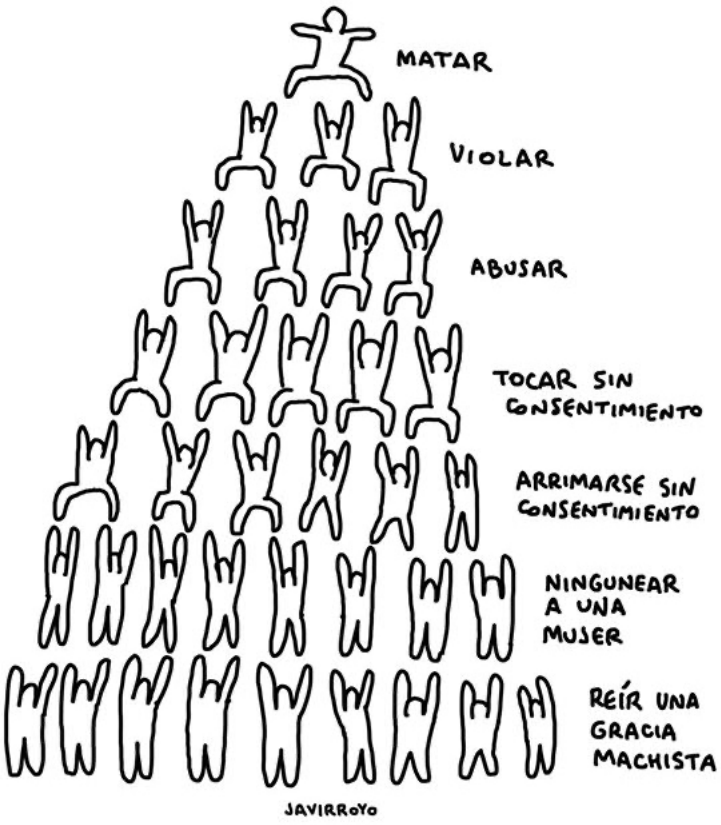
When patriarchy is optional. Interrogating the construction of the -white- Dutch identity through the analysis of gendering and degendering processes in policies concerning violence against women.



Master's Thesis
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Abstract
This thesis examines the connection between the degendering process that the concept of violence against women has suffered in the Netherlands over the last three decades and the 'othering' process of Muslim ethnic minorities in the Dutch context. The Netherlands is exemplary when it comes to implementing politics of gender and sexuality on national and cultural identity politics. This study analyses the culturist discourse that exists in the institutionalisation of different forms of violence when gender is either addressed or erased from the definition. It goes on to identify gender equality in the Netherlands and how the official discourses are embedded in the social imaginary. It concludes with a discussion of the prominent role that the problematisation of the 'Others' occupies in the construction of the white Dutch identity regarding women's emancipation.

Keywords

Culturism, degendering, Dutchness, gendered violence, othering

INTRODUCTION

On the 31st of January of 2020, a tweet by Thierry Baudet, the leader of the Dutch political party *Forum voor Democratie* (Forum for Democracy, FvD), in which he reported a supposedly intimidating incident during a train ride, went viral. He stated that two 'dear friends' had been harassed by 'four Moroccans'. The tweet ended with the statement: *'Oh dear, childishly naive Dutch! Well, finally vote for change, break free from politically correct bullshit. Save this country!'*. The four Moroccans referred to in the tweet happened to be ticket-controllers of NS, the Dutch public railway company, and a policeman, all of them in plain clothes. The supposedly 'intimidating incident' was a regular ticket control met with resistance from the two women who refused to show their train tickets. Thierry Baudet presented his apologies to NS, but not to the Moroccan community. However, while having recognised that the tweet was unfortunate in subsequent declarations, the FvD leader defended the importance of highlighting the issue *'(...) of the effects of mass immigration, integration problems and the lack of safety that many Dutch people see and experience every day as a result'* (Pré, 2020).

Baudet's message gives a twist to the words of Spivak (1988), presenting himself as a 'white man saving white women from brown men'. By representing non-white men as barbaric and violent, he is reproducing a *culturist discourse* dominant in the Dutch social imagination, in which immigrants are considered objects of problematisation (Schinkel, 2013). The term culturism is similar to racism, but it is more adequate to the Dutch context since cultural factors

are identified as the cause of structural inequalities, and at the same time reinforces the construction of the alterity (Schinkel, 2013). The social imagination concerns the 'ways of understanding the social that become social entities themselves, mediating collective life' (Gaonkar, 2002, p.4; in Schinkel, 2013). In his declaration, Baudet refers to the social imagination assumption that Dutch society belongs to the -white- native Dutch population and that they have the right to feel and express discomfort about the 'threat' that certain ethnic groups 'represent' and to defend their 'own culture' (Ghorashi, 2014). This small -but powerful- example embodies the fear of the 'Others,' the non-Western, represented with the portrayal of Moroccan men in the Netherlands as violent and sexist. Therefore, what this situation implies goes beyond the unfortunate declarations of a right-wing politician.

This harsh language used by politicians against Islamic ethnic minorities not only has a large acceptance among the Dutch population (Ghorashi, 2014), but it is also the reflection of a deeper infrastructure in Dutch society. The focus on culture is actually a focus on Islam, which has become casually linked to problems of nuisance, crime and women's emancipation (Schinkel, 2013). This study is based on the particular approach to the institutionalisation of women's emancipation, by considering how gendered violence (also addressed as violence against women in this thesis) is framed in policies in intersection with culture. Violence against women is represented in the Dutch social imaginary as a practice *they* do, as it is punished by law and assumed abolished in the *we* group (de Leeuw & van Wichelen, 2014). Likewise, as Baudet's tweet exemplifies, non-Western men are pictured as barbaric, sexists, and violent. On the other hand, Muslim women's marker of 'otherness' is the headscarf, considered incompatible with the Dutch self-image of an emancipated society (Güveli and Platt, 2011; van Nieuwkerk, 2003; in Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). This problematisation of Islamic ethnic minorities based on women's emancipation finds its roots in the framing of the different forms of violence against women.

On the one hand, the general category in which violence against women is included in the Dutch policy, domestic violence, has suffered a degendering process, leaving out the gender problematic from the term and becoming gender-neutral. Contrarily, when the cultural element is addressed in the definition of violence, as it is the case of 'honour'-based violence, gender becomes an important aspect of the definition. Therefore, when gendered violence is only addressed in reference to determined cultures, the dominant culture becomes invisible and hence, the norm (Wekker, 2016). These two processes coincide in time with the paradigm shift in the Netherlands that moved from supposed multiculturalism towards a harsh integration

policy, emphasizing the incompatibility of the cultural 'Others' with the dominant cultural values (Schinkel, 2013; Schrover, 2010).

