepreneurs ages 20 - 35. Additionally, by happenstance, I did not plan for this and I was not expecting this to happen. Because of this, my sample size experienced an age constraint.

Measures

My main methods of research were interview and observation. I gathered valuable insights into gender bias in the entrepreneurship space through interaction with male and female entrepreneurs in the tech sector in Switzerland. I attended conferences and entrepreneurial meetups to observe how female Swiss entrepreneurs approach tech entrepreneurship.

Results

Hypothesis 1

My first hypothesis was conclusively proven false - all female Swiss entrepreneurs in the tech sector displayed more self-efficacy than their male counterparts. Not only did female Swiss entrepreneurs believe in their capacities to produce specific performance-drive results, but also they displayed confidence in their abilities to control motivation, behavior, and social environment.

However, many of the female entrepreneurs interviewed described feeling displaced in a community of less active female entrepreneurs. For example, Katrin described the female tech entrepreneurship space as separate from the male tech

entrepreneurship space in Switzerland, and stated that 'to be successful means to think like a male.'

"The successful entrepreneur mindset fits male behavior. You need to be bold, take risks, and be determined to prove people wrong who tell you that you can't start a business. But females are more trained to behave passively." - Katrin

"Women hold themselves back mentally, and don't dare to dream that their business could be as big as they could be. Success has to do with how big you think, and men typically think 'bigger' than women. Generally, Swiss women are not risk-taking. We are more traditional. We prefer working in small groups or being among familiar coworkers." - Melanie

This idea of entrepreneurship as a male activity continued to be expressed throughout my interviews. Every female I spoke with displayed positive entrepreneurial self-efficacy, but stated that the female Swiss entrepreneurship culture as a whole lacked self-efficacy due to women behaving passively with regard to founding and growing their businesses.

Hypothesis 2

My second hypothesis proved true. Swiss women perceived fewer opportunities for starting a business in the Swiss tech sector in the next six months than their male counterparts. The cause of this perception of fewer opportunities was rooted in both lack of networking skills and lack of technical skills. All female entrepreneurs interviewed reported feeling disadvantaged in a networking situation. This feeling stemmed from discomfort from being a woman networking among men in a male-dominated industry. Interview subjects listed

female characteristics including vocal tone and body shape as factors that differentiated them from their male counterparts at networking events. The female entrepreneurs I interviewed consistently reported perceiving less opportunities than male entrepreneurs in the tech sector due to their lack of 'presence' at networking events.

"Female entrepreneurs are not at networking conferences. They prefer working in small groups maintaining networks with people they are already familiar with." - Melanie

"Men and women have different kinds of networks. Men have more powerful networks. Women are physically disadvantaged because their voices are higher and not as trustworthy, they are smaller in height, etc." - Jan

"When a girl first comes up with an idea and pitches it, the first inclination is to laugh. So women especially need to network with younger and older people. I say to women specifically: persist! Women need to talk about their business ideas over and over so that they are taken seriously." - Bastian

Additionally, both male and female subjects reported a disparity in technological literacy between male and female Swiss entrepreneurs. Female participants reported that they felt they were lacking the technological skills needed to start and work for tech-based companies. Male participants reported that they observed the majority of women to lack the degree of technological literacy necessary to begin companies in the Swiss tech sector. Due to this disparity in technological literacy, it is likely that female Swiss entrepreneurs

experienced less entrepreneurial opportunities than men when participating in tech-related entrepreneurial ventures.

Technological Literacy

An unanticipated finding that impacts both the success of female founded businesses and the opportunities seen by female entrepreneurs is the level of technological literacy that the average female Swiss entrepreneur has. In general, female Swiss entrepreneurs were described as lacking technological literacy by my subjects, as mentioned previously in my discussion of Hypothesis 2. My subjects indicated that it is due to the disparity in technological literacy among male and female Swiss entrepreneurs in the tech sector that female Swiss entrepreneurs experience less entrepreneurial opportunities than do men.

“There are 95 percent men and five percent women in information technology in Switzerland. Less than 15 percent and some years below 10 percent of women study technology fields at ETH Zurich. The gender issue is in the education field, not in the entrepreneurship space. Some female students have been told by math and physics teacher that they cannot study computer science.” - Thomas

“I think women can bring a lot to a business’s board if they have the right skills, besides their gender. But not for every business and position can you find enough female candidates. For smaller companies I see no problem finding female candidates whereas for big companies with technical products the amount of female candidates is very limited.” - Carole

"I try to have women in sales positions because women are more likely to get appointments in a male-dominated business world. For sales, I need people to get appointments to sell whatever they need to sell. Women have easier access to men because they're so unusual that it's still surprising if a woman asks you for a business appointment, she's more likely to get that appointment. However, there is a disadvantage of hiring women. Both businessmen and businesswomen are less likely to believe in the technical competence of a woman because of certain gender roles and stigmas. I use women to get first contacts with cold calling and then pass the job over to men as soon as things become very technical and very specific because my customers believe that men are more competent with technical stuff." - Jan

Across the board, female business women are perceived as being less technologically literate than their male counterparts. Because of this, male entrepreneurs tend to look for other male entrepreneurs when founding startups that involve technology. By choosing males to fill technology-oriented positions, male entrepreneurs increase the number of men in the technology sector while decreasing the number of women. Men gain more experience with technology through this process and become naturally more technologically competent. Women, on the other hand, are indirectly denied access to the technology sector and fall behind in technical competency relative to male entrepreneurs.

Indeed, women interviewed expressed feeling less technologically literate than their male counterparts. In addition, women reported little to no exposure to computers and electronic toys during their childhood. These same women claim that their lack of exposure led them to select non-technology oriented courses when in high school and college. These findings are consistent with Amy Bix's

findings in her 2014 book *Girls Coming to Tech!*, in which Bix argues that engineering and technological education have for a long time been regarded as “masculine territory,” and that women who work in this field are still regarded as oddities, outcasts, or masculine. Bix writes that in the 1950’s women made up less than one percent of students in American engineering programs. In 2010 and 2011, women earned 18.4 percent of bachelor’s degrees, 22.6 percent of master’s degrees, and 21.8 percent of doctorate degrees in science, technology, engineering, and math areas (Bix 34).

A similar phenomenon is occurring in Switzerland, according to my interview subjects.

“The startup scene in Switzerland is geared toward technology. The number of women studying computer science is really low. As a boy you are encouraged and exposed to technology much more than girls are. Boys use computers in their home, girls don't. There are no intro tech classes in Switzerland, but professors assume basic proficiency in technology courses. So, boys have a much easier time continuing with technology in university than do girls.” - Melanie

“The vast majority of Swiss tech companies are spin-offs of other tech-based companies. Technology is something that mainly men do. Entrepreneurship is encouraged in the tech sector. Tech is an area where you can easily expand. If your business goes well, you go international, produce more output, and make a lot of money.” - Rahel

“For information technology, your competition is not local, it's international. There you have people that don't have family, that have much more money than you, that have access to much more knowledge, and that have access to greater networks than you have. So if you're a

woman considering tech, you either don't have a family and go all-in or you don't go into technology at all. And because Switzerland culture emphasizes family, the man does the majority of the work and woman stays at home. If you're not a strong character, you don't pursue technology or entrepreneurship. And most women do not have that strong male character." - Thomas

Those interviewed consistently mentioned technological literacy as an important skill for starting a business in the tech sector and sustaining that business. Female participants discussed inclinations toward business ventures that involved less technology as a part of day-to-day operations. Furthermore, female participants expressed a lack of technological training while in school. From elementary school through college, Swiss women are less exposed to computer technology - specifically computer programming, word processing, and electronic spreadsheets - than their male counterparts. Because of this, female participants reported feeling unwelcome when working for a technology-driven startup and overwhelmed when starting a venture that involves technology.

Swiss women perceive less entrepreneurial opportunities in part because technological literacy is required for many businesses in the tech sector to operate and sustain growth. If Swiss women are not sufficiently technologically literate, they will not perceive opportunities to operate and sustain businesses in the Swiss tech sector. My interview subjects indicated that the majority of female Swiss entrepreneurs are not technologically literate. Moreover, Swiss women typically hold more responsibilities at home than their husbands, as Thomas describes, making any sort of entrepreneurship more difficult by increasing the number of obligations outside of the venture. Homemaking and child-rearing reduces the amount of time that could

be spent toward gaining technological literacy and beginning a technology-driven venture. Homemaking and child-rearing also impacts other forms of training, not just technology training. In addition, homemaking and child-rearing affect networking opportunities, applying for and receiving jobs, and other factors related to business and entrepreneurship.

Hypothesis 3:

My third hypothesis proved true. Swiss women are less active in their pursuit to internationalize their businesses in the tech sector compared to their male counterparts. From my interviews, I observed that women participate in entrepreneurial ventures that, compared to their male entrepreneur counterparts' ventures, employ less workers. Furthermore, female entrepreneurial pursuits are often local. For this reason, the number of employees needed ranges from a one to 15, rarely exceeding 20, according to my interview subjects.

*"I assume there are more one-woman businesses like hairdressers. These businesses do not grow as much as tech startups and tech companies. There's a saying, "What you can't see, you can't be." If you see from a young age that entrepreneurs are being celebrated in society, then you will think 'that is something I could or want to be!' Male-founded startups are by nature bigger because of tech and men's drive to succeed." -
Melanie*

"All the Swiss entrepreneurs are all men - which has to do with the high tech market here in Switzerland. Now, I'm biased because I work in the tech market. But I see no women! There might be small flower shops owned and operated by women, but I don't know these women. Female entrepreneurs work more in the service industry: gastronomy, beauty

salons. You're always reading about restaurants closing here or changing management. The new management is usually female.” - Paul

Both male and female participants spoke of flower shops, beauty salons, and restaurants when asked about Swiss ventures founded by female entrepreneurs. Each of these three businesses types is typically local. Flower shops and beauty salons are often not franchised and do not have multiple locations. Restaurants rarely internationalize, especially restaurants in Switzerland. Because Switzerland’s economic freedom score is 80.5, making its economy the 5th freest in the 2015 economic freedom index, Swiss businesses are much more likely to be sole proprietorships and partnerships, not corporations (“Switzerland”).

Additionally, female Swiss entrepreneurs have different motivations for starting and operating businesses. So, too, do these women have different standards for measuring business success and output. For example, women may feel compelled to start an entrepreneurial venture to fill a need within their community. Smaller, community-based businesses are easier to manage than multinational corporations with large numbers of employees. Building personal relationships with clientele may compel entrepreneurs to limit the size and scope of their venture. Furthermore, the type of product being sold may not require a business to nationalize its product.

Discussion

The finding that female entrepreneurs lacked technological literacy when compared to male entrepreneurs was unanticipated. Because Switzerland’s economy is so reliant on technology-driven businesses, entrepreneurial ventures are becoming increasingly dependent on the integration of technology in their product, according

to my interview subjects. In addition to the product, day-to-day operations of Swiss business, and businesses worldwide, are relying more and more on computers and technology. But because the opportunities seen by female entrepreneurs is in some capacity limited by the level of technological literacy of the female entrepreneur, female-founded businesses do not often sell a product that relies on technology.

As my interview subjects indicated, Swiss women are much more inclined to start businesses in the cosmetics, retail, or food industry. These industries, as stated above, are not industries that typically push for internationalization. Because female founders in these industries often cap their number of employees at 20, according to my interview subjects, these businesses are smaller in size relative to male-founded businesses that almost always employ more than 20 employees. This size difference, combined with the lack of female technological literacy, is one explanation for the lack of active female Swiss entrepreneurs.

Implications for Technology Education

Increasing the activity of female Swiss entrepreneurs starts with education. Educating Swiss girls for technological literacy to see opportunities in all industries, and particularly the technology industry, begins by increasing access to technology education before the collegiate level. Judy Wajcman, a Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science, supports a similar theory.

According to Judy Wajcman, author of *Feminism Confronts Technology*, the identification between men and machines is not immutable but is the result of ideological and cultural processes. After surveying sociological and feminist literature on technology, Wajcman concluded that, broadly speaking, there is male bias in the way

technology is defined as well as developed. She claims that starting in the 1970's, men's monopoly on technology became a source of their power and women's lack of technological skills became an element in their dependence on men. Wajcman suggests that greater access to technology for women is key in bridging the power gap between male and female entrepreneurs and employees. One such way, she suggests, is through education.

Technology education can be made more accessible and effective for women in grades K-12. Girls' accessibility of technology education can be improved by offering basic typing and computer application courses to students in grades K-12. Less than ten percent of K-12 schools in the United States offer computer programming courses, and still less offer these courses in Switzerland (AP Report To The Nation).

I propose introductory computer courses be required of all students in primary school, grades K-5. Introductory computer courses offer basic instruction that teaches computer interface layout recognition, typing, word processing, and basic internet search skills. These four areas will familiarize students with the home screen, folders, and windows of a computer, the keyboard, the ability to create and type documents, and the internet as a tool for retrieving data. These introductory classes will continue to build upon previously learned computer and technology skills as the student progresses from kindergarten to the fifth grade, and instill increasingly advanced concepts relative to computer interface, typing, word processing, and internet search.

From grades 5 - 12, three types of computer courses should be required of all students. The first type of course involves manipulating spreadsheets. This class will deal heavily with data entry and teach students how to record numbers and information in digital spreadsheet format. Because many of my subjects reported electronically organizing

large amounts of data was critical for their success in their field, this skill should be taught and reinforced continuously while the student is in secondary school.

The second type of required computer course for students in grades 5 - 12 is social media literacy. This course introduces students to the brief history of social media, the biographies of entrepreneurs who founded these platforms, and uses for platforms including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, Pinterest, Tumblr, Google Plus, LinkedIn, and Vine. Responsible personal use, basic brand development, and effective communication strategies will be taught to students and reinforced continuously throughout their secondary education. Many of my interview subjects reported lack of experience with social media and social media marketing strategies, which limited their marketing reach and made them feel at a disadvantage to other entrepreneurs. Thus, teaching these skills to secondary school students is important.

