

Original Paper

“A Car of Her Own”: The Reinvention of Female Subjectivity against the Traditional American Dream in *All Fours*

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Received: July 15, 2026

Accepted: July 31, 2026

Online Published: August 10, 2026

doi:10.22158/sll.v10n3p123

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/sll.v10n3p123>

Abstract

Published in May 2024, two years after the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade which has triggered a cascade of abortion bans across nearly half the states, Miranda July's All Fours has emerged as a cultural touchstone for women rethinking marriage, desire, and midlife freedom. Recent critical reception highlights the novel's provocative engagement with perimenopause and ethical non-monogamy, positioning it not merely as a road narrative but as a radical examination of female aging. With automobility as its theoretical perspective, this paper identifies both psychological and spatial mobility as the primary means by which the unnamed protagonist enacts her female subjectivity, thereby challenging the gendered assumptions embedded in classic American road narratives. The paper further re-examines the traditional American Dream by analyzing the dualistic individualism embodied in this novel. Drawing on recent interviews where July discusses giving women "permission to blow up their lives", this study proposes alternative measures of female upward mobility. This study concludes that All Fours redefines female upward mobility not as escaping domestic roles, but as renegotiating them through temporal autonomy and relational interdependence. True success, as July implies, lies in striking a balance between personal desire and communal care, thereby offering a more sustainable, humane worldview for middle-aged women in the 21st century.

Keywords

All Fours, Miranda July, female subjectivity, American Dream, automobility, perimenopause

1. Introduction

In the United States, car ownership has become so democratized that even the dispossessed of the Great Depression travelled by car or truck, making movement itself a symbol of hope. The road offers new possibilities, work, adventure, and romance. Until the Second World War, automobility mostly involved men and sometimes their families inhabiting the road (Walsh, 2008). At first glance, car culture has developed into a dominant discourse defining the “good life” and the mobile modern citizen, yet it often produces an “auto sprawl syndrome” (Urry, 2007, p. 126) that enables husbands to travel long distances for work while simultaneously reinforcing the exclusion of women from such mobility. As Urry (2007) notes, “for many women exclusion from automobility has become a crucial issue, both because their capability to work outside the home is limited and because it makes movement through public spaces difficult” (p. 133).

In contrast to Sinclair Lewis’s *Babbitt* (1922), which celebrates Zenith’s masculine ideal of mobility while keeping his wife Myra housebound, or John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), where male family members physically “inhabit the road” as a token of dignity and renewal, Miranda July’s *All Fours* (2024) tells the story of a planned cross-country road trip that unravels into a localized rebellion. The novel subverts the traditional road trip genre by having the protagonist stop less than thirty minutes from home, transforming the car from a vehicle of distant escape into a tool for immediate, proximate liberation. For decades, the unnamed 45-year-old artist’s true feelings—wild sexual desires, quiet sadness, and an appetite for unplanned joy, remained unseen. Automobility allows her to break out of this predicament; behind the wheel, she is no longer expected to cook, clean, or cater to familial needs. Only through the mobility her car provides can she practice female subjectivity, visiting antique shops and hiring Claire, Davey’s wife, to redesign a motel room into a space that matches her own taste without compromise.

It is a truth universally acknowledged that American culture glorifies perpetual youth and self-indulgence, with individualism serving as the engine of progress and material accumulation as the ultimate benchmark of success (Kim, 2001). In *All Fours*, the protagonist embodies a shift in how individualism is understood in the 21st century. She experiences individualism not as public socioeconomic advancement, but as an interior, private project centered on artistic autonomy, bodily discovery, and emotional self-preservation. This concretization of individualism redefines “pursuing one’s dream” for contemporary America: anchoring individual dreams in intimate, unmarketable self-exploration rather than pinning self-reliance on public support or traditional markers of stability.

However, July avoids writing a simple, hopeful story where driving fixes all inner pain. Automobility grants only temporary freedom because the protagonist never drives far enough to fully cut ties with her family. She wants freedom but cannot fully abandon the family roles she has spent her life carrying. By the end of the book, forced to return to her routine, she drives back home to her husband Harris and her son Sam. As reviewer Robert C. Abrams (2025) observes, what transpires in the novel is less a

defeat than a layered negotiation. The protagonist ventures into what Abrams terms a “death field” of affective space, only to re-emerge with a revised arrangement which sustains a domestic framework for her child while simultaneously allowing for extramarital attachments. Through this trajectory, *All Fours* articulates an alternative notion of success, one that resists the American cultural fixation on unregulated individualism, a force that frequently undermines communal family supports.