The construction of what counts as violence is related to historical relations of gender power, social divisions, ideology and hegemony (Hearn, Strid, Husu, & Verloo, 2016). It is, therefore, the result of the persisting gender domination in institutions and the state control of the violence, offering a whole institutionalised system that allows the construction, identification, naming and defining of what violence is (Hearn, Strid, Husu, & Verloo, 2016). In order to analyse how the definition and categorisation of different forms of violence are performed in policies, this research is conceived from a postcolonial feminism approach, which entails the idea that culturism and the long-lasting economic, political and cultural effects of colonialism in a postcolonial context are inextricably bound up with the gendered realities of non-white and non-Western women (Mohanty, 2003; Trinch, 2001; in Essers & Tedmanson, 2014).

The analysis of this 'othering' process illustrates that tweets as Baudet's are not incidental but rooted in the social dynamics and institutions. The focus of this thesis is to analyse whether 'honour'-based violence could be identified as a tool to hide other structures of violence, inequalities and heteronormativity in the dominant group of Dutch society, since it is identified as a gendered and cultural form of violence. Combining insights from postcolonial feminism and a critical review of the policies' performative power, I aim at analysing the implications that gendering and degendering policies have for different groups in society. Therefore, I ask: ***how does the institutionalization of 'honour'-based violence in the Netherlands contribute to the process of 'othering' of determined ethnic minorities, while reinforcing the construction of the -white- 'Dutch identity'****?*

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Before starting with the theory review, I consider relevant to make a reference to the above-mentioned diversity management policy shift towards integration, as it has been decisive for the problematisation of specific ethnic minorities in recent Dutch history. The culturist political discourse targeting migrants with a Muslim background finds its roots in the 1990s and the 2000s, when right-wing politicians started addressing the supposed multiculturalism as problematic. They claimed that Muslims should be forced to 'assimilate' to Dutch culture instead (Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). These anti-Muslims sentiments were specially directed

to people from Morocco and Turkey (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2004; in Essers & Tedmanson, 2014; Essed & Nimako, 2006). These ideas had a huge impact on the social imagination and became omnipresent and embedded in the culturalist discourse (Schinkel, 2013). The Dutch government responded by developing a legislation in which ethnic diversity is considered disadvantageous to 'social integration' (Lievens, 1999; in Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). It was especially aimed at Turkish and Moroccan Muslims, who were represented 'outside of society' and, therefore, in need of integration (Schinkel, 2013; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014; Schrover, 2010). In the following section, I aim at analysing what the 'inside society' means.

Culturism, Dutchness and 'honour'

As already mentioned, the focus of this thesis relies on culture rather than race. Culturism, or cultural racism (Schinkel, 2008), has a larger presence in Europe than other forms of racism (Winant, 2001; in Essed & Trienekens, 2008), expressing a ranking of cultures in which the 'dominant culture' is at the top (Schinkel, 2007). Although the use of culture has become conventional, it does not mean that references to race (skin colour) in the Dutch social imaginary are completely avoided (Essed & Nimako, 2006). Skin colour stratifications remain a fact. Colour is still one of the most persistent, unchanging, and obvious differences to identify the 'Others' and to avoid mentioning the privileges of white-skinned people (Hondius, 1999; in Essed & Nimako, 2006). Therefore, the colour of the skin remains as a visible indicator of alterity. For that reason, even though I am adopting the culturism approach, I am also explicitly addressing the whiteness of the Dutch dominant cultural group.

In the Netherlands, public discourses around integration are mostly about 'ethnicity,' 'national identity,' or about modern cultures clashing with 'traditional' cultures, mostly concerning those of Muslim faith (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). In the Dutch context, culturism is a synonym of '*allochtonisation'* (Ghorashi, 2014), a relational concept that identifies the 'culturally different' as non-white, postcolonial migrant or migrant workers, associated with social problems, in opposition to the 'white autochthony' -Dutchness- (Çankaya & Mepschen, 2019), mostly identified with the values of gender equality, sexual freedom, freedom of speech, and individualism (de Leeuw & van Wichelen, 2014). As culturism problematises 'the other cultures' for their lack of adjustment to 'the dominant cultures,' they create a 'discourse of alterity' (Castoriadis, 1997; in Schinkel, 2008) equivalent to racism. As Latour (1993) discusses, when the adjective 'modern' appears, we are defining, by contrast, the other cultures as pre-modern, archaic and anchored in the past. This cultural hierarchy, symbolised in the

tweet of Baudet, assumes the historical maturity of the European cultures and defends the moral right to force the rest of the world into Western modes of modernity (Goldberg, 1993; in Essed & Trienekens, 2008). As Edward Said (1979) argues, Orientalist discourses have viewed Muslims through the prism of religion. Islam has been seen as a static, monolithic and backward doctrine that both explains and determines Muslim behaviour, and therefore in need of progress.

This thesis critically explores the concept of 'honour'-based violence to understand how it grounds and performs 'othering' and gendering, and how this fits into the culturalist discourse of the modern white versus the backward 'Others'. The concept of 'honour' involves controversy and it is thus represented in this thesis with quotation marks. 'Honour' is a type of social status based not on wealth, leadership, participation, or education, but force (Black, 2011; in Cooney, 2014). However, 'honour' is a complex term to be understood and defined, and it might as well suffer variations among different cultures and languages (Emmers, 2018).

Homonationalism, women's emancipation and national identity

The idea of modernity in the Netherlands is closely related to the sexual revolution, emancipation and social progress (Buijs, Geesink, & Holla, 2013). As mentioned above, multiculturalism appears in the public discourse as detrimental for women, as well as for LGBTQ+ people, because Islamic cultures are framed as 'backwards,' 'homophobic,' 'misogynistic,' and 'disadvantaged' (Bracke, 2012; Puar, 2007; de Leeuw & van Wichelen, 2005). The Dutch case is exemplary when it comes to incorporating gender and sexuality politics into national identity and politics (Bracke, 2012). Women's and LGBTQ+ emancipation have become an intrinsic part of Dutch society and culture (Bracke, 2012). Connecting it to the focus of this thesis, in the culturist debate, Muslim women are framed as victims of 'their culture' under the assumption that they are interested in adopting 'Western values', and their integration into Dutch society is seen as an end to their victimisation (Prins, 2000; in Bracke, 2012). These narratives and practices of rescue are embedded in the 'othering' process (Bracke, 2012) and offer a framework for understanding the institutionalisation of 'honour'-based violence.

