

CSWupdate
THINKING GENDER 2011

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Special Issue!!

on the 21st Annual Graduate Student Research Conference



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GENDER**

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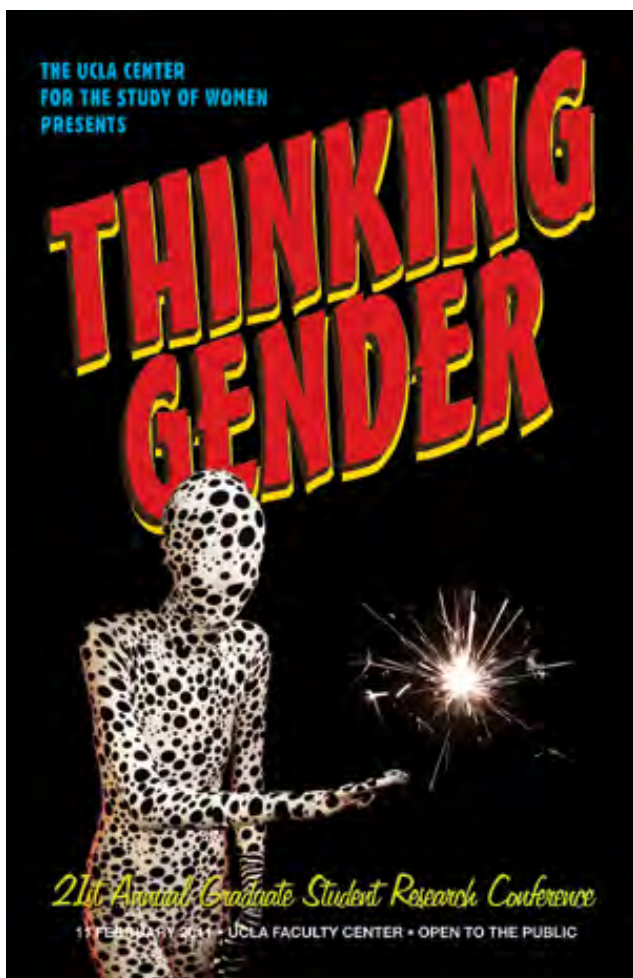
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Message from the Coordinator



WHEN I BEGAN MY TENURE as Thinking Gender 2011 Conference Coordinator, I was thrilled by the opportunity. Having presented at two previous Thinking Gender conferences and attended two others, I knew what would be in store for me at the 21st annual graduate student research conference: a thoroughly enjoyable and thought-provoking day characterized by open dialogue, networking, intellectual rigor, and excitement. This year's conference did not disappoint!

Thinking Gender 2011 had an excellent turnout and attendees (especially those who were visiting from more wintry climates) found time to enjoy the fortuitously sunny day—typical of Southern California, but not of recent Thinking Gender conferences—between panels. As in past years, we featured panelists from all over the world, some traveling from as far as Nigeria and Israel. One thing that distinguished

this year's conference from those of previous years, however, was the high number of multi-disciplinary panels. A panel on "Transgender Enlightenment," for instance, featured papers on kinship relations and male-to-female gender transition, transsexual male pornographer Buck Angel, the "psychic dick," and the examination of gender through the lens of sex discrimination law. Our wonderful moderators did an excellent job of identifying connections among such diverse papers, facilitating thoughtful discussion, and providing helpful feedback on the presentations. The panelists and attendees whom I spoke with generally agreed that the interdisciplinary nature of the panels led to provocative and insightful questions and comments following the presentations.

This year's plenary panel on women and business was also a resounding success. Entitled "Making It Our Business: Development, Cof-



fee, Sex, and the Workforce," the panel featured a diverse group of papers—focusing on subaltern Filipinas and micro-credit, transgender phenomena in the fair trade coffee

collective Café Femenino, women filmmakers in the adult video industry, and gender and sexual orientation as factors in hiring and compensation decisions. Along with Stephanie Santos, Evangeline Heiliger, and Benjamin Everly, I was honored to be among the plenary presenters. As in previous years, the plenary session was full to overflowing. As I spoke from the podium, it was heartening (if a bit nerve-wracking!) to present my research to a room packed with roughly 150 audience members; including a number of people standing in the back of the room. Although the presenters approached

their very different topics from an array of disciplinary perspectives, the moderator, Professor Purnima Mankekar, seamlessly tied together the papers and initiated a fruitful and lively discussion in the Q&A session.

I have consistently found that, unlike many large disciplinary conferences, Thinking Gender tends to generate a supportive (rather than competitive) atmosphere, which lends itself to positive experiences. Nonetheless, I was thrilled to receive abundant positive feedback, both in person and in the conference evaluation forms. Many conference attendees and moderators remarked on how much they enjoyed the experience, and a number of presenters expressed their appreciation for the opportunity to make excellent contacts and engage in lively academic conversation. One moderator in particular noted the air of excitement and scholarly exchange and expressed her wish that conferences like *Thinking Gender* had been around when she was a graduate student.

To all who were unable to attend or would

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Some of the presentations from Thinking Gender 2011 are available for viewing on the UCLA YouTube channel.

simply like to relive the experience of the conference, I am pleased to announce that many of the presentations from this and previous conferences are available at CSW's site on the California Digital Library: <http://www.escholarship.org/csw>. Videos of some of the sessions from this year's conference can be viewed on the UCLA YouTube channel: <http://www.youtube.com/user/UCLA>.

The conference could not, of course, have been so successful without the invaluable contributions of the moderators and presenters, the generous support of CSW's donors, and the smiling faces of the conference attendees. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank CSW Director Kathleen McHugh; CSW staff members Julie Childers, Brenda Johnson-Grau, Erma Acebo, and Emily Walker; and CSW's work-study students, GSRs, and volunteers for their hard work and dedication. The regular staff meetings to prepare for the conference were consistently productive and informative, and—as the brainstorming sessions were frequently punctuated with good-natured laughter—I was pleasantly surprised to discover that they were

also fun! This year, aside from Kathleen and Brenda, the staff was entirely new to *Thinking Gender*, and so I am all the more grateful for and impressed by their incredibly helpful contributions. I am especially indebted to Kathleen for her ongoing support, guidance, and mentorship. She is always generous with her time and quick with an insightful suggestion, and the continued success of *Thinking Gender* is a testament to her efforts.