This study holds value across three distinct registers: theoretical, socio-cultural, and practical. On the theoretical front, it introduces an original synthesis of feminist criticism and automobility studies, thereby offering a novel lens through which to read road narratives can be read. In recovering the road as a terrain that women might reclaim, a space historically coded as male (Urry, 2007), the study challenges patriarchal constraints on female embodiment and autonomy. At the same time, it joins recent scholarly conversations that reframe the “midlife crisis” not as a tired trope but as a deep-seated physiological and psychological reorganization, driven in significant part by perimenopause which is a theme that lies at the heart of July’s novel (Levitin, 2024). Socio-culturally, the close reading of the protagonist’s metamorphosis reveals how the novel interrogates dominant narratives of individualism and achievement from a distinctly female vantage point. Practically speaking, by modelling a new paradigm of upward mobility for middle-aged women, the study invites wider deliberation on the structural conditions needed to foster women’s varied forms of flourishing outside narrowly prescribed traditional roles.

2. Psychological Mobility

Psychological mobility, as manifested in Miranda July’s unnamed middle-aged female protagonist of *All Fours*, denotes a subversion of the fixed social boundaries that govern marriage, bodily and psychic desire, and the very constitution of the self. Across the story’s arc, her consciousness drifts with increasing fluidity among contradictory positions and ever-revised self-understandings, which yields a profound transformation.

2.1 Transformation of Views on Marriage

Within patriarchal frameworks, marriage has historically operated as an institution that perpetuates gendered inequities (Okin, 1989), channeling women’s energies toward domestic stability and the accommodation of their husbands’ needs. Empirical research continues to show that such power asymmetries persist in contemporary unions: women still shoulder a disproportionate share of household labor and encounter constrained professional mobility (Wong & Daminger, 2024). The novel, however, stages a departure from this script. The protagonist’s evolving stance toward marriage does not simply reproduce or critique these inequalities in a straightforward fashion; rather, she negotiates a space where the formal structure of matrimony can coexist with a renegotiated emotional and physical economy—one that acknowledges her own desires without dismantling the familial unit entirely. In doing so, *All Fours* offers a textured account of how a woman might recalibrate intimacy and

obligation, pushing back against both the conservative ideal of self-sacrificing motherhood and the neoliberal celebration of unfettered personal freedom. This dual refusal, in turn, opens up a more ambivalent but perhaps more realistic vision of midlife agency. As marriage is often regarded as a stiff social order prioritizing superficial harmony over emotional honesty, in *All Fours*, prior to the drive to New York, the protagonist holds tightly constrained, patriarchally shaped beliefs about marriage.

To begin with, she grudges compliance with the fate that marriage is a performative, diplomatic performance rather than a space for genuine emotional intimacy. She compares her dynamic with Harris to “two diplomats who aren’t sure if the other one has poisoned our drink” (July, 2024, p. 11), noting they rely on wordless, distant gestures. They never share emotional vulnerabilities. A case in point is when she receives a neighbor’s note about a stranger photographing their windows; she craves to unpack her anxiety to Harris, only to find he abandons the conversation immediately:

I stood holding the note with that funny little abandoned feeling one gets a million times a day in a domestic setting. I could have cried, but why? It’s not like I need to dish with my husband about every little thing; that’s what friends are for (July, 2024, p. 11).

In addition, prior to her journey, she copes with their chronic emotional void by clinging to a distant, delusional future fantasy that teaches women to internalize unequal gendered labor. She undertakes all childcare and invisible emotional labor, enduring decades of quiet loneliness under the promise of delayed happiness: a “honeymoon” in their sixties. Ironically, Harris prioritizes his music production career and young protégé Caro, with zero expectation that he should share domestic burdens (July, 2024), leaving her to surrender all personal space and aesthetic preference to Harris’s household taste:

Harris owned every piece of furniture, rug and bedding long before we married. I’d donated all my own belongings when I moved in with him... Every aesthetic choice inside our shared home catered to his stoic, old-world tradesman taste; I had never once gotten to design a space entirely around my own uncompromised preferences (July, 2024, p. 69).