Sexual emancipation seems to establish itself more solidly in the foundations of the West's idiosyncrasy, mainly because it matches with the neo-liberal ideal of individualism (Buijs, Geesink, & Holla, 2013). Next to it, European right-conservative politicians have appropriated the discourse of women's and LGBTQ+ rights, using it for their nationalistic and

Islamophobic agenda (Buijs, Geesink, & Holla, 2013). Considering the Dutch context, women's and sexual emancipation find their ways crossed in the Dutch socio-political agenda of the 1960s, as a definition of social progress (Buijs, Geesink, & Holla, 2013). The national recognition and inclusion of sexual freedom are called here Homonationalism (Bracke, 2012). Homonationalism refers to how the discourses of sexual freedom represent and reinforce the social imaginary of the Dutch national identity as liberated and tolerant, against the Muslim cultures portraited as traditionally oppressed (Mepschen, Duyvendak, & Tonkens, 2010). This narrative of freedom based on sexual rights provides the ground for the construction of the emancipation of white women as a fact, as addressed by the former Minister of Social Affairs Aart-Jan de Geus, responsible for the Emancipation Direction. In 2003, the Minister declared that *"the emancipation of the autochthon (native) Dutch woman is complete''* (NRC, 2003). By explicitly addressing white women, black, migrant and refugee women were automatically excluded (Wekker, 2016). Likewise, it is to be expected that policies to promote gender equality focus on certain ethnic minorities rather than the dominant group.

Yet the debate about sexuality in the Netherlands is more public and open than ever. Heteronormativity still has a prevailing position in society and, at the same time, feminism is seen as something archaic and unnecessary (Buijs, Geesink, & Holla, 2013).

Gendering Vs. degendering violence

By considering women of the dominant group as emancipated, they become invisible and established as the norm (Wekker, 2016). White women are seen as modern, civilised and democratic in opposition to 'othered' Muslim women, who are considered pre-modern, tribal and non-democratic (Razack, 2008: 84; in Gill & Brah, 2014). Culture becomes associated with the 'Others' and Muslim women are portrayed as oppressed by patriarchal structures of Islamic traditions (Gill & Brah, 2014).

Next to the cultural element of analysis, this thesis also focuses on violence and how it is categorised. Violence, the central concept of this thesis, is a form of social inequality which highlights the unequal social distribution of power, defining who does what to whom (Hearn, Strid, Husu, & Verloo, 2016). While low-income minorities and racialised women can be more vulnerable to violent structures (Dominguez & Menjivar, 2014), the term 'violence against women' recognizes the structural element of violence, in which violence is shaped by and structures social positions and gender hierarchy, serving to maintain inequality (Hearn, Strid, Husu, & Verloo, 2016). This term is thus a gendered category. However, when violence against

women is constructed only as domestic violence, as it is the case in the Netherlands, the structural elements of violence become blurry and designate women's problems as something concerning the private sphere and the individual, and therefore not as an issue to be addressed at the public and political scope (Hearn, Strid, Husu, & Verloo, 2016). Domestic violence appears as a degendered form of violence.

When this type of violence automatically becomes a private problem, social and structural features are eliminated. The state policy in the Netherlands has shifted from a specific gender focus in the early policy plans (see Lauwers & van der Wal, 2010; and Roggeband, 2012) towards policies that have gradually degendered the problem by turning attention to boys and men as potential victims, and therefore de-emphasizing the gendered distribution of both victimisation and abuse (Lauwers & van der Wal, 2010; in Hearn, Strid, Husu, & Verloo, 2016). In the Netherlands there is no integral legislation covering all forms of violence against women, resulting in a fragmented, 'soft' and degendered Dutch policy-making (Hearn, Strid, Husu, & Verloo, 2016). As explained before, women's emancipation is presented as an achievement and one of the values that define 'white autochthony' or the Dutchness. Contrarily, Muslim women are represented as oppressed. Gender inequalities are highlighted in the 'Others.' Consequently, only culturally specific policies of intervention appear as gendered. This is the case of 'honour'-based violence.

The ways in which categories are formed depend on essential historical experience and how these are institutionalised (Berger, 1972). The institutionalisation of violence against women as gendered or degendered generates official discourses that perform the social imaginary, which, in turns, is reinforced through the use that individuals give to these discourses. In the following sections, I will analyse how these institutional discourses of gendering and degendering are integrated into policies and the depth and acceptance they have in society.

METHODOLOGY

As previously described, this research aims to explore the construction of the -white- Dutch identity around the institutionalisation of women's emancipation, using the treatment and categorisation of the concept of 'honour'-based violence as a gendered and culturalised form of violence in opposition to 'domestic violence.' For that purpose, this research will analyse violence categories in which gendering/degendering is intersected with cultural labels, taking a postcolonial feminism approach. Postcolonial feminism provides a framework for deconstructing assumptions embedded in Western feminism and exposing the relations of power intersecting ethnicity and gender (Wheedon, 2002; Yegenoglu, 1998; in Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). In light of this, the methodology chosen for the conduction of this study is a qualitative research design combining both document and critical discourse analysis. The aim to utilize triangulation in the data analysis is to provide a confluence of multiple sources of evidence that breeds credibility (Eisner, 1991; in Bowen, 2009).

Document analysis

In the study of the structure of the social reality, the concepts appearing in the vocabulary of a given language are historical and cultural constructs (Fairclough, 2013). Considering this, policies constitute not only the interpretation or representation of political issues, but they also frame which problems are represented and how (Carol Bacchi ,1999; in Hearn, Strid, Husu, & Verloo, 2016). Following a Foucaultian approach, policies do not constitute a separate sphere from social reality, but they are a 'social event,' an 'effect' on the concrete institutional practices. They create discourses representing the order of the laws and the truth, which in turn obtain their power through us and our practices (Foucault, 1992). Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents (Bowen, 2009), to gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; in Bowen, 2009). Documents provide background information as well as historical insight, supplying means fortracking change and development (Bowen, 2009).

Firstly, the documents and institutions chosen for this analysis attempt to understand the evolution of the conceptualisation of women's emancipation in the Netherlands. The documents selected for this purpose are the emancipation policies from the 1980s until the 2010s, the *Emancipatiemonitor* and the *Emancipatienota* 2018-2021. The *Emancipatiemonitor* is a publication concerning the status of women's emancipation, and the *Emancipatienota* is the document in which the practical steps of the emancipation policy are explained. Secondly, this analysis seeks to comprehend the relation between the process of gendering and

degendering and culture. The documents selected for it are the categorisations of domestic violence and 'honour'-based violence of the actual policies, which can be found on the websites of the Ministry of Culture, Welfare and Sport, and the National Expertise Centre for Honour-related Violence (*Landelijk Expertise Centrum Eergerelateerd Geweld -LEC EGG,* in Dutch).