—Jen Moorman

Uprooting the Seeds of Evil

JEWISH MARRIAGE REGULATION, MORALITY CERTIFICATES, AND DEGENERATE PROSTITUTE MOTHERS IN 1930S BUENOS AIRES

BY MIR YARFITZ

IN 1936, a Polish-Jewish immigrant “massage nurse” and dancer came into the Buenos Aires office of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women to request a favorable morality certificate. The Jewish Association determined, via its knowledge of the cabaret where she worked, that she was actually a prostitute, and refused to grant her the certification of morality that she would need to legally bring her 19-year-old daughter from Poland to join her and her younger daughter in Buenos Aires, an extralegal document required in the mid-1930s by various Argentine authorities who dealt with Jewish immigrants. Although she begged for this gatekeeping certificate “with hot tears, that only a mother

could shed,” the Association refused “based on the fact of her dishonest livelihood, a less than edifying circumstance for the moral integrity of her girls.”¹ The 38-year-old insisted that her daughters, “like the owner of the house where she had been living for a year, knew that her nighttime absences were due to her profession as a nurse, corresponding to night shift work.”² She claimed that when her elder daughter arrived, she had been planning to leave prostitution and establish a small business that might enable her to live modestly. While the Association prevailed in its refusal of the morality certificate, it strongly encouraged her to pursue this new career path, and agreed to reconsider if her intentions proved “firm

and sound.”³ Notes on the case further state that her “maternal feelings provide the basis for the consideration of the possibility of her rehabilitation in a short time.”⁴ This prostitute’s motherhood provided a point of leverage for the reform association to pressure her to leave prostitution. While in this case, reformers viewed maternal feelings as a sign of rehabilitation potential, other prostitute mothers were judged to be not only beyond hope of redemption, but endangering future generations and thus the broader community with hereditary degeneration.

In the midst of an industrial and immigrant boom at the turn of the century, Argentina’s intellectual and political leaders sought solutions

The international Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women was founded in London in the 1890s to fight against what had suddenly become substantial Jewish involvement in cross-border prostitution. The Jewish Association's local branch, the Esras Noschim (Hebrew for "Women's Section") was established in Buenos Aires in 1901, the first office outside of Europe and by far the most active local agency...

to new social problems in such emergent disciplines as criminology, sexology, and anthropometrics. The Italian school of criminology led by Cesare Lombroso heavily influenced Argentine views on the origins and treatment of criminality. Lombroso and his disciples examined the physical characteristics of criminals, which they argued could be passed along with their antisocial behaviors from one generation to the next. Acquired characteristics could become hereditary, creating new generations "born to crime."

Although criminology replaced the religious metaphors of classic penal science with biological language, moral evaluation remained central. In this scheme, women were responsible for both the biological and moral propagation of the species, forming the nation's future citizens.⁵ Argentine municipal authorities, along with Lombroso, supported the legal regulation of prostitution, in which a state-sponsored brothel system controlled the spread of venereal disease through regular examination and quarantine. Argentina adopted this system in 1875, and maintained it until 1936. Lombroso's influential book *The Female Offender* claimed that the exaggerated sensuality of prostitutes destroyed the "spirit of self-abnegation inseparable from the maternal function," thus making the very existence of the prostitute mother

was something of a paradox in this intellectual schema.⁶ This theoretical gap into which the child-rearing prostitute fell created a conundrum for agencies that interfaced with their actual existence.

One mechanism by which these ideas affected Argentine society beyond the theoretical can be identified in the 1930s efforts of a leading Jewish reform association to eradicate the long-term effects of the local notoriety of organized Jewish pimps and prostitutes. The international Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women was founded in London in the 1890s to fight against what had suddenly become substantial Jewish involvement in cross-border prostitution. The Jewish Association's local branch, the Esras Noschim (Hebrew for "Women's Section") was established in Buenos Aires in 1901, the first office outside of Europe and by far the most active local agency, due to the prevalence of prostitution in the city of mostly single male recent immigrants, and high-profile Jewish involvement in the organizational end of the industry. Although Jews were not the only ethnic group managing the city's legal brothels and clandestine places of assignation, they were the most organized and visible both as pimps and opponents. A group of Jewish pimps, madams, and prostitutes had established a legally incor-

porated mutual aid and burial society named after the city of Warsaw in a Buenos Aires suburb in 1906, and in the face of ostracism from the rest of the Jewish community, created its own cemetery, synagogue, health benefits, and charity structure parallel to that of other immigrant voluntary associations. Later called the Zwi Migdal Society, this institution prompted outrage among co-religionists on both sides of the Atlantic, who called the group's hundreds of members "*teme'im*," or unclean ones, and forbade them from entering the main Jewish burial grounds, synagogues, or the Yiddish theater and other arenas of communal life. A 1930 court case against the Zwi Migdal, which garnered international headlines, finally dismantled the pimps' society, and most members fled the country.

In the wake of this dénouement, Esras Noschim harnessed its community influence to intercede in the creation of all new Jewish family units: no Jewish marriage would be conducted by Argentine rabbinic authorities without an Esras Noschim-authorized certificate of morality accredited for both parties. Concerned with its reputation, the Jewish community granted this organization jurisdiction over families and rabbis to investigate and certify individuals' moral character, and to block certain undesirable unions from taking place. To receive a morality certificate, prospective newlyweds

had to provide information that included references from local relatives, non-related coreligionists who had resided in the country for several years, and moral guarantees from two commercial firms. Esras Noschim's report to the Jewish Association's London headquarters for the first half of 1934 stated that out of 119 requests, 27 morality certificates were denied based on the discovery that applicants were already married, lack of "moral guarantee," or for "failure to fulfill the legal and moral requirements... lack of sufficient data, verification of married civil status, doubtful morality, or for the couple's resistance to obtaining the obligatory Civil Registry identification card."⁷ As seen in the case described initially, the morality certificate also became necessary for relatives to bring minor children into the country. Esras Noschim thus took on a gatekeeping function for the Buenos Aires Jewish community, providing moral certification to guarantee a "clean" future generation, free of the taint of the *teme'im*.

Concern with the moral purity of future generations of Argentine Jews also motivated Esras Noschim's response to prostitute mothers. While some of the cases summarized in their records describe fallen but salvageable women, prostitute mothers generally emerge as beyond reform, dangerous to their children and to the broader community: "Fortunately,

A group of Jewish pimps, madams, and prostitutes had established a legally incorporated mutual aid and burial society named after the city of Warsaw in a Buenos Aires suburb in 1906, and in the face of ostracism from the rest of the Jewish community, created its own cemetery, synagogue, health benefits, and charity structure parallel to that of other immigrant voluntary associations.

the number of prostituted mothers is very small compared to those who have not established homes. The fall of the former [prostitutes with children] is much deeper and is the prototype of a complete degeneration. The responsibility assumed by a prostitute mother is much more serious than that of a single woman, because with the desecration of her own home, she violates the sacred principles of family, sowing the seed of evil in the breasts of her relatives.”⁸ Esras Noschim thus distinguishes between prostitutes who do and don’t have children, placing blame for the degeneration of future generations on these unfit mothers.

