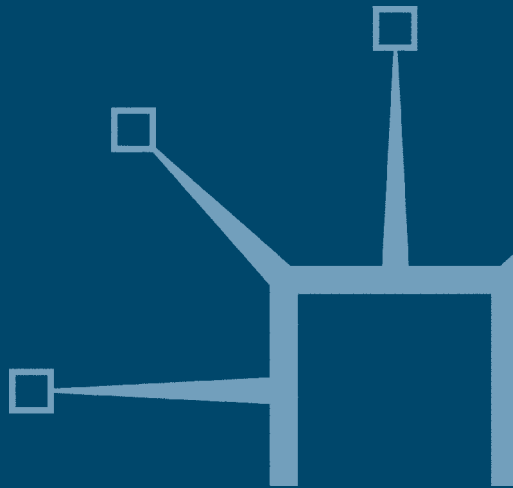# Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse

Edited by

Michelle M. Lazar

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macmillan

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List of Abbreviations

BE   Bloco de Esquerda (Left Coalition, Portugal)
CDA   critical discourse analysis
DF   Federal District
EP   European Parliament
FIDESZ   Young Democrats' Association (Hungary)
GLBT   gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual
IGALA3   Third International Gender and Language Conference
LEAA   Law Enforcement Alliance of America
LBG   lesbian, bisexual and gay
LWP   Language in the Workplace Project
MDF   Hungarian Democratic Forum
MEP   Member of the European Parliament
NARAL   National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League
NRA   National Rifle Association
PC   politically correct
SFG   systemic functional grammar

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Politicizing Gender in Discourse: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis as Political Perspective and Praxis

Michelle M. Lazar

A critical perspective on unequal social arrangements sustained through language use, with the goals of social transformation and emancipation, constitutes the cornerstone of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and many feminist language studies. *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis* brings together, for the first time, an international collection of studies at the nexus of CDA and feminist scholarship (which includes feminist studies of language.)[1] The specific aim of the volume is to advance a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining a (hierarchically) gendered social order. This is especially pertinent in present times where issues of gender, power and ideology have become increasingly complex and subtle. First, feminist debates and theorization since the late 1980s have shown that speaking of 'women' and 'men' in universal, totalizing terms is problematic. Gender as a category intersects with, and is shot through by, other categories of social identity such as sexuality, ethnicity, social position and geography. Patriarchy is also an ideological system that interacts in complex ways with say, corporatist and consumerist ideologies. Second, the workings of gender ideology and asymmetrical power relations in discourse are assuming more subtle forms in the contemporary period, albeit in different degrees and ways in different local communities. Grounded in specific empirical studies, the contributions in this book address both kinds of intricacy in their analyses of various discursive structures and strategies emergent in their different texts and talk. In a variety of cultural and institutional contexts – which include the news and advertising media, educational settings, workplaces, governments and transnational organizations – the studies show the complex and subtle ways in which taken-for-granted social assumptions and hegemonic

power relations are discursively produced, perpetuated, negotiated and challenged. That these studies are not merely textual de-construction for its own sake, but that the issues dealt with (in view of effecting social transformation) have actual material and phenomenological consequences for groups of women and men in specific societies, is put across in the volume.

'Feminist critical discourse analysis' and the politics of naming

Why a *feminist* critical discourse analysis?

Over the last ten years or so, in several branches of discourse studies there has been a concerted move to explicitly include the label 'feminist' in the various sub-fields by feminist scholars working in these areas. For example, we now have 'feminist stylistics' (Mills 1995), 'feminist pragmatics' (Christie 2000), and 'feminist conversation analysis' (see, for example, Kitzinger 2000). In all these areas, the mainstream research has been characterized by a supposedly neutral and objective inquiry, which feminist scholars operating within it have challenged. Writing more broadly about 'feminism and linguistic theory' in 1992, Cameron explained that one of her main objectives was to 'question the whole scholarly objective bias of linguistics and to show how assumptions and practices of linguistics are implicated in patriarchal ideology and oppression' (1992: 16). The need to identify and establish a feminist perspective in language and discourse studies is of course part of what feminists in the academia have for many years criticized and sought to change across male-stream disciplines in the humanities, social sciences and sciences (Spender 1981).

One might nonetheless quite reasonably ask, 'But why a *feminist* CDA?' Eschewing the 'disciplinary' label and preferring instead to be seen as a research perspective (van Dijk 1994a) or a research programme (Fairclough and Wodak 1997), CDA is known for its overtly political stance and is concerned with all forms of social inequality and injustice. Moreover, the debt CDA owed to feminist approaches in women's studies in providing an impetus to the fledgling field in the 1980s has also sometimes been openly acknowledged (van Dijk 1991). It is not surprising, therefore, that feminists have been working quite happily under the rubric of CDA without needing to explicitly flag a feminist perspective.

Why, then, the explicit feminist label? There are a number of reasons for it. First, the most straightforward is that studies in CDA with a gender

focus mostly adopt a critical feminist view of gender relations, motivated by the need to change the existing conditions of these relations; thus what emerges from this volume, for instance, is clearly a set of distinctly feminist concerns. Even where individual authors may not use the term 'feminist' overtly, it is necessary as a collective to make explicit that shared perspective.

Second, the following reservations expressed by some feminists provide pause for thought. Cameron (1998: 969–70) wrote that '[CDA] is one of those broadly progressive projects whose founders and dominant figures are nevertheless all straight white men, and Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1995) specifically remark on these men's failure to give credit to feminists by citing their work.' In my view, the social identities of these CDA practitioners per se are not a problem as frequently these same men are sympathetic to feminist concerns. What is striking, though, is that most feminist research in CDA *is* undertaken by a diversity of women in a wide range of geographical locations, not all of whom are white and heterosexual. In regard to Wilkinson and Kitzinger's observation, one might note that more recent theorization in some quarters of CDA does draw upon and include, among other sources, feminist works (for example, Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). In terms of a feminist CDA, however, we might envisage more than citations from feminist scholars, important as that is. It is necessary within CDA to establish a distinctly 'feminist politics of articulation' (to borrow Wetherell's 1995: 141 phrase), i.e. to theorize and analyse from a critical feminist perspective the particularly insidious and oppressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social practices. Eckert, for instance, has pointed to the way gender operates in a pervasive and complex way from other systems of oppression:

> Whereas the power relations between men and women are similar to those between dominated and subordinated classes and ethnic groups, the day to day context in which these power relations are played out is quite different. It is not a cultural norm for each working class individual to be paired up for life with a member of the middle class or for every black person to be so paired up for life with a white person. However, our traditional gender ideology dictates just this kind of relationship between men and women.

> (1989: 253–4)

Third, a consequence of the absence of self-naming has meant that feminist critical discourse analysts dispersed across the globe have not

sufficiently organized themselves to come together in a shared forum. This volume, it is hoped, is one such attempt to draw together international scholars working in 'feminist CDA'. The issue of collectivity and gaining group visibility is important, too, for another reason. Although CDA in its early years had a marginal status within the more established mainstream fields in linguistics, today it has shifted more to the centre and has become somewhat of an orthodoxy itself (see Billig 2000). Writing in the early 1990s, van Dijk had remarked that '[f]or CDA to become a prominent approach in the humanities and social sciences, we should expect dozens of books, hundreds of articles and conference papers, and special symposia or conference sections yearly' (1991: 1). More than ten years on, all these have been achieved and more: for example, in the year 2004, an international CDA conference and, separately, a new international journal on critical discourse studies have appeared. The importance, then, of feminist visibility and voice in 'mainstream' CDA scholarship, interestingly, also has a political function.

Why a feminist *critical discourse analysis*?

It is now widely recognized that there has been a turn towards language or, more specifically, towards discourse in social scientific research. From post-structuralist theorization, we have a view of discourse as a site of struggle, where forces of social (re)production and contestation are played out. Within feminist scholarship, the discursive turn, not surprisingly, therefore, is reflected in volumes outside linguistics (for example, Wilkinson and Kitzinger 1995) as well as within linguistics (for example, Hall and Bucholtz 1995; Wodak 1997; Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002). The present volume, from the perspective of feminist CDA, is intended as a timely contribution to the growing body of feminist discourse literature.

Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1995: 5) have noted that there is really 'no *necessary* coincidence between the interests of feminists and discourse analysts', even though the possibility for fruitful engagement is there. In terms of feminism and CDA in particular, however, there is actually much overlap in terms of social emancipatory goals. Indeed, unlike feminist approaches that apply descriptive discourse analytic methods, feminist CDA has the advantage of operating, at the outset, within a politically invested programme of discourse analysis. CDA offers a sophisticated theorization of the relationship between social practices and discourse structures (see, for example, Wodak and Meyer 2001, for various types of theorization), and a wide range of tools and strategies for close analysis of actual, contextualized uses of language. Further,

under the umbrella of CDA research, explicit analyses of various forms of systemic inequalities have been developed. For feminist discourse scholars, much can be learnt about the interconnections as well as particularities of discursive strategies employed in various forms of social oppression that can feed back into feminist strategies for social change. The marriage of feminism with CDA, in sum, can produce a rich and powerful political critique for action.

Feminist CDA as a political perspective on gender, concerned with demystifying the interrelationships of gender, power and ideology in discourse, is equally applicable to the study of texts as well as talk, which offers a corrective to approaches that primarily favour one linguistic mode over another. Frameworks for analysis of discourse in CDA (for example, Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Scollon 2001) also, importantly, acknowledge a multimodal dimension. Together with language, other semiotic modalities (such as visual images, layouts, gestures and sounds) are analysed, making for an enriching and insightful analysis. Clearly, a multimodal view of discourse has great value for a holistic feminist critique of discursive constructions of gender (Lazar 1999; 2000).

Feminist critical discourse analysis as political praxis

Key interrelated principles of feminist CDA as theory and practice are outlined below.

Feminist analytical resistance

CDA is part of an emancipatory critical social science which, as mentioned, is openly committed to the achievement of a just social order through a critique of discourse. As feminist critical discourse analysts, our central concern is with critiquing discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order: that is, relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group. One of the aims is to show that social practices on the whole, far from being neutral, are in fact gendered in this way. The gendered nature of social practices can be described on two levels (Connell 1987; Flax 1990). First, 'gender' functions as an interpretative category that enables participants in a community to make sense of and structure their particular social practices. Second, gender is a social relation that enters into and partially constitutes all other social relations and activities. Based on the specific, asymmetric meanings of 'male' and 'female', and the consequences being assigned to one or the other within concrete social practices, such an allocation becomes a constraint on further practices.

A feminist political critique of gendered social practices and relations is aimed ultimately at effecting social transformation. The social status quo is contested in favour of a feminist humanist vision of a just society, in which gender does not predetermine or mediate our relationships with others, and our sense of who we are or might become (Hill Collins 1990; Grant 1993). Analysis of discourse which shows up the workings of power that sustain oppressive social structures/relations is itself a form of 'analytical resistance' (van Dijk 1991), and contributes to on-going struggles of contestation and change.

The radical emancipatory agenda makes for a 'praxis-oriented research', centrally based upon a dialectical relationship between theory and practice (Lather 1986). This entails mobilizing theory in order to create critical awareness and develop feminist strategies for resistance and change. The imbrication of power and ideology in discourse is some-times not as apparent to participants involved in particular social practices as it is from the point of view of critical theorization of their interrelations (Kress 1990; Fairclough 1992; Fairclough and Wodak 1997). In other words, to speak from the position of a 'woman' is not the same as speaking from the political perspective of a feminist. Grant (1993: 181) puts this nicely when she writes that 'to know as a woman *means* to know from the perspective of the structure of gender. In contrast, a feminist perspective means that one has a critical distance on gender and on oneself.' The critical praxis orientation not only informs the approach to social justice; it also shapes the theory itself. As Kress (1990: 88) noted of CDA, such an orientation entails making 'linguistics itself more accountable, more responsible, and more responsive to questions of social equity'.

A critical praxis-oriented research, therefore, cannot and does not pretend to adopt a neutral stance; in fact, as Lather (1986: 259) notes, it is scholarship that makes its biases part of its argument. To critics who discount overtly political research as lacking in 'objectivity' and 'scientificity' (see, for example, Widdowson's 1995 criticism of CDA), the feminist position has been to raise as problematic the notion of sci-entific neutrality itself, because it fails to recognize that all knowledge is socially and historically constructed and valuationally based (Harding 1986; Fox-Keller 1996; see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough's 1999 response to Widdowson).

'Gender' as ideological structure

From a critical view, ideologies are representations of practices formed from particular perspectives in the interest of maintaining unequal

power relations and dominance. Although such a view of ideology in Marxist accounts was developed specifically in terms of class relations, the concept now has wider currency and encompasses other relations of domination (Fairclough and Wodak 1997), including gender. From a feminist perspective, the prevailing conception of gender is understood as an ideological structure that divides people into two classes, men and women, based on a hierarchical relation of domination and subordination, respectively. Based upon sexual difference, the gender structure imposes a social dichotomy of labour and human traits for women and men, the substance of which varies according to time and place. Feminists have long criticized the easy mapping of physiological sex on to social gender, and more recently some have critiqued the naturalness of 'sex' itself, arguing that it too is socially constructed (Butler 1993). Grant (1993: 185) puts it this way: '[I]t is true that the structure of gender acts through and is inscribed on sexed bodies, but the whole idea of two sexes only has meaning because those meanings are required by the gender structure in the first place.' Although, as individuals, people may deviate from the archetypes of masculinity and femininity pertinent to a community, this nonetheless occurs against the ideological structure of gender that privileges men as a social group, giving them what Connell (1995) terms a 'patriarchal dividend', in terms of access to symbolic, social, political and economic capital. One example of symbolic capital accrued to men in English-speaking cultures, for instance, is in the way male pronouns and nouns have been given generic status in the English language, which by default always assures men of visibility, whilst simultaneously rendering women invisible (Spender 1985).

Gender ideology is hegemonic in that it often does not appear as domination at all; instead it seems largely consensual and acceptable to most in a community. The winning of consent and the perpetuation of the otherwise tenuous relation of dominance (Gramsci 1971) are largely accomplished through discursive means, especially in the ways ideological assumptions are constantly re-enacted and circulated through discourse as commonsensical and natural. The taken-for-grantedness and normalcy of such knowledge is what mystifies or obscures the power differential and inequality at work. One of the persuasive and enduring commonsensical assumptions has been the 'naturalness' of the 'two sex only' idea, and that of necessity the two, also in social terms, must be inherently contrasting. The contrast in most cultures, as Cameron (1996) notes, is read as complementary (that is, matching what the 'opposite sex' is not), and is rendered desirable such that at least some aspects of the status quo have appeal, even though materially that disempowers women.

To say that patriarchal gender ideology is structural is to suggest that it is enacted and renewed in a society's institutions and social practices, which mediate between the individual and the social order. It means, therefore, that asymmetrical gender relations cannot merely be explained by individuals' intentions, even though it is often individuals who act as agents of oppression (Weedon 1997). Connell (1987; 1995) argues that institutions are substantively structured in terms of gender ideology so that even though gender may not be the most important aspect in a particular instance, it is in the majority of cases. This accounts for the pervasiveness of tacit androcentrism in many organizational cultures, in which not only men but also frequently women are complicit. (See the case of women professors in universities, and women employees in companies who perpetuate sexist attitudes and practices in Chapters 5 and 3, respectively, in this volume.) In turn, gender inequality gets perpetuated through women's and men's habitual, differential partici- pation in their particular institutions, also understood in terms of particular communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). The various ways that the institutionalization of gender inequality is discursively enacted are examined in this volume in regard to a wide range of institutions and social practices: in advertising and news media, educational settings, workplaces and associations, and political institutions.[2] These institutions range from the local (Chapters 2, 3, 5 and 8), national (Chapters 6, 7, 9 and 10) to supranational (Chapter 4) levels.

Although the prevailing gender ideology is hegemonic and is rou- tinely exercised in a myriad of social practices, it is also contestable. The dialectical tension between structural permanences and the practical activity of people engaged in social practices (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999), means that there are ruptures in the otherwise seamless and natural quality of gender ideology. While a focus on creativity and transgression is important, this must be, at the same time, carefully considered in relation to the constraints and possibilities afforded by particular social structures and practices. Otherwise, a celebration of agency on its own can become romanticized; as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 48) remind us, the extent to which, and for whom, interaction can be creative largely depend on the particular social structures. Another issue worth con- sidering is whether acts that go against gendered expectations may unwittingly result in the reinforcement of the existing gender structure. For instance, the 'masculinization' of talk by women in power (see Chapters 2, 3 and 4 below), or the 'feminization' of forms of masculinity (see Chapter 6), on one level, may appear to transgress the expected gender

norms for women and men; yet, on another level, these gender cross-ings inadvertently emphasize the underlying dualism of the gender structure and, as these studies also show, the deviations from the gender-appropriate norms are policed through criticism by others and/ or through containment.

Complexity of gender and power relations

Third-wave feminist and post-structuralist theories have contributed to complex and nuanced understandings of power relations and gender at work within particular social orders. Two important insights for a femi-nist CDA have been the recognition of difference and diversity among 'women' (and 'men'), which has called for undertaking historically and culturally contingent analyses of gender and sexism; and the pervasiveness of the subtle, discursive workings of modern power in many modern societies (both of these are discussed below). While there is a diversity of forms which gender and sexism assume in different cultures and across time, the structure of gender (and the power asymmetry that it entails) has been remarkably persistent over time and place. An important goal, then, for feminist CDA is to undertake contingent analyses of the oppression of women, as Rubin has put it, in its 'endless variety and monotonous similarity' (quoted in Fraser and Nicholson 1990: 28).

Power relations are a struggle over interests, which are exercised, reflected, maintained and resisted through a variety of modalities, extents and degrees of explicitness. Overt forms of gender asymmetries or sexism include blatant exclusionary gate-keeping social practices, physical violence against women, and misogynistic verbal harassment and denigration. Such overt manifestations of power (or the threat of it), to varying extents, remain a reality for women in many societies, including Western societies such as the USA which, in spite of legisla-tion against blatant sex discrimination, continues to witness a rampant 'rape culture'. Much more pervasive and insidious in modern societies, however, is the operation of a subtle and seemingly innocuous form of power that is substantively discursive in nature. This form of power is embedded and dispersed throughout networks of relations, is self-regulating, and produces subjects in both senses of the word (Foucault 1977). From a feminist perspective, it is necessary to note, though, that even though power may be 'everywhere', gendered subjects are affected by it in different ways. From a critical discourse analytic perspective, too, it is useful to complement the concept of modern power with the view of power relations as dominance, particularly in Gramsci's terms of hegemony (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). The effectiveness

of modern power (and hegemony) is that it is mostly cognitive, based on an internalization of gendered norms and acted out routinely in the texts and talk of everyday life. This makes it an invisible power, 'misrecognized' as such, and 'recognized' instead as quite legitimate and natural (Bourdieu 1991). Relations of power and dominance (cf. Foucault, Bourdieu and Gramsci), however, can be discursively resisted as well as counter-resisted in a dynamic struggle over securing and challenging the interests at stake. The task of feminist CDA is to examine how power and dominance are discursively produced and/or resisted in a variety of ways through textual representations of gendered social practices, and through interactional strategies of talk. Also of concern to feminist CDA are issues of access to forms of discourse, such as particular communicative events and culturally valued genres (see van Dijk 1993; 1996) that can be empowering for women's participation in public domains (see Chapters 5 and 8 below).

The mechanisms of power not only often work in subtle and complex ways, but the relations of asymmetry are also produced and experienced in complexly different ways for and by different groups of women. A major advance in current feminist theory has been the acknowledgement that the category 'woman' in second-wave theorization lacked generic status – that is, standing universally for all women – in the same way that second-wave feminists found that the category 'man' did not encompass all of humankind. Even though women are subordinated to men structurally in the patriarchal gender order, the overlap of the gender structure with other relations of power based on race/ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, age, culture and geography means that gender oppression is neither materially experienced nor discursively enacted in the same way for women everywhere. For example, Butler (1990), among others, has argued for the way systems of heterosexism and gender combine to produce normative gender identities that are implicitly heterosexist (see Chapters 6 and 9 below), which affords relatively more privilege to heterosexual women than to lesbians. Lesbians, in fact, may experience greater discrimination in that not only are they marginalized by the hetero-gendered order, they are made further invisible as 'women' even in the gay community (see Chapter 10 below).

Acknowledging differences among women and the forms of sexism to which they are differentially subject does not eschew the broader feminist political project of emancipation and social justice for 'women'; rather, there is a need for feminist political action to be inflected by the specificity of cultural, historical and institutional frameworks, and

contextualized in terms of women's complexly constructed social identities (Lazar 2002). Feminist CDA then would imply a perspective that is comparativist rather than universalizing, attentive to the discursive aspects of the forms of oppression and interests which divide as well as unite groups of women. In the comparativist spirit, this volume brings together studies located in geographically and culturally diverse contexts, ranging from what is sometimes (crudely) referred to as the 'first', 'third' and (formerly) 'second' worlds. Even within similar groups, it is necessary to attend to points of commonality and differences. Chapters 2–4 all deal with professional women of high socio-economic status in affluent Western countries. Although the concerns of this group of women can be said to be fairly similar, and collectively very different from working-class women from non-Western countries (see, for example, Chapter 8 below), they each also manifest different levels and forms of discrimination in their respective workplaces.

Discourse in the (de)construction of gender

Post-structuralist conceptions of discourse as socially constitutive signifying practices have been fruitfully combined with linguistic approaches in many CDA and recent gender and language studies. Along with Chouliariaki and Fairclough (1999), feminist CDA takes the view of discourse as one element of social practices; of particular interest to discourse analysts are those aspects of social practices that are discursive in character (talking and writing, for example, are discursive ways of acting) and also discursively represented in particular ideological ways. As Fairclough (1992; 1995) has noted, the relationship between discourse and the social is a dialectical one, in which discourse constitutes, and is constituted by, social situations, institutions and structures. The notion of constitution applies in the sense that every act of meaning-making through spoken and written language use and other forms of semiosis contributes to the reproduction and maintenance of the social order, and also in the sense of resisting and transforming that order.

The discursive constitution of the social may be analysed broadly in terms of representations, relationships and identities (Fairclough 1989; 1992). For feminist CDA, the focus is on how gender ideology and gendered relations of power are (re)produced, negotiated and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people's social and personal identities in texts and talk. Underlying a critical feminist analysis of discourse in these three domains is the principle of 'gender relationality', which may be signalled explicitly or maintained implicitly in the studies. Gender relationality entails a

focus on two kinds of relationships. First, and primarily, the focus is on the discursive *co-constructions* of ways of doing and being a woman and a man in particular communities of practice. The concern is not with women in isolation, but *vis-à-vis* men within particular gender orders. Gender relationality in this sense also renders analysable, from a feminist perspective, how men talk (see Johnson and Meinhof 1997) and are textually represented. Second, gender relationality entails an analytic focus also on the dynamics between forms of masculinity (Connell 1995): specifically, in terms of how these participate within hierarchies of oppression that affect women. Similarly, there needs to be a critical awareness of relations among (groups of) women: for example, how women may rally together in solidarity to oppose some form of discrimination, or how women themselves operating within androcentric cultures (for instance, at home or at salaried workplaces) help perpetuate sexist attitudes and practices against other women. Where the aim of such analysis is praxis-oriented and concerned with social transformation of structures of gender oppression, awareness and attitudinal change by both men and women are necessary.

Social constructionist approaches emphasize the on-going, iterative and active accomplishment of gender (along with other identities) in and through discourse (West, Lazar and Kramarae 1997). Accomplishment suggests that people, through their linguistic (and non-linguistic) behaviour, produce rather than reflect a priori identities as 'women' and 'men' in particular historical and cultural locations, although the produced identities often get viewed as 'natural', immanent and transhistorical. Within feminist CDA, the use of both the ethnomethodologically-based concept of 'doing gender' as well as the post-modernist idea of 'gender performativity' can be found. The ethnomethodological 'take' is quite clearly compatible with feminist CDA research in its insistence on situating gender accomplishments within institutional frameworks, and in asserting that doing gender means creating hierarchical differences between people (West and Zimmerman 1987). The ethnomethodological orientation is evident in this volume, for example, in Holmes' and Wodak's discussions on 'doing power' and 'doing politics', respectively.

Post-modernist understandings of 'gender as performance', however, have been notably problematic for some feminists (e.g., Grant 1993; Kotthoff and Wodak 1997; Hekman 1999), who rightly point out that there is a tendency by Butler, for instance, to locate everything in discourse and overlook experiential and material aspects of identity and power relations. Also problematic from a feminist perspective is the celebration of individual freedoms to perform transgressive acts such as

cross-dressing, which are not tantamount to a radical subversion of the gender structures; indeed, such acts unwittingly only help to reinforce those very structures. However, it needs to be noted, too, that Butler (1990) does acknowledge (especially in earlier accounts) the coerciveness of 'rigid regulatory frames' that police gender performances in a way which makes the accomplishment of identities neither freely chosen nor entirely determined acts. A political 'take' on performativity, based on empirical studies, is of value to feminist CDA (see Chapters 5 and 6 below). Although typically gender and language studies have applied gender performativity to research on individuals in talk, Chapter 6 also shows how gender identities can be performed representationally in texts, and by institutional bodies.

Investigations of the interrelations between gender, power, ideology and discourse are necessarily complex and multifaceted, which explains why feminist studies and CDA alike (and feminist CDA at their confluence) are open to interdisciplinary research. The interdisciplinarity in feminist CDA is evident on three counts: first, in terms of the kinds of social and political questions it seeks to address, and the range of theoretical and empirical inspiration that underpins the research; second, it is evident, methodologically, in some studies, in the collection and contextualization of linguistic data based on ethnographic methods, which include interviews and participant observation (see Chapters 2, 5 and 8 below); third, in terms of actual collaborative research undertaken between scholars across disciplines (see in this volume the call by Wodak; note also Chapter 3, which attests to joint research by a linguist and a sociologist).

The scope and approach to analysis of discourse within feminist CDA is also catholic. Based on concrete analysis, the data in feminist CDA includes contextualized instances of spoken and written language as well as other forms of semiosis such as visual images, layout, gestures and actions. While the analysis of data includes meanings expressed overtly, it is especially attentive to the less obvious, nuanced and implicit meanings for the subtle and complex renderings of ideological assumptions and power relations in contemporary societies. The approach and tools for undertaking principled analysis of talk and text are many and varied. The analytic frameworks and categories include those from pragmatics, semantics, systemic-functional grammar, narrative structures and conversation analysis. Although some would argue against the compatibility between conversation analysis and CDA perspectives (see Schegloff 1997), feminist conversation analysts have found the engagement a fruitful one (see Stokoe and Weatherall 2002; see also

Chapter 2 below). These feminist scholars stress both the value of the emergent character of gender in interactions, and the need for socio-historical and institutional framing of the category of gender.

Levels and foci of analysis in feminist CDA are also wide-ranging, including choices in lexis, clauses/sentences/utterances, conversational turns, structures of argument and genre, and interactions between discourses. The latter, also known as interdiscursive analysis (Fairclough 1992), is influenced particularly by Bakhtin's (1981) idea of the dialogic-ality of texts, and is concerned with the identification of, and more importantly the interaction between, different discourses (and also genres) within particular texts and talk. (See Chapter 7 below for an elaboration of the concept.) For example, I have identified the presence of two competing discourses of gender relations in a set of government advertisements – one based on traditionalism, and the other on egalitarianism – and have shown the complex ways in which the former achieves dominance (Lazar 1993; 2000; see also Chapter 6 below). The dual discourses attest to the changing social-cultural context of a com-munity, which recognizes the complexity of interactants' positions regarding views on gender relations, as well as contributing to the form(ul)ation of complex hybrid gender identities. The idea of the two discourses originally identified has relevance beyond the Singapore context, as can be seen also in studies by Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban about Spain (2003), and Magalhães about Brazil (Chapter 8 below).

Critical reflexivity as praxis

According to Giddens (1991), reflexivity is a generally pronounced characteristic of late modern societies, by which he means the increased tendency for people in this period to utilize knowledge about social processes and practices in a way that shapes their own subsequent practices. A critical focus on reflexivity, as a phenomenon of contemporary social life, must be an important facet of the practice of feminist CDA. There are at least two levels for this interest. First, the interest lies in how reflexivity is manifested in institutional practices, with implications for possibilities for change in the social and personal mindsets and practices of individuals. Second, there is a need for on-going critical self-reflexivity for feminists keen on achieving radical transformation of the gendered social structures. Each of these will be elaborated below, with implications for a critical feminist analysis of discourse and practice.

Reflexivity of institutions is of interest to feminist CDA both in terms of the progressive institutional practices engendered, and in terms of

the strategic uses of feminism to further non-feminist goals. Awareness of feminist concerns for women's inclusivity and opportunity for just participation in the public sphere is reflected in the implementation of women-friendly programmes in at least some organizations in some contexts. For example, it is now fairly commonplace in many universities in the global north/west and in some universities in the south/east to include gender-related modules, including studies on gender and language, in their curricula. The relative acceptability and respectability for such studies in universities today is in no small part due to the efforts of feminists. When taught from a feminist perspective, such studies afford a space for discussion and reflection on, for instance, gender and language issues, and have the potential for raising critical awareness among students. Remlinger's chapter on two North American universities (Chapter 5) reports precisely on such a case, noting the reflexivity of some (women and men) students in opposing sexist uses of language and dominant gender ideologies in class discussions. In a separate study, Wodak (Chapter 4) reports on another instance of institutional reflexivity, manifested this time in gender-mainstreaming efforts by a major supranational organization, the European Union, in a bid to ensure an equitable work environment for women and men employees. While it may be argued that institutional efforts such as those above still have some way to go, nonetheless they undeniably represent a positive step forward.

Unlike the above, there are also institutional reflexive practices that recuperate feminist values of egalitarianism and empowerment for non-feminist ends (see Gill 2004; Lazar 2004; Talbot 1998; and Chapter 7 below). The advertising industry in particular is notorious in this regard. The problem is not so much the case of appropriating feminism merely for commercial gain, but that frequently such appropriation entails an insidious subversion of feminism as a political force. 'Recuperative reflexivity' is not limited only to consumerism; it is also used for other persuasive effects by governments and national newspapers (see Chapters 6 and 10 below). The latter case provides an indication that institutional reflexivity of this kind is indeed quite pervasive, affecting other systems of inequality (such as heterosexism) as well.

Aside from a focus on institutional forms of reflexivity, there is a need also for feminists to be critically reflexive of our own theoretical positions and practices lest these inadvertently contribute to the perpetuation, rather than the subversion, of hierarchically differential treatment of women. One issue in need of clarity is what we mean and expect by the term 'emancipation'. For feminist critical discourse analysts, the ultimate

goal is a radical social transformation based on social justice that opens up unlimited possibilities both for women and men as human beings; a discursive critique of the prevailing limiting structures is a step in that direction. From this view, liberal, reformist positions – even when embraced by some feminists – is inadequate (see Chapter 9 below) and can be easily co-opted by the dominant structures.

Contemporary feminist theorists have pointed to the inherent flaws in classical liberal notions of equality and freedom, as premised upon an abstract universalism and 'sameness'. First, equality from this perspective implies 'same as men', where the yardstick is that already set by men. Instead of a radical shift in the gender order, women therefore are required to fit into the prevailing androcentric structures. Many of the problems encountered by modern women in the public sphere, in spite of (and as a result of) gaining access to education and paid employment, are due to the unchanging gendered social structures. For example, exclusion and alienation among peers and subordinates, the lack of female role models and self-determined leadership styles for women managers, suppression of non-mainstream voices in peer discussions, and the double shift-work shouldered by women in the office and at home. These social issues are also in part discursive in nature, which in various ways are analysed and discussed in the studies in Part I of this volume. Second, the dominant liberal ideology assumes the sameness of all women. It has allowed middle-class, heterosexual, Western, white women to represent their partial experiences as universally shared by all women, thereby ignoring the material conditions and needs of non-Western, non-white, lesbian and poor women around the globe (hooks 1984; Mohanty, Russo and Torres 1991; Moghadam 1994). Several of the chapters in Part II of the volume attempt to redress this problem from the perspective of feminist critical discourse studies.

Although the existing liberal ideology is flawed – and what is required in the long term is a serious re-visioning of gender – there is implicit consensus among most feminists regarding the value of the *ideals* of liberalism for a current pragmatic feminist politics. Hirschman (1999: 28), for instance, notes that the ideals of freedom and equality are historically important for politically disadvantaged groups of women who have been systematically denied equality under the law and freedom to control their lives, make choices and act as agents in the world. It is necessary, however, to reconceptualize the category of 'universality' and rights along the lines of current third-wave feminist thinking. As proposed by Hirschman (1999) and Benhabib (1987), this involves viewing universality in 'concrete' rather than in abstract terms, based

on acknowledgement of specific differences in the material conditions, contexts and situations of women's lives. Only by attending to, instead of negating 'difference', can feminists identify and theorize more accurately the commonalities of gender oppression, and build alliances among women in tackling specific issues and achieving concrete political goals. It is hoped that *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis*, as an international forum based on concrete discursive analysis of different local situations, contributes to feminist politics in this way.

Even while acknowledging the usefulness of certain liberal ideals reconceptualized in feminist terms, there is a need to safeguard against slipping into the current mainstream neo-liberal thinking that is pervasive in the late modern societies of today. Of particular concern to feminist CDA is the global neo-liberal discourse of post-feminism (Lazar 2004). According to this discourse, once certain equality indicators (such as rights to educational access, labour force participation, property ownership, and abortion and fertility) are achieved by women, feminism is considered to have outlived its purpose and ceases to be of relevance. Although the discourse tends to be particularly associated with the developed industrialized societies of the West, the dichotomous framing in terms of the global west/north versus the east/south is quite misleading. Even in the case of the former, women's rights and freedoms cannot be assumed as a given, for these can be contested through backlash discourses and changing public policies (note the recent contestation of abortion laws by the Bush government in America). Also, rights and freedoms are not total: for example, a gendered wage gap continues to exist in a number of these societies, as does systematic male violence against women in various forms and permutations which curtails women's full social emancipation.

The discourse of popular post-feminism is in urgent need of critique for it lulls one into thinking that struggles over the social transformation of the gender order have become defunct in the present time. The discourse is partly a masculinist backlash that defends against the whittling away of the patriarchal dividend. However, it is important to recognize that some women, including those who explicitly identify themselves as feminists (for example, Walter 1999; Wolf 1993 cited in Chapter 7 below), also attest to the presence of a post-feminist era. According to these women, this is a time for celebrating women's new-found power and achievements; it is a moment of 'power feminism' (see Chapter 7 below, which offers a discursive analysis of one aspect of this).

While it is important to acknowledge the social, economic and political strides achieved by a growing number of young women in many industrialized

societies today, there is a need also to exercise critical reflexivity on the matter. One of the problematic assumptions of post-feminist discourse is that women can 'have it all' if only they try hard enough, which makes women's struggles and accomplishments a purely personal matter, obscuring the actual social and material constraints faced by different groups of women. Concomitantly, there seems to be an inward-looking focus and contentment only in the achievement of personal freedoms and fulfilment. A self-focused 'me-feminism' of this sort detracts from a collective 'we-feminism' needed for a transformational political program (Lazar 2001). The focus on freedoms alone, moreover, is inadequate; as some have argued, freedom for feminists is only the beginning, not the end (Grant 1999: 189). In the current sway of post-feminism in modern societies, Segal pointedly argues for the continued relevance of feminism as follows: 'Why feminism? Because its most radical goal, both personal and collective, has yet to be realised: a world which is a better place not just for some women, but for all women' (1999: 232).

Finally, feminist self-reflexivity must extend beyond a position of theoretical critique to include one's own academic and other practices. I want to reflect here on the gate-keeping practices of research as well as an instance of teaching. In regard to research, the importance of internationalizing the scope in order to theorize more carefully the endless variety and monotonous similarity of gender oppression across diverse geographical contexts has been established above. Another part of feminist academic practice is the importance of including and representing where possible *international* feminist scholarship in research articles, in authoritative handbooks, readers and textbooks, and in plenary addresses at international conferences.

Referring to the overwhelming representation of (white) scholars from the north (or west) in academia, including in the more critical-oriented fields, van Dijk (1994b) has noted this as a form of academic ethnocentrism, based upon seldom questioned feelings of scholarly and cultural superiority. Although feminist linguists today are increasingly reflexive on the issue of representation and inclusion of diversity, two points are worth further critical consideration. The first pertains to researching a community outside one's own, when undertaken not in collaboration with the locals or native scholars of the community, but from an external position of authority. This is problematic when the direction of expertise flows from traditionally privileged groups at the centre to subaltern groups. Therefore, when (white) scholars from the north (or west) make authoritative knowledge claims about communities in the south (or east), there is a danger of re-enacting historical imperialism in academic neo-imperialist terms.

The second point worth critical feminist reflexivity pertains to what I would call 'marked inclusion'. This refers to the benevolent inclusion of critical and/or feminist discourse studies from non-Western geographical regions in international fora, but marked as 'other' instead of mainstreamed. For example, some years ago, an academic report written after the event of a 'Language and Masculinity' seminar held at a university in England scrupulously named the geographical locations of the 'non-Western' studies presented at the seminar, but left unmarked those studies from the West. In a separate event, the third International Gender and Language conference (IGALA3) held in Connell (USA) in 2004 expressed in its conference publicity notices the aim to highlight the 'international' in the conference title. This was done by devoting a plenary session in the programme to 'international perspectives', in which four speakers from diverse non-Western countries (and a Western white male as the panel moderator) shared an extended timeslot. In both examples, good intentions notwithstanding, the practice of marking inadvertently emphasizes as 'other' non-Western research from mainstreamed Western studies or studies undertaken by scholars in the West. (Perhaps, in the case of IGALA3, one of the non-Western panellists could have been offered an unmarked full plenary slot just like her other Western plenary compatriots in the programme.)

Interaction among feminists, too, requires critical reflexivity, especially in public professional situations such as teaching. I will offer a personal anecdote here as an example. Some years ago, I was teaching a feminist language studies module with two other (women) colleagues at a university where the conventional practice was to address members of staff in the classroom by professional title plus surname. While the module co-ordinator did this when referring to the other colleague in the classroom, at the same time she constantly referred to me only by my first name. The differential naming was part of other subtle practices of avoidance of eye contact and neglect to show me the finalized exam paper. While of course personal antipathy among women – and feminists – can and does exist, the point of the example is that such slights in context cannot be read merely as personal (or unprofessional) but as *political* acts of denying equal professional status. This is because as feminists and critical analysts of discourse we are fully aware of the politics of naming and exclusionary practices, about which we also educate our students. So when we ourselves do this to others – in this case, ironically within a gender and language classroom and by one feminist to another – we cannot ignore political questions of disaffection and exclusion, and must be reflexive especially as feminists in our own practices with others.

Organization of the book

The volume is divided into two parts, each of which respectively, though not exclusively, addresses issues around two broad themes: 'Post-Equality? Analyses of Subtle Sexism', and 'Emancipation and Social Citizenship: Analyses of Identity and Difference'. These represent, I believe, important contemporary feminist concerns that are complex and sometimes subtle in nature, which feminist CDA aims to investigate through nuanced, contextualized analyses of texts and talk.

Part I   Post-equality? Analyses of subtle sexism

This section addresses popular post-feminist assumptions that once a measure of equality, in liberal terms, has been achieved by women, gender struggles along with feminism have ended. The chapters in this section deal with various contexts that acknowledge (some) women's visibility and ascendancy in the public domains of paid work, politics and education. Also featured are the concerted efforts by one government body to make visible men's roles in the private domain of childcare and housework. While recognizing these changes in contemporary modern societies, the 'post' in 'post-equality' and the question mark in the title raise two things: first, whether we have really moved beyond equality; and second, even if we have, what the quality of that equality is. All the studies in this section show that beneath the appearance of emancipation, sexist discrimination thrives in covert forms in these contexts through deep-seated, naturalized, androcentric assumptions. The achievement of equality in liberal terms, therefore, is inadequate; what is required instead, as discussed earlier, are radical changes in the gender structure maintained in institutions and people's mindsets. Of note in several of the chapters are the ways some women (and men) within the existing gendered organizational structures negotiate and challenge the dominant ideologies and power structures, indicating possibilities for change.

   The first three chapters deal with women's participation in the public workplace. In Chapter 2, Janet Holmes shows that although women in senior management positions in New Zealand may 'do power' overtly like their male counterparts, there is an underlying pressure and constraint on women managers to mitigate their speech style through supposedly appropriate 'feminine' interactional behaviour. There is also an association of some kinds of work done in organizations with women, which men avoid. Holmes argues that gender stereotypes remain in the

background underlying workplace interactions, contributing to subtle forms of gender discrimination.

Like Holmes, Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban's study in Chapter 3 also points to the deeply androcentric workplace culture in Spain, in spite of an emerging management ethos that seemingly favours women. Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban note two sets of challenges confronting managerial women in their country: first, how do women exercise leadership and authority in a work culture that associates power with masculinity? And second, based on the emerging relational management model that relies on evaluations by peers and subordinates, how do women establish peer networks with male colleagues who exclude them, and gain respect from (male and female) subordinates who mistrust them? As noted by the authors, women managers in Spain typically face social isolation and exclusion, which poses real implications for their further professional development and promotion in the organizations.

Although Ruth Wodak, in Chapter 4, is also concerned with women's participation in public organizations, her study is located at the supranational level. Her focus is on a 'gender mainstreaming' programme adopted in the European Union, which in its ideal form aims to promote long-lasting and all-round changes in gender roles and organizational practices. Wodak's initial findings, based on a qualitative study on the European Parliament, suggest that due to the relatively open structure of this organization, women politicians can negotiate their gender and political identities in a range of different ways which are not usually possible in other more rigidly structured institutions. However, she also notes that although there is some representation of women politicians in the European Parliament, this is unevenly spread among member states; and that although there has been an increase in women's participation in the other European organizations, women are still markedly underrepresented at the highest levels. Her study points to the need for interdisciplinary research in order to investigate the relationship between the nature of particular organizational structures within the EU and the achievement of gender equity.

Kathryn Remlinger in Chapter 5 discusses issues of participation and access in an educational context. Her study is based on two American university classrooms that read explicit gender-related courses, which are designed to foster among students an awareness of gender and sexuality issues. As Remlinger discovers, such issues ironically are simultaneously at the centre and at the margin of campus politics. She shows how, through negotiation of meanings and uses of the classroom floor, students (and staff) discursively (re)produce, resist, and oppose resistances to

prevailing normative ideologies of gender and sexuality. Remlinger debunks the myth that the classroom is a gender-neutral site where everybody has equal access to participation and learning. Instead, in spite of possibilities for contestation, the predominance of a phallocentric, heterosexist ideology in subtle ways serves, through classroom interactions, to silence and exclude students with alternative gender and sexual values and practices.

Whereas a growing number of women in modern societies are entering and supposedly breaking the 'glass ceiling' in the public domain of paid work (previously men's domain), is there an equivalent breaking of new ground by men on the domestic front of unpaid childcare and housework (traditionally women's domain)? In Chapter 6, I explore this question based on a study of a government advertising campaign promoting family life in Singapore, in which fatherhood is prominently and popularly depicted. The advertisements are critically 'unpacked' to reveal a complex interplay of two discourses of gender relations, based on egalitarianism and conservatism respectively. I argue that the interdiscursivity produces a complexly nuanced identity for Singaporean men, which allows them to be optionally more involved in childcare, without a radical redistribution of parental responsibilities between men and women. Hegemonic gender relations and masculine identity thus are remade by a masculinist government for a pragmatic nationalist agenda, without sacrificing the dominant gender structure.

Part II   Emancipation and social citizenship: analyses of identity and difference

Even while recognizing the limits of equality without a radical redefinition or transformation of the gender structure, this second part shows that certain ideals of liberal equality, for which a majority consensus among feminists exists, are still far from achieved in a range of geographical contexts, from Western industrialized nations to developing and transitional countries. In these different societies, women's emancipation and full social citizenship are curtailed based on a variety of reasons; those dealt with in the studies in this section include the relative lack of women's literacy, the systematic violence against women, the absence of guaranteed civil rights, and the lack of a public sphere for the articulation of alternative viewpoints by radical feminist voices. These issues are intricately layered by a politics of identity and difference.

The topic that forms the point of departure for Chapter 7 by Mary Talbot is a stark reminder of women's lack of full social citizenship and emancipation in present-day America (as in most other societies): the

prevalence of violence against women, as Talbot notes, continues in patriarchal societies as an overt form of power and control over women. In this chapter, Talbot shows how the American National Rifle Association (NRA), capitalizing both on women's legitimate fears of assault and feminists' call for women to resist victim status, discursively constructs an 'empowered' identity for American women through promotion of gun ownership by women. Guided by commercial profit, the NRA (a right-wing organization which is opposed to anti-gun laws aimed at reducing a violent environment) appears to empower women, when what it actually does is subvert feminists' call for non-violence, and perpetuate instead a climate of fear and continued violence.

In Chapter 8, Izabel Magalhães examines Brazilian women's identity in the context of two adult literacy programmes, in communities where gender equality and emancipation are only recently emerging issues. Her analysis of three separate genres in the programmes indicates, in varying degrees, the co-existence of 'old' as well as 'new' identities for the women learners. Whereas some aspects of the new identity are empowering for women, other aspects (namely those tied to global consumerism) place women in subject positions that are disempowering. Based on her findings, Magalhães argues that the Brazilian government needs to invest in women's education in order for them to become valued citizens in their own right in political and social life.

In Chapter 9, Erzsébet Barát investigates what space is available in the political printed media for the discussion and critique of bourgeois patriarchy in a democratizing Hungary since the 1990s. By and large, she finds a systematic masculinist gate-keeping strategy that is aimed at discrediting feminism. It is a misogynistic discourse that is also racist and heterosexist. Of the few feminist voices present in the media, Barát notes that these are liberal/reformist, and that they fail to challenge – and therefore are complicit in – the heterosexual and class bias of bourgeois patriarchy. Barát's chapter is of interest to a politics of difference in two ways: first, in terms of the configuration of systems of oppression (patriarchy, racism, heterosexism and classism), and the implication this has for power and ideology enacted in relation to different groups of women; and second, in terms of the need to acknowledge differences in feminist positions, and to be critical of forms of feminism that contribute to the perpetuation of a hetero-gendered social order.

In Chapter 10, Carlos Gouveia takes as his central focus the deep-seated prejudice against homosexuals in Portugal. The study reveals important parallels and confluences in the discursive enactments of systems of oppression, in this case between heterosexism and patriarchy.

Gouveia's analysis of special coverage devoted to homosexuality in a prominent Portuguese newspaper reveals that while the newspaper is careful not to appear blatantly discriminatory, it manages nonetheless to promote fear and prejudice against gays and lesbians by implying that they are a dangerously powerful organized group. Further, he discusses the fact that lesbians in particular are doubly discriminated against in Portuguese society based on their sexual orientation and gender. This is reflected in their representational invisibility in the mainstream news texts, as well as in representations by the gay men. The invisibility and exclusion of lesbians in public discourse means that this group of women is hardest hit in terms of having their civil rights neither protected nor guaranteed.

Notes

1   Although studies in feminist CDA have existed for more than a decade, *as a body of research* it has been insufficiently made known. Up until now, publications in feminist CDA have been dispersed across a variety of journals (most notably in *Discourse & Society*) and edited volumes on gender and language. Where overviews on CDA and feminist language studies exist separately, feminist CDA has received brief mention only in endnotes (see Fairclough and Wodak 1997; and Cameron 1998, respectively). More recently, even where feminist scholarship in CDA is briefly discussed, the representation of work in this area has been disappointingly narrow, based on limited studies (see Bucholtz 2003).
2   Apart from the present contributors' works, a selection of other critical studies on institutional gender relations include works on medical encounters (for example, West 1990); judicial settings (for example, Ehrlich 2001); the police force (for example, McElhinny 1995); and the media (for example, Caldas-Coulthard 1995).

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Part I

Post-Equality? Analyses of Subtle Sexism

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2
Power and Discourse at Work: Is Gender Relevant?

Janet Holmes

Introduction

As women increasingly crash though the glass ceiling and reach the highest levels in politics, government institutions and corporate organizations, it is important to critically examine claims that gender is no longer an issue in the workplace. In New Zealand, in the year 2001, for example, women occupied the positions of Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition (until October), Governor General and Chief Justice, as well as Chief Executive Officer positions in influential government ministries and corporate organizations such as Telecom and Mobil. Is this evidence that gender has finally become irrelevant to women's progress up the professional ladder? Has gender finally retreated into the background as a factor in workplace discourse? This chapter uses CDA to explore the interaction of gender and power in the workplace, and argues that, despite the apparent increase in the number of women in authoritative positions, there is little evidence that gender has become a superfluous consideration in analysing workplace interaction.

At the most global level, CDA increases awareness of the reciprocal influences of language and social structure. More specifically, critical discourse analysts aim to describe the ways in which power and dominance are produced and reproduced in social practice through the discourse structures of everyday interactions. Because of this 'overtly political agenda' (Kress 1990: 84–5), CDA provides an interesting and stimulating framework for analysing workplace interaction. The great majority of workplaces are intrinsically hierarchical in structure; power relationships are constantly constructed and reconstructed in the everyday interactions which constitute the 'business' of organizations. A CDA approach

encourages the analyst to look beneath the surface of the discourse strategies used in workplace interactions to identify systemic reasons for participants' use of particular strategies in particular contexts. In what follows I first identify some overt and explicit ways in which power is routinely instantiated in everyday workplace interaction, and then I consider in some detail the relevance of gender to an analysis of less overt ways of constructing power at work.

Systemic power

The definition of 'power' adopted in this chapter is post-structural. Rather than defining power in traditional terms as the ability of one person to influence the behaviour of another (for example, Dahl 1957; French and Raven 1959; Brown and Gilman 1960; Galbraith 1983: 2; Brown and Levinson 1987: 77), power is treated as 'a systemic characteristic' (Fletcher 1999: 16), a transformative and non-static feature of interaction (Wodak 1996; 1999). In the discussion below I attempt to uncover discursive evidence for the covert, systemic exercise of power, by identifying some of the unobtrusive, 'naturalized' conversational strategies through which power (and gender) relations are constructed and reinforced in everyday, unremarkable, workplace interactions (cf. Fairclough 1989; 1992).

Systemic power typically goes unquestioned because it is firmly based in conventional wisdom; its incontestable status is simply one of the taken-for-granted, self-evident truths or background assumptions of our everyday talk in which it is constantly instantiated. As Fletcher (1999: 17) says: 'The locus of power . . . is . . . systems of shared meaning that reinforce mainstream ideas and silence alternatives.' CDA provides a framework to explore ways in which systemic power is constructed and reinforced in interaction, to identify how the dominant group determines meaning and, more specifically, to describe the processes by which the more powerful person in an interaction typically gets to define the purpose or significance of the interaction and influences the direction in which it develops.

It is also worth paying attention, however, to what is achieved by less powerful participants in an interaction in responding to the subtle and not-so-subtle exercise of systemic power by superiors. Tannen (1987: 5) points out that the notion of power 'is always metaphoric when applied to interaction and discourse'. She highlights the variety of ways in which power may be manifested, and the fact that in any particular interaction different participants may have different kinds of power

which they exercise in different ways. In other words, she suggests that it is impossible to identify *the* power in a situation. Rather, power is dynamically constructed and exercised, both implicitly and explicitly, in different aspects of a specific interaction; different participants manifest power in diverse ways as they construct their own identities and roles in response to the behaviour of others. Davis (1988: 99) similarly argues that power relations 'are always and everywhere contextual . . . Power, along with structures of domination, is implicated in concrete situated social practice.' In sum, while it is sometimes overtly manifested in the workplace, power may also be constructed in more subtle and complex ways. In the analysis below, I draw on research undertaken by the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project (LWP) team to illustrate first the range and complexity of the ways in which power gets done in different workplace contexts, and then the relevance of gender in the construction of workplace power relations.[1]

Doing power at work

Directives

Although the main focus of this chapter is the more subtle systemic ways in which power and gender are constructed in workplace interaction, it is useful to acknowledge that explicit and overt manifestations of these social relations also play an important part in legitimating institutional authority structures. In all the workplaces in which we recorded, managers exercised their authority quite overtly, and even 'bald on record' (Brown and Levinson 1987: 60) on occasion. The form of directives, for instance, included unmodified imperatives, (*check that out*, *ring them today*, *make sure that's booked*, *follow that up*), as well as equally explicit 'need' and 'must' statements, such as *I need these by ten*, *I need to see that file*, *you need to get that to me soon*, and *these letters must go today*. Such forms can be regarded as very overt manifestations of authority; they did not, for instance, tend to occur 'upwards' from a subordinate to a superior, unless the participants knew each other very well. This caveat, however, signals the importance of attending to contextual factors in interpreting the social meaning of workplace language. As has been often noted (Brown and Gilman 1960; Holmes 1992; Tannen 1994a), the linguistic forms which express power are often identical to those which reflect solidarity or intimacy. Thus imperative forms were also frequent between workplace colleagues who were status equals. Nevertheless, in unequal relationships, explicit directives addressed

downwards are undoubtedly the most overt means by which power and authority are manifested.

More importantly, however, our analyses indicated that a wide range of utterances produced by a manager to a subordinate in a transactional context could carry directive force (Vine 2001; Holmes *et al.* 2003). Analysing classroom language, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 32ff.) suggested that pupils tend to scan teachers' utterances for potential directive force. In the same way, in contexts where the relative organizational responsibilities of the participants are clear, managers can issue directives using very inexplicit forms, confident that their utterances will be interpreted as indications of what is to happen. So suggestions and hints (for example, *you might like to find that file*, *what we might need to do is send down a confirmation note*, *it would be useful to have the timetable*) were unambiguously identified by the managers' administrative assistants as instructions to be followed, and even forms which to an outsider appeared very inexplicit and vague elicited responses which indicated they were perfectly clear in conveying to a subordinate what the manager wanted (see Vine 2001). In Excerpt 1, the manager's intent is interpreted accurately by her administrative assistant, Fiona, despite the fact that the directive force would not necessarily be clear to an outsider. (Transcription conventions for the excerpts which follow are set out in the Appendix to this chapter.)

EXCERPT 1[2]
Context: meeting in government department in the office of the manager, Bev.
  1 Bev: must be coffee-time
  2 Fiona: I've put the Zip on
[Fiona leaves the room to make the coffee]
(A Zip is a large immersion heater used for heating water to boiling point.)

When what managers want done is part of the routine obligations of their subordinates, they can 'do power' using linguistic forms which range from explicit imperatives to very indirect hints (e.g., *must be coffee time*, *that print-out is taking a long time*, *has the mail gone yet?*) with no danger of causing offence or misunderstanding. So even when the illocutionary force is relatively opaque to outsiders, giving directives or getting people to do things is one of the more obvious ways in which people manifest their power within an organization. Workplace meetings provide another fertile site for the construction of power.

Managing meetings

Our analyses of workplace meetings in a range of different organizations identified a wide variety of meeting-related activities through which organizationally sanctioned power was constructed in on-going workplace interaction. Managing the meeting agenda, for instance, is one important means of doing power at work and, like directives, it can be accomplished using strategies which range from very explicit to relatively subtle.

A meeting agenda can be very formally and explicitly manifested in written form, at one extreme, or it can be determined very informally by, for example, a request for a discussion on a particular topic or topics with one or more others. And obviously there are variations of differing degrees of formality between these two extremes (see Holmes and Stubbe 2003a; Marra 2003). Once a meeting has been organized, one obvious way in which power is manifested within the meeting itself is through the ratification of the agenda. Typically, the person who is chairing will refer to the meeting agenda or the purpose for which a meeting is being held at the start of the meeting, as in Excerpts 2 and 3.

EXCERPT 2

Context: regular weekly meeting of a project team in a commercial organization.

Clara is in the Chair. Seth has gone to collect the minutes from the previous meeting which he didn't realize he was supposed to circulate.

1 Clara: okay well we might just start without Seth
2   he can come in and can review the minutes from last week...

[*there is a brief discussion to determine who will take the minutes*]

3   okay shall we kick off and just go round the room um (doing) update the
4   and then when he Seth comes in with the //the minutes\
5   we need to check on any action=
6 XM: /[clears throat]\\
7 Clara: =items (from our) planning
8   over to you Marlene

EXCERPT 3

Context: regular weekly meeting of project team in commercial organization. Sandy is in the Chair.

1 Sandy: okay
   [*someone stops speaking to their neighbour*]
2   what I want to do first was to run through the issues register
3   um just going through some of the dates that have
         already occurred
4   [drawls]: um: we've got number [clears throat] four
5   which was thirty-first of December last year

Making explicit in this way what they expect to cover, and in what order, is one strategy available to participants for asserting control of the meeting or 'doing power'. Although in principle any participant can assert authority in this way, it is generally the formally or informally agreed 'chair' of the meeting who does so, as illustrated in Excerpts 2 and 3. In the organizations we studied, the person with most authority was usually the person who chaired the meeting, and taking control of the agenda was just one strategy in the on-going construction of their power and authority. In smaller, less formal meetings, the chair used strategies such as the following to achieve the same end:

- *what I'd like to do is . . .*
- *I've got a couple of things . . .*
- *I just wanted to finish off where we got to yesterday*
- *. . . and that's what this meeting is about.*

Our data also illustrates a range of related strategies for maintaining control and doing power in meetings. These include ratifying topics or alternatively labelling a discussion as a digression, bringing the meeting 'to order' or indicating that a digression has proceeded long enough, summarizing, and thus imposing one's understanding of what has been agreed or decided, and indicating when the meeting should end (see Holmes, Stubbe and Vine 1999; Holmes and Stubbe 2003a).

   Interesting insights into these manifestations of power occurred when there was a conflict between two different 'authorities' in a meeting. So, for instance, the fact that the agenda was sometimes a contested site indicates the relevance of control of the meeting agenda as one means of constructing power. In one organization, for example, there was an on-going 'tussle' between the designated chair (Barry), and the person assigned to take the minutes (Callum). The meeting was a relatively high-level gathering of (male) experts, each of whom was a manager in another section, and hence accustomed to

running his own meetings. Excerpt 4 illustrates Callum's take-over of the agenda after Barry's opening statement.

EXCERPT 4
Context: regular weekly meeting of project team in a commercial organization. Barry is in the Chair. Callum is the minute taker.

1	Barry:	okay
2	Callum:	okay=
3	Barry:	=we're going to do a focus session and=
4	Callum:	=yeah we're um it's a focus session this week
5		so we haven't got any formal minutes to go through er
6		the subjects on the [drawls]: agenda: data release d w release five progress
7		d w release bat and training um progress update on the s- s l a
8		and progress update on p g m two point one
9		plus any other matters that er might need to be discussed
10		(3) I've got some handouts [clears throat] (5)
11	Barry:	thank you

Callum effectively takes over the opening of the meeting, identifying the topics on the agenda, and indicating he has material to discuss (line 10), until Barry re-asserts his authority first by leaving a marked five-second pause as Callum finishes (line 10), and then following up with the formal phrase 'thank you' (line 11).

As mentioned above, the most senior person usually chaired regular meetings of their section or team. In some workplaces, however, there was a practice of rotating the chair or, on particular occasions, a project team leader or deputy might chair a meeting. In such cases, conflicts of authority sometimes arose between the apparent authority of the chair of the meeting, and the institutional authority of the manager. The resolution of such an impasse indicated in every case the pervasive and ultimate authority of the most senior person in the organizational hierarchy. In our large database comprising more than 500 interactions, the temporary authority of the chair never prevailed on any issue of importance over that of a more senior person. Typically, in such cases, the most senior manager needed to merely indicate, sometimes very subtly, that he or she was unhappy with a decision, or with the direction the discussion was taking. Excerpt 5 provides an example: Dudley, a senior manager, is attending the meeting, and he

indicates that he is not happy with the suggestion made by Barry who is chairing the meeting.

EXCERPT 5

Context: regular meeting of project team in a commercial organization.
Barry is in the Chair. Dudley is the most senior person present.

1	Barry:	so soon after that if not sort of at the tail end of that
2		Callum should start to kick in to that those discussions in terms of //+\=
3	Dudley:	/[inhales]\\
4	Barry:	=scoping it is that how you I mean //( )\=
5	Dudley:	/yeah I [exhales]\\\=
6	Barry:	=how to plug Callum in Call- Callum hasn't been really involved
7		in this at all //um\
8	Dudley:	/no and\\ I guess my concern is how does this thing get started
9		because I think it's all very well to to talk about saying
10		okay we need the document . . .

The project team is planning the steps in the next phase of their project. Barry suggests that when they reach a particular stage Callum, another member of the project team, should be allocated the task of scoping the project. At this point, Dudley, who rarely contributes explicitly to the team's discussions, simply draws in his breath (line 3). Barry responds by first re-orienting his comment specifically to Dudley *is that how you I mean* (line 4), and then providing a rationale for his suggestion: namely, it is time Callum got involved in the project (lines 6–7). Dudley then proceeds to explain why he thinks they have not yet reached an appropriate point to involve Callum. Dudley's view prevails (see Marra 2003 for more such examples).

In another organization, the manager regularly brought digressions from the agenda to a close with her humorous stock phrase 'moving right along'. Her regular use of this phrase when chairing meetings meant that even when she was not in the chair it was immediately recognized as a signal that she considered a digression had gone on long enough. Such strategies for exercising control in the workplace were often developed gradually over time, and consequently managers often asserted power and influence with a minimum of effort and overt display.

Those in positions of authority thus typically controlled influential channels of workplace decision-making, including meeting agendas

and the way in which meetings were run; they had a major influence on the decisions reached, even when they were not explicitly running a meeting. In the next section, I examine even less overt strategies used in the systemic exercise of power, focusing on the unobtrusive 'conversational' strategies through which power relations are constructed and reinforced in everyday workplace interactions.

Doing power systemically in workplace interactions

The previous sections have identified some of the more obvious strategies used to construct power in the workplace: ways in which those in authority get things done and manage meetings in different workplaces. In this section, I use CDA to identify some of the more subtle ways in which power relations are constructed and reinforced through the discourse fabric of New Zealand workplace interaction. The analysis focuses on more extended specific examples from two different organizations in order to illustrate ways in which people draw on the 'taken-for-granted' assumptions of their workplace culture and the wider society in which it is embedded in order to 'do power' at work.

Interaction 1: Tom and Linda[3]

The first example is an interaction between Tom, a senior manager in a rather conservative public service department, and Linda, a policy analyst who is two ranks lower in the organization's hierarchy. Linda has sought an interview with Tom to discuss why she was overlooked for an acting manager position which she believes she was promised by her immediate manager. Given what we know about Linda's attitude to this issue from ethnographic information, as well as recordings of her interactions with other colleagues, it is clear that she feels she has been disadvantaged by the decision. In Excerpt 6, Linda states the reason why she has come to see Tom.

> EXCERPT 6
> *Context*: meeting between a senior manager and a policy analyst in the senior manager's office.
> 1 Linda: yeah um yeah I want to talk to you about um oh it's a personal issue
> 2   um+well i- the decision to make um Jared acting manager
> 3   while //Joseph\ is away
> 4 Tom: /mm\\
> 5   mm

6 Linda: and I wanted to get some
7   [*phone rings*] well I've been overlooked quite a few times
8   //but\ I wanted to find out specifically how what I could do
9 Tom: / (mm)\\
10 Linda: to help myself be considered next time=
11 Tom: =can I just grab th- just grab that phone
12   sorry about that
13 Linda: that's okay . . . . . . [*Tom takes phone call*]
14 Linda: (well) I just want to talk to you about it
15   and and I suppose [swallows] [tut] I just want to get some ideas
16   On what I could do to actually be considered favourably next time

In lines 1–3 Linda states that her reason for seeing Tom is *a personal issue*, namely the decision to make someone other than her acting manager. At this point Tom could reasonably be expected to respond to Linda's statement as a complaint. He responds minimally, however, and Linda is thus forced to continue. Interestingly, the way she elaborates her 'complaint' results in a much less uncomfortable position for Tom. She reframes her reason for asking to see Tom as an opportunity to seek his advice (lines 8, 10) rather than to make a complaint, and the interview continues and develops from this point predominantly within this revised framework.

In considering why Linda retreats from her objective of making a complaint and seeking redress to a much more systemically 'acceptable' goal of seeking advice, it seems reasonable to consider the power difference between her and Tom, and in particular to pay attention to some of the more subtle ways in which it is manifested. Consider first the fact that the meeting takes place in Tom's office, a space he 'owns'. This has a number of consequences for the structure of the discourse, including the way that Tom deals with the interruption of the telephone ringing. As the superior in this interaction Tom can choose whether to accept or to ignore the interruption of the phone. By comparison, if the interaction had taken place in Linda's office, one would not expect her to accept such an interruption to her interaction with Tom. Instead of leaving the phone to ring, Tom interrupts Linda's utterance with a (rhetorical) request for permission to answer the phone, as he lifts the receiver *can I just grab th- just grab that phone* (line 11). In other words, Tom has the power to halt the conversation in which he is engaged with Linda in order to attend to another addressee, while she has no right to act in this way, or to object to this marginalization and temporary demotion of her status as his addressee. One consequence of the interruption is that

Linda is forced to repeat her reason for requesting the interview (lines 14–16). Her initial utterance (lines 1–3) provided a number of indications, in the form of hesitations and hedges (*um, well*), that she found the situation stressful and difficult; the demand for a repetition thus puts her at a further disadvantage.

Throughout the interview that follows, Tom 'does power' by drawing on the taken-for-granted assumptions about the way things operate in this organization. He repeatedly asserts his (status quo institutional) perspective of what has occurred as *the* definitive account, refuting Linda's argument that she in particular has been discriminated against.

EXCERPT 7

1 Tom: yeah I don't think it's a it's a question of er favourability
2   I mean it was a question more practicalities more than anything else
3   um I was in urgent need of someone to fill in
4   and Jared had done that in the past already

Tom supports this assertion by arguing that appointing Jared as acting manager provided the simplest, safest and most efficient solution, and one which followed a precedent. Excerpt 8 illustrates Tom's repetition of this assertion at several points throughout the interview.

EXCERPT 8

1 Tom: er so from my point of view it was simply logistics
2   and what was practically easy that would create the least amount of hassles
3   at that point in time . . . . . .
4 Tom: and it was as simple as that
5   so it wasn't a judgement call on were you better or he w- he better
6   i- it was simply I saw precedents [drawls]:
7   and: that was the safest course of action in the short time I had . . .
8 Tom: it was simply going on what was the safest ground
9   in respect of what the m- policy manager had done in the past . . .
10 Tom: in lieu of a decision I'll take probably the last decision that was made
       . . . . . .
11 Tom: I'm more prone to take the least path of resistance

12   or the path that's more known to me
13   which which which really was Joseph had set a prece-
          dent before . . .
14   (well as I say) I didn't er qualify my decision other than
          look at the precedent

Tom appeals to logistics (line 1), to what *would create the least amount of hassles* (line 2) and repeatedly to precedent, either explicitly (lines 6, 13, 14) or implicitly: *what the m-policy manager had done in the past* (line 9) and *the last decision that was made* (line 10). Appealing to precedent to justify his decision is a very conservative response to Linda's concerns, one that assumes and emphasizes the inherent incontestability of the status