Critical discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is concerned with how individuals use language in specific social contexts, producing explanations of themselves, their relationships and the world in general, hence actively constructing these domains (Dick, 2004). Critical discourse analysis assumes that these constructions operate not only to be logical, but also to reproduce or challenge ideological systems of belief that exist in society (Dick, 2004). This is what Foucault addressed as knowledge production. Foucault suggests that knowledge production is a product of the discipling operation of power through the discourse, normalising the social practice (Foucault, 1977). Discourse constitutes the identity of individuals and their relationship with the ideological systems (Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, once the institutional discourse about violence against women is analysed, the second part of this study attempts to demonstrate that the discourse does exist in the social imaginary, and it is used by individuals.

For that purpose, I have chosen three online forums/debate spaces to identify how individuals incorporate and reproduce the dominant discourses and categorisations around gendered violence. The forums are chosen for addressing gendered violence explicitly in different socio-spatial contexts. The particularity of these forums lies in the fact that participation is spontaneous and voluntary. Moreover, participation in the Internet offers some sort of anonymity, which can be seen as an advantage for expressing one's true opinion. As a disadvantage, this anonymity also allows the existence of troll activity. In Internet slang, a troll is "*someone who leaves an intentionally annoying or offensive message on the Internet, in order to upset someone or to get attention or cause trouble*" (Troll, n.d.). However, trolls are mostly detected by the users, and it may be interesting to observe if the rest of the participants agree with certain hate messages.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Evolution of policy responses to domestic violence in the Netherlands along three decades: from the 1980s until the end of the 2000s

The objective of this section is to analyse the evolution of the Dutch emancipation policy from the 1980s until the end of the 2000s. This is particularly significant because the policy started as a strong statement against patriarchal structures of power, and it ended as a degendered (or gender-neutral) definition of the problem, potentially generating a negative effect for women (Roggeband, 2012). Moreover, the evolution of the policy connects the processes of gendering and degendering with the social events that promoted the shift towards the integration policy and the problematisation of the 'Others.' To show this, I have chosen the article by Roggeband (2012) because it constitutes a complete review of the shifting policy responses to domestic violence in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2009.

1980s- As referred in the theoretical framework, the Netherlands was a pioneer in integrating women's and sexual emancipation into the socio-political agenda. As a result of the feminist movement, the Netherlands was one of the first European countries to develop specific policies to combat violence against women in the 1980s (Roggeband, 2012). In the plan issued in 1984, violence against women appeared framed as a problem rooted in the unequal power relations between men and women and as a central mechanism in maintaining inequality (Roggeband, 2012). One decade later, however, the trend moved towards a degendered approach to the problem's framing.

1990s- During the decade of the 1990s, gendered violence gains prominence in the international agendas becomes an issue which must be institutionally addressed to be eradicated. This position is portraited in the Beijing UN World Conference on Women and the 1997 Resolution of the European Parliament on the need to establish an EU-wide campaign for zero tolerance of violence against women (Roggeband, 2012). Within this context, the Netherlands launches a new gender equality plan in 1999. However, despite the clear international gendered approach to violence, the Dutch government adopted the category of 'domestic violence', introducing a degendered framing of the problem (Roggeband, 2012). Moreover, this new plan emphasises the masculine role as a potential victim of violence. This shift towards a degendered policy coincides with the coalition government of the labour party with two liberal parties. The government implemented a decentralisation and privatisation operation with a distinct neoliberal ideology (Trouw, 1994), where the ideas of individual freedom and the market rules are central pillars. From that perspective, the coalition adopted

a gender-neutral discourse, which made it hard to refer to gendered issues as any distinction between the sexes would appear as discriminatory (Outshoorn, 2000; in Roggeband 2012). The adoption of the term 'domestic violence' implies that the problem is framed as a degendered or gender-neutral problem. The implications result in the adoption of several policy measures without acknowledging that domestic violence is a gendered problem that needs an integral response to reduce gender inequalities (Roggeband, 2012).

2000s- With the beginning of the 2000s, the issue of domestic violence focused on ethnic minority populations prominently (Roggeband, 2012). Once more, the policy shift was related to the political ideology predominant in the government. The populist party *Lijst Pim Fortuyn*, of the gay politician Pim Fortuyn formed a right-wing coalition together with the Christian Democrats and the Conservative Liberals. Although Fortuyn was murdered by an environmentalist in 2002, his discourse translated into the political agenda towards strong anti-Muslim, racist and anti-democratic directions (Jivraj & de Jong, 2011).

The specific issue of LGTBQ+ people became a signal of the 'problematic of Muslim integration' and became increasingly seen as the failure of the supposed multiculturalism (Jivraj & de Jong, 2011). The integration of Muslim immigrants was problematised in relation to traditional right-wing ideology, but moreover in relation to progressive ideas such as homosexual rights and gender equality (Outshoor & Oldersma, 2007; in Roggeband, 2012). This is what Gloria Wekker refers as 'homonostalgia,' the allegory to supposed good old days existent in the Dutch imaginary in which the Netherlands was -supposedly- a nation with a complete women's and homosexual emancipation before Moroccan and Turkish Muslims migrants were present in the Dutch society (Wekker, 2009). Hence, this nostalgia invokes the arrival of the 'Others,' which has disturbed the supposedly pre-existing idyllic Netherlands (Jivraj & de Jong, 2011). The recognition of homosexuality and women's emancipation became almost a requirement for Muslim groups in order to be accepted and enter modernity, and consequently, the test deciding whether they should be allowed to belong in Dutch society (Wekker, 2009).

In this context, in the 2000s the government started to develop policies for 'culture-specific' forms of gendered violence such as honour killings, forced marriages, and female genital mutilation, marking ethnic minorities as specific target groups in domestic violence policies (Roggeband, 2012). In 2004, the government presented a policy plan that associated the culture of migrants with unequal gender relations, where many forms of violence against women were labelled as 'culturally legitimated' (Roggeband, 2012). Since the issue of

domestic violence was defined in degendered terms, the problem of violence related to ethnic minority groups was framed as a gendered problem (Roggeband, 2012). This degendered approach to domestic violence was criticized by the United Nations in 2007. In response, in 2008 the government issued a plan recognizing the gendered power differences and the male dominance as underlying causes of violence (Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 2008; in Roggeband, 2012). Moreover, the government announced the intention to study how domestic violence policies can become more gender-specific (Roggeband, 2012).