The third type of required computer course for students in grades 5 - 12 is computer programming. HTML, CSS, Java, PHP, and Python are languages that are being used to create many of the world's most popularly used apps and programs. Barack Obama, Bill Gates, Chris Bosh, and other public figures have endorsed computer programming as one of the most important skills any young adult can develop. My subjects informed me that while lack of computer programming knowledge did not hinder them from creating a website and digital presence for their entrepreneurial venture, it did hinder them from creating technology tools and services necessary for their entrepreneurial ventures' success.

Having this specialized knowledge in certain tech fields would allow Swiss students to enter college with a leg up as entrepreneurs. Requiring that both male and female students enroll and participate in these classes is crucial for developing equal technological literacy among Swiss men and women. While the effectiveness of this education

will depend largely on the teachers, pedagogy, school boards, and student interest, the availability of this education should be widespread. Young women should not be discouraged, as many of my subjects reported, from engaging in technological activities and pursuing technology courses. These required courses will hopefully eliminate the stigma of young men dominating technology and bring more gender equality to technology education.

Directions for Future Research

The outcomes and effectiveness of these tech-based courses, as well as a better understanding of technological literacy for girls, can and should be given further attention. Future research might explore a single primary school's implementation of these courses and follow students for six years as they progress through this technology education. After 5th grade, technological literacy of male and female students may be measured by a test that asks students to perform various tasks on a computer by using the mouse, keyboard, word processor, and internet. Scores between male and female students should be compared and interviews should be conducted to identify gender-specific reasons for successes and failures within the class.

Disparity in male and female technological literacy is still a widely unexplored subject. While research in the United States has been conducted in this area for roughly forty years, many parts of the world are only now identifying and attempting to understand gender disparity in the technology space. Further research should be conducted in identifying methods of *measuring* technological literacy and identifying which components of technology are most relevant to certain fields. The areas of technology that are relevant for entrepreneurs are no doubt very different than those areas relevant for engineers or those involved in the film industry.

Measuring technological literacy is a difficult task. My research in Switzerland proved that there is a dramatic difference in technological literacy between men and women, and that researching methods of educating for technological literacy should take precedence over researching or measuring current disparities in technological literacy. Improving the technological literacy of female Swiss entrepreneurs and future Swiss entrepreneurs is crucial for entrepreneurial and economic equality between the genders.

However, there is still the larger problem of business, and entrepreneurial ventures in the tech sector, being male dominated. My findings for Hypothesis 1, based in the input of my interview subjects as a whole but particularly Melanie and Katrin, confirm this problem and echo the sentiments expressed by Bird. In short, Melanie and Katrin expressed that, culturally and socially, Swiss women think of male entrepreneurs when they think of entrepreneurs in the Swiss tech sector. Bird states that these societal attitudes about entrepreneurs likely discourage younger women from engaging in tech entrepreneurship because they see no outstanding entrepreneurs of their same sex. In looking for solutions and ways to engage women in entrepreneurship, Bird describes gender-balance as an ideal solution to the problem of male-dominated organizations. Gender balance, a term that describes the equal representation of women and men in businesses' decision-making positions, should level the playing field between male and female 'ownership' of the tech entrepreneurship space.

While Bird's proposal is sound, the stigma of male-dominated entrepreneurship will still persist despite the balance of decision-making power. In light of this, I propose that more female entrepreneurs become role models for young girls by reaching out directly to young female entrepreneurs. If a female tech entrepreneur is interested in stopping the stigma of male-dominated entrepreneurship,

she should bring her message of equality directly to young girls and young women. For example, Sheryl Sandberg, COO of Facebook, went from relatively unknown to role model for many women when she published *Lean In*. Her book preached women's workplace empowerment in the workplace.

Yet, women as role models creating a movement to stop the stigma of male-dominated entrepreneurship is not enough. The bottom line is this: entrepreneurship in the tech sector is a risk-taking venture. Why Swiss women do not want to partake in tech entrepreneurship and why they are discouraged are questions with a variety of answers. For one, homemaking in Switzerland leaves women with less time for entrepreneurship than in societies where women are not culturally expected to be homemakers. A woman who starts and owns her own business is often required to sacrifice time away from her business for her family or time away from her family for her business. Letting go of family and making family second priority is more possible for men than women - especially among the wealthy, because wealthy men can afford to have their wives not work. This luxury is not possible among the working class.

Additionally, different ideas about what a successful business looks like may differentiate how men and women approach entrepreneurship in the Swiss tech sector. Success, as proposed by Rahel and later expounded upon by other interview subjects, can be measured by output, growth, social impact, or any number of factors. Thus, the "success" of male and female founded businesses in Switzerland differ, but this is not because women or men are inherently better or worse at starting or actively operating businesses. Rather, the success of each Swiss business differs because, very likely, each businesses defines success differently. Thus, the stigma of male-domination as it applies to entrepreneurship is likely perpetuated by male and female business owners measuring success differently.

Entrepreneurs like Mark Zuckerberg begin and grow service-based businesses that millions of people recognize and use, but create very little social impact. Conversely, the businesses that generate social impact - namely social ventures - typically affect less people and may be relatively less heard of with regard to Zuckerberg-esque ventures. Generally speaking, women seem to gravitate toward more social ventures, as 38 percent of the world's social ventures were led by women in 2013 and more than twice as many men as women lead businesses 2013 (Kubski). Thus, through the lense of social impact, women around the world seem much more 'successful' than men with regard to operating businesses. So with regard to reframing entrepreneurship as neither male- nor female- dominated, the first step is understanding 'successful' entrepreneurs as a subjective label that depends on the measurement of success. Reframing Swiss tech entrepreneurship as dominated by neither sex begins with reframing how we measure entrepreneurial success.

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**Variance in Quotas and Women in Legislatures:
The Impact of Factors Affecting Quota Implementation on
Quota Success**

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Introduction

In 1999, Pakistan's legislature was composed of 98% men and 2% women. The United States, on the other hand, boasted a legislature with 77% men and 13% women. Just six years later, female legislators comprised 21% of the Pakistani legislature, while the representation of women in the United States had risen just to 15%. What accounts for the stark differences between these two countries in the percentage of women in national legislatures? In 2002, Pakistan introduced a legally-imposed gender quota reserving seats for women in its legislature. The number of women who were elected through Pakistan's parallel electoral system apparently increased dramatically as a result.

In 2011, Kyrgyzstan also introduced a gender quota but experienced significantly different results. Between 2008 and 2014, Kyrgyzstan experienced a 2.3% decrease in the percentage of women in their legislature, despite the implementation of a quota meant to increase that percentage. The surprisingly different levels of success of quotas in these two cases of Pakistan and Kyrgyzstan begs the question: Why would the implementation of quota have such different results in these two countries?

Many women's rights activists have encouraged the implementation of gender quotas in order to increase the number and percentage of women who are legislators. However, there is a substantial variation in how well quotas achieve that goal. In this paper, I examine the impact of three factors regarding the success of quotas in electing more women to the legislature. These three factors are imposing agency, quota type, and electoral system. I conclude that in terms of achieving their central goal of electing more women to legislative office, quotas imposed by law, quotas mandating reserved seats within the legislature, and quotas within hybrid electoral systems are more successful in increasing women in the legislature than those

featuring other imposing agencies, quota types, and electoral systems. In this paper, I first address the existing literature on gender quotas and variation within those quotas. I then present my hypotheses and research design before discussing the results of my study. I conclude by considering the potential implications of the results of this study and the research questions that remain unanswered.

Literature Review

49.6% of people in the world are women (Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, 2015). Globally, women only hold 22% of seats in legislative bodies (QuotaProject, 2015). Women do not exceed 50% of any legislative body in the world. This disparity in democratically-elected positions shows a predisposition of many different types of societies to always elect men at a higher rate than women. Scholars have provided many plausible reasons for this pattern, and the activist community has provided many potential plans to eliminate this discrepancy. One such plan is the institution of gender-based electoral quotas, or mandates on a minimum percentage of candidates or legislators who must be of people of a particular gender. These quotas usually require a minimum percentage of candidates or legislators to be women, but some may mandate both genders; for example, in Costa Rica, 50% of candidates must be men and 50% must be women.¹²

In order to approach the question of which conditions most positively influence quota success, we must first examine more established questions on the topic. First, what factors are associated with the election of women? Second, why are quotas proposed as a potential solution? Third, what factors influence the decisions of agents in adapting quotas? Fourth, what variance exists among quotas? Fifth

¹² <http://www.quotaproject.org>

and finally, what factors influence quota success?

Factors influencing the election of women to legislatures

The Inter-Parliamentary Union, the international organization of Parliaments, reports that most countries have no formal barriers to the election of women to the legislature (2008). However, there are many informal (meaning non-legislated) barriers that prevent women from entering elected public office.

The first step in an election of an individual is the individual's eligibility, or capability of meeting the legal requirements to run (Norris 1987, 1997). There is very little literature available as to whether and how eligibility affects men and women differently. Research has not indicated that requirements such as a minimum age to run or the need to be a citizen of a country in order to run there have a strong difference in their gendered application. More research ought to be done in this area to examine the possibly gendered effects of eligibility requirements.

The second step in an individual's election is his or her informed decision to run for public office (Norris 1987, 1997; Lawless & Fox 2005). This involves both ambition and resources, both of which are informed by social norms. Women may be encouraged to run by the presence of other women already in their country's legislature (Carroll 1985; Burns, Schlozman, & Verba 2001; Wolbrecht & Campbell 2007) or of feminist organizations that promote women's involvement in politics (Germain 1994; Matland & Taylor 1997). The presence of role models may help increase the number of women who are willing to run for office because the lived examples of women politicians and activists can reshape the cultural expectation about women in politics (Dahlerup 1988). On the other hand, it is less likely for women to participate in politics at all, especially to run for office, in more patriarchal countries,

such as those that are predominantly of faiths that accepting of women in power (Reynolds 1999; Fish 2002; Inglehart & Norris 2003). This may influence the decision a woman makes to run by presenting her with a conception of a general bias in the electorate against women.

One study found that factors such as the cultural standing of women and women's workforce participation rate only matter if a country is above a certain development threshold (Matland 1998). In less patriarchal countries where men and women achieve similar levels of education, women still report lower political interest and knowledge than do men (Delli Carpini, & Keeter 2000). Even in the United States, women show a much lower desire to run for public office than men do, as well as report being asked or encouraged to run by family or friends far less often than men (Matland & Montgomery 2003; Lawless & Fox 2010). These societal expectations shape many aspects of the decision a woman may make to run or not to run for elected office.

Even women who want to run may believe they do not have the time or resources to do so, especially if they have families; they may choose to wait until their children are grown to run, which limits the amount of time they can spend climbing the political ladder, or they may choose not to run at all because of their children (Matland & Montgomery 2003). Women who do run for office generally are older than their male counterparts and have fewer children than their male counterparts (Carroll 1989; Dodson & Carroll 1991; Thomas 1997; Matland & Montgomery 2003).

If the women themselves do not self-select out of the process, party gatekeepers may select away from them (Norris 1987, 1997). As parties tend to choose candidates who have proven track records or high socioeconomic status and as men tend to dominate fields considered politically relevant or lucrative, parties often overlook women for more "attractive" candidates from pipeline professions (Matland & Montgomery 2003; Lawrence & Rose 2010). The lack of

women in pipeline professions is less of a difficulty in developed countries with higher numbers of educated or qualified women candidates than it is in non-industrialized countries (Matland 1998). The lack of women in pipeline professions also matters less in countries with a higher rate of women in the workforce (Andersen 1975; Welch 1977; Togeby 1994). However, even in developed countries with a high rate of women in the workforce, such as the United States, women are far less likely to be asked by party officials, referred to as “gatekeepers” due to their political power, to run (Lawless & Fox 2010).

Ideology within parties may affect the decisions party gatekeepers make, as green parties that campaign for gender equality or new leftist post-materialist parties tend to choose the most women as candidates (Caul 1999; Paxton & Kunovich 2003; Thomsen 2015). Another major roadblock women face is a lack of persistence in lobbying for more spots for women or women candidates. Research suggests that once women attain a few more spots or some other small or marginal success, the women’s lobby within a country stops working to change the gender dynamics of the party choices on candidates (Brichta & Brichta 1994).

Even if party gatekeepers allow or encourage women to run within a certain district, party decision still plays a significant role in the potential success of that candidate. The party can decide if a woman will run in a seat that is very nearly claimed for the party, in a seat that is in contest; or in a seat that is a sure loss. In some countries such as Costa Rica, which has a high percentage of women in the legislature, women are more often found in the last of the three types of seats than are men and less often found in the first of the three types of seats than are men (Haavio-Mannila et al. 1985). Another possible explanation of this is that men incumbents continue to run for office, making the sure seats disproportionately male (Matland & Taylor 1997).

The last step in the electoral process is dependent on the

desires of voters (Norris 1987, 1997). Some research suggests that voters tend to vote more based on party than on candidate, making a candidate's gender less relevant than his or her party identification (Leduc, Niemi, & Norris 1996). This is especially true within proportional representation systems with closed lists (Valen 1988). Whether voters focus on party or candidate, research shows that when men and women candidates present themselves to voters, both genders fare about the same (Darcy & Schramm 1977; Rasmussen 1983; Welch & Studlar 1986; Darcy, Welch, & Clark 1994; Seltzer, Newman, & Voorhees Leighton 1997; Ford 2011).

Overall, research shows that the strongest barriers for women in Norris's three-step process of election lie in the second step, the informed decision to run for office (Rasmussen 1981; Gallagher & Marsh 1988; Lovenduski & Norris 1993; Matland 1993; Githens, Norris, & Lovenduski 1994).

Quotas as a potential solution

Quotas provide one way to overcome this barrier of deciding to run for office through encouraging parties to recruit women, offering more resources to women who run, or providing more likely rewards for women's ambition. Proponents of quotas often pursue multiple goals. The basic premise of gender quotas is to increase the representation of women within a legislative body. In regard to this goal, quotas seem to be successful. Some scholars claim that quotas are the best predictor of women's representation in legislative bodies (Tripp & Kang 2008). In countries such as Germany, Norway, and Britain, women's representation increased directly after the implementation of quotas (Kolinsky 1991; Matland 1993; Studlar & McAllister 1998). Other studies indicate that quotas positively impact women's representation even after the quotas are repealed; one potential explanation for this residual effect is that the quotas have

positively affected the cultural perception of women within politics (Bhavnani 2009).

