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Bonnie G. Smith
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their communities and condemn variously their husbands, tribal chiefs, local and national government administrations, and colonial powers.

Women, Food Riots, and a Broader View of Protest and Politics. Another assumption that has been challenged is that women, when protesting as consumers and caregivers, act only out of these identities and therefore seek only the immediate remediation of their basic concerns, whether small-scale or for a perceived "unjust price." Food scarcity creates the most basic kind of need; people who are actually starving look to meet this need first. But food protest has arisen out of far more than absolute diet shortage. In early-twentieth-century Seattle (U.S.), Berlin (Germany), Veracruz (Mexico), and Transkei (South Africa), women fiercely rioted against perceived unfair pricing or distribution practices by local shopkeepers; they combined this with boycotts and sometimes with physical assaults on the offending shopkeepers. In turn, women, like men, have operated out of a number of identities—as workers as well as consumers, as members of their communities, and as subjects or citizens of their states, however formalized. Although there are clearly common elements in women's food riots across space and time, these protests are always tied to specific social structures and particular cultural meanings and practices. And finally, it has become clear that food riots must be seen, in both form and context, as often closely interlaced with other forms of mass protest. Protesters in 1922 Veracruz saw ties between skyrocketing food prices and a rapid spike in rental rates. Riots arising spontaneously in the marketplace might quickly link up with work-site protests; the same actors might be involved in both. Many women protesting food shortages in twentieth-century Mexico and southern Africa became associated with committees or cooperatives. Historians have tended to divorce both the French and the Russian revolutions have made a compelling case for a larger vision that motivated food protesters at some level and for the influence of food riots on broader political events, for example, relating disastrous harvest results to notions of "justice" and "right" that contributed to the building of a revolution. Just as important is that concerning their own survival, whether with fear or with sympathy, also saw this unrest as related to the larger circumstances of revolution, not as some residual, apolitical sideline. In late-seventeenth-century France, when the "Great Fear" riots that often protests formed the basis of a broad movement for reform.

Food has often been an immediate catalyst to protest but can thus also be seen in a larger context of social movements and political social (and political) rights. This sense has become the more clear in the twentieth century across the world, as the globalization of markets has led only to radically increased instances both of food distribution and of food protest. This unrest is thus often at once a basic-level demand for mellioration (using violent, disruptive, or supplicating approaches, or all of these) and a protest against far larger politico-economic conditions (including politics expressed in the most sophisticated terms). Here again there is no simple predictability concerning gender participation: women are often prominent, as caregivers, consumers, producers, and political actors, but their actions are variable and unpredictable. At the same time scholars have increasingly acknowledged—both historically and in the more recent decades—that women have been and continue to be involved in the range of protest forms, so that, just as now understanding that men might participate in subsistence protest, also recognize that women took action outside this arena. Finally, if food riots and other subsistence-based protests continue apace, should not that there is something natural or necessary about the related scarcity, as made clear by recent projects in India and Brazil mentioned above, as well as the implication of a "premodern" form of protest, food riots continue, as war, impoverished globalizing policies, environmental destruction, and other forces continue to spur scarcity and famine.

[see also Agriculture, subsistence Peasantry; and Poverty.]

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BELINDA DAVIS

FOOT-BINDING. For a thousand years foot-binding was a common custom in China. The feet of tender-aged girls were bent and tightly wrapped to shape and shrink them according to prevailing historical and regional styles. The operation induced protracted suffering and was accompanied by considerable pain, since the custom of the foot was to make women seem pliable, respectable, and marriageable, and thus pleasing to men. More subtly, the show of charmed deference marked the inner strength and endurance of pain and suffering.