As this summary has shown, the processes of degendering of violence against women and gendering of 'culture-specific' forms of violence are closely related to the culturalization of the political discourse. Gender inequality and gendered violence became institutionalised as culturalised problems, while the category addressed for the dominant group turned into gender-neutral terms. In what follows, I will first explore gender equality in the Netherlands in order to identify how it was erased in the categorisation of domestic violence.

A snapshot of gender equality in the Netherlands in 2018

Gendered violence is directly related to the status and conception of gender equality in society. Until the end of the 2010s, gender equality was considered as complete in the dominant group, and thus violence against women became a degendered category. However, opposite to what the former Minister responsible for Emancipation expressed in 2003 when he proclaimed the achievement of -white- women's emancipation in the Netherlands, his current colleague states a different assurance. Ingrid van Engelshoven, the minister responsible for the Emancipation Department, declares that '*emancipation is far from over*'. This is also a clear conclusion from the *Emancipatiemonitor* (Emancipation Monitor). The Emancipatiemonitor 2018 of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) is a 'publication that contains the results of biennial research into the emancipation of women in the Netherlands, on themes that are central to national emancipation policy' (Emancipatiemonitor, 2018, p. 6). The results are optimistic in respect of the previous publication of 2015, but gender equality is far from being achieved in the Netherlands. I have clustered the points analysed in the Emancipatiemonitor into two big themes: the position and participation of women in the labour market and the violence against women.

The results of the Emancipatiemonitor show that, in the Netherlands, precariousness and violence have a gender: precariousness has a feminine face and the execution of violence has a masculine form. The fact that women are more precarious and more likely to be victims

of violence is part of the same unequal structure, in which the male gender occupies a privileged position. The Emancipatiemonitor specifically mentions 'violence against women', hence it is acknowledged. Although the proportion of women who reported being a victim of abuse, threats or sexual offence has decreased, *'women are more likely to experience violence at home and more than by men, the (ex-) partner or a family member is the perpetrator*' (Emancipatiemonitor, 2018, p. 90). Also, '*men are more suspected of crime than women*' (Emancipatiemonitor, 2018, p. 94). Domestic violence is thus gendered violence undercover, since '*women more often victims of a perpetrator they know. In half of all violent crimes against women, the perpetrator was known for the victim'* (Emancipatiemonitor, 2018, p. 95). Men still occupy substantially the public spaces while women remain relegated to the private sphere. This privilege gives men the ability to exercise power, control and perpetrate violence over the other gender, backed by the institutions and the system's structure that is still patriarchal, despite the progress accomplished. Being this the social context of the gender equality status in the Netherlands of 2018, the next step is to analyse under which approach the current Emancipatienota (Emancipation policy announcement/reference 2018-2021) is framed and if it possesses a more gender-specific approach towards domestic violence, as announced by the government at the end of the 2000s.

Emancipatienota 2018-2021: current steps towards emancipation

The Emancipatienota (Emancipation policy note) is the document that presents the practical steps for the current policy period, considering these themes: labour market; social security and acceptance; and gender diversity equal treatment. The document is written in the first person by the Minister of Emancipation, Ingrid van Engelshoven, and outlines the practical principles set by the Minister towards women's and LGBTQ+ emancipation.

<u>The individual is the focus</u>

The Emancipatienota follows the guiding principle that '*all citizens must be able to organize their lives as they wish*' (Emancipatienota, 2018, p. 2), so clearly appealing to the right of individuality. The idea of emancipation is framed as a combination of individual freedom of choice and the possibility to 'shape your own life.' However, freedom is not only aimed at the individual but is also intrinsically related to the community for the rest of society. This focus on individualization minimises the attention to the primacy of society, hence to the relevant role that gender plays in performing individuals' behaviour. This prevalence of the individual

over society is in harmony with the liberal ideology that still prevails in the current government, and present in the discourses in which there is no reference to culture.

Equality or economic growth?[1]

The Emancipatienota problematises the labour market participation of women. Economic growth has a prevalent position over equality, as stated in the report:'*greater labour participation is also an important source of economic growth, increases purchasing power, and leads to more tax and premium income'* (Emancipatienota, 2018, p. 3). As analysed by the Emancipatiemonitor, this document also constates that women work fewer hours and mostly part-time, have a lower salary, and occupy lower scaled jobs that are traditionally more precarious. However, there is no further criticism or approach to the implication of traditional gender roles. Work and care tasks are admittedly unevenly distributed between men and women, but this is not further discussed in the document. An example of this is when referred to as *'many people (especially women, but also men) consciously choose to combine paid work with part-time work with caring for children, or with informal care for family members. Part-time jobs have contributed to the relatively high number of women in paid work. But (small) part-time jobs also have disadvantages. Those who work little earn less and also have fewer opportunities to develop professionally and move up. Small part-time jobs maintain an uneven distribution of paid work and unpaid care between men and women*' (Emacipatienota, 2018, p. 3). The document also lacks an agenda addressing gender inequalities in other societal levels, only mentioning: '*I expect educational institutions to pay explicit attention to career expectations in professional orientation. The government expects the social partners to take up the gauntlet to encourage companies in all sectors to make greater efforts to facilitate the careers of young women and to remove obstacles to this*' (Emancipatienota, 2018, p. 4).

Violence against women

The first reference to structural inequalities in the document is made in regard to security and equal treatment :*gender-related (sexual) violence against women is rooted in unequal power relations between women and men. Violence against women is also linked to structural inequalities that women experience in all aspects of their lives*" (Emancipatienota, 2018, p. 8). Although it is acknowledged that women are more likely to suffer violence and intimidation and that this happens in a higher percentage in the private sphere, the document concentrates

[1] Based on the policy analysis of Eleveld & Versantvoort, 2011.

it efforts in reducing gendered violence and sexual intimidation in the public spaces, workspaces and public transport. This is mainly because the focus on LGTBQ+ persons gains importance, and their violence-related problems are more related to the public space. Despite mentioning that '*stereotypes about masculinity and femininity affect social acceptance and safety. Lack of income makes women more vulnerable to violence at home, and having more female leaders has a positive effect on organizational culture and a safe working environment, breaking stereotypes. This means that a step forward in one area is also good for the other*' (Emancipatienota, 2018, p. 14), there is no specific intervention towards a gendering shift on the specific treatment of domestic violence.