There are two main arguments against quotas as a mechanism of increasing the number of women in a legislature. The first is that the true purpose of measures such as quotas ought to be to promote women's rights and participation in the public sphere in the very specific example of legislatures. However, an increase in women's political power does not necessarily follow from the election of women. While quotas may effectively increase the number of women elected into office, they do not in and of themselves reappropriate all of the dominance men hold within legislatures to women (Hughes 2011). Therefore, the results of a quota could vary from electing an active member of Congress who advocates for women's issues relentlessly to electing a member of Parliament who simply stands at roll call and does nothing else. This wide range of results casts doubt on whether a quota empowers women or simply elects them. Because of this, some question whether "quota women" would behave more actively or passively than women elected via traditional channels and therefore whether quotas are helpful. It is helpful to remember that as limited political tools, quotas may achieve one goal, the election of women, without achieving other goals, such as the representation of women's interests.

A second critique of the quota system for women is that it tends to favor non-minority women. In trying to adjust one inequality, some would say, it is in fact furthering others (Mansbridge 1995; Strolovitch 2007; Mansbridge 2005). This is not only true of quotas regarding gender. The same inequality is apparent in attempts to institute race quotas; overwhelmingly more racial minority men than racial minority women were elected (Darcy, Hadley, & Kirksley 1993). This seems to indicate a problem with the quota system in general, not necessarily with gender-based quotas. One study has shown that in

Germany, mostly minority women were elected after the implementation of a gender quota, but there has not been a comparative analysis on whether or not this is generally the case (Geissel & Hust 2005). Some of these scholars argue that taking even small steps toward a heterogeneous legislature is valuable, so quotas should not be deemed unsuccessful or not useful simply because they do not solve all problems of inequality (Paxton & Hughes 2007).

Factors influencing countries' adaptation of quotas

Over the past forty-five years, a substantial number of countries have chosen to adopt gender quotas. Before 1970, five countries had instituted quotas regarding women's representation in the legislative body. Since then, more than a hundred countries also adopted quotas for various reasons (Bush 2011).

Some argue that democracies adopt quotas because of women's grassroots activism (Gelb 1989; Lovenduski & Norris 1993; Beckwith 2003). This is especially true of cases where women internally pressure parties to support women candidates (Matland & Studlar 1996). Others, however, claim that internal pressure, while perhaps necessary, is not a sufficient cause for quota implementation (Bush 2011).

Another potential factor is that party leaders realize that it is in their best interests to promote the representation of women or to appear to promote the representation of women. Party leaders may make these choices for some of many reasons. First, because many parties within the democracy are competitive with each other, some may of their own initiative adopt some type of gender quotas in order to outdo the others (Kolinsky 1991; Matland 1993; Matland & Studlar 1996; Caul 2001). Second, once again, ideology may play a role, as leftist groups are more likely to advocate for more women in politics

than are rightwing groups (Jenson 1982; Beckwith 1986; Lovenduski & Norris 1993). Some argue that the leftist ideologies, as more egalitarian than ideologies on the right, espoused the ideals of women's rights more quickly (Jenson 1982; Beckwith 1986; Caul 2001). Others respond that the left's comfort with government intervention compared to the right's laissez-faire approach apply to electing women to political office as well as to economics (Lovenduski & Norris 1993). However, this has become less of a factor over time in countries where both left and right wing parties have responded to women's rights movements by nominating more women as candidates (Lovenduski & Norris 1993; Matland & Studlar 1996).

The electoral design of a democracy also may impact its likelihood of adopting quotas. For example, proportional representation systems are more likely to adopt quotas than single-member district systems. This difference could potentially be due to how the presence of many parties in proportional representation systems encourages parties to compete with each other (Matland & Studlar 1996). This hypothesis would claim that if one party appoints a woman as a candidate, the others are more likely to follow suit in a proportional representation (or list) system than in a single-member district (or plurality) system. In addition to the advantage of competition and mimicry among parties, it is also less costly in list systems such as proportional representation to nominate women because the nomination of candidates is not a zero-sum game, meaning that nominating a woman in these systems does not mean not nominating a man. A party can simply add another candidate to its list or, if lists are limited, nominate a few women while still nominating men. This is not true in countries with single-member district nominations.

Many of the countries that have recently instituted quotas are developing or recently developed countries that one may not at first

consider to be woman-friendly (for examples, Afghanistan and Iraq). These recently developed countries face the particular influence of international actors in addition to those already mentioned. International actors tend to push emerging democracies to adopt a range of democratic norms, including women's representation. Such actors have had more opportunities to intervene in the workings of fledgling democracies. International pressures to improve democracy have dramatically increased since the Cold War (Carothers 1999; Burnell 2000; Bush 2011). This provides the opportunity for activists to promote policies such as quotas to improve the situation of women within the democracy, especially in post-conflict countries. Previous research finds that international actors have strong power in these scenarios (Gourevitch 1978; Pevehouse 2002; Levitsky & Way 2005; Simmons, Dobbin, & Garrett 2006; Hyde 2007; Kelley 2008; Beaulieu & Hyde 2009; Bush 2011). The literature also indicates that these international actors have an interest in bettering the political climate of new or struggling democracies (Keck & Sikkink 1998). One form of that betterment may be defined as instituting quotas for the further representation of women.

Variance within quotas

Gender quotas take multiple forms across these different countries. Some ways quotas can work include reserving seats for women, requiring a number of women on each party's candidate list, or requiring a number of women in the candidate pool generally (Htun 2004). List systems are more likely to institute quotas regarding actions of parties, and less democratic systems are more likely to simply save seats for women. Whether these are the more effective types of quota for the country or not has not been examined (Dahlerup 2006).

Most of the literature regarding the success of quotas looks only at one country or region (for examples, see Htun & Jones 2002; Baldez 2004; Schmidt & Saunders 2004; Bauer 2008). As a result, there is very little analysis of which types of quotas are more successful even in broad categories, such as in proportional representation systems as opposed to first past the post systems.

Hypotheses

I fill a gap in the literature by investigating the factors that make quotas more or less successful in increasing the representation of women. Specifically, the puzzle I address is as follows: Which kinds of quota structures are more or less successful in increasing the number of women in legislatures? Unlike most previous research, I do not compare quotas versus non-quota countries. That area has attracted the attention of many scholars (as noted previously), and though disputed, the prevailing conclusion is that quotas do increase the percentage of women in legislatures. Thus, I am more interested in answering questions regarding the variation among these different types of quotas than in reexamining the question of women's representation in quota versus non-quota countries. To address this general question, I consider the following three hypotheses.

H1. I hypothesize that countries with quotas imposed by law will increase the percentage of women in the legislature to a greater extent than countries with quotas adopted by parties. I expect that the movement for gender equality is more effective when legislated by government than when voluntarily promoted by individual parties. The first reason for this expectation is that legislated quotas apply to all parties, while party quotas only apply to individual parties. Because legislated quotas will impact all parties in a system at once instead of impacting one party at a time, it is reasonable to expect legislated

quotas to increase the percentage of women in the legislature more quickly than party quotas would. The second reason for this expectation is that there are structured consequences for parties that fail to meet legislated quotas, such as limited funding. On the other hand, party-set quotas have little if any enforcement mechanism.

H2. I hypothesize that countries that implement quotas through reserving seats in the legislature for women will increase the percentage of women in the legislature to a greater extent than countries that implement quotas through legislating a percentage of candidates that must be women or than countries in which parties voluntarily implement quotas through supplying a percentage of candidates that are women. The reason for this expectation is that any potential of voter choice negatively impacting the election of women is eliminated by reserved seats. Alternatively, even when a high percentage of candidates on a list of potential legislators are women, voters may choose to elect mostly men. The possibility of voters choosing men over women from a list is amplified by different ways lists can work or where women are on the list. The process of legislated or voluntary candidate quotas seems to focus on increasing the number of women in the legislature by increasing the number of women in the candidate pool; however, the third step in the election process (as mentioned above) is dependent entirely on voters (Norris 1987, 1999). Reserved seats focuses on the increase of women who are able to overcome potential barriers in that final step while also requiring that a number of women run if for no other reason than filling a seat reserved for a woman.

H3. I hypothesize that countries that have electoral systems based on the principle of lists (or multiple winners per race) will increase the percentage of women in the legislature to a greater extent than countries that have electoral systems based on the principle of plurality (or a single winner per race) or countries that combine the

two types of electoral systems. The academic literature suggests that systems which elect candidates through lists elect more women to office than do systems which elect candidates through plurality (Norris 1985; Rule 1987; Matland 1998; Kenworthy & Malami 1999; Reynolds 1999; Siaroff 2000; Moser 2001; Paxton & Kunovich 2003). Norris (2006) claims that “Women proved almost twice as likely to be elected under proportional than under majoritarian electoral systems” (201). She attributes this specifically to the electoral system. One possible reason for this finding is that in list systems, party leaders look for a group of candidates diverse enough to attract attention from every demographic (Matland and King 2002). In plurality systems, each candidate must run on his or her own terms, so diversity may not play as much of a role as an impressive resume or access to funding. Women may be more limited in these areas simply because women have not been in the political game as long as men have. Kenworthy and Malami (1999) suggest that the smaller the number of candidates, the more important identity is to voters. They claim that in list systems, including women on a party list presents a balanced and wholesome approach while running a sole woman candidate in a plurality system can cause those who are less comfortable with women in political roles not to vote for that party or candidate. This approach leads me to expect that systems that work on lists will increase the number of women in the legislature to a greater extent than will countries that work solely or partially on the principle of plurality.

Research Design

The goal of this research is to determine the impact of gender quotas, depending on variation in imposing agency, type of quota, and country’s electoral system, on the election of women to national legislatures. To that end, I observe the percentage of women in

individual national legislatures over a six-year period, three years before and three years after the introduction of a gender quota. I chose a six-year window because in each country I observed, there was at least one election for the national legislature in the three years following the institution of the quota. Any period longer than three years after the quota introduction would have severely limited my data set because so many quotas were introduced in the 1980s and 1990s, before organizations began collecting regular and reliable data on the number of women in national legislatures. I measured the percentage of women in national legislatures for each year in the month of June because that data was more consistently collected than some other months. I gathered data regarding the percentage of women in each national legislature from the Inter-Parliamentary Union's website and archives.¹³

I limited my research to lower houses or houses of the people for two reasons. First, these houses, which I shall refer to collectively as lower houses, are often designed to be more reflective of the voter's desires or to be more representative than higher houses (for example, the House of Commons versus the House of Lords in the United Kingdom). Thus, to examine voter's desires regarding women and to measure to how proportionately women are represented based on their gender, I only included quotas affecting the lower houses, and my data on the representation of women comes only from lower houses. Second, there is much more data available regarding lower houses, while data on women in the legislature are far less available for the higher houses. I gathered all of my data regarding quotas imposed on lower houses from the Quota Project website.¹⁴

¹³ <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010615.htm>

¹⁴ <http://www.quotaproject.org>

Starting with a list of all democratic countries known to have quotas that affect their lower houses (N=112), I eliminated countries from the data set for one of five reasons. First, in the cases of some party-imposed quotas, the nature of the available data was such that I was not able to discover the years quotas were instituted (N=12). Without these years, I was unable to ascertain which elections were influenced by the quotas and which were not. Second, I eliminated countries which experienced an electoral transition that reshaped elections during the time span three years before and three years after the institution of a quota (N=5). These countries experienced such an overhaul of their electoral systems that I was unable to parse the impact of the transition from the impact of the quota, thus making any data I had on the impact of quotas in that country potentially misleading. Third, I eliminated countries for which there was no recorded data for the percentage of women over the time span three years before and three years after the institution of a quota (N=4). This prevented me from measuring the increase in the number of women and therefore from determining the impact of the quota. Fourth, I was unable to examine countries where the quota was instituted before 2001 (N=20). Reliable and regular data has been collected on the number of women in national legislatures since 1998, so either I was unable to determine the number of women in legislatures before 2001 or the data I could find was so varied in collection length that I was unable to make a consistent time frame to examine for my project. Fifth, and similarly, I could not include countries where the quota was instituted after 2012 (N=11). In these cases, three years has not yet passed, so to include these countries would have been inconsistent with the rest of the data gathering process and potentially misleading as some of these countries have not experienced an election since the implementation of the quota.

The remaining data set features 60 countries (see Table 1 below). I will detail the distribution for each of these factors as I address them. As regards region, the majority of these 60 countries comes from the region of Africa and the least from the region of Oceania. These countries span a wide range of gross domestic product per capita (measured below in thousands of international dollars in 2012).¹⁵ The GDP per capita can imply information about a country or group of countries' level of development, educational opportunities, workforce, and healthcare availability; future research might investigate a potential link between these factors and the successful or unsuccessful implementation of quotas.

My first hypothesis concerns the agency imposing the quota. In 49 countries, the quota was imposed by electoral law or the state constitution; in the remaining 11, the quota was imposed by one or more major political parties (see Table 1). This set of data on party-imposed quotas is limited by the fact that parties do not necessarily advertise or report the years in which they implement quotas. The smaller sample of countries where quotas were imposed by parties is mostly comprised of countries in Europe (36% of this sample) and least represented the region of Asia (9% of this sample). This may be because countries in the region of Africa have become developed or democratic under more international pressure and, as previously discussed, international actors do have the power to influence these democracies. Their influence could explain why the region with more of these countries, Africa, has more legally enforced quotas than the region with more long-standing governments, Europe. More research ought to be done on the connection between international influences and quota agency type.