Unlike in the case used here as an opening anecdote, motherhood was not generally viewed as a possible exit route from the moral degradation of prostitution, especially when individuals fit the criminological analysis of unrepentant degenerates. A mother specified as not having been forced into prostitution by her hairdresser husband (thus demonstrating her own agency and becoming beyond the possibility of reform) was threatened by Esras Noschim with loss of legal custody over her children, and other relatives were brought in by the agency as auxiliaries to increase the pressure, as they lacked legal authority to take this action.⁹ The association also supported a man’s 1931 petition to the Defender of Minors to take custody of a 14-year-old girl whose mother was report-

edly a procurer (*proxeneta*).¹⁰ As criminologists recognized the influence of both heredity and environment, the only hope of preventing the seeds of evil sown by prostitute mothers from being reaped in prostitute daughters and other deviant offspring was to remove the source.

Unlike in the eugenics movement in the United States, in which generally white, highly educated, Christian reformers discouraged reproduction among African Americans and non-Anglo Saxon immigrants deemed “unfit,” Jewish social reformers in Argentina attempted to delineate the boundaries of membership within their own community. Esras Noschim’s morality certification system and particular concern with prostitute mothers as a degenerative influence on future generations revealed deep anxiety with the legacy of the substantial local connection between Jews and organized prostitution. It should be pointed out that this agency’s approach was not necessarily embraced by all members of the local Jewish community. The Poilischen Farband, a large association of Jewish immigrants from Poland, in 1933 accused Esras Noschim’s principal employee of condescending to clients, being physically violent, taking actions in secret, and generally acting “as if someone had appointed him guardian of our morality.”¹¹ Another point of debate remains how prostitute mothers understood their own choices. They certainly emerge from between

the lines of these cases as fighting for their right to bear and raise children. But their voices are overshadowed by community shame, which continues to hide the family names of those involved in prostitution a century ago, preventing admission to the ruined cemetery of the Zwi Migdal Society and forbidding researchers before myself access to the archival collection in which this very data hid.

Mir Yarfitz is a PhD candidate in the Department of History at UCLA. His research interests include sex, gender, and the Jewish diaspora in modern Latin American history. He presented at the panel “Mothers: From the Object to the Archive.”

Notes

1. Memorias de la “Ezras Noschim” de Buenos Aires Ano 1936, p. 20. IWO Archive, Buenos Aires, Esras Noschim (EN) collection, box 3, label 291.
2. Memorias de la “Ezras Noschim” de Buenos Aires Ano 1936, p. 19.
3. Memorias de la “Ezras Noschim” de Buenos Aires Ano 1936, pp. 20-21.
4. Memorias de la “Ezras Noschim” de Buenos Aires Ano 1936, p. 21.
5. Julia Rodríguez, *Civilizing Argentina : science, medicine, and the modern state* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); p. 117.
6. Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Female Offender* (Wm. S. Hein Publishing, 1980/1895), p. 153.
7. Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women – Esras Noschim – Informe Primer Semestre de 1934. IWO: EN box 3, item 5, pp. 10-11, 16, 55.
8. Memorias de la “Ezras Noschim” de Buenos Aires Ano 1936, p. 5.
9. Memorias de la “Ezras Noschim” de Buenos Aires Ano 1936, p. 5.
10. EN box 3, item 30.
11. EN box 3, item 11.

PANEL REVIEW BY JILLIAN BECK

Ambiguous Rights

GENDER, POLITICS, AND THEORY

THE PANEL, "Ambiguous Rights: Gender, Politics, and Theory," explored the wide variety of challenges that arise when attempting to apply modern feminist theories in the context of today's society. Moderated by Cynthia Merrill, a CSW Research Scholar, this panel included presentations by Bogdan Popa from the Department of Political Science at Indiana University; Liza Taylor from the Department of Political Science at UCLA; Kaitlin Boyle from the Department of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte; and Sebnem Kenis from the Department of International Relations at Koc University, Istanbul.

CRITICAL AND SUPPORTIVE OF MARRIAGE?



analyzing the nineteenth-century British philosopher John Stuart Mill's correspondence with Harriet Taylor (*right*) regarding the institution of marriage.



Bogdan Popa began the session with his presentation, "Re-reading John Stuart Mill's 'On Marriage: Is Mill a Critic or a Supporter of Difference Feminism?'" The presentation focused on

Popa was very interested in the contradictions within Mill's theories and beliefs as well as in the way he lived his life. Mill was categorized as a liberal, even radical, feminist because of his controversial views on marriage; going as far as calling financially dependent women in loveless marriages prostitutes and likening marriage to slavery.

Popa pointed out how Mill was both critical and supportive of difference feminism, that is, feminism which stresses the differences between men and women. On the one hand, Popa emphasized the fact that Mill valued women as equals, criticized gender essentialism, and denaturalized gender difference.

According to Popa, while Mill openly criticized how marriage perpetuates sexist norms and openly praised motherhood as a virtuous institution for women, he failed to address any hegemonic gender norms popularly associated with motherhood.

Popa stressed the obvious contradiction between Mill's radical opinions on marriage and his blind praise of motherhood. It seems that, even in the nineteenth century, bringing liberal feminism from theory to the real world was not a seamless transition to say the least.

DOES LIBERAL FEMINISM LIMIT MULTICULTURALISM?

Liza Taylor presented her paper, "Reclaiming Susan Okin for Feminist Democratic Theory: Revealing the Limitations of a Liberal Approach to Multiculturalism." Taylor began by discussing a popular argument put forth by the feminist, bell hooks, regarding whether or not liberal feminism marginalizes poor and non-white women. According to Taylor, some feminists believe that it is impossible for new theories of feminism to emerge due to the exclusion or dismissal of non-Western cultures by white liberal feminists.

Taylor praised the feminist deconstruction movement which occurred simultaneously with African-American women's feminist movement. She argued that by critiquing the

"essence" of women and gender, deconstructionism was able to expand the realm of participation in feminism thus democratizing participation. Taylor then touched upon the popular criticisms of deconstructionism, most notably, that it obscures mainstream political arguments and hinders progress for feminism.

In response to the popular debate on this subject in the 1990s, Susan Moller Okin published a controversial article in 1999. Taylor focuses her paper on Okin's article entitled "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" and the harsh criticism Okin received for her arguments. Critics accused Okin of taking on a traditional white liberal feminist stance and at the same time calling other non-Western cultures backward. Conversely, Taylor saw Okin's argument not as an instance of "othering" but as a new approach to expanding participation in feminism.

Okin eventually wrote another article for clarification, revealing that her intended argument was that non-Western women should not let their cultures define them, but redefine their cultures in relation to their feminist views. Taylor drew attention to how Okin's underlying purpose was not to criticize other cultures but to underline the difficulties women from non-Western cultures face when trying to fit feminist theories within the context of their cultures. Taylor pointed out how Okin's original goal was to advocate listening to a wider variety

of voices, therefore moving towards a more democratic approach to feminism. Rather than being passive, Taylor admired how Okin called on modern feminists from other cultures to be proactive. Taylor emphasized how hostile debates, such as those surrounding Okin's writings, allow for contemporary feminist theory to become increasingly democratized by increasing participation in feminism by marginalized cultures.