Some historians have found evidence of foot-binding in early medieval pictures and poems extolling the beauty of small feet, wearing pointed shoes or wrapped in cloth, sometimes portrayed in a mitring gait on pedestals of golden lotus (later a euphemism for bound feet). Conventional wisdom, however, places the origin of foot-binding with a wealthy merchant in the reign of Emperor T'ai T'ien (r. 762-779). The evidence suggests that forms of foot-binding before the Song dynasty (960-1279) displayed a small foot according to prevailing fashions of beauty, whereas the more severe forms of binding, which reduced the size and reshaped the feet of little girls, developed in succeeding dynasties. The shift to more severe forms followed a fundamental reformulation of Chinese civilization during the Song dynasty. Developments in technology, especially the printing press, and urban life coalesced with the institutionalization and propagation of Confucian doctrine among the ranks of common people. The neo-Confucian order placed the pillar of imperial rule on the foundation of the family life, and promoted a view that bound feet and confined women to their domestic roles as wives and mothers. This coalescence of historical forces was embodied in the increasingly common practice of foot-binding.

As a mark of distinction, foot-binding achieved the high tide of its common appeal during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties. According to one estimate, half the women under Ming-Qing rule had bound feet. More than a mere custom, foot-binding became enshrined in the everyday life; it prompted a certain ambitiousness aimed at self-realization in compliability. As foot-binding extended the mask of beauty from face to feet and enabled women, by a determined act of will, to transcend the limitations of their natural bodies, the practice also encouraged women to make an account of themselves beyond the social rank to which their birth had consigned them. Foot-binding fused physical appeal and social status into the practical virtue of self-discipline, the irresistible standard for imperial civility and a promoting marriage. The virtue of self-discipline, which preceded the practice, for failing a good marriage, or otherwise falling on hard times, women with bound feet, whether gentry or common, met life's fortune with forbearance and determination.

Variations. Regional forms of foot-binding varied. More common in some places than in others, it marked different kinds of local and regional distinctions in rank and affinity to bound feet as a signal of order. There were also regional variations of the extentive the practice was and how, in emulating genteel practices that shunned physical labor, common people changed the shape of the foot to suit their particular circumstances. Some working women (e.g. in northern Jiangsu) made a pretense of binding while keeping the shape of their natural feet. Other bound with greater fervor. In the south, a pretentious group of nomadic Tzuu adopted sedentary agriculture and foot-binding during the Ming dynasty; this had the effect of distinguishing them from Tzuu, who maintained the nomadic way of life. In Guangdong, foot-binding was attached with the Han imperial order and was most common among women whose labors were confined to domestic crafts and who dwelled in urban areas of southern provinces (notably Shantou, Shanshi, Hebei, Hainan, and Shanghai). Conversely, working around water, on boats, or in wet rice fields of South China, which required bare feet, vitiated the point of binding and concealing the feet.

The assumption that people who do heavy labor do not bind feet is often used to explain the preference for natural feet in certain groups and in particular times and places. For example, some scholars argue that the anti-binding policy advocated in the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) was based not on an ideology of liberating women but on the cultural preference for natural feet among its original adherents, the poor peasants of Guangxi province. Contrary to popular stereotypes, however, binding did not prevent women from walking or working, and thus it did not retard the exploitation of women's labor power. In addition to domestic work, women with bound feet worked in cottage production and, when needed, labored in dry-field agriculture.

End of Binding. From its advent there was opposition to foot-binding among some literati and imperial officials. The Manchu founders of the Qing dynasty, who did not countenance binding, issued edicts against it that held heads of households responsible on pain of judicial punishment. But these edicts failed to prevent even Manchu women from adopting the practice. The final demise of foot-binding did not occur until another episcopic shift in the course of Chinese civilization: its catastrophic encounter with the European-based world system in the 1840s. Daunted by this cataclysmic engagement, reform-minded Chinese pointed to foot-binding as one of the weak links in their ability to resist or adapt to the European world order. The old rationales were reversed: once the felicitous emblem of the immortal lotus, the bound foot became the collocation of individual and national morbidity; the embroidered shoe gave way to garishly flesh under the glare of Western photography. Opposition to foot-binding became a focal point in movement reforms for national and national revitalization. Some Christian missionaries, believing that a modern education was the effective antidote to foot-binding, established women's study halls, most of which prohibited girls with bound feet to matriculate. In Ningbo, beginning in 1844, the number of halls expanded to 420, with more than fifteen thousand enrollees by 1907. Reaching broader segments of the population were natural-foot associations founded by reform-minded Chinese men and women, often with support from missionaries. From their advent in 1896, natural-foot associations in Guangdong and Sichuan spread to Shanghai, Fujian, Jiangsu, and Hunan, whereupon the movement won the official blessing of Emperor Xiang Hui (r. 1875-1908) in league with a reform faction of his ministers during the 1898 Hundred Days of Reform.