Gender diversity instead of gender neutral

The Minister states in the document that she advocates for the use of 'gender diversity' instead of 'gender neutrality,' acknowledging the existence of different gender roles: '*today's society has people's expectations based on gender norms; ideas about how women and men should behave. These standards can have adverse effects'* (Emancipatienota, 2018, p. 12). Despite this perspective, the objective remains the individual development, as she mentions that *'by combating stereotyping, the government wants to increase the freedom of everyone*' (Emancipatienota, 2018, p. 12). Gender inequalities are understood as something women and LGTBQ+ persons suffer and should achieve without discussing the privileges men hold in society.

Minister Van Engelshoven's emancipation document is focused on individualization and pays less attention to the primacy of gender roles. There is too much attention to the participation of women in the labour market and little consideration to breaking or questioning the traditional gender roles, neither contributing with lines of intervention in education nor discussing the distribution of care/housework tasks.

Both in the Emancipatiemonitor and the Emancipatienota, the conclusion is that women are more likely to be victims of domestic violence, and men are more suspected of being perpetrators of it. It is thus expressed that violence has a gender. In the next section, I am going to analyse whether this categorisation can be found in the official definitions of violence.

Violence categorisations

The definition of domestic violence can be found on the website of the Ministry of Culture, Welfare and Sport, and it is framed as a degendered category. Domestic violence is defined as

'*violence committed by someone from the victim's domestic or family circle. This includes physical and sexual assault, harassment and threats (whether or not through, or accompanied by, damage to property in and around the home)*' (Cultuur, n.d.*),* and thus framed using a degendered or gender-neutral approach, despite the conclusions of the Emancipatiemonitor and the modest gender approach of the Emancipatienota. The definition also addresses that domestic violence refers to "*the relationship between perpetrator and victim. There is usually a power difference*" (Cultuur, n.d.), and a dependency dynamic. The different forms of domestic violence that are contemplated are: child abuse; elder abuse; honour-related violence (such as honour killings); female genital mutilation; forced marriage; and partner violence and ex-partner violence in all forms (including psychological abuse and stalking) (Cultuur, n.d.). Except for child abuse and elder abuse, in all other forms of domestic violence women are the most susceptible group to suffer it, especially since domestic violence is framed in terms of dependency and power difference between the parts. As concluded in the Emancipatiemonitor, in the Netherlands, because of their social position, women are part of the group more likely to become victims of domestic violence here. This is acknowledged when mentioned that '*women are the largest group of victims*' (Cultuur, n.d.). However, the definition also states that '*men, children and the elderly are also victims of domestic violence*' (Cultuur, n.d.), but for different reasons one could say. Domestic violence appears as a non-culturalised category, as it is mentioned that it '*occurs in all layers and groups of the population*' (Cultuur, n.d.), as well as degendered, although it has a subcategory targeting men as potential victims, specially LGTBQ+ men.

Being addressed as a subcategory of domestic violence, 'honour'-based violence is identified as an *'umbrella term for forms of intimidation, coercion, psychological and physical violence committed from an honour motive. The violence must prevent a family member from displaying behaviour that may damage family honour*' (Cultuur, n.d.). The Ministry of Culture, Welfare and Sports defines it as '*any form of mental or physical violence, committed from a collective mentality in response to a -threat of- violation of the honour of a man or a woman and thus of his or her family, of which the outside world is or threatens to become aware*' (Working definition of the Ministry of Justice, Beke 2005; Cultuur, n.d.). In the definition itself there is no direct relation to this form of violence with specific cultures. However, there is a subtle connection of 'honour'-based violence to a more archaic understanding of gender roles (hence an indirect reference to other cultures) when it is mentioned that *'there are often orthodox views on the role of women and men, and on the sexuality and reproductive rights of*

women. The woman's honour is linked to her sexuality. And the woman's sexual honour is linked to the family honour' (Cultuur, n.d.). In addition to that, it is also mentioned that '*girls and women have a responsibility to uphold family honour, parents, men and boys to guard and restore it if necessary*' (Cultuur, n.d.). There is a strong gender component both in the application and in the reception of violence based on 'honour.' This is not to say that men cannot become victims of 'honour'-based violence, but that it either has to do with his relationship with a woman or their sexuality, so clearly regarding gender male expectations.

In the definition used by the Ministry of Culture, Welfare and Sports, domestic violence appears as a degendered and non-culturalised category. Contrarily, 'honour'-based violence is described as a notably gendered and only slightly culturalised category, although not explicitly.. While domestic violence does not refer to gender differences, 'honour'-based violence's definition defines girls and women as receptors of this form of violence and men as perpetrators of it.

The next step in this part of the analysis is to examine how the approach of 'honour'-based violence by the National Expertise Centre for Honour-Related Violence (*Landelijk Expertise Centrum Eergerelateerd Geweld*, LEC EGG, in Dutch) which directly researches this form of violence and advises the police forces about it.

The approach on 'honour'-based violence by the experts

On the website of the LEC EGG there is an explicit mention to culture when the concept of 'honour'-based violence is described, by mentioning that '*victims of honour killings and related violence are often Dutch with a Turkish, Moroccan, Iraqi or Afghan background. The violence does not arise from religion but mainly has to do with cultural and social rules within a community*' (LEC EGG, n.d.). In the same website, it is also addressed that women*, in particular, are victims of honour killings. This happens if, for example, a woman has cheated on a married man, does not agree to an arranged marriage, is homosexual, or does not cooperate. The other way around, it also happens in men and boys. This mainly concerns men who do not want to participate in honour-related violence against another'.* In addition to this gender reference, it is also mentioned that men and boys can also be protagonists of 'honour'-based violence, but it '*mainly concerns men who do not want to participate in honour-related violence against another'* (LEC EGG, n.d.). Thus in this framework, we find the gendered labels intersecting with culture. Moreover, the Dutch definition of 'honour'-based violence also

addresses the LGBTQ+ community as potential victims, connecting this form of violence with the social imaginary in which Islamic cultures are portrayed as LGBTQ+ unfriendly.