However, her unplanned extended stay at Monrovia’s Excelsior motel and subsequent return home dismantle her original rigid values. It dawns on the protagonist that marriage cannot deprive a woman of her independent identity, private longing, and self-centered joy. A case in point is her spending \$20,000 of her own income hiring Davey’s wife, Claire, to renovate motel Room 321. She customizes every detail—vintage silk bedspread, star-patterned tiles, tonka bean bath products—strictly according to her own taste, a luxury she never had in her marital home. Only by doing this can she deem this motel room the first space that belongs solely to her.

Beyond that, a more significant shift is her new outlook that a healthy marriage requires mutual emotional vulnerability and equal emotional labor. Hollow politeness does not count as genuine partnership. As seen in Harris’s dismissal of her anxiety, she once tolerated a marriage where her feelings were dismissed. However, having confirmed that their marriage holds too little mutual connection to define real love, she joins a gym daily to cultivate her body for the desire she discovered

with Davey. Her stay with Davey, a passionate amateur dancer, teaches her what reciprocal emotional connection feels like. When she faces Harris again, she hides her secret romance and no longer initiates routine sex out of obligation.

Critics like Abrams (2025) argue that the protagonist's characterological obstacles remain, suggesting she cares mostly about herself within relationships. However, this self-focus can be read as a necessary corrective to years of self-abnegation. The protagonist's refusal to blame either party for the chasm in their marriage marks a mature redefinition of partnership:

I do not blame either of us for this chasm, but I will no longer cage all my longing inside this marriage just to maintain the label of a faithful wife. Our real shared contract is only Sam's safety and routine. Whatever softness or seeing I crave can live somewhere else, and that does not break the home we built for our child (July, 2024, p. 149).

This agreement reflects the "ethical non-monogamy" trend noted by Levitin (2024), where the narrator and Harris open their marriage, allowing for outside romantic involvements while preserving the domestic unit for their child. This challenges the binary of marriage and divorce, proposing a third way that accommodates female desire without dismantling the family structure entirely.

2.2 Evolution of Desires

In *All Fours*, a distinct dividing line underscores the contrast in the protagonist's desires brought about by automobility. Before planning the cross-country road trip, the protagonist craves attention and disturbance, even hoping to be watched secretly by a "possible photographer," to break her dull routine: "Worrying is the wrong word—more like hoping" (July, 2024, p. 6).

Apart from the desire for excitement, she longs for real emotional and physical closeness with her husband but is trapped in a cold, formal relationship. Given that patriarchy frames married women's sexuality as secondary to family harmony (Armstrong, 1987), she abides by what a "perfect respectable marriage" expects: staying emotionally calm without passion. "Forever thirsty but forever wanting the other one to take the first sip" (July, 2024, p. 13).

Crucially, the protagonist's desire is inextricably linked to her biological reality. The narrator is confronting perimenopause, a phase where hormonal shifts alter sexual drive and mental state. Her friend's comment that sex during menopause "all becomes mental" resonates deeply with the narrator, who realizes she has always had to "get out ahead of sex" to make it flow easily. The affair with Davey is not just a romantic escapade but a visceral reclamation of bodily autonomy before the perceived "free fall" of estrogen levels (Abrams, 2025).

Yet after her stay in Monrovia, her desires break free from institutional female norms. She openly yearns for intimate bodily contact with Davey, embracing guilt-free physical lust. A deeper manifestation of this evolution is her prioritization of self-aesthetic and instant personal joy over family and social obligations. She cancels her pre-booked luxury Carlyle Hotel stay, theater tickets, and even reschedules a collaboration with global superstar Arkanda.

The reasons for these cancellations are profound. Before veering off route, every element of her New York itinerary was curated for external approval. However, awakened to the fact that living a life tailored to others' standards is fatigue, she finds that the shabby Excelsior motel's Room 321 offers an unprecedented private sanctuary. She spends her \$20,000 windfall on fleeting self-indulgence rather than long-term public approval, marking a stark contrast to her former self.