¹⁵ http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?order=wbapi_data_value_2012+wbapi_data_value+wbapi_data_value-last&sort=desc

The second factor potentially affecting the success of quotas is the type of quota instituted. I examine countries that feature legislated candidate quotas (N=32), reserved seats (N=17), and voluntary candidate quotas (N=11). Under legislated candidate quotas, a certain percentage of candidates must be of a particular gender (usually women). This type of quota can also mandate in what order men and women should appear on ballots (for example, a legislated candidate zipper quota mandates that the ballot alternate between genders). Under reserved seats as a quota, a certain percentage of the positions in the legislature must be filled by women. If men win more votes than women, they may lose their seats to women in order to fulfill this quota. Under voluntary candidate quotas, parties choose a certain percentage of their own candidates from a specific gender (usually women). Within these samples, Europe is most represented (at 36% of this sample) in voluntary candidate quotas, perhaps for the same reasons that it is most represented in countries where the party is the imposing agency as mentioned above. Africa and Asia were predominant in countries that use reserved seats quotas (at 53% and 41% respectively of that sample), with America and Europe were far less likely to use reserved seats quotas (at 6% and 0% respectively).

The third factor affecting the success of implementing gender quotas for national legislatures is type of electoral system. I grouped the many types of systems into four groups because, while each of these systems vary in important ways, one separation in particular may influence the election of women differently. That separation is list systems as opposed to plurality systems. List systems, in which there are or can be multiple winners from a single race, included Single Transferable Vote, Single Non-Transferrable Vote, Alternative Vote, Mixed Member Proportional, and List Proportional Representation Systems (N=37). Plurality systems, in which only one candidate can win a given race, include First Past the Post and Two-Round Systems

(N=12). Systems that use a combination of list and plurality systems include those who use a Parallel System or multiple systems, combining the results (N=8). Lastly, three systems had such limited data available on their electoral processes that it was not possible to classify them in one of the three aforementioned types of electoral system (N=3). Countries in the region of Africa tended toward plurality systems (making up 58% of that sample), but the other systems were distributed fairly evenly among the regions.

Analysis

I expected quotas instituted by electoral law to be more successful in increasing the number of women in the legislature than quotas instituted by parties (H1). My results were consistent with this hypothesis. Countries that imposed quotas by law saw an average increase of 7.7 percentage points more women in their legislatures over the six year time period surrounding the institution of the quota (see Figure 1 below). Countries in which parties voluntarily imposed quotas saw a smaller average of a 4.4 percentage point increase in the number of women in their legislature during the same time frame. This suggests that legislated quotas, imposed through constitutions or electoral laws, are more effective in placing women in the legislature than are voluntary party quotas, perhaps because of the larger scope of a legislated quota or because of the more definite consequences of not fulfilling a legislated quota.

I hypothesized that reserved seats would be the most effective type of quota in increasing the number of women in the legislature (H2). The results I found were once again consistent with that hypothesis. Countries that instituted reserved seats quotas boasted an 8.5 point average increase in the percentage of women in the legislature, while legislated candidate quotas followed with a 7.2 point

gain (see Figure 2 below). Voluntary candidate quotas showed a much smaller 4.4 point increase. These numbers may be indicative of many of the same phenomena that are at work regarding the question of imposing agency, as the two more effective types of quotas are both legislated while the third is voluntarily adopted by the party. The small difference between the changes in reserved seats and in legislated candidate quotas, compared to the larger drop-off of voluntary candidate quotas, would support the idea that imposing agency plays a role in type of quota as well. However, the small variation between reserved seats and legislated candidate quotas indicates that the override of voter choice may have a positive impact on the number of women in the legislature.

I expected that list electoral systems would increase the percentage of women in the legislature to a greater extent than plurality or mixed electoral systems (H3). I did find a small difference between list and plurality systems. The average list system increased the number of women in the legislature by 6.8 points, while the average plurality system did so by 5.4 points (see Figure 3 below). However, the hypothesis was not supported regarding mixed electoral systems. These eight systems averaged an 11.0 point increase in the number of women in their electoral systems, significantly higher than either list or plurality system averages. It seems that systems that incorporate aspects of both list and plurality manage to find the best of both worlds in regard to gender quotas. Especially as this is a step away from the current common consensus, this is an area where further research is needed.

In sum, electoral law and reserved seats were associated with more successful quota implementation. With regard to electoral system, however, the imposition of a quota in a mixed system was most consequential.

Conclusion

Even as half of the people on the planet, women systematically have less access to and opportunity to shape government in their countries than men do. One clear manifestation of this inequality is visible in the proportion of men and women in national legislatures. Despite the advances being made by the women's equality movements around the globe, the number of women legislatures is an area that still has marked inequality. This inequality causes women to have less access to political power and causes the government to have less representation of women's interests and a less diverse and descriptive perspective within the legislature.

One proposed solution to this problem is the implementation of gender quotas. While implementing quotas does not necessitate better representation of women's issues or an improved general societal view of women's capabilities in public roles, research indicates that implementing quotas does increase the number of women in legislatures.

My analysis suggests that those interested in the representation of women should be very attentive to the design of quotas and the impact that has on the success of such quotas. The vast variations among quotas, such as imposing agency, quota type, and electoral system, prompt significantly different results for different quotas. If the goal of activists is to see more women elected to the legislature, it is important to understand under what conditions quotas are more or less successful at achieving that goal. I find that quotas imposed by law were more successful than quotas imposed by individual parties; that reserved seats quotas were more successful than legislated candidate quotas or voluntary candidate quotas; and

that quotas in mixed electoral systems were more successful than quotas in either list or plurality systems.

A number of key questions remain unanswered. First, what effect do other factors have on the presence of women in the legislature? Possible other factors include the presence of a women's movement, prevalence of religions with restrictive gender roles, presence of media which opposes the election of women, higher education levels for women, higher workforce participation rates for women, and funding differences between male and female candidates.

Second, do women elected through quotas legislate differently from women elected through traditional methods? If so, how? Possible differences may include the number of coalitions or connections formed with other legislators, the confidence level of the legislator, the number of bills the legislator introduces and how many of those bills are heard, and the issues the legislator focuses on.

Third, does society punish women elected through quotas through approval ratings or chances of reelection? Is there a general view of a woman elected through a quota as being less capable as a legislator than a woman elected through traditional methods? If so, does this view change? Factors that may prompt a change in the perception of women in the legislature and may also vary depending on how the woman was elected include time passed since the election, the level of activity of the legislator in the legislature, the level of activity of the legislator in the district, and success of bills introduced or supported by the legislator.

Fourth, are quotas a political tool that is most effective when it is imposed consistently over time, or are quotas better used as a stimulus or shot of adrenaline that will no longer be necessary someday? In other words, are quotas more effective when permanent or temporary?

Fifth, what effect do quotas have on racial, ethnic, and religious minorities? Especially in cases where these minorities face a lack of political power, how do women in those minority groups interact with the political system? How does it interact with them? What would impact the success of a double quota designed to elect candidates who are doubly discriminated against, such as a woman in a minority religion?

Given the variety among quotas, we should not be surprised that the differences in factors that affect their implementation can be significant. The particular aspects of a given quota can and do shape its success or failure. As activists continue to promote the adoption of quotas, they should keep in mind factors that will affect their desired outcomes, such as the imposing agency, the type of quota, and the electoral system in which the quota is implemented. Understanding the contexts of these quotas can mean the difference between Pakistan's 19% post-quota increase and Kyrgyzstan's post-quota 2.3% decrease in the percentage of women in the national legislature.

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**Age, Gender, and Power-A Disappointing Joke in Gawain and
the Green Knight**

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Comedic stories have the potential to subvert or support traditional power dynamics: via plot twists, the unexpected underdog can rise to the top; or, further plot twists can “play it safe” and empower, or re-empower, someone more predictable. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, a poem which falls into several genres including comedy, adopts the latter strategy. Though every major character in the poem is upper-class, they are far from equal: both age and gender place characters firmly in their place on the social ladder. In the patriarchal world of the poem, age affects the status of two genders differently: while for men, increasing age leads to increasing status, the opposite is true for women. The element of suspense questions these traditional assumptions, and as the story builds, characters interact in different combinations of age and gender which become increasingly subversive. However, the greatest “joke” of the poem is to restore normalcy and safeness by revealing that the character who typifies oldness and maleness – Bertilak – was in control the whole time.

The poem begins with the tale of the founding of Britain and transitions abruptly into the uneasily youthful court of Camelot. While “brode Bretayn” has experienced “boþe blysse and blunder,” the Arthurian court knows only “all þe wele of þe world”, for “al watz þis fayre folk in her first age” (14, 18, 50, 54). While readers are still grappling with the dizzying length of time covered and the complexities of a country’s fate, the nobles at court are incredibly myopic and lack any sense of perspective. This naïvety is reinforced by this poem’s existence in the greater canon of Arthurian literature – readers, medieval and modern, are so aware of Camelot’s impending doom that the poet employs dramatic irony without even directly referring to this destruction. With this knowledge assumed, the poet’s hyperbolic descriptions of the court’s glory become poignant testaments to the foolishness and fleetingness of youth: “Þe most kyd knyȝtez under Krystes Seluen / And þe louelokkest ladies þat euer lif haden, / And he

þe comlokest king, þat þe court haldes" (51-3). This passage is the first to show the intersection of age and gender: while all the nobles are young, the men are "most kyd" – defined by their fame – while the women are "louelokkest" – defined by their appearance. The "historical" tone set by the first stanza stresses the longevity of fame; and, since fame is now set in a gendered dichotomy against beauty, the poem has already implied that the "kyd" men will be remembered better than the "louely" women.

Interestingly, however, Arthur's defining tribute is also his beauty. Though "comly" also connotes "nobility" while "louely" has more to do with "pleasing," the use of outer beauty to describe Arthur hints that his other features, such as his personality or even the power he commands, might not be describable in positive superlatives. Indeed, when the Green Knight enters the hall, Arthur quickly loses control of the court's attention and of the possible danger around them; when Gawain sets off to meet his apparent doom, the courtiers exclaim, "Who knew euer any kyng such counsel to take / As kn3tez in cauelaciounz on Crystmasse gomnez?" (682-3) Arthur is blatantly criticized by his inferiors for having no sense of perspective: the young courtiers have now gained enough experience to recognize that "gomnez" are not worth mortal peril. The flawed characterization of Arthur demonstrates that, for men, youthfulness can damage one's ability to command power.

The Green Knight is also described in superlative: he is "þe most on þe molde on mesure hyghe" (137). He is attractive, like Arthur, in spite of his size: "þe myriest in his muckel" (142). He is even, as the bob of his first stanza emphasizes, "Ful clene," which connotes not only beauty but cleanliness and moral and sexual purity – an ironic distinction, considering that he is in disguise and harboring a mean-spirited plot (146). But his beauty is certainly not his most commanding feature, and the Green Knight's ability to shock and

control the court derives not only from his magical greenness and largeness, but from his beard – a “much berd as a busk” – which represents his age and masculinity (182). After bursting into the court on his horse, “Haylsed he neuer one bot heze he ouerlokod... ‘Wher is...þe gouernour of þis gyng?’” (223-5) The mysterious stranger not only dares to speak first, but demands the attention of the leader.

Arthur, “for rad was he neuer,” addresses him, but misinterprets his challenge to a game as a challenge to fight: “If þou craue batayl bare, / Here faylez þou not to fyzt” (251, 277-8). The Green Knight taunts back: “Nay, frayst I no fyzt...Hit arn aboute on þis bench bot berdlez chylder” (279-80). The Green Knight claims that the knights’ youthfulness makes them unsuitable challenges in a proper battle, but fair opponents for a “Crystemas gomen” (283). Since the reader has already been exposed to the contrast between the complex history of Britain and the short-sighted giddiness of Arthur’s young court, the reader may partly agree with the Green Knight’s condescending attitude, even if it is somewhat infuriating. His joke is made at the expense of the younger men and reinforces the traditional idea that men gain power with age; Arthur’s brash actions place him at a far lower status than the Green Knight in the eyes of all.

The opposite power dynamic holds for women, as a passage from much later in the poem demonstrates. Bertilak’s wife “lyst...to loke on þe knyzt” so she approaches him, thereby asserting her own agency (941). However, the poem quickly loses interest in her desires and enters the harsh male gaze, and it is not clear whether this is the gaze of the narrator or Gawain himself: the wife is “fayrest in felle, of flesche and of lyre / And of compass and color and costs, of alle oþer, / And wener þen Wenore, as þe wyse þost” (943-5). According to the rules set forth earlier in the poem, men derive their power from their fame, and women from their looks; Bertilak’s wife therefore challenges not only Guinevere’s beauty, but her power. The comparison “wener

ben Wenore” is so strongly embedded into the structure of the poem that “wener” and “Wenore” are only one letter apart, a rich device in a piece in which alliteration is so essential. Though both women are presumably the same age, Bertilak’s wife excels in performing the female pathway to power: to be beautiful.

While the comparison between the wife and Guinevere, two young women, is therefore stylistically strong, the comparison between the wife and her older companion is graphically described at length. The comparison begins, “Bot vnylke on to loke þo ladyes were: For if þe 3onge was yep, 3ol3e watz þat ober,” and continues for eighteen more lines, ending with the cruelly comedic wheel: “Hir [the older woman’s] body watz short and þik, / Hir buttokez bal3 and brode; / More lykkerwys on to lyk / Watz þat scho hade on lode” (950-69). Like “berdlez chylder,” this obscene wheel pokes fun at those ranked lower according to traditional understandings of power: in this case, elderly women. Boys without beards cannot “fy3t,” and women without youthful beauty are not “lykkerwys on to lyk;” without these age-centric attributes, these low-status figures are unable to perform their gendered functions.

During the Christmas celebrations at Bertilak’s house, activities are strictly separated by a gender binary: Bertilak and his men enjoy wild and violent hunts of increasingly tricky animals, while Gawain spends his days sleeping in and enduring the romantic pursuit of the beautiful lady. The gendered separation of these activities is embedded in the structure of the poem: three times, the poet first describes the chase of the hunt, followed by the bedroom temptation in which an increasing number of kisses are exchanged, and finally the capture and vivid slaughter of the beast. Even though the sympathetic courtiers had earlier disparaged “Crystmasse gomnez,” the poet now indulges in three games: the “Beheading Game” between Gawain and the Green Knight, the “Exchange of Winnings Game” between Gawain and

Bertilak, and the “Structural Metaphor Game” between the poet and the reader. Since the masculine hunt and the feminine temptation are paired off so obviously, the reader is forced to ponder which element in one reflects which element in the other: Is Gawain or the lady the slaughtered beast? Do the kisses, an unspoken betrayal, represent death? If Bertilak always triumphs in the hunt, who always triumphs in the temptations? The poet hints at these answers with socially subversive red herrings, but ultimately this potential to undermine tradition falls flat.