Natural-foot societies propagated the movement by composing ballads and publishing illustrated books and newspaper articles. They also dealt with the practical problems of women willing to quit the practice. These included undergoing the procedure to recover the natural form of the foot and, most difficult, finding a husband or dealing with a mother-in-law who was committed to the custom and loathed the prospect that it would end with her own daughter-in-law. Some of the anti-foot-binding associations managed this last problem by encouraging female members to seek husbands among the male members. These minuscule but resolute beginnings gained momentum after the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1912. The Republican revolutionary government's 1912 ban on foot-binding became axiomatic in the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement, both led by urban intellectuals, which unfolded over the next several years. The ban was actively implemented by regional and local governments under the Nationalist Nanjing regime (1928-1937), and warlord regimes such as those of Yan Xishan and Feng Yuxian in north China enforced their own bans. Each regime issued explicit orders to forbid foot-binding and employed an array of incentives and deterrents toward that end. Despite such efforts, women with fewer opportunities for personal gain in the new society were slower to quit binding. Only after the 1950 Communist mobilization of peasants and workers did foot-binding finally end. The last vestige of binding little girls' feet was rooted out during the movement to form agricultural cooperatives in the late 1950s, which brought Communist power into remote villages. In the modern struggle for women's liberation, Chinese consider the end of foot-binding a major milestone.

[See also China and Taiping Rebellion.]

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C. Fred Blake

FORCED STERILIZATION. See Fertility and Infertility.

For references in the text, please consult the bibliography at the end of the chapter.

FORNER, RAQUEL (1902-1988), twentieth-century Argentine painter. Raquel Forner began her formal artistic training at the National Academy of Fine Arts in Buenos Aires, where she became a professor of drawing in 1922. She also spent time in Europe, especially in Paris and Spain. Forner worked through a variety of representational strategies. From her early work incorporating Paul Cézanne's modernist pictorial simplification of objects, she moved on to the interlocking planes of color and the provocative strategies of surrealism in the 1940s and to the multiple and varied engagements with abstraction and figuration through the 1980s. She exhibited widely in Latin America, Europe, and North America, earning both national and international awards. In Argentina, she won a first prize in the 1942 Salón Nacional de Bellas Artes.

Argentine artists were not easily identifiable by a shared practice or formal aesthetic vocabulary as were, for example, the Mexican muralists. Like many of her compatriots, Forner wrestled with the relationship between art and politics during the dramatic shifts in Argentina's political regimes. She used her art to make strong and clear references to contemporary politics and social issues not just from the Argentine government. Her earlier work often represented thickly painted, colorful, expressionistic, and monumental images of women in biblical or allegorical guise, alluding to, for example, the Spanish civil war in Mujeres del mundo (Women of the World, 1938) and the liberation of Paris in La liberación (Liberation, 1945).

She employed images of women as a medium—an image manifesto—to comment on real-world politics and the historical burden of woman as icon and symbol. Her series, exemplified by El drama (The Drama, 1940-1945), of which La liberación was one part, allowed her to paint through a particular theme or issue, as in a written manifesto. Her employment of women as multivalent carriers of meaning generally relates her work to that of her Colombian contemporary Débora Arango. However, Forner's women are connected to a broader referential arena. Nor were her women anchored in any nationally rooted vocabulary such as the pre-Hispanic and popular art references employed by the Mexican painters Frida Kahlo and María Izquierdo.

Forner's later works, especially those of the 1960s and 1970s, continued to employ broadly recognizable iconographies but in a style that balanced abstraction and realism. Flattened, patterned, thickly painted, and brightly colored canvases of the vocabulary of the space race and modern technology—stars, planets, and astronauts —were for Forner personally and universally expressive. At the same time they speak through the intertwined ideological vocabularies of U.S. Cold War policies and the pursuit of technological

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[See also China and Taiping Rebellion.]