Last, regarding the rescheduling with Arkanda, we must recognize how the protagonist internalized female success framed by societal rules. She believed achievement meant collaborating with A-list celebrities. But after awakening to weightless, responsibility-free romantic connection, the worldly yardstick of success is overshadowed by her new passion for unburdened intimacy with Davey. Mass audience acclaim no longer registers as a consolation prize:

All I could fixate on was the dance I planned to film for Davey... Mass audience acclaim, the kind Arkanda could hand me, didn't register as a consolation prize anymore. Nothing could compare to that fleeting, obligation-free closeness with someone who didn't demand I tend to a household or child (July, 2024, p. 203).

This shift aligns with July's stated intention in recent interviews to give women "permission to blow up their lives" (Guardian, 2025). The protagonist's rejection of professional prestige in favor of bodily experience is a radical act of redefining success on her own terms, challenging the capitalist and patriarchal metrics that usually define a woman's worth.

3. Spatial Mobility

Before the publication of *All Fours*, it was widely noted that "the automobilization of family life... led to the uneven gendering of time-space" (Urry, 2008, p. 132). Across this novel, every small movement away from the protagonist's patriarchal house reinvents her sense of self. The dual spatial transformations together make the protagonist's female subjectivity unshackled from patriarchal gendered obligations.

3.1 From Patriarchal Domain to Female Territories

Spatial hierarchy constitutes a core feminist motif in this novel. The protagonist's geographic and spatial escape forms a clear trajectory from rigid patriarchal domestic space to autonomous female domains.

At first, the Los Angeles family home functions as an archetypal patriarchal domain, controlled by masculine ownership:

Harris already owned our house before I met him so I just moved in... His dishes and furniture and bedding were of a higher caliber than mine so I gave my few things to Goodwill... (July, 2024, p. 50).

Driven by automobility, the protagonist constructs three distinct female territories where patriarchal obligations no longer hold sway. First, the most transformative is Room 321 of the Excelsior Motel, reconstructed entirely according to her personal taste. She purchases vintage salmon star-patterned

bedspreads, custom carpets, and velvet armchairs, replacing every bland fixture. This renovated room bears no trace of Harris's minimalist taste or Sam's routines, allowing her to linger without completing maternal chores.

The second enduring female territory is Jordi's sculpture studio, a female-only gathering space where she and Jordi sneak junk food milkshakes, a private ritual hidden from their families:

Once a week we meet in her studio and eat junk together... No one knew about our medicinal junk food... Similarly, I never told Harris what I jerked off to (July, 2024, p. 43).

This studio provides emotional connections where women are not forced to repress unruly inner selves to satisfy masculine standards.

The third short-term yet vital female territory is the protagonist's mobile car space. The vehicle becomes a temporary female zone unbound by domestic duties. Unlike the fixed territories of the motel and studio, her vehicle is a movable, ungoverned space. Though short-lived, it holds irreplaceable emotional weight as the only space where she can exist free of gendered roles:

I reparked the car so my headlights would shine on me as his had on him. I set the record player on the gravel and my phone on my bumper. I tapped the red record button and started the record player, turning it all the way up (July, 2024, p. 300).

This scene underscores that the car is not merely a place to hide, but an active, vital feminine territory that enables her most vulnerable, unfiltered self-expression. It bridges mundane domesticity and the unconstrained artistic self, transforming the automobile from a symbol of male freedom into a tool for female creative and sexual assertion.

3.2 From Isolation to Sociability

Patriarchal domesticity traps the narrator in persistent emotional seclusion. Governed by this static home, she maintains a stiff, diplomatic distance from Harris. Automobility creates neutral, low-pressure contact zones at gas stations and roadside diners (Sheller & Urry, 2005), allowing the protagonist to free herself from domestic isolation.

Davey Boutros is the core automobility encounter. Their bond originates in a gas station forecourt. Davey, thirty-one and a Hertz employee, comes from a lower social class than the semi-famous protagonist. Their obsession emerges in an environment where neither owes the other social duty. She is drawn to his youthful body; he is captivated by her art. Though they maintain a boundary of no penetrative sex, their intimate hand-holding and shared bodily vulnerability are only possible because automobility allows her escape from domestic supervision.

Interaction with Skip, the motel landlord, provides an unregulated refuge. He never interrogates why she veers off her route or lingers in Monrovia. Even when she spends \$20,000 renovating Room 321, Skip accedes to her subjectivity over the space, offering no demands to pause construction. Skip serves as a uniquely neutral male counterpart, unlike her distant husband or obsessive lover. He solidifies the motel as a designated mobile sanctuary by offering unlimited free recurring Wednesday bookings.