Just as Bertilak’s wife is first introduced with a hint at her own agency, which is quickly covered up by the male prerogative of comparing her beauty to other women, her developments in the story hint that she actually holds incredible power, but this empowerment turns out to be a trick of Bertilak’s plot and the poet’s comedic suspense. She seems to be acting upon her own rebellious agency by betraying her older husband and cleverly plying the stubbornly chaste Gawain. If these motivations were true, and if she had succeeded in obtaining Gawain’s love while keeping her husband’s wealth, the poem would uphold the unconventional triumph of a younger woman over an older man. This potential reaches its most convincing heights when the wife convinces Gawain to take her belt as a love-gift with this magical promise:

‘For quat gome so is gorde with þis grene lace,
While he hit hade hemely halched aboute
þer is no hapel vnder heuen to hewe hym þat myȝt,
For he myȝt not be slayn for slyȝt vpon erþe.’ (1851-1854)

The power of the belt, explained in a woman’s voice, could cunningly undermine the Green Knight’s seemingly murderous plot. At this point, the uncritical reader has little reason to suspect that she is lying, since

the motivations for her pursuit of Gawain have seemed so obvious: her own independent desire for him. It is easy to agree with Gawain that taking the belt would be the most intelligent strategy to save his life. By making the frightened but intelligent Gawain accept the belt, the poet brilliantly misleads the gullible reader.

A more discerning reader, however, can already spot the problematic nature of the wife's gift: firstly, according to the rules of the "Exchange of Winnings Game," Gawain must give up the belt to Bertilak. Secondly, according to the unspoken rules of marriage, to accept such a sexually-loaded gift would be to threaten the marriage of his hosts. Thirdly, and most suspiciously, the belt is "grene," which subtly connects it to the Green Knight. Gawain is aware of the first two problems, but he decides to risk them in favor of his life. His hasty decision ultimately becomes the dramatic and moralistic crux of the entire poem, since the final conflict of the poem concerns Gawain dealing with his humiliation, the nick on his neck, his replacement of the Pentangle with the green belt, and his difficulties reconciling the knightly virtues which are emphasized consistently throughout the whole piece. Gawain's actions, then, are more poetically significant than the wife's. Gawain's morality is ambiguous, but hers is not – she has bare-facedly lied – and yet there is no concern for her soul or reputation, as there is for Gawain.

Though Gawain dwells upon on the first two problems of the love-gift, he does not appreciate the significance of the greenness of the belt until it is too late. As Bertilak, in the form of the Green Knight, explains:

'For hit is my wede þat þou werez, þat ilke wouen girdle.

Myn owen wyf hit þe weued, I wot wel forsoþe.

Now know I wel þy cosses and þy costs als,

And þe wowing of my wyf. I wrogt hit myseluen.' (2358-61)

Interestingly, both the wife's false explanation of the powers of the belt and the husband's true explanation of his ownership of the belt begin with "For," a word which lends the speakers an equal amount of authority, but which only the latter deserves. The dramatic plot twist of his explanations upends the possibility that the low-status woman was outsmarting her high-status husband – indeed, the wife was not acting with any agency of her own, but was actually obeying her husband. Though she may have been indirectly enjoying the temptation, since Gawain is handsome and intelligent, the poem does not explain her feelings or motivations directly, and she does not appear in the story again.

The most disappointing factor in this plot twist is not that it simply removes power from a younger woman and grants it to an older man, but that it does so in such a twisted and absurd manner – for therein lies the comedy. In a patriarchal society, there are few greater acts of rebelliousness than a wife seducing another man; therefore, the humor of the poem is that her actions were not rebellious at all, but carried out in obedience to her husband's wishes. Bertilak desired to bring about the downfall of another man by having his own wife seduce him, and, as preposterous as this might seem, the butt of the joke is not the cuckolded Bertilak but the naïve Gawain – like the "berdlez chylder" and the brash Arthur, Gawain's youthfulness and inexperience is his greatest humiliation, and the supremacy of masculine oldness is maintained.

Finally, a further plot twist might seem to re-challenge Bertilak – to take the power away from him and grant it to the figure of the lowest status, the elderly woman. However, if one closely examines entire brief character development for Morgan le Faye, one may interpret that Bertilak still maintains his rank as the most powerful:

'Þurȝ myȝt of Morgne la Faye, þat in my hous lenges,
And koyntyse of clergye, bi craftes wel lerned –
Þe maystrés of Merlyn mony ho hatz taken,
For ho hatz dalt drwry ful dere sumtyme
With þat conable klerk; þat knowes alle your knyȝtez
At hame.

Morgne þe goddes
Þerfore hit is hir name;
Weldez none so hyȝe hawtesse
Þat ho ne con make ful tame –

'Ho wayned me vpon þis wyse to your wyne halle
For to assay þe surquidrè, ȝif hit soth were
Þat rennes of þe grete renoun of þe Round Table;
Ho wayned me þis wonder your wyttez to reue,
For to haf greued Gaynour and gart hir to dyȝe...
Þat is ho þat is at home, þe auncian lady.' (2446-60, 63)

Bertilak explains that Morgan le Faye turned him green in order to test the “grete renoun” of the Round Table and to frighten Guinevere. He respectfully, even worshipfully, calls her “þe goddess” and refers to her “myȝt” and her ability to “tame” even the haughtiest. Nevertheless, he opens and closes the passage by asserting that she lives in his house – “þat in my hous lenges” and “Þat is ho þat is at home” – and therefore claiming a measure of ownership over her. If he considers her a goddess, he also considers her his goddess. Furthermore, he emphasizes the masculinity of her powers by using the word “clergye” to mean “learning,” though the primary definition of the term is of course “clergy,” a profession from which women were barred, and he credits Merlin as the source of her powers. By emphasizing the

masculine nature of her powers, Bertilak argues that women can only obtain power if they become more like men.

Most distressingly, Bertilak primarily labels Morgan by her supposed sexual history. He uses “maystrés” to describe her “arts,” clearly punning on “mistress” and hinting at a sexual relationship with Merlin. The labeling becomes more explicit in the next line, when he dwells upon the fact that she “dalt drwry ful dere sumtyme” with the blameless Merlin, who is a friend of Arthur’s court. He ends the passage by reminding Gawain of Morgan’s oldness – “þe auncian lady” – which, like “berdlez chylder,” is meant as a mean-spirited joke to put Morgan in her place. Lastly, it should be emphasized that Morgan’s part is explained through the words of Bertilak – Morgan never receives an opportunity to speak in the entire poem – and that this passage is extremely short, and Gawain does not even act surprised or react at all to the twist. Morgan’s role is merely a tacked-on plot device to explain the magic. The story is not, for any significant length of time or relevance to greater themes, about the conflict between Morgan and Guinevere, a conflict which was understood and expected by the medieval audience. The conflict is instead between Gawain and the Green Knight, and the older figure triumphs.

Through a series of plot twists, the author of *Gawain and the Green Knight* deals with issues of age and gender in a complex and mature manner. The poet is well-aware of the expectations of a patriarchal society, and his characters play off these expectations in unexpected and humorous ways: Arthur foolishly challenges an older half-giant to a fight; Gawain awkwardly navigates an attempted extramarital affair; Bertilak commands his wife to pretend to love another man. These unusual behaviors build suspense, as the reader prepares himself or herself for a surprise; but if the reader was expecting a subversive challenge to the traditional distribution of power, he or she will end the poem disappointed. The gender binary is

strictly enforced by the adjectives “kyd” and “louely” and by the structure of the hunt-temptation scenes; female agency, both the wife’s and Morgan’s, is undermined by concern for their appearance and sexual histories and marital duties; both Arthur and Gawain are made into fools by their youthfulness and inexperience. The comedic poem begins and ends in laughter at Arthur’s court, but the ending laughter is tainted by the safe reinforcement of the patriarchy.

**“Bad Bitch” or Just a “Bitch”: The Mean Girls of High School
Films**

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To be a “bitch,” according to the 1970 publication *The BITCH Manifesto*, is to take up “a lot of psychological space,” be a subject, not an object, and “be capable of doing anything [you] damn well want to.” A bitch “is never a ‘true woman,’” but a bitch does not have to be a woman at all. A bitch is all of the following:

aggressive, assertive, domineering, overbearing, strong-minded, spiteful, hostile, direct, blunt, candid, obnoxious, thick-skinned, hard-headed, vicious, dogmatic, competent, competitive, pushy, loud-mouthed, independent, stubborn, demanding, manipulative, egoistic, driven, achieving, overwhelming, threatening, scary, ambitious, tough, brassy, masculine, boisterous, and turbulent.

Perhaps most importantly, “‘bitch’ serves the social function of isolating and discrediting a class of people who do not conform to the socially accepted patterns of behavior” (Joreen). At the present convergence point between third-wave and postfeminist ideologies, the term has undergone substantial evaluation under the scrutiny of debate over whether or not feminists can successfully reclaim what hundreds of years’ worth of people have considered a highly derogatory term for a woman, girl, or submissive man.

Regardless of the answer, the distinguishing features that make up the “bitch” stereotype have worked their way from mainstream popular culture and films into teen- and tween-oriented movies, although the films do not always identify these characters as such. In *Mean Girls* (2004), for example, social outcast Janis Ian identifies the it-girls of her high school, “The Plastics,” as “those bitches,” but *High School Musical* (2006) cannot verbally label the student cast as the it-girl, cool-girl, or the queen bee—Sharpay Evans—as a bitch due to the film’s slightly younger target demographic. Even still, the telltale characteristics of a bitch plainly appear in this and

other tween-oriented Disney productions, raising questions about the helpful or harmful nature of the trope and its effect on young viewers. Situated as these films are in the liminal space between child and adult audiences and third-wave and postfeminist discourse, their treatment of strong, central female characters complicates expectations for the bitch character among older audiences and challenges young viewers to consider what these it-girls really represent. The fiercely powerful Regina George of *Mean Girls* and Sharpay Evans of *High School Musical* take on traditionally masculine qualities in maintaining their premier social status but, in playing the bitch, both paradoxically do a greater service to patriarchal standards by simultaneously acting as primary enforcers of established social norms in their respective schools.

As outlined in “The BITCH Manifesto,” the term “bitch” carries both positive and negative connotations in contemporary vernacular, but a particular subcategory of bitch merits attention as a potentially positive signifier as well. Stemming first from Nicki Minaj’s song, “I Get Crazy,” the phrase “bad bitch mentality” incorporates the concept of a so-called “bad bitch,” a more positive moniker that implies assertiveness and confidence—essentially, the most positive of the bitch-related adjectives listed above. The “bad bitch mentality,” in essence, involves “having the mindset that you can do anything and everything you want to in this world even if everyone tells you no you cant [sic]. ... Girls with a Bad Bitch Mentality ... NEVER give up and that is why they succeed” (lola day). That being said, the word “bitch” by itself, and its presence in the positive construction of a “bad bitch,” still problematically refers both positively and negatively to women and girls—for the purposes of this paper, its application to men will not be further considered. Courtney Lehmann explains the two sides:

The bitch is unique to postmodern culture in that she has migrated into the mainstream as *the* pop-cultural representation of the contemporary feminist. Through a

maculinit [sic] lens, the bitch is a single, professional, power-hungry female ... relaying the culturally conservative message that women's professional success must entail chronic dissatisfaction with their personal lives. However, the bitch has also been appropriated as a distinctly feminist figure whose key behavioral attribute is her commitment to raging against the machine. (Lehmann 266)

Neither the "professional" nor the "feminist figure" find a place in *Mean Girls* or *High School Musical*, logically, because the teenaged characters represent teenage tropes rather than adult stereotypes; however, aspects of the "power-hungry female" emerge. Regina and Sharpay both maintain their power over their high school social scenes through calculated tactics and perfect gender hyper-performativity, to be further discussed later, which gives them the enviable it-factor over other girls in their social environments. In fact, precisely because Regina and Sharpay offer no evidence of wanting to "[rage] against the machine"—that is, to rebel against the rigidly structured social hierarchies in their high schools—viewers must critically analyze them as characters that likely serve a hegemonic rather than subversive function.

Establishing Regina and Sharpay's qualifications as queen bees and bitches will greatly illuminate the later exploration of exactly how Regina and Sharpay function as patriarchal stereotypes in the plot of *Mean Girls* and *High School Musical*. Lehmann critiques the "postmodern" dichotomy in pop culture representations of the bitch as being "either a psychotic sexual predator or as a barren ice queen" (266). Interestingly, Regina and Sharpay could very well represent that exact dualism. When Sharpay first appears onscreen in *High School Musical*, she does not speak or acknowledge anyone; rather, she walks through a crowd of basketball players—including superstar athlete and

main character Troy Bolton—as they part ways in silent awe (of her splendor or audacity, it is not clear) to let her pass. One jock remarks, “The ice princess returned from the North Pole!” thus linking Sharpay, “the ice princess” directly to Lehmann’s “ice queen.”

On the other hand, Janis introduces the audience, by way of new girl in school Cady Heron, to the idea of Regina as seemingly “like your typical selfish, back-stabbing, slut-faced ho-bag. But in reality, she is so much more than that.” Janis’s acerbic remarks reflect Regina’s notoriety for her sexual availability as well as the elusive quality that makes her “the queen bee, the star,” above her cronies, Gretchen Wieners and Karen Smith. It is worth noting that the BITCH Manifesto suggest bitches do not incite sexual desire due to their harsh, masculine-coded behavior, but in this case Regina takes on many of the characteristics Joreen describes while simultaneously performing hyperfemininity, a quintessentially third-wave-inspired duality I will explore later. Although “psychotic sexual predator” might be a bit strong for Regina, she still constantly flaunts her sexuality, and the film makes several subtle comments suggesting she might even suffer from a personality or mood disorder—in the end, “her physical therapist [teaches] her to channel all her rage into sports,” thus alleviating her need to dominate the social scene and possibly fulfilling the “psychotic” part of “psychotic sexual predator.” From these initial introductions, both Regina and Cady, just juniors in high school, exemplify competing aspects of what usually makes up an adult bitch in pop culture.