CHALLENGING GENDER ROLES WITH POLICY

In the presentation "Nordic Gender Equality Models: Taking Sameness for Granted through the Worker-Career Model," Kaitlin Boyle discussed how Nordic countries are leading the world in policies that challenge normative hegemonic gender roles. Boyle discussed her experience studying gender equality in Oslo, Norway. Boyle began by presenting the primary educational and career barriers that women face. According to Boyle, women find it difficult to pursue professional degrees due to their responsibilities as wives and mothers and face horizontal and vertical discrimination in the workplace.

Boyle then brought to light the progressive policies Nordic countries are enacting as a means to increase gender equality since encouragement has not been enough to make

Website of Gender in Norway

lasting change. Boyle's studies led her to conclude that the Nordic values of individualism and peace may be a reason that these particular countries lead the world in gender equality policies. Beginning in the late 1900s, Sweden and Norway enacted policies with the goal to end sexist assumptions in the workplace and households. Universal Day Care, provided by the government, was one of the policies Boyle

highlighted in her presentation, discussing how it alleviates some barriers women face, enables them to enter the workforce, and, in effect, enhances them as individuals. Boyle noted that since the establishment of universal day care, the gap between men and women in the workforce has narrowed. As early as 1974, parental maternity leave became gender neutral and by 1993 a parental leave was

created designated for fathers only. Through her research, Boyle concluded that both men and women are set to gain more freedom and society would improve as a whole as a result of gender equality policies.

Boyle argued that these Nordic policies allow for the creation of flexible masculinity with it becoming increasingly popular for men to take on the roles of stay-at-home parents. On a positive note, Boyle expressed that Norway still maintains a high fertility rate while also having the highest work rate for women in Nordic countries. Boyle did acknowledge potential drawbacks or limitations of the gender equality policies. Although the number of men and women in the workforce are leveling out, the wage gap between men and women has not narrowed significantly. Also, women tend to still be drawn to pink-collar jobs, despite the accessibility to other less traditionally feminine careers. Lastly, Boyle made it clear that although these policies have made a lot of ground, the idea of "sameness" results in a lack of intersectionality.

CHALLENGES OF ADDRESSING LGBT RIGHTS IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Sebnem Kenis finished up the panelist presentations with her presentation, "The Islamic Women's Rights Activism in Turkey: Prospects and Limitations for a Pluralistic Construction

of Citizenship.” The basis of Kenis’s paper is that the pluralistic construction of citizenship in Turkey makes it complicated for Islamic women’s rights activists to address the issue of LGBT rights. According to Kenis, so-called feminists in Turkey do not label themselves feminists but rather women’s rights activists. Kenis then pointed out the very real struggle to expand citizenship rights, in Turkey and other Islamic countries, to marginalized groups, including women. As a result of her studies, Kenis revealed that Islamic women are sensitive to most marginalized groups but find it difficult to empathize and fight for LGBT Muslims.

In Turkey, leaders announced that “homosexuality is a biological disorder.” Due to this proclamation, many Islamic women’s rights activists attempted to address the issue of LGBT rights in Turkey. Kenis brought to light four specific women’s activists in Turkey who published their opinions on the topic. According to Kenis, this issue is very confusing for Islamic women’s rights advocates and is usually ignored. Three of the four women saw homosexuality as completely incompatible with Islam because of various reasons such as Islamic jurisprudence, hedonism, the Islamic understanding of family,

and that homosexuality was a type of deviation or perversion. All three went even further by not only refusing the expansion of rights to LGBT Muslims but stressing the need for preventative action against homosexuality. Kenis emphasized the reaction of the fourth woman. Instead of dismissing the idea of expanding rights to LGBT Muslims in an Islamic society, she pointed out that if they ignored LGBT and prevented their freedom they would, as a result, prevent universal freedom from being reached in Turkey for other marginalized groups. Kenis also concluded that this particular woman was able to embrace the pluralistic Islamic society and all of the differing interpretations of Islam that come along with it. All in all, Kenis finished with the idea that it is becoming almost impossible to separate equality and difference in a pluralistic Islamic society, especially in Turkey. According to Kenis, in the fight for expansion of citizenship rights for marginalized groups, pluralism and Islamic culture will be a substantial roadblock.

Jillian Beck is an undergraduate at UCLA and a volunteer at CSW.

Photo credit: “LGBT Muslims: Yes, We Exist” is from the website of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans And Intersex Association international Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans And Intersex Association



PANEL REVIEW BY JULIA WRIGHT

Gender and Media

IN THE POST AND COLD WAR ERA

IN THE PANEL ENTITLED, "Gender & Media in the Post and Cold War Era," four presentations examined the construction of femininity across popular media such as film, teen magazines, high fashion, and news coverage. This panel was moderated by Kristen Hatch, Professor of Film and Media Studies at UC Irvine, and featured presentations by: Molly Jessup, Department of History at Syracuse University; Diana Belscamper, Department of History in Modern Studies at University of Wisconsin; Dawn Fratini, Department of Cinema and Media Studies at UCLA; and Aubri McDonald, Department of Criminology, Law, and Justice at University of Illinois. While the

presentations offered diverse examples, each speaker stressed the importance of historical context and identity politics in their analyses. Panel mediator Hatch further proposed that in each case, presenters revealed the intersectional nature of media discourse: addressing media representations of femininity and demonstrating how such representations address multiple social concerns related to women.

TEENAGE TERRORISM

In "Girls Gone Wild? Respectability, Political Stability, and Gender," Molly Jessup examined media representations of deviant female behavior and its relation to Cold War conformity.

Jessup prefaced her argument by stating that in historical moments of political instability, women's behaviors are used to reinforce desirable social attributes in men. She focused on two films in particular: the teen exploitation movie *The Violent Years* (1956) and the educational film *Are You Popular?* (1947).

The Violent Years documents the misadventures of Paula Perkins, a juvenile delinquent whose uncontrolled sexuality leads her to commit several crimes (such as rape and armed robbery) with her female posse. Paula's criminality is the direct consequence of her sexual deviancy. *Are You Popular?* educates its audience through an expository comparison of a



The Violent Years documents the misadventures of Paula Perkins, a juvenile delinquent whose uncontrolled sexuality leads her to commit several crimes (such as rape and armed robbery) with her female posse.

bad girl named Ginny (who sits in parked cars with many different boys) and the “popular” Caroline (who admirably clings to the door handle of her date’s car). Caroline’s sexual vigilance and concern for her reputation makes her male companions feel special, whereas Ginny’s (presumed) promiscuity is a turnoff to men. Both films presented the consequences of female sexuality, which were targeted at teen audiences. Jessup argued that in both films, women who exhibited any sexual interests were represented as being at greater risk of committing anti-social and even criminal behavior. Women who demonstrated sexual restraint made for good girls, upstanding citizens, and suitable mates for men.