The reference to culture mentioned above is a constant in the different topics covered by the website. Moreover, it is clear that this specific form of violence occurs in these cultures and this calls for ad hoc measures. When talking about prevention and approach to 'honour'-based violence, it says '*this is especially important when it comes to families with a non-Western background. (...) It is then not looked at from the Dutch perspective, but an own perspective'* (LEC EGG, n.d.). This is significant. On the one hand, to some extent, it refers to the difficulty of integration for people with a non-Western background when highlighting the necessity for them to be treated without a Dutch perspective (their perspective). On the other hand, it clearly establishes a difference between 'us' and 'them,' reinforcing a certain idea of what a 'Dutch perspective' could be without giving any details, hence appealing to the collective imaginary of what that could mean. The idea that 'honour'-based violence affects some cultures becomes reinforced when its manifestations are addressed as a form that '*mainly occurs in non-Dutch families'* (LEC EGG, n.d.). This raises questions such as: When does a family become Dutch? What is a non-Dutch family? Again, the idea of being Dutch is addressed without details, as something established, well understood and as an exclusionary category. Cultures are represented as closed compartments, as a 'cultural freezing.' This enforces the essentialist ideas about cultures, and since they are considered static, integration or adaptation is considered impossible (Schrover, 2010).

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The second part of the analysis aims at identifying the institutional discourses discussed above through their reproduction in the interactions of individuals in different online forums/debates. I have analysed three forums whose content supports a certain discourse regarding degendering and Islamophobia in the form of culturism and problematization of the 'Others.' The analysis is organised in two categories:

1. Gender and culture: the oppression of Muslim women and the problem of the 'Others'
2. Domestic violence as a degendered category

The first forum chosen for this critical discourse analysis is the comments section on the public television sender NPO3 video 'How victims end up in hotels after domestic violence' (*Hoe slachtoffers na huiselijk geweld in hotels belanden, in Dutch*), dated on the 3rd October of 2019. In the video, two hosts analyse the precarious situation of women's shelters due to an

emergency beds shortage. The video is uploaded in NPO3's YouTube channel, and it has 277 comments and 61,390 views. Although this reportage is explicitly about a gender-relatedproblem, not all comments make reference to it.

The second chosen forum is the discussion derived from the tweet by Hugo de Jonge, Minister of Health, Welfare and Sport, and Deputy Prime Minister, published on the 1st of May of 2020. The tweet announces a new campaign to facilitate the reporting of domestic violence to pharmaceuticals during the COVID-19 lockdown. Domestic violence has escalated during the lockdown, and to facilitate the denouncement to potential victims, the Ministry launched a campaign. To present the initiative, de Jonge posted: *'If you don't feel safe at home, this time is more difficult. Especially now, nothing should stand in the way of women to report domestic violence. The code word 'mask 19' at the pharmacy is an option for victims to ask for help"*. The tweet has 275 retweets, 361 likes and 168 views. The reactions to the tweet are mostly against the government's management of the COVID-19 crisis, but there are still 45 comments making a reference to gender.

The last forum chosen for this analysis is the online forum of the Dutch weekly magazine VIVA, which targets young women and it is one of the most important magazines in the Netherlands due to its enormous reach. VIVA's forum is described as an open space in which participants can propose different topics and discuss them. On the 20th June of 2016, an anonymous participant opened a discussion about 'honour' killings (*eerwraak* in Dutch) by posting an 'honour' killing case covered in the news. The discussion has 165 comments, and although not all of them are related to the main topic, there are interesting conversations around the origin and form of the term.

Gender and culture: the oppression of Muslim women and the problem of the 'Others'

The culturist discourse emphasizes the 'incompatible' cultural differences between ethnic minorities and the dominant group, creating a representation of the 'Others' as objects of problematisation (Schinkel, 2013). This representation is created in what Willem Schinkel refers to as social imagination, a common imaginary place in which the social representations are closely connected to the discourses (van Dijk, 1993: 37; in Schinkel, 2013). With respect to this thesis, in the Netherlands Muslim women appear represented as oppressed due to 'their culture' (Prins, 2000; in Bracke, 2012), while white women are portraited as emancipated. The discourse that supports this representation has to do with rooted political ideas and the subsequent translation into policies, in which Islam is signalled as the problem of gendered

violence and a narrative of 'rescuing Muslim women' is institutionalised (Bracke, 2012), being this the case of 'honour'-based violence. The association of Muslim women as victims of violence is made straightforwardly in the different debates, whether making the relation or criticising it. In the comments regarding the tweet of the Minister Hugo de Jonge, there are four comments specifically addressing this association, bytranslating the code word 'masker 19' into Arabic and directly accusing the Muslim culture of promoting violence against women by saying: *'Bring even more Muslims to the Netherlands with their misogynistic views and head rags. Then you can come up with more codewords in a few years!!'* (Verke 2). There are also reactions criticising the association of Muslim women as victims of domestic violence, in comments such as: '*Nice cliché again, the always oppressed Muslim woman, while the statistics show something else, it is the white Henk who mistreated Ingrid 99 times out of 100*' (Jo Zef). The institutionalisation of this discourse which associates gendered violence with Islamic cultures finds its ground in the definition of 'honour'-based violence in the Dutch policy. When this specific form of violence is discussed, there are references to the culturist discourse in which Muslims are portrayed as sexist and backwards, such as in this comment: *'f the woman is not equal in value to the man, this phenomenon persists (...) But in many cultures, a woman is less than a cow, so it has a long way to go should it ever change. In our country we have only just started with equal rights, so we feel that we are at the forefront. But you see that as cultures with honour killings move here, the behaviour just continues. It is very deep'* (Swifty). When some users attempt to disassociate 'honour' killings to these cultures and link it to the white Dutch group, such as the user Lujane when commenting '*the Netherlands also has honour killings, and I am not referring here to immigrants. Only they give it a different name "family drama" but meanwhile killed his wife including the children and the dog,"* other users respond claiming the use of the definition proposed by the National Expertise Centre of Honour Related Violence, emphasizing its relevance as experts in the matter. 'Honour' killings are pictured as embedded in some cultures, thus as something that happens to 'them.' When comparable crimes are committed in the white Dutch culture, they are addressed and called differently, using expressions such as 'family drama,' 'passion crime,' 'revenge,' and 'jealousy crime.' Therefore, the gender component disappears, and these crimes are automatically relegated to the private space but not connected with the social structures or gender inequalities, as a clear representation of the conceptualisation of domestic violence.