In both *Mean Girls* and *High School Musical*, the stereotype makes an obvious appearance thanks to the foil characters created by similarly structured new-girl plots and the high school setting of the two stories. The setup is identical: good girl and brainiac Cady Heron/Gabriella Montez (of *Mean Girls/High School Musical*, respectively) enters the junior class of a huge, unfamiliar public school for the first time. She quickly falls in with her eventual best friend Janis

Ian/Taylor McKessie, who immediately advises her on the school's rigid social hierarchy by guiding her through the lunchroom. Cady/Gabriella demonstrates an interest in the it-guy Aaron Samuels/Troy Bolton, as well as activities outside her approved social clique. One key difference arises here—although both protagonists are excellent at math, Cady's popular clique tells her competing as a mathlete would be “social suicide” (*Mean Girls*). The Scholastic Decathlon team takes in Gabriella, however, so for her academics are pushed over trying out for the school musical. In both cases, queen bee (or bitch) Regina George/Sharpay Evans takes notice of Cady/Gabriella's nonconformity and, as the boss or the bitch in charge, reacts to the perceived threat over the course of the movie. Resnick explains of *Mean Girls* (though the argument holds for *High School Musical*), “The film's device of ‘the new student’ allows the audience to indulge in one of the great challenges of adolescence: How do I fit in?” (102). The question, I argue, sets up the fundamental tension between the queen bee and commoner, hegemony and the subversive Other, and bitch and nice girl that drives these two movies.

The queen bees make their rules explicit. Less than ten minutes into *Mean Girls*, Cady receives an abrupt introduction to the North Shore cafeteria, in which every clique occupies not only an ideological space on the social hierarchy but also a physical space at specific tables as well. Janis draws her a map that slowly comes to life on screen, revealing a social order so regimented it can be represented by boxes on a page of college-ruled paper. At the center, of course, are the Plastics, just as in *High School Musical* Sharpay sits with her twin brother Ryan and the absolutely silent drama geeks at a table atop all others, physically located in what equates to the heavens in the lofty two-story cafeteria. The BITCH manifesto declared bitches to be “assertive,” “independent,” “domineering,” and “stubborn”; accordingly, we see Regina and Sharpay voluntarily separate themselves in order to assert their exclusivity, or dominance over their social spheres

(Joreen). Unlike Regina, Sharpay does actually enter the general crowd; she descends the staircase during the hegemonic anthem “Stick to the Status Quo” as members of each clique begin to reveal their “secret obsession[s]” that do not fit the images of their groups—in the case, the jocks, brainiacs and skater dudes (*High School Musical*). When Gabriella slips and spills a tray of nachos on Sharpay’s crisp pink suit jacket, though, Sharpay releases her wrath with full fury, unveiling the “aggressive” and “spiteful” side of her bitch complex (Joreen).

Regina and Sharpay further enact the “strong-minded” and “hard-headed” aspects of bitchiness by refusing to compromise the established social order—and they have no reason to compromise because they benefit from the settled structure (Joreen). As the East High students in *High School Musical* reveal in their school-wide dance break for “Stick to the Status Quo,” every student fits into the social structure somewhere—and once placed, moving from one group to another is impossible. For her part, Regina ensures immobility by cutting down anyone who challenges her. She stands alone as “a master of rumor and character assassination, ready to eliminate any pretender to her throne as most popular (and powerful) girl in the school” (Resnick 102). These constraints allow for Regina and Sharpay to sit atop the social ladder without threat until the new girls arrive. Notably, in both cases no men rule over the schools with these queen bees. Troy Bolton might be more popular than Sharpay, but he does not exert the same influence she does. Furthermore, Resnick argues, “the Queen Bee phenomenon itself is (in Gilligan’s terms) a borrowing of the male hierarchic social structure of domination rather than the normative female structures of networking and connection” (105). Thus, in the uneven power dynamic and Regina’s and Sharpay’s bids to maintain control over it, viewers can begin to see how these queen bees emulate positive aspects of the bitch mentality such as drive and ambition while

at the same time perpetuating the patriarchal practice of their own dominion.

Beyond maintaining their place in the social order by promoting the ideologies of clique organization, Regina and Sharpay express their authority by performing femininity better than anyone else. Physically and visually isolated as they are from the commonfolk of their public high schools, Regina and Sharpay seemingly beg to be viewed under the teenage version of Laura Mulvey's male gaze. As Mulvey wrote, "In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness*" (256). The erotic plays less of a role here, although the Plastics and Sharpay have certainly mastered the need to "[manage] the body" and "discipline themselves into hegemonic femininity and cultural homogeneity." If the typical teenage female body is "messy, leaking and needing to be controlled," then Regina and Sharpay have found every way to control that image (Harris 115, 122). When Cady visits Regina's house for the first time, each of the Plastics immediately looks in the full-length mirror and makes a disparaging comment about her appearance (e.g., "My pores are huge.") that reflects an obsessive need to control and contain their own images. Similarly, after Gabriella spills her nachos on Sharpay, the queen bee returns to her locker and reveals a spare blouse already waiting on a hanger, curtailing the time Sharpay will have to walk around looking "messy" (Harris 115). This shirt-swapping scene in particular highlights the dual representation of "girls gaining power in some realm" alongside "screen images ... filled with another set of powerful, consumerist, and arguably anti-feminist messages, including ... beautiful clothes, well crafted, perfect bodies, etc." (Tally 317). Both Regina and Sharpay take extreme pride in their "gender [as] an accomplishment that is sustained through ongoing, everyday practices that resonate with (or react

against) dominant definitions of what it means ‘to be a woman’” (Currie 460). There is no question, of course, that the two queen bees resonate with female performativity—there is no second-wave feminist rage in their battles (Lehmann 266).

A bitch is essentially female because what makes her a bitch is her overexpression of certain masculine qualities like assertiveness and drive. This is highly significant conflict I will continue considering in the remainder of the paper. For Regina, Sharpay, or any other girl to be a bitch, especially in a third-wave or postfeminist sense, the woman must prove their femininity, which counter-balances the masculine personality traits. Thus, Regina and company begin teaching Cady the performative rules of being a Plastic. “Having lunch with the Plastics was like leaving the actual world and entering ‘Girl World,’” Cady narrates over shots of her tacitly observing Gretchen and Karen. “And Girl World had a lot of rules.” The Plastics’ standards correlate obviously with Judith Butler’s theories of gender as performance:

Gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*. The effect of gender is produced through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self. (Butler 443)

Rules for Cady include no tank tops two days in a row, ponytails no more than once per week, jeans and track pants only on Fridays, and mandatory pink on Wednesdays—all of which reflect “the most obvious” female signifiers, “dress and hairstyle” (Davies 284). Moreover, a quick visual analysis of the bitch/queen bee character in films beyond *Mean Girls* and *High School Musical*—consider *Easy A*, *Heathers*, the Disney Channel original movie *Camp Rock*, and even the British boarding school comedy *Wild Child*—reveals a clear

predominance for blonde hair, pink clothing and over dramatic mannerisms. All these rules and habits, reflected in trends across teen films, not only code Regina and Sharpay as girls but also elevate their status as queen bees. With uncompromising beauty standards, Regina and Sharpay could be said on the one hand to express a more empowered “bad bitch mentality” in their ownership of feminine performance. On the other hand, their underlying motivations for performing hyperfemininity, as I will discuss, suggest a less progressive narrative.

In constructing stringent rules for performing their own hyperfemininity in *Girl World*, Regina, and the Plastics and Sharpay along with her, paints herself as “the postfeminist woman” or “postmodern feminist,” according to Charlotte Brunsdon. This is a girl “neither trapped in femininity (pre-feminist) nor rejecting of it (feminist). She can use it” (Brunsdon 33). Brunsdon suggests that, unlike the pre-feminist woman, the postmodern feminist “manipulates her appearance” to get not just a man but also something more. “She wants it all,” she writes (33). Although taking ownership of beauty and femininity does align with some third-wave mantras, Brunsdon acknowledges that this technique serves to get a man, and Regina and Sharpay do use their looks to win men and status. Their reliance on hyperfemininity only strengthens the argument that *Mean Girls* and *High School Musical* depict the highly regimented rules of Girl world in order to enable the Plastics and Sharpay to create “fantasies” of idealized, seemingly empowered femininity that “are manufactured and constrained by the ideologies of a patriarchal, postfeminist culture” (Karlyn 79). Indeed, as Kelly and Pomerantz note, *Mean Girls* often blames girls’ problems on the girls themselves, never on boys. The authors quote and analyze Regina’s No. 2 Plastic, Gretchen:

“Ex-boyfriends are just off limits to friends. I mean that’s just, like, the rules of feminism.” Here, feminism is represented as

an essentialized, uncontested, and ahistoric entity. Feminism becomes conflated with a superficial lifestyle that works to keep girls in competition with each other—reduced to “rules” that have no real bite, but rather exist merely to further the agenda of girls doing mean things to other girls in the name of their own, selfish gains. (Kelly and Pomerantz 7)

In other words, girls behave like bitches—albeit very beautiful bitches—to get the guys and maintain their hegemonic social order. It is possible, therefore, to begin reading Regina and Sharpay as girls whose hyperfeminine performance serves to counter-balance their masculine (i.e., bitchy) attitude in service of the overall dominant ideology. In perpetuating these rules for impossibly high standards of beauty, Regina and Sharpay ironically and paradoxically put forth conflicting combinations of masculine and feminine traits in a decidedly postfeminist statement.

Stemming from their overt hyperfemininity, Regina and Sharpay personify what McRobbie deems “the postfeminist masquerade,” based on Riviere’s theory of “womanliness as masquerade.” Riviere found that “women employ the ‘mask of femininity’ by hiding their intelligence or ability” about certain tasks and topics when in the presence of a man—this we see less in Regina and more in Cady, who intentionally fails calculus in order to cozy up to Aaron Samuels. Regina presents a contradictory picture of intelligence, however, sometimes proving incredibly quick wit and problem-solving skills and other times demonstrating a lack of basic knowledge; for example, she announces she has decided to eat only “foods with less than 30 percent calories from fat” but then stands up to go get cheese fries. Later, she goes on an “all-carb diet.” This is not her own performance, but it does reveal the screenwriter’s giving into the trope of womanliness as masquerade, which has persisted through decades.

McRobbie picks up the trend after Riviere, outlining “the postfeminist masquerade as mode of feminine inscription, across the whole surface of the female body.” She explains its complicated relationship to feminism:

This signals that the hyperfemininity of the masquerade which would seemingly relocate women back inside the terms of traditional gender hierarchies, by having them wear spindly stilettos and pencil skirts, for example, does not in fact mean entrapment (as feminists would once have seen it) since it is now a matter of choice rather than obligation. The element of choice becomes synonymous with a kind of feminism.

(McRobbie 64-66)

The Plastics’ “microscopic attention to detail” during the scene in which they scrutinize themselves in the mirror encapsulates this masquerade perfectly (McRobbie 67). In this context, the constant primping and overzealous use of glitter, pink, and over-the-top fashion brings back the question of freedom regarding feminine performance for the bitch in teen films.

Regina and Sharpay simultaneously embody the bitch and “the Anglo-American Girl,” or she whose “defining characteristics are intelligence, independence, and playfulness”—compare that to the bitch’s being “competent,” “independent,” and “turbulent” (Bavidge 42, Joreen). In this example, the positive and negative dichotomy in the discourse around girls or bitches is excruciatingly clear. Though the attributes Joreen lists to describe the bitch include several negative qualifiers, many, such as “driven” are positive or match a closely related positive term, as is the case with “assertive” and “aggressive.” It would seem that discourse about the Anglo-American Girl, the “white, middle-class, suburban heterosexual stereotype of girlhood,” allows for a positive construction of identity (Kearney 131). The bitch, conversely,

incorporates nearly identical characteristics but a decidedly more negative discourse. A negative discourse traps characters, or girls in real life, from reaching further and pushing harder. A recent New York Times article shared statistics from Northeastern University's Benjamin Schmidt, who analyzed reviews on the Rate My Professors website and found "that people tend to think more highly of men than women in professional settings, praise men for the same things they criticize women for, and are more likely to focus on a woman's appearance or personality and on a man's skills and intelligence" (Miller). Here we witness a real-world result of postfeminism portrayal of the bitch. Furthermore, as girls grow into women, Fairclough notes, "the discourses of postfeminism actively reinforce these concerns [about women's success in all areas of life] by suggesting that women may be able to have it all, but must also engage in the constant maintenance of the self in order to remain beautiful, employable, marriageable and ultimately happy" (8). With the dominant discourse still subjugating women on the same traits for which it praises men, ideologies of strong girls, queen bees, and bitches will continue to see negative representations and meet negative responses in mass media.

Mean Girls and *High School Musical* do not explicitly set out to discuss feminism or the bitch trope, but in their ideological representations and discourses of femininity, they reveal veiled biases that subtly uphold patriarchal values despite the films' apparently progressive content. Regina and Sharpay boast extreme personalities that result in highly conflicted portrayals of masculine traits and feminine performance—essentially, they have an attitude, and their attitude is that of a bitch. The characteristics of a bitch even include the word "masculine" itself, as well as a host of other words often positively associated with go-getter guys. To counteract these typically unladylike traits, Regina and Sharpay, along with the Plastics, over-perform their femininity to the point that it becomes a hyperfeminine masquerade, in

line with anti- and postfeminist trends of recent decades. This performance could be said to demonstrate their own control of sexuality and femininity, thereby replacing “bitch” with a more “bad bitch” connotation, but in fact the masquerade, used as it is to win guys and status, undermines any feminist advances. Ultimately, *Mean Girls* and *High School Musical* present a dangerous representation of the bitch to young viewers. Though not always called by its name, the stereotype is still present, and in a way that is counterproductive to encouraging the agency of young girls.