CONSPICUOUS CITIZENSHIP



Like Jessup, Diana Belscamper’s presentation entitled, “Good Girls and Better Consumers: Teen Magazines and Teenage Consumers in the Cold War Era” found an important correlation between Cold War politics and women’s adherence to social norms. Belscamper argued that teen magazines such as *16 Magazine* and *Seventeen* (founded in 1944 and 1956) discouraged anti-social behavior by encouraging girls to practice “civic consumerism”: the demonstration of one’s personal and

civic responsibilities through smart consumer choices. Girls could exercise a degree of freedom and gain social acceptance by making purchasing decisions, albeit ones that usually promoted the magazine’s advertisers.



16 Magazine’s focus was more on music stars and teen idols and promoted female satisfaction through fandom. The magazine often featured interviews with idols that typically described their ideal mate or the perfect date, and “secret sisters” that offered advice to readers. Unlike *Seventeen*, *16 Magazine* was not an ad-supported magazine. Nonetheless, Belscamper insisted that more subtle forms of consumer cultivation operated within the magazine’s pages. Readers could practice the role of a dedicated groupie by buying the right cultural objects, or they could emulate their idols by indulging in similar leisure activities. *16 Magazine* also stood apart from publications like *Seventeen* by offering alternatives to the femininity espoused by adults, and instead providing their young female readers with role models their approximate age.

GLOBAL GIRLS, LOCAL COLOR

Dawn Fratini’s presentation, “Female-Fashion Currency: The Cultural Exchange of Ideas of Womanhood, via Fashion and Cinema,



Audrey Hepburn with Gregory Peck in *Roman Holiday* (1953)

Between Italy and the United States in the Post-War Era," examined intercultural ideas about American and Italian femininity expressed in fashion magazines and movies. Italy's Economic Miracle was a period of growth after World War II accomplished through transforming Italy into a potential marketplace for consumers. Fratini specifically focused on how nationality intersected femininity in the exchange of cultural goods consumed by women. Italian neorealist films often portrayed Italy as pre-modern and poor, and Italian fashions accentuated the use of bright colors and

"Lucy's Italian Movie," *I Love Lucy*, 1956



curve-hugging clothing. Fratini reasoned that as a result of these preconceptions, Americans interpreted Italian women's sexuality as earthy and seductive; these ideals were epitomized by figures such as Italian bombshell Sophia Loren. American women's appropriation of Italian femininity through fashion can be seen in Jackie Kennedy's fondness for Nicole Fontana gowns, Audrey Hepburn's wardrobe in *Roman Holiday* (1953) and even the emulation of "peasant life" in an episode of *I Love Lucy* (entitled "Lucy's Italian Movie" from 1956).



While American women perceived Italian women as seductive peasants donning local designs, Italian media and movies saw American women as pampered movie stars in cosmopolitan clothing. Perhaps the most iconic example of this is Anita Eckberg in Federico Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* (1960), where she played a buxom starlet in a slinky black evening gown. Italy's standing as both an underdeveloped country and aspiring industrial nation was played out through discourses in women's fashion and sexuality: Italian women were portrayed as provincial, but they touted a more regionalized (and sexualized) sense of national identity than American women. Fratini's presentation demonstrated how ideals of womanhood and national identity were embedded within the intercultural flow of cultural goods between the United States and Italy.

ARRESTING IMAGES

Media can powerfully shape representation by naturalizing cultural beliefs about gender. Aubri McDonald's presentation "Frames Fatale: Deconstructing Media Framing of Female Gang Member Convicted of Murder," examined the case study of Jacqueline Montanez, who at the age of fifteen was tried and convicted of two gang-related homicides in Illinois in 1992. McDonald asserts that the investigation and trial overruled the legal protection of

At her trial they told her she was a
"Cold-Blooded Assassin"
 In the media, she was the
"Teen Queen of Criminals"
 MEXICAN STUDENTS DE AZTLAN (MESA)
 & THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SOCIETY PRESENT -
"Who is Jacqueline Montanez?"

Come hear her story and decide for yourself. Her case is up for clemency, find out how you can help.

Location:
Jane Addams Hull House
 800 South Halsted Street

When:
 Wednesday - April 27, 2011
 1:00pm - 2:30pm

Refreshments & drinks will be served!

The Crime:
 In 1992, at 15, Jacqueline Montanez was convicted of killing two gang members. She was tried as an adult and sentenced to spend the rest of her life in prison with no chance for parole. A crime such as this is extremely rare for one so young.

A Childless Childhood:
 Jacqueline suffered violent physical and sexual abuse by her stepfather, a Latin King gang member. The police and CPS blame about the abuse but did nothing to help Jacqueline. At 12 she ran away and joined a new gang. Her victims belonged to her stepfather's gang.

Retribution:
 She knows she did a terrible thing, it always troubles her, and accepts the blame for punishment. Suffering parents to the without possible money and legal representation. Jacqueline has spent at least her life facing conviction, taken college courses and wants to help young girls resist violence.

Contact Aubri McDonald at amcdonald@uic.edu for additional information

Montanez as a juvenile by portraying her as a depraved monster: her acts of violence and perceived lack of remorse put her in violation of both societal law and natural law. McDonald presented news clips of Montanez smiling after being questioned by police, which were used to "prove" her depravity at trial. These same media accounts were also used in the courtroom to characterize Montanez's actions as demonic, incomprehensible, and therefore requiring no further explanation in her defense. Because of this, Montanez's childhood history of neglect and sexual abuse at the hands of her parents—which led to her seeking refuge in a neighbor-

hood gang—were never given consideration. Montanez claimed that the murders were orders made at the behest of her gang, but this was also excluded from the court's consideration.

McDonald's final analysis concluded that the discourse used in media coverage of the trial informed the defense's argument, and by extension the grounds for Montanez's conviction. During the question-and-answer portion of the panel, audience members asked if ethnicity was a factor in her conviction. McDonald pointed out that while Montanez's ethnicity was never explicitly addressed, this was problematically inferred by her membership in a Latin gang. By naturalizing Montanez's actions, the media eviscerated Montanez's personal history and politics of representation.

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PANEL REVIEW BY SUSAN MCKIBBEN

Contested Interventions

AND THE POLITICS OF RESCUE

KARINA EILERAAS, CSW Research Scholar and moderator of the panel, “Contested Interventions and the Politics of Rescue,” introduced it by outlining the contours of a familiar discourse in which Westerners are both able and obliged to rescue the people, particularly the women, of the Global South. Invoking the words of Leila Abu-Lughod, she asserted that it was imperative to consider not only the problematic construction of what these women were allegedly being saved from, but also what they were being saved to. The panel, then, was an invitation to reflect upon these constructions and an exploration of the possibilities available to us, given that the option not to intervene, not to practice the politics of

rescue, was already closed. The panel included presentations by Sandibel Borges from UC Santa Barbara, Oliver Ting from UC San Diego, and Erin Moore from the University of Chicago.

COLLECTIVE STRUGGLE

In her presentation “The Struggle Against the Victimization and Stigmatization of Sex Workers: The Colectivo Hetaira NGO in Madrid,” Sandibel Borges presented her thesis research with a Spanish feminist organization working to end the stigma around sex work and to promote the rights of sex workers. The group distinguishes itself from other such organizations by working *with* and not merely *for* sex workers, thus challenging both the societal

shaming of sex workers and feminist thinking that consistently defines sex work as a form of gendered violence.

As a feminist enterprise, said Borges, Hetaira supports women—including immigrant women—who consciously choose sex work, even as the group recognizes the economic violence that leads some women to migrate and enter exploitative industries which include, but are not restricted to, sex work. This stance leads Hetaira to reject victimizing and paternalizing practices and instead to collaborate with sex workers on public education and demonstrations for labor rights.

Borges also found that Hetaira, unlike many other groups doing similar work, explicitly

focuses on *normalization* and not merely *regulation* of sex work. While Colectivo Hetaira advocates rights and benefits for sex workers, the members' primary goal is to change social attitudes so that sex work can be viewed as a job like other jobs—though with its own particularity—and sex workers will not feel shame in their labor.

CHOOSING FREEDOM

Oliver Ting examined the relationship of the politics of rescue to global capitalist production using the case of Freeset, an NGO in Sonagacchi, Kolkata, India that “saves” women from sex work in general, and sex trafficking in particular, by training them to make crafts that are sold worldwide. These women, then, are rescued from their circumstances only by being integrated into a modern capitalist framework and produced as modern “productive” subjects. While Freeset’s rhetoric is that of freedom, Ting asserted that the organization commodifies that rhetoric by establishing itself as, in the words of the group’s website, “in business for freedom.”

Ting went on to interrogate the ideology of what he called the rescue industry and the way in which it produces subjects who can be saved by constructing the free subject as she who can own property. By deploying the rhetoric of choice—the women are forced, i.e. they do not choose sex work—women of color in the Global South become intelligible subjects within this discourse through a politics of voli-

tion: choosing freedom through the choice of a profession as craftswomen with Freeset. Thus, the “saved” woman becomes a modern subject through the exercise of reason and choice, defining herself as a woman who can accept the offer of integration into the chain of global capitalist production and can, therefore, be saved. Drawing on Mohanty and Spivak, Ting asserted that the racialized and gendered body becomes available as a site for the expropriation of labor value through its representation within a politics of rescue. To be free means to be rescued and redeemed through capitalism.

THE GIRL EFFECT



Jennifer Moore began her presentation, “Reviving Whom? The Invention, Intervention, and Exportation of the Adolescent Girl Crisis,” with the assertion that adolescent girls around the world have been pathologized as suffering a crisis of confidence. Though the period of adolescence has long been considered one of bio-cultural transition, Moore argued that specific eras in which girls have been so characterized coincide with other forms of socio-cultural change, particularly with waves of feminist intervention. To wit, a nineteenth-century crisis of anemia thought to stem from a girl’s excessive study or unbridled sexuality came to an end around the time of women’s suffrage. The discovery of a crisis of self esteem among girls was bracketed by Difference Feminism in the 1980s and the

publication of *Reviving Ophelia* in 1994. Finally, girls’ empowerment programs were exported to the Global South beginning around 2000, coinciding with the U.N. Millennium Development Goals that cast teen girls as indexes of development.

Moore then presented her own study of a sample population of young women at a private college and their responses to the Nike Foundation’s 2008 fundraising video, “The Girl Effect.” Presenting the video to the conference audience, she outlined the ways in which it positions the viewer/potential donor vis-à-vis its description of the unempowered girl from the Global South, and reflected upon the intertextuality of the video and the long-standing discourse of pathologizing adolescent girls. Rather than establishing the girl as a subject living up to her potential, Moore argued that the Nike Foundation’s discourse encouraged the viewer to realize his/her own potential as a supporter of girls’ empowerment. In fact, half of Moore’s study respondents gave feminist activism as their reason for sharing “The Girl Effect” through social media. Moore concluded that this act inserted the young women into a world of activism while maintaining the discursive distance established by the Nike Foundation between themselves and the girls described in “The Girl Effect.”

Susan McKibben is a graduate student in the Department of Education at UCLA.

PANEL REVIEW BY LINDSEY MCLEAN

Oral Interactions

CONVERSATION, ETHNOGRAPHY, ORAL HISTORY

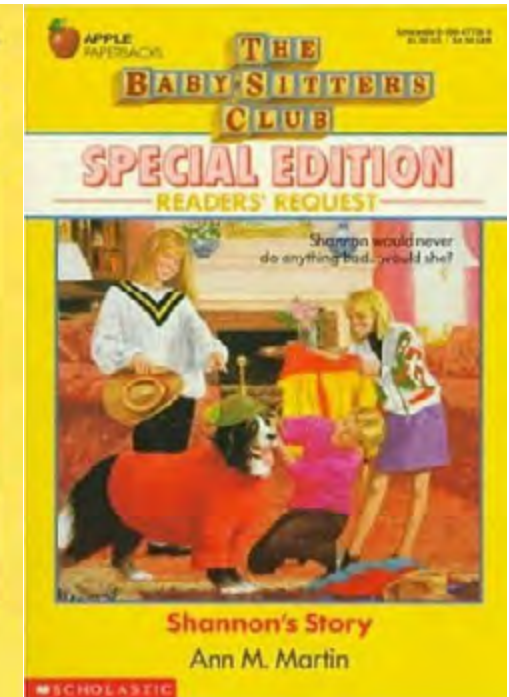
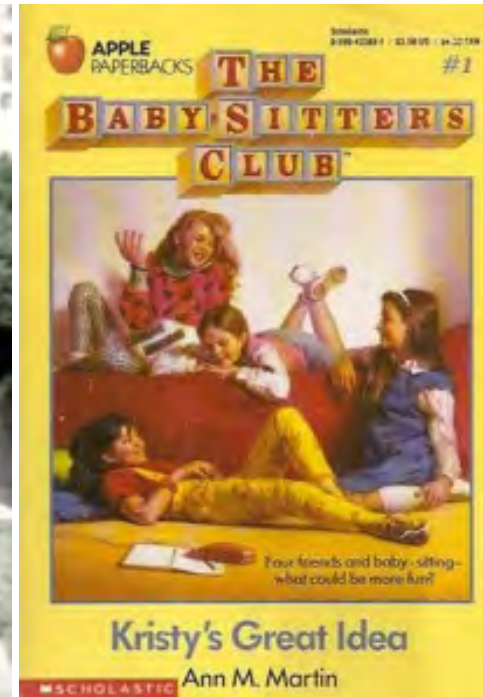
THE PANEL TITLED “Oral Interactions: Conversation, Ethnography, Oral History,” moderated by Devra Webner, Professor of History at UC Riverside, included presentations from Diane Yu Gu, UCLA; Kate Wood, UC San Diego; and Emily Crutcher, UC Santa Barbara.