Automobility also unlocks platforms for self-reflective dialogue with important women like Claire and Dr. Mendoza. Claire, Davey's wife, becomes a heartfelt confidant. Starting from shared labor renovating Room 321, they exchange nuanced aesthetic ideas and vent about lifeless marriages and invisible housework. Their collaboration merges the protagonist's romanticism with Claire's grounded expertise, creating a space of mutual recognition rather than rivalry.

Apart from Claire, automobile trips drive her to Dr. Mendoza, an obstetrician-gynecologist. The protagonist drives solo to confess agonizing burdens, including flashbacks of her child's dangerous birth and her terror of plummeting libido in perimenopause. Dr. Mendoza offers a receptive ear, framing these perimenopausal complaints as typical features of midlife womanhood rather than pathologies, and subsequently prescribing bioidentical hormone therapies. Therefore, the encounter with Dr. Mendoza constitutes an uncommon forum within the novel, one in which the protagonist's physical distress encounters professional validation instead of being brushed aside. Abrams (2025) points out that the narrator's dread of growing older stems directly from the suicides of her female relatives, which renders Mendoza's clinical response as much an existential intervention as a physiological one. Through this medical alliance, the protagonist's bodily deterioration finds a degree of mitigation, even as the deep estrangement woven into her household existence becomes more bearable, which makes the episode firmly underscore that genuine recovery requires the presence of an attentive witness.

4. Reconstruction of the American Dream

From the nation's founding onward, the American Dream has operated as a central ideological pillar of national identity, articulating the belief that individual effort alone can unlock prosperity (Adams, 1931). Drawing on frontier mythology and Protestant work discipline, this narrative rests upon a particular brand of radical individualism, one linked to male-driven socioeconomic rise and the relentless pursuit of material wealth (Samuel, 2012). Yet Miranda July's *All Fours* offers a compelling literary instance of precisely the opposite: a contemporary middle-aged woman artist who, over the course of the story, enacts a far-reaching structural reworking of that very ideal.

4.1 Literary Concretization of Dualistic Individualism

In *All Fours*, the female protagonist illuminates the duality of American individualism. Mid-century versions of the American Dream framed individualism as public achievement. For the protagonist, individualism takes on a private meaning. She seeks it not in the marketplace, but in her desires, her body, and her inner peace.

However, the costs of radical individualism permeate every layer of American female domestic life, giving rise to relational alienation (Fox Genovese, 1991). As shown in *All Fours*, the protagonist's marriage operates with extreme emotional distance. She chooses to process longing alone or with female friends, instead of building interdependent marital intimacy. Her commitment to self-sufficiency

extends to managing her anxiety and unfulfilled bodily desires without leaning on her spouse. Consequently, her mobility does not radically resolve her spousal dilemmas; rather, it exposes them more acutely, as she remains tethered to the roles she sought to escape.

Notwithstanding the costs of rampant individualism, automobility doesn't grant the protagonist refusal of intergenerational obligation. Her mobility does not mean abandoning her son Sam. While staying at the Excelsior motel, she asks herself why she was speeding away from them when all she ever wanted was to hold them. She orders a giant spoon for Sam, picturing their delight. More importantly, the novel does not end with the protagonist abandoning her family. After her time at the motel, she drives back to Los Angeles, resumes domestic duties, and reads *Narnia* to Sam.

This return complicates the traditional road narrative. The protagonist's journey is circular, ending with her promoting the very book that details her rebellion. This self-referential loop suggests that the "American Dream" for women is not a linear progression toward independence, but a cyclical negotiation of identity. The protagonist's success is redefined as having control over one's own time. It is no longer measured by wealth, but by being true to oneself and having meaningful relationships, a vision that refuses the false choice between family and personal freedom.

4.2 A New Paradigm of Middle-Aged Female Upward Mobility

Traditional iterations of the American Dream have long measured achievement through material accumulation, career advancement, and stable nuclear family structures. Yet beneath this surface lies dissatisfaction marked by emotional distance, suppressed sexual desire, and the invisibility of the authentic self.

Therefore, as Miranda July has observed, what emerges across the novel is not a rejection of success but a fundamental redefinition of what upward mobility means for a middle-aged woman at the intersection of artistic ambition, marital compromise, and bodily transformation.