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**Father As Mother: How Masculinity Relates to Parental Role-
Reversal**

Geralyn Smith

Geralyn Smith '18 is a New Orleans native studying Film, Television, and Theatre with a concentration in Television. She is also pursuing a minor in Journalism and a supplementary major in Spanish. Geralyn's favorite on-campus activities include singing with Voices of Faith Gospel Choir, engaging in meaningful political discourse at BridgeND, and figuring out some way to work Harry Potter into every conversation.

The role of the father in a household has historically been a topic of interest in the United States. Many researchers have looked exhaustively into the effects of failed versions of fatherhood such as absenteeism, abusiveness, detachedness, etc. on the family unit as a whole and the children more specifically. Issues like these endanger the institution of the family. Idealized representations of masculinity and fatherhood were used as tools to combat the deterioration of this central institution. The idealized representations of masculinity most closely matched the domesticated breadwinner model of the fifties. This model provided structure to the family's dynamic by demonstrating what the clearly masculine, and therefore fatherly, roles were in the household. By consequence, the clearly feminine, and therefore motherly, roles manifested themselves as those separate from the masculine functions. The idea here is that these two gendered roles working in tandem with the father as the head should result in an idealized family unit. However, when one or more of these gendered roles fails, the opposite roles are often assumed as an emergency effort to protect the family unit. This type of role-reversal has been portrayed in Hollywood with many films having the father figure assume a maternal role. Three such films are *Mrs. Doubtfire* (Columbus 1993), *Daddy Day Care* (Carr 2003), and *The Pursuit of Happyness* (Muccino 2006) which each portray fathers taking on maternal roles due to situational demands. Each father in the three films undergoes a crisis of masculinity when he fails to meet the domesticated breadwinner model, but he is able to restructure his masculinity in the context of a typically motherly role despite perceived biological and sociocultural hindrances.

Mrs. Doubtfire is a story about an actor named Daniel Hillard (Robin Williams) who loves to entertain children. Unfortunately, he loses his job, his wife divorces him, and a judge deems him unfit as a father. Daniel is then relegated to one day a week with his children.

Daniel, driven by a need to be near his children, disguises himself as an elderly female housekeeper and gets hired by his ex-wife, Miranda Hillard (Sally Field), to care for his former home and children as she is too busy to do so. Daniel learns to thrive in his new role and, as a result, the children and ex-wife feel as though their lives have improved. In the end when he is unmasked, Daniel maintains his stronger connection with his children while accepting his place outside of the household.

The film's genre is a subtle indication of the attitude that many people share towards the subject matter. It works as a comedy because the idea of Robin Williams in drag with the persona of an elderly Scottish woman is just so overtly laughable. However, there is something less overt but still read as laughable lurking beneath the surface. It is the notion that a man can successfully assume the role of a mother figure and actually change things for the better. He is allowed to be a good stand-in mother but the notion of Daniel actually being better than Miranda as a mother is part of the situational humor.

His approach to motherhood is also meant to imply some complete ineptitude on his part at the very beginning. Mrs. Doubtfire's initial personality is the complete opposite of Daniel's because he assumes that a good mother is just the polar opposite of his own fathering style. Where Daniel is understanding, Mrs. Doubtfire is unyielding. Where Daniel is reckless, Mrs. Doubtfire is level-headed. Where Daniel values fun and lawlessness, Mrs. Doubtfire values order and strictness. He eventually learns that the best thing for his children is a conglomeration of his two personalities which is when the family begins to thrive.

The interesting thing though is that Daniel is not combining two different yet individually functional forms of parenting. Mrs. Doubtfire's strict parenting is unpleasant but it gets the job done. His own style failed to serve the function of parenting the children which is part of the reason that his wife divorces him. In their book,

Contemporary Hollywood Masculinities: Gender, Genre, and Politics, Susanne Kord and Elisabeth Krimmer describe this by saying “Daniel is hardly, as he has often been read, an ideal mix of father and mother; on the contrary, he is an amalgamation of mother and child.” (Kord 40). His ultimate functional parenting style could appropriately be considered more of a watered down version of Mrs. Doubtfire than it is a cranked up version of himself. This suggests a sort of inability of a fatherly style of parenting to hold its own against a motherly style. That in turn implies a parental battle of the sexes where mother comes out on top. This implication does not correctly reflect reality because both women and men can fail equally at parenting just as they can succeed equally.

Another interesting component of this is Miranda Hillard’s failure as a mother which necessitates Daniel’s taking on the Mrs. Doubtfire persona. There’s this idea that if Miranda were able to successfully manage her home and career then there would be no need for Mrs. Doubtfire to come in and lend a hand. To take it a step further, if Miranda could have performed these two functions successfully while she was still married then one could argue that she would not have felt such strong dissatisfaction for her husband’s performance and the family unit would remain intact. The issue though is not her failure to balance work and home life. Her success in her career is inconsequential to the film outside of the money that her job provides. Had she failed at being a successful career woman but succeeded at being a mother then the film’s conflict would not exist. The converse though, as the film suggests, is not true.

In the end, Daniel regains his breadwinner title by getting a new job and his masculinity is then reconstructed. His new job allows him to let go of Mrs. Doubtfire because he no longer needs the paycheck and his wife allows him to see his children more often. The family model is not put back together though so Daniel’s masculinity is

redefined through his ability to accept the new normal. He simply learns how to be a good father to his children outside of the home. Kord and Krimmer argue that Daniel's masculinity is not redefined and he actually does not regain it. "...Daniel's acceptance of his subordinate role as babysitter, (and) his willingness to settle for less than full-fledged fatherhood, underlines his lack of masculine resolve." (Kord 41).

The depiction of parental role reversal in *Mrs. Doubtfire* is not isolated. In fact, a theme like this is common in comedic films. The danger in this depiction is the attitude that the film has toward Daniel. His masculinity is undermined in the film and he is in many ways punished for the role that he must play in his children's lives. Though this attitude is the result of certain social norms, it serves the function of perpetuating these norms by ridiculing those who stray from the status quo.

Daddy Day Care is a movie about two fathers, Charlie Hinton (Eddie Murphy) and his sidekick Phil (Jeff Garlin), who lose their jobs in product development and become stay-at-home fathers. Charlie and Phil's wives must take on the breadwinning responsibility while the young children stay at home with their fathers. They decide to open their own day care after they lose faith in getting jobs comparable to their former positions. After working past some initial hang-ups, the two men learn to operate the daycare like professionals and grow closer to their own children. They get the opportunity to go back to their jobs and lives as breadwinners but ultimately decide to remain in their positions at the daycare.

Just as in *Mrs. Doubtfire*, the element of the genre is a subtle indication of the attitude towards *Daddy Day Care's* subject matter. Eddie Murphy is a comedian and it is a family friendly film with dozens of sight gags and jokes, so of course it is a comedy. However, another aspect of the comedic element is the situational irony of it all. Just the

thought of two fathers running a daycare produces slight chuckles. A reversed film entitled *Mommy Day Care* would most likely not produce the same effect because there just is nothing that hilarious about mothers running a daycare. The film's entire premise relies on the unfair assumption that fathers taking care of children full-time would be a funny sight to behold.

The movie wastes no time delivering on this implied promise of bumbling fathers screwing up child care. Charlie's parental aptitude follows a certain model of progression that is evident in many other films with a similar plotline. He begins his journey by being completely clueless. The children drive him crazy and destroy everything in their path. It is as though he suddenly realizes that parenting is actually much harder than his wife made it look. The next step of his journey is to find parental inspiration when he is at his lowest point. That inspiration then leads him to change his style of parenting. In this case, the inspiration comes from a mother of one of the children who has faith in his abilities as a caregiver. Finally, after much struggling, he adapts a style of parenting that yields the best results. This is not an unfair representation of parenthood because for many parents in the real world it works that way. However, this model of progression is almost always associated with men in Hollywood cinema and is hardly ever associated with women.

The mother's role in the film points to the idealized version of the family that is present in many Hollywood films and throughout the culture of the United States. It is the notion that when one parent is successful as breadwinner, it is perfectly acceptable for the other parent to perform a more stay-at home role. When Charlie is fired it makes perfect sense that his wife Kim (Regina King) needed to get a job to provide for the family. However, the fact that she does not have a job before Charlie is fired and the fact that they are a seemingly happy family at that point hints to the notion that this style of family is ideal.

In both the pre-firing and post-firing versions of the Hinton family there is one parent who assumes the role of principal breadwinner. Charlie's day care service was more for him to have something to fill his days with than it was about providing for the household. The movie even emphasizes the power dynamic between the breadwinner and the other parent with gags like Kim forcing Charlie to drive the mini-van while she drives the Benz or Kim's wardrobe becoming more chic while Charlie's becomes more drab. In the ultimate jab at working mothers, the son has a nightmare and instead of calling for his mother as he normally does, he calls for his father. This causes Kim great distress but when the roles were reversed Charlie had no qualms with their son calling out for his mother. The role reversal is very emasculating for Charlie which he does not overcome until he realizes that his son's approval is the only status symbol that he truly desires.

In the end Charlie has the opportunity to take back his original role as sole breadwinner but he chooses to maintain his role as caregiver. However, the film's conclusion does allow Charlie to have some delusions of satisfying the breadwinner role of fatherhood because his daycare service becomes wildly popular. Charlie no longer deals with the crisis of failing as provider because his values change. Instead of seeking to align with the societal norm, he seeks the appreciation and approval of his own son.

Both *Daddy Day Care* and *Mrs. Doubtfire* suggest something about the type of man that assumes a maternal role through the actors that play them. Eddie Murphy plays a similar role in the film *Dr. Dolittle* (Thomas 1998) and in the film *Imagine That* (Kirkpatrick 2009). There is this association with him and failure as a father coupled with redemption through fatherhood. Robin Williams also has this association with him being the child-like father figure who must find redemption as a man through that role. This is evident in his films *Jumanji* (Johnston 1995) and *Hook* (Spielberg 1991). Their association

with these similar roles could simply be a result of their stardom. After all, many comedians play roles in films that are most consistent with their usual on-screen personas. On the other hand, maybe it is their physical type and not their stardom that makes them so believable in these roles. Neither man is out of shape but they definitely do not have the physique that is most associated with virile and extremely masculine men. They are handsome though not particularly stunning. They are not overly masculine which makes it easier to accept their stepping down into a feminine role.

The Pursuit of Happyness is the story of a very intelligent father named Chris Gardner (Will Smith) who invests in a machine that is better at serving the function of an x-ray but is also more expensive. He has trouble selling the machines and they become a financial burden on his family leading them to absolute poverty. His wife Linda (Thandie Newton) then leaves him with their child and the pair become homeless. Gardner's commitment to his son's well-being drives him to obtain and succeed in an internship at a brokerage fund until he achieves great wealth.

This film is different from the previous two because here there is nothing wrong with Chris' approach to parenting as a father figure. He even acknowledges his efforts to be a good father when he expresses his desire to not be like his own absentee father. He does not have that same obliviousness to the true challenge of parenting that Charlie has in *Daddy Day Care* or that Daniel has in *Mrs. Doubtfire*. Chris does however fail as breadwinner just as the other men do. His risky financial endeavors destroyed his ability to provide for his family. His failure as breadwinner almost immediately sends his family into disarray which hints at the precarious nature of the ideal family model. His wife decides that her only chance for survival is to leave him and seek refuge with a family member until she can make enough money on her own. One would wonder why she needs to abandon her station in

the family to try and get enough money. She could easily employ the same money-seeking tactics while staying with her husband. Her only real reason for leaving is the fact that he did not measure up to his obligation as provider.

Linda also leaves their young son which is what requires Chris to assume a more motherly role. This is also where *The Pursuit of Happyness* differs from *Daddy Day Care* and *Mrs. Doubtfire* because the other two men merely switch roles with their wives. Chris must assume both roles making him a more accurate mix of father and mother. Kord and Krimmer acknowledge Chris' exact type of adjustment when they say "Chris compensates for mother's absence by adopting, in part, a more 'feminine' personality." (Kord 43). One very powerful scene in the film is when Chris locks himself in a public restroom with his son so that they may sleep there for the night. In this scene he holds his son in a very nurturing and motherly manner while weaving a fantastical bedtime story in a very maternal fashion. Tears stream down Chris' face as his child sleeps which adds to his feminization since crying is one of the most female coded displays of emotion.

This film is very much an exaltation of the single father success story. It does not make fun of Gardner for having to assume feminine roles. Instead it hails him for his success in a maternal capacity. The reason for this is the fact that, although he assumes the role of mother, he never loses his obligation as breadwinner. The only real challenge to his masculinity in this film is his ability to provide, which he eventually does. Chris is lauded for his ability to overcome impossible odds. However, there is a bit of an issue with this. He should definitely be praised for rising out of poverty and for successfully taking care of his son. The issue is with the 'impossible odds' part of his praise. His journey was brutal, but it is an insult to him personally to describe his odds as impossible. The only reason his success is viewed as above and beyond is biological. Gardner's being male makes it that much more

phenomenal that he overcame the adversity of single-parenting in poverty. It is this same mentality that allows people to think that phrases like “smart for a woman” or “attractive for a darker-skinned person” or other comments like this are compliments. A woman who did the same thing would undoubtedly be praised, though not as much because she is viewed as having a natural aptitude for the task. Chris then is viewed as having a natural disadvantage which is just not true.

As suggested in the three films, male maternal figures are almost always the result of a failure within the idealized model of the family. However, this does not account for the many men who choose caretaking over breadwinning free from any situational pressure. This goes along with the theme of Men’s Liberation and feminism. In her book, *Fathering, Caregiving, and Masculinity*, Caren E Medved describes how the number of stay-at home fathers in the United States is growing. She goes on to say that “Ideas of new nurturant fathers then arrived with the second women’s movement along with calls for men to increase participation in the domestic sphere.” (Medved 118). This paved the way for more involved styles of fathering to still align with masculine ideals. Many fathers welcomed the stay-at-home role because they had a desire to give their children something that they felt they were lacking which is their father’s attention. A study in Medved’s book details how men who were willingly in primary caregiving roles for more than two years perceived their own fathers as being inattentive or inadequate. This speaks to the Chris Gardner character’s motivation in *The Pursuit of Happyness*.