Gu, in a presentation titled “Female Doctoral Students’ Interactions with Faculty and Their Aspirations to Pursue Academic Careers,” discussed her research in the student-faculty relationship, and how this relationship affects both the socialization and formulation of academic career goals in female engineering students. Gu began her presentation by noting that, while enrollment of female students in

graduate school is greatly increasing, women only make up about six percent of full professor positions. She became interested in how relationships with faculty members supported or limited female engineering students’ aspirations for a career in academia. In her research, Gu discovered a stressed relationship between female students and their male advisors. She noted that some female students felt that they had to work longer and harder for funding in comparison to their male counterparts. Additionally, her research found female students felt that tensions may arise if they pursued a friendly, informal relationship with their male advisors and the risk of those tensions dam-

pered the female student’s desire to seek out those kinds of relationships. Gu also discovered that while female students harbored anxiety over their ability to have a family as well as an academic career, they were far less likely to discuss these issues with a male advisor. Gu concludes that adjusting organizational practices surrounding the advising relationship and counseling services for female graduate students along with an increase in quality female professors would positively benefit the mentoring and academic success of female graduate students.

Following this, Kate Wood presented her research concerning adult women who par-



participate in online forums dedicated to the young adult fiction they read as adolescents and continue to read as adults; specifically the *Sweet Valley High* and *The Babysitter's Club* series. Wood recognized that there are many studies examining the effects of media images on young girls, but she was more interested in the long term effects and negotiations that occurred in adult women looking back on the media images of femininity they were confronted with as young girls. For her research, Wood interviewed 47 adult readers who read and participate in online groups dedicated to these series of books. Wood's research uncovered an ongoing and dynamic negotiation with hegemonic gender identities presented in

these books. Specifically Wood discussed the "bargain" these adult women make with the books by cherry-picking parts of the text with which to take issue and rationalizing these parts by claiming "any smart girl can tell the difference." In many cases, the adult readers of these books, as young girls, recognized that the world that they inhabited was quite different than the world the books portrayed. In many cases the books presented a world that was far more white, wealthy, heterosexual, and simple than the real world the readers occupied. Yet, these adult women still cherished the books and took the time not only to read them (if only for a "guilty pleasure") but to participate in online forums about the books. Wood

concluded by asserting that cultural objects can be used in different and dynamic ways to construct gendered identities.

The third presenter in this panel, Emily Crutcher, decided to take on the provocative and sensitive subject of reactions and responses to two different types of pornography: traditional and sex-positive, "feminist" pornography. Her research looks at how people process and assess this sexually explicit material. She began her presentation by covering the existing literature in academic and feminist debate about pornography, specifically addressing the argument of whether pornography is anti-feminist and promotes violent imagery against women or if pornography can be created to advance

images of sex positive femininity. Crutcher decided to do an empirical investigation of how young people assess the authenticity of the female orgasm in the two distinct types of pornography previously mentioned. She organized focus groups consisting both male and female college students to view and assess the female orgasm in these two distinctly different kinds of pornography. Within these focus groups, Crutcher aimed to assess the ways people discuss pornography, sexuality, and gender norms with others. She observed what she calls a “moment-to-moment construction of normative sexual subjectivities” in the discourse of the focus group participants.

What connected these presentations is the methodology that Gu, Wood, and Crutcher used to research their topics. Each used a form of interview to produce more in depth and contextualized material than quantitative analysis. Much of the discussion after the presentations focused on the techniques the presenters used to elicit better and more thoughtful information from their participants. Gu noted that she had to negotiate the role of researcher/interviewer and sometimes turn off her tape recorder or go off topic to establish trust and a more open line of communication between her and the person she was interviewing. Crutcher noted that, because of the sensitive material, she acted as more of a participant

than leader or interviewer. This established trust and comfort with her focus group participants. Wood, for her methodology, preferred to ask open ended questions because she found these types of questions lead to deeper discussions about the books and the reader’s history with them. Each of the presenters used interviews and conversation as the foundation for their research on gender constructions that inhabit the professional, sexual, and leisure life of women.

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PANEL REVIEW BY LINDSEY MCGLEAN

Phantom Bodies

MODERATED BY Rachel Lee, Professor of English and Women's Studies at UCLA, the Thinking Gender panel entitled "Phantom Bodies" included presentations from Oluwakemi Balogun, UC Berkeley; Corella Difede, UC Irvine; Patrick Keilty, UCLA; and Guadalupe Escobar, UCLA. Each of these presentations used frameworks surrounding the body as an integral part of displaying the diverse topics each of the presenters approached, from representations of the female body in beauty pageants in Nigeria as an indicator of feminine national identity to the language used in academic discourses concerning "disembodiment" in digital culture.

Oluwakemi Balogun, in her presentation titled "Traditional vs. Cosmopolitan: Idealized Femininity and National Representation in Nigerian Beauty Pageants" looked at two beauty pageants in Nigeria and the conflicting ideas about the feminine body and its performance based on different criteria in the construction of feminine national identity. In this presentation, Balogun notes how the two beauty pageants, Queen Nigeria and The Most Beautiful Girl in Nigeria both set out to represent "true Nigerian womanhood," yet assemble the idealized notion of femininity quite differently. The MBGN competition is part of an international association of pageants and the winner of this

pageant is allowed to compete in the Miss Universe pageant, whereas Queen Nigeria is a strictly national competition. Balogun describes the criteria for the MBGN pageant as relying on a more cosmopolitan ideal of femininity; its competitors represent a more international (western) standard of beauty, while the Queen Nigeria competitors display much more traditional ideals of Nigerian womanhood. Balogun sees the two competitions as constructing a national feminine identity for two different audiences. The MBGN competition looks to incorporate Nigerian womanhood in a global discourse of femininity while the Queen Nigeria competition seeks to establish a

much more traditional construction of Nigerian femininity for its feminine national identity.

In Corella Difede's presentation "From Anatomic Spectacle to Informatics: Bodies...The Exhibit, and the Trouble Posed By the New Universal Body" she argued that the Bodies exhibit displays a new trend that universalizes the body from a medical/anatomical perspective. She explained how the exhibit strips away race, gender, ethnic, and socioeconomic differences and looks at the anatomy of the body from a strictly informational lens. She finds this problematic because while the exhibit highlights a universalized body it obscures the complex

situations such as class, race, gender, etc. that produced the plasticized body in the exhibit. These complex situations arguably affect the physical bodies in various ways, and limiting information surrounding these circumstances diffuses the effects of life experiences on the plasticized body also limit the audience's ability to contextualize these bodies. She explains how, originally the bodies used in the exhibit were unclaimed, undocumented Chinese laborers. Difede argues that the "de-subjectified" bodies that create raw information for those in the medical or biotechnology fields are problematic because the subjectivities of the

body affect the physical nature of the body and removing those subjectivities to create a "universal body" for informational purposes dilutes the effects of the lived experience on those bodies. Difede also notes that the only female body in the exhibit displays the female reproductive system and in no other situation is a female body used, making the female body different from the "universal" body in the rest of the exhibit.

Patrick Keilty in his presentation "'Disembodiment' in Electronic Culture" approached the language used by academics in discourses surrounding embodiment when analyzing digital culture. He argued that there are two camps regarding the rhetoric of disembodiment in electronic culture, those that feel electronic culture is robbing the physical body of importance and those that see interaction in electronic culture as conflating that culture too closely to the "real" world. Keilty finds both of these arguments valid, though he finds the language problematic. In his presentation, he advocated for the use of the term "diffusion" when describing involvement in electronic culture instead of "disembodiment." Keilty argued that, though participating in electronic culture is dispersed and destabilized within the digital cultures, participants are still very much grounded in their physical bodies. He believes previous work on the subject of electronic

disembodiment to be grounded in the notion of an existential crisis of the body, a notion he finds fatalistic and inaccurate.

To conclude this panel, Guadalupe Escobar discussed the constructions of the body politics in her presentation titled, "Principles of Pleasure: 'Body' Politics in Giaconda Belli's *The County Under My Skin: A Memoir of Love and War*." Escobar analyzes the text of this

memoir from the perspective that Belli, with her involvement in the revolutionary Sandinista movement to combat US involvement in Nicaragua, constructs the female body as a site of objectification, patriarchal control, and a form of agency. Escobar notes that in Belli's memoir, trauma is not at the core of the war narrative and, rather, sex is. Escobar discusses how sexual liberation was invaluable to Belli's

experience in war because "women's bodies are a critical site to practice gender politics." Escobar described how, in taking control over her own sexuality and pleasure, Belli regenerates her body after war based on her own criteria.

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PANEL REVIEW BY LINDSEY MCLEAN

What's Food Got To Do With It?

Women and Disordered Eating

MODERATED BY Abigail Saguy, Professor of Sociology at UCLA, the panel "What's Food Got To Do With It? Women and Disordered Eating" included presentations from Feng-Mei Heberer, USC; Roxanne Naseem Rashedi, Georgetown University; Jessica M. Phillips, UCSB; and April Davidauskis, USC. Each of these presentations focus on disordered eating in women from diverse standpoints, from assessing on campus support for female college students with eating disorders to establishing critical theory surrounding representations of the feminine disordered body in performance art.

In the first presentation by Feng-Mei Heberer titled "Performing the Bulimic Body," she

discussed her analysis of an experimental film called "Gina King's Video Diary." The filmmaker, Gina King, used this project to express the difficulties of physical and emotional belonging, frequently using staged personas relating to the reproductive female body, as well as her own eating disorder in the film. It was Heberer's intention to, instead of separate the staged personas from King's bulimic body in the film, look at how the two performances are intertwined. Heberer, in her presentation, discussed the questions of origin and reproduction in the performative, sick feminine body. In her analysis of King's work, she looks at how King materializes her body and how, in doing so, displaces



and reappropriates her own body, which has become alienated through disordered eating. Heberer recognizes that while King is reappropriating her own body in the film and examining the personas of daughter and mother, she is also, through her disordered eating, producing a

conflicted female body. While much of Herberer's presentation focused on King's examination of the female reproductive body she noted that King's bulimic practices conflict with these personas. Herberer argued that the practice of bulimia is contradictory to the representations of the female reproductive body in that, it "reproduces the female body to the maternal body which then "aborts" the maternal body with the practice of bulimia."

In Roxanne Naseem Rashedi's presentation titled "Disordered Eating, Agency, and Self Autonomy: Class Identity in Elaine Mar's Paper Daughter," she argued that the disordered eating Mar describes in her memoir stems from a class inferiority complex and ethnic difference as an Asian American immigrant in the United States. Rashedi discussed how the disordered eating in the memoir is based on the Mar's need to assert control over her life as well as a way to belong to the middle class, white, so-called "normal" class of American population. Rashedi deconstructed the disordered eating Mar presented in her work which was centered on establishing some control over her life, engendering a sense of belonging with her peers, and using her body to show her American identity. Ultimately, Mar finds other ways to assert her independence from her family and value her body and ethnicity rather than using disordered eating as a way to reject them, however the memoir and Rashedi's analysis of the disordered eating within the narrative pres-

ent an alternative outlook from the more typical "western beauty standards" on the causes of disordered eating.

Jessica Phillips' presentation discussed her work with university clinicians about treating disordered eating with diverse groups of women. She began her presentation by asserting that most of the research done about disordered eating has focused on one particular demographic: white, middle-class women. She argues that while this research is important, it does not easily translate to diagnosis and treatment of disordered eating in women of color. Phillips continued by discussing a variety of reasons diverse groups of women develop eating disorders such as a form of rebellion against strong religious influence or as a way to assimilate to the "normative culture" of the white middle class. Phillips argues that as more and more women of color seek out higher education and attend universities, the university clinicians should attempt to focus their treatment of eating disorders with a mindset that encompasses a wide range of body image issues, disordered eating, and distinctive experiences with gender based on factors regarding race, ethnicity, and class.

The final presentation in this panel, "Your Food Obsession is Not as Endearing as You Think it is: Lorelai Gilmore, Liz Lemon, and Other Hungry Women" by April Davidauskis, looked at the presentation of hungry women in popular culture. Davidauskis focused most of her presentation

on analyzing the two main characters from the popular television shows, *Gilmore Girls* and *30 Rock*. She discusses how in both of these shows the hungry woman is a funny, endearing character and her obsessions with food are framed as positive qualities in each character. Davidauskis made clear, though, that the almost gluttonous relationships with food displayed by these characters remain funny and endearing because the characters themselves are traditionally beautiful women: thin, white, girl-next-door types. Davidauskis argued that the eating habits of Liz Lemon and Lorelai Gilmore, along with their beauty and charm, enhance the audience's attraction to the characters. She described this phenomena as the "new normative of constructed femininity" and discusses the problems inherent in the endearing quality of a woman with a large appetite for food, but only if that woman fits into the western notion of beauty: thin and light-skinned.

Each of these presentations tackled an aspect of disordered eating in women. They also approach disordered eating with a perspective of diversity, in that the each of the presentations discussed disordered eating in women of varying ethnic, racial, and social backgrounds from a variety of different mediums.

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