Domestic violence as a degendered category

This section will continue with the representation of domestic violence as a degendered and culturally invisible category. As shown in the first part of the analysis, the Dutch emancipation policy evolved from including gender in the definition of violence against women towards a degendering conceptualisation of it, completely erasing gender and being transformed into the degendered category of domestic violence. Moreover, the Dutch umbrella category of domestic violence targets men as potential victims, which has emphasized the idea of gender-neutrality. Although this idea has been criticised in the current Emancipatienota by the Minister and violence against women remains a reality in the Netherlands, this is not translated into the institutional discourse nor in most comments of the forums. When women are explicitly targeted as victims, the 'gender-neutrality' idea present in the social imaginary seems to be offended, represented in comments as: *'No offense but I find it ridiculous how you are talking about women while domestic violence is just 50% 50%'* (Best Gameplay). Another reference to the need of addressing gender-neutrality can be found in the comment of the user HJ GE: *'Why is there not just structural talk about people, parents, children and partners? I think domestic violence has no gender. Doesn't a father with children need childcare as much as a mother with children?'* However, some users also defend that women are more often victims of violence, as the comment of Anne Pan: *'Because it concerns more women than men. Just a fact'.* Contrarily, when women are directly targeted as potential victims of domestic violence, as the results of the Emancipatiemonitor and the Emancipatienota make reference to, there is an avalanche of comments of the users in what can be synthesized as: 'And what about men?', indicating the need of visualizing men as victims. Moreover, some users find this type of mention sexist, as we read in one of the replies to Minister De Jonge's tweet: '*Nice and stigmatizing. Perhaps, as a responsible minister, you can get a little better information about the figures and let yourself be more nuanced instead of posting a sexist tweet. Distressing how far you are from reality'* (Gerben Verwoert). Likewise, as it occurs in the institutionalisation of the category domestic violence, where there is no explicit reference to culture, the label gender is erased here too. The exclusion of culture is at the same time, indirectly, a mention to the dominant culture, also addressed as the white culture in this thesis. As Gloria Wekker (2016) asserts, when culture only refers to the 'other' cultures, the dominant culture becomes invisible and the norm, reinforcing the discourse of 'othering.' This is transformed in projecting a false image of women's emancipation in the dominant group.

CONCLUSION

In my attempt to analyse how the institutionalisation of 'honour'-based violence could be identified as a tool to hide other structures of violence, inequalities, and heteronormativity in the dominant group of Dutch society, I have tried to visualize the dynamics of culturalism as dominant discourse, its institutionalisation, and the reinforcement of the social imaginary; considering that the institutional and social contexts shape and affect discourses and, at the same time, that discourses influence social and political reality (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013).

The culturist discourse problematises immigrant integration and generates strong and insuperable divisions between cultures (Schinkel, 2013). Culturalism is a form of alterity in which the 'Others' are portrayed as an opposite and negative reflection of the *we* group. In the Dutch case, the *we* group, the 'autochthon', based its identity on secular values most notably freedom and sexual emancipation. Sexual emancipation includes LGBTQ+ rights and women's emancipation, both integrated in the concept of homonationalism. This concept lies the ground for Islamophobic discourses, since Islamic cutlures appear protrayed as contrary to recognizing these rights. Consequently, there is a binary construction of the gender roles of the 'Others' which is reproduced in the distinction between Muslim men, who cause problems (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007; in Schrover & Schinkel, 2013), and Muslim women, who are at at risk (Schrover, 2009, 2010; in Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). Although the focus is in culture rather than race, skin colour remains as a marker of alterity, as illustrated in Baudet's tweet, in which the 'Others' are identified by having a colour of skin different from white. This construction of the 'Others' justifies the need of intervention towards their progress (Said, 1978).

In the Netherlands, culturism finds its grounds in the ideological shift in diversity management, which went from a supposed multiculturalism towards an idea of integration that borders the limits of assimilation. In this process, two phenomena occurred simultaneously. As the problematisation of Muslims gained important in the socio-political discourse, the policy addressing violence against women suffered a degendering process, while policies specifically aimed at Muslims became gendered (Roggeband, 2012). One of these 'culture-specific' policies is 'honour'-based violence, one of the focus of this thesis. Contrarily, violence against women is reframed into the gender-neutral umbrella category 'domestic violence.' The new definition of violence against women as a specific issue of the 'Others' implies that the symbolic patriarchal dominance over women (Grzyb, 2016) is reduced to determined minority groups of the society, and thus ignored on the dominant group.

This discourse is dominant and embedded in the social imaginary since individuals' interactions are based on these principles. As shown in the critical discourse analysis, gendered violence is a problem of Muslim women as culture is seen as the cause. It is therefore not necessary to be addressed by the dominant group since the white Dutch society is imagined at a higher level, where women's emancipation has been achieved and the next step is understood in terms of gender-neutrality. What draws attention in the Dutch context is that men are targeted as potential victims of domestic violence and this discourse has a larger acceptance within the population. The implications of this discourse are that neither the privileges of men in society are called into question, nor those of white people.

The ground of these dominant ideas of the social imaginary are represented by the declarations of the former Minister responsible for Emancipation in 2003. However, what is striking is that more than a decade later the current Minister for Emancipation declares precisely the contrary, namely that women's emancipation is not a reality in the Netherlands yet. The difference is that in this case the Minister does not exclude any women from not being emancipated. This declaration is backed by the results of the Emancipatiemonitor regarding the status of gender equality, and it is included in the current Emancipation policy. Both documents addressed the issue of violence against women as a reality in the Netherlands, and state that the structures that foster gender inequalities are still present. Despite the efforts of being more gender-specific, gender remains erased from the category 'domestic violence,' so the Netherlands continues lacking an integral approach to addressing gendered violence. Violence against women is still relegated to Muslim women, who become targeted, problematised and therefore, hyper-visible. The erasure of the gender approach in gender-specific policies does not seem to be a fortuitous omission. The problematisation of ethnic minorities integration is so dominant in the culturist discourse and the institutions that it seems hard to overcome (Schinkel, 20013). This discourse, in which the 'Others' are projected as the opposite of the dominant group, as sexist and perpetrators of violence against women, produces and constructs certain social conditions for the construction of the white national identity under the Western secular values of modernity (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). The different categorisations of gender and violence in intersection with culture promote the problematisation of Muslim ethnic minorities and highlights discursive distinctions between in- and out- groups (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). Such discursive constructions and the practices through which they are performed constitute spaces of symbolic power (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013), assuming the historical maturity of the Western-European cultures and

defending the moral right to force the rest of the cultures into these modes of modernity; while at the same time overlooking and normalising the patriarchal structures that -also- constrain white women (Gill & Brah, 2014). The culturist discourse problematises the 'Other' cultures, but not the own one. Culture is something associated with ethnic minorities, but not with the dominant group. While culture is framed as something that constrains the 'Others,' the dominant group is self-represented as liberated from it due to the values it embodies. This leads to a privileged position of the dominant group, the white Dutch population, to deliberately ignore patriarchy arbitrarily for the sake of modernity.

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