Cara Elizabeth Colbert also speaks about the idea of the stay at home father in her paper *Mr. Mom: Stay-at-Home Fathers, Parenting, and Masculinity*. Colbert conducts an investigation by interviewing 13 white, middle- to upper-middle class males who self-identify as stay at home fathers. Much like this paper, the study aimed to prove that good parenting knows no gender and that certain gendered roles are

constructed through purely social standards. The paper concludes that “Although stay-at-home fathers still find ways to construct masculinity, their stories demonstrate that they are just as capable as women to rise up to the challenges of full-time parenting.” (Colbert 1). This is what *Daddy Day Care* hints at though it does not express it with any type of certainty. The point is to assert that fathers have all the faculties that mothers have equipping them with the ability to take care of children.

The role of the father is just as, if not more, instrumental to a family’s image as anything else in the United States. This is a result of historical, societal, and cultural factors. The idealization of the domesticated breadwinner model of masculinity plays a role in protecting this image of the family. However, the well-being of the family is not reliant on this model. Men can successfully assume primary caregiving roles without their masculinity being in crisis and, if they do so, the family can still remain intact.

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Gender Roles in the Food Markets of Jerusalem

Kristin Brennan

Kristin Brennan '16 is a Marketing and Gender Studies double major from Akron, Ohio. Her essay was written after she received the Genevieve D. Willis research grant to spend six weeks in Israel researching gender differences in the local food markets of both Jerusalem and Bethlehem. She is passionate about gender issues, her family, and all things related to food. After graduation, she will begin her career in food working for the Natural Organic Foods division of General Mills.

Introduction

A study of the dynamics of Israeli food markets can be indexed into two categories, one that places focus on the gender roles of the markets as a reflection of the gender roles of Israeli culture and another that places focus on the gender roles of the markets as a reflection of Westernization. The food markets of Israel have been an integral aspect of the nation's economy throughout its history. Today, the importance of the ongoing vitality of the food markets still rings true. The city of Jerusalem contains two of the largest open-air food markets in the country: Mehane Yehuda Market in the heart of West Jerusalem and the First Station Market in Jerusalem's German Colony. A close examination of both markets reveals much about gender and its connection to marketing techniques, poverty, and Westernization. Traveling away from Jerusalem, findings from studies at an unnamed food market in the heart of Bethlehem as well as two open-air food markets in New York City contribute to the evaluation of Israeli gender roles and their presence in food markets.

Methods

In order to thoroughly study gender roles in the food markets of Israel and create an ethnography of the cultural characteristics at play in these markets, several types of qualitative observation techniques were employed over a period of eight weeks.

For five weeks in Jerusalem at Mehane Yehuda Market and the First Station Market, food vendors and their marketing techniques as well as other behaviors were observed under natural, non-controlled observation conditions. All observations were made in a normal setting, and no efforts were made to change any behaviors in this setting. Both participant and nonparticipant observation were utilized. In a participant observation situation, interaction was initiated with food

vendors. In non-participant observation situations, food vendors were observed from a bit of a distance. Both Mehane Yehuda Market and the First Station Market were visited five different days at five different times for a period of at least two hours. The sample taken from the population of all food vendors in Jerusalem included all vendors at the Mehane Yehuda Market and the First Station Market. At Mehane Yehuda Market, 174 of 174 vendors were observed. Of 174 vendors, 18 vendors were selected to be observed for marketing techniques through a stratified random sampling. This was done by selecting four male and two female vendors from each of the three aisles of the market. At the First Station Market, 16 of 16 vendors were observed for information regarding both gender roles and marketing techniques.

For one week in Bethlehem, a Palestinian food market was observed in order to create a basic ethnology, or comparative study of two cultures, between Israel and the West Bank. Manger Square is a hub of commerce in Bethlehem; therefore, a food market was selected in this area to be studied. Again, behaviors were observed under natural, non-controlled observation conditions. All observations were made in a normal setting, and no efforts were made to change any behaviors in this. The unnamed market near Manger Square in Bethlehem was visited three days at three different times for a period of one to two hours. At the market, 17 out of 17 vendors were observed. The sample of this one-week study included 17 food vendors out of a population of all food vendors in Bethlehem

For one week in New York City, New York, two outdoor food markets were observed to create yet another basic ethnology, this time between Israel and the United States. Both participant and nonparticipant observations were made under normal, non-controlled conditions. The 79th street Green Market and the Union Square Green Market were both visited two days at two different times for a period of one to two hours. At the 79th Street Green Market, 16 of 16 vendors

were observed, and at the Union Square Green Market, 28 of 28 vendors were observed. The sample size of this one-week study included 44 food vendors out of a population composed of all food vendors in New York City.

Results

Gender Roles

The hypothesis that drove the study of gender roles in Jerusalem food markets was that the findings would highlight some of the overarching gender roles of both the city itself and the country as a whole. The primary point of significance at Mehane Yehuda Market is that males predominantly occupy the domain of food selling and purchasing. The first trip to Mehane Yehuda Market revealed that 160 of 174 vendors are males. The second trip again showed 160 of 174 vendors as male. The third trip showed 159 of 173 vendors as male. Both the fourth and fifth trips again showed 160 of 174 vendors as male. On average, 91.94% of vendors at Mehane Yehuda Market during the five visits were male. Like vendors, the majority of buyers at Mehane Yehuda Market are also male. During each of the five visits to the market, five stores or stands were randomly selected to compare the amount of male to the amount of female shoppers. Of the first group, 6 of 10 shoppers were male. Of the second group, 9 of 13 shoppers were male. Of the third group, 3 of 5 shoppers were male. Of the fourth group, 15 of 17 shoppers were male. Finally, of the fifth group, 7 of 9 shoppers were male. On average, 71.05% of shoppers at the market during the five visits were male.

The gender distribution among vendors at the First Station Market was very different from that at Mehane Yehuda Market. In fact, the gender roles Mehane Yehuda Market mirrored those at the unnamed market in Bethlehem far more than those in the German

Colony. Five different visits to the First Station Market each revealed the same ratio of male to female vendors: 10 to 6. Of the vendors, only 62.5% were male compared to 91.94% at Mehane Yehuda Market. Buyers at the First Station Market were observed in the same way as those at Mehane Yehuda Market. A different shop or stand was selected during each of the five visits to the market. Of the first group of shoppers, 5 of 10 shoppers were male. Of the second group, 5 of 9 were male. Of the third group, 3 of 4 were male. Of the fourth group, 6 of 10 were male. Finally, of the fifth group, 4 of 9 shoppers were male. On average, 57% of shoppers were male at the First Station Market.

The unnamed Bethlehem market revealed gender roles similar to those at Mehane Yehuda Market. All three visits to the market showed 17 out of 17 vendors as male. Females were present at or near the market making sales; however, these females were sitting on the ground selling grape leaves out of bags rather than standing at a stall selling a product. Because the study is focused on food vendors in food markets, the women sitting on the ground near the markets were removed from the study. During the three visits, 100% of vendors were male. During each of the three visits, all of the shoppers were tallied to discover whether males or females dominated the purchasing in the market, or if the task was distributed equally among the genders. Of the shoppers during the first visit, 21 of 23 were male. Of the shoppers during the second visit, 34 of 35 were male. Of the shoppers during the second visit, 26 of 29 were male. On average, 92.70% of shoppers during the three visits to the market were male.

The two New York City food markets revealed gender distributions among buyers and sellers similar to those found at the First Station Market in the German Colony of Jerusalem. Both the first and second times Union Square Market was visited, 15 of 28 vendors, or 53.57% were male. Of the shoppers who passed through the market in a one-hour time span during the first visit, 18 of 54 were male. Of the

shoppers who passed through the market in a one-hour time span during the second visit, 26 of 48 were male. On average, 43.75% of the shoppers during the two visits were male. At the 79th Street Green Market, 5 of 12 vendors were male during the first visit and 6 of 13 vendors were male during the second visit. On average, 43.91% of vendors at the market were male. Of the shoppers during two one-hour time frames at the market, 11 of 20 and 12 of 26 shoppers were male. On average, 50.57% of shoppers at the 79th Street Green Market were male.

Marketing techniques

Another facet of the study involved observing the various marketing techniques employed by vendors in the five markets that were visited. Gender was considered during the observations. At Mehane Yehuda Market, four primary marketing techniques are utilized. The first method involves constant cleaning of any windows surrounding or floors within a store. The vendors very often speak about the cleanliness of their stores—almost always loud enough for passing shoppers to hear. The second technique involves calling out to passing shoppers and vocally making an argument as to why a given shop has better prices, is cleaner, and/or has the tastiest food offerings available in the market. The third way vendors market their food products is by utilizing the ongoing conflict in the area. Vendors will often tell customers how their hummus, falafel, produce, etc. is truly Israeli rather than an import from the West Bank. One vendor shouted, “American! American! Come and buy my hummus. It is fresh and Israeli. Palestinian hummus is nothing like my Israeli hummus!” Finally, vendors attempt to gain purchases by offering samples of their foods.

Notably, the few female vendors at Mehane Yehuda only marketed their products through the presentation of a clean store. No

female sellers were observed employing any marketing techniques that involved speaking to customers. In fact, the women only spoke to a customer if he or she asked a question or had already decided make a purchase. Men often stand behind their counters as they attempt to attract customers, but all the women in the market sit in their chairs waiting for customers to approach them.

Marketing at the First Station Market in the German Colony was far different than that in Mehane Yehuda. Two primary marketing techniques are used to attract customers. First, vendors create stands that are visually appealing to customers. Intricate signage promoting and intentional arrangements showing fresh produce are used by nearly all of the vendors in the market. There are signs made out of beautiful olive wood and chalkboard with writing in both Hebrew and English. The produce is arranged by color creating a rainbow of fruits and vegetables with the freshest items placed in the front. The second marketing strategy used is engaging with shoppers as they browse the markets. These interactions between seller and buyer are much different than those at Mehane Yehuda because they are not one-sided conversations about why a particular seller's product is better than all of the other offerings in the market. Sellers will tell onlookers about the uniqueness of their products and customers, in response, will frequently ask follow-up questions. Often, conversations moved beyond the produce being sold to a range of topics that include everything from the current conflict in the area to the health benefits of dates. Notably, male and female vendors use similar marketing techniques, and these methods are used to attract both male and female shoppers equally.

Marketing at the unnamed market in Bethlehem is practically nonexistent. Vendors occasionally call out to customers asking them to look at their offerings, but they just as often ignore passersby and converse with each other. Products are arranged haphazardly on makeshift shelves with overripe and fresh items intermixed. Because

no female vendors sell at the market, differences in techniques between the genders could not be observed.

The marketing techniques found at the two food markets in New York City mirrored those at the First Station Market at the German Colony in Jerusalem. Attractive signage is used to promote specific products, farms, or companies. Vendors can be seen engaging in lively conversations with customers that often have nothing to do with the produce being sold. Some customers appear as regulars and visit their favorite vendors, demonstrating that a sense of loyalty is present in the New York food markets. This loyalty is based on the conversations had that lead to relationships formed between vendors and customers. Males and females utilize the same marketing techniques and target male and female customers equally.

Discussion

To reiterate, the primary goal of this study was to uncover gender differences in Israeli food markets that highlight the existing gender differences of the city of Jerusalem and, even further, the country of Israel. Studying Mehane Yehuda Market, the more traditional market in Jerusalem, revealed several key gender inequities that are characteristic of life in Jerusalem outside of the marketplace as well. First, engaging in local commerce is a male-dominated activity among *traditional* Israelis. Males far outnumber females in areas of both buying and selling. Second, vocalizing thoughts and opinions is also a characteristic of males rather than females in *traditional* Israeli society. The female vendors in Mehane Yehuda Market hardly speak, yet the male vendors are constantly yelling out to both customers and their friends.

When the First Station Market was visited to look for consistencies in the ways males and females behave in the food

markets, none were found. Because the markets are both in Jerusalem yet show such drastically different results when observed for gender roles, it is tempting to disregard the hypothesis that any gender roles unearthed in the food markets might reflect those of the culture as a whole. However, noting the difference between traditional and untraditional areas in Jerusalem and Israel is crucial in interpreting the radical differences in results between the two markets. The First Station Market is in an area of Jerusalem, the German Colony, in which progressive thinking is rampant and encouraged. Westernization is obvious at every street corner in the area, where cafes serving organic coffee, sushi restaurants, and stores selling modern art are standard.

Life in New York City is the epitome of Western culture. It is hard to believe that the gender roles of the food markets in the Westernized area of Jerusalem, the German Colony, coincidentally mirror those of the markets in New York. Gender roles are intrinsically tied to culture, and where a culture is more progressive in general, it is usually more progressive in its view of gender. In New York City, males and females equally control the food market scene. If either gender has a slightly larger hold on the markets, it is female. In the German Colony, traditional Israeli views of women as quiet, at-home caretakers are being extinguished. Because the First Station Market belongs to this area where there has been a cultural shift toward Westernization, women play a significant role alongside men in buying, selling, and utilizing marketing techniques to acquire customers.

If Westernization can be linked to gender roles, it is no surprise that the gender inequities discovered in the market in Bethlehem mirror those at the traditional Mehane Yehuda Market. Life in Bethlehem is very conventional, and the culture is far from experiencing Westernization; therefore, most women do not play a large role in the city's food markets or even the city as a whole. From observations in various parts of Bethlehem, it is apparent that many

women spend a lot of if not most of their time in their homes. Again, it is difficult to believe that the gender roles of the food markets at Mehane Yehuda, a very traditional market, only coincidentally parallel those found in Bethlehem.

Conclusion

In conclusion, six weeks of research in Israel and two weeks of research in New York City show that a link exists between gender roles in food markets and Westernization. In areas with more Westernization, or the incorporation of “modern” practices that are characteristic of North America and Western Europe, discrete gender roles are far less apparent than in areas with less Westernization. New York City and the German Colony in Jerusalem are both highly Westernized cities with much progressive thinking; contrarily, Bethlehem and the area of West Jerusalem in which Mehane Yehuda Market operates are not as Westernized and are full of more traditional ways of thought.