On one hand, the protagonist's upward mobility is redefined as temporal autonomy. This autonomy consists in reclaiming her own time from the endless demands of family and career. Success is measured not by professional prestige but by the freedom to spend each day according to personal desire. This begins when she abandons her scheduled cross-country drive and spends weeks in a modest Monrovia motel. She cancels luxury reservations and postpones high-profile meetings. She invests her windfall in renovating Room 321 for her own immediate enjoyment. The promise that today's labor will yield tomorrow's comfort does not work; thus, she insists on present comfort and pleasure, refusing to defer happiness to a distant retirement.

On the other hand, the protagonist's upward mobility is redefined by sociability rather than the triumph of solitude. *All Fours* challenges traditional individualism by showing that upward mobility can be a collective, relational process. The protagonist's journey is not a solitary escape but a series of meaningful collaborations with people like Davey, Jordi, and Dr. Mendoza. This vision acknowledges that midlife women are able to rise not by secluding themselves, but by holding hands and sharing

secrets to rewrite the rules of intimacy, as long as everyone's autonomy is honored.

Recent commentary on the novel highlights its resonance with women who feel trapped by the "cult of true womanhood" (Welter, 1966) and the expectations of middle age. The fact that *All Fours* was shortlisted for the Women's Prize for Fiction signals the literary community's acknowledgment of July's contribution to expanding the narrative possibilities for women over forty (Guardian, 2025). The novel suggests that upward mobility for women is not about climbing a corporate ladder, but about descending into the depths of one's own desires and emerging with a more integrated self.

5. Conclusion

In Miranda July's *All Fours*, automobility serves as the primary vehicle through which the unnamed female protagonist reclaims a form of female subjectivity otherwise excluded by patriarchal structures deep-rooted in the traditional American Dream. This novel does not simply celebrate the open road as a space of liberation; rather, it complicates the very notion of freedom by demonstrating how the protagonist's mobility is both enabling and limited. Although the car grants her temporary escape from domestic obligations, it cannot fully sever the ties that bind her to her roles as a wife and a mother (Clarke, 2007). It is the tension between liberation and return that constitutes the novel's most significant intervention in the discourse of the American Dream, as it discourages the myth of rampant individualism and instead insists on the persistence of communal and familial obligations, despite occasional escape.

The protagonist's journey unfolds a series of spatial and emotional transformations that dismantle the gendered logics in the traditional American Dream. Her unplanned detour to Monrovia becomes a site of radical self-reinvention, where she converts a shabby motel room into a sanctuary of her own design (Woolf, 1929). This act of aesthetic and spatial reclamation is not merely an indulgence; it is a profound assertion of selfhood in a marriage where her tastes and desires have long been overwhelmed by her husband's preferences. By investing her unexpected windfall in the renovation of Room 321, she asserts a form of ownership over her own pleasure and environment, a luxury she has never before permitted herself. Moreover, her interactions with Claire, Davey, Jordi, and Dr. Mendoza illustrate that autonomy is not achieved in isolation but through relational exchanges that affirm her emotional and physical needs.

However, July is careful not to reduce the protagonist's experience to a simple narrative of feminist empowerment. The novel ends with the protagonist returning home to Harris and Sam, underscoring the provisional nature of her freedom. As Abrams (2025) suggests, this ending may foretell a "narcissistic regression" if the protagonist restricts her attention to a single dimension of life. Yet, it can also be read as a pragmatic acceptance of complexity. July proposes a more nuanced vision of female upward mobility where women enact their subjectivity through temporal autonomy and sociability over material accumulation and public acclaim. She refuses to abandon her family while still making room

for her own needs. This refusal suggests a different kind of success that allows women to renegotiate the rules of a good life within the messy realities of domestic work, creative practice, and emotional care (Armstrong, 1987).

In this sense, *All Fours* offers a literary blueprint for the American Dream as it is being reshaped in twenty-first-century America. The novel does not discard the Dream altogether; rather, it reimagines it for a new era. For women—especially mothers and wives—the traditional Dream has often meant setting aside their own longings. July's protagonist breaks with that tired pattern. She insists that her desires matter, and her journey is not measured by money or status, but by a growing understanding of her own complexity. What emerges is a vision of success that feels more democratic, more humane, and more sustainable. It is a vision that resonates with today's cultural shift toward female mental health, work-life balance, and genuine human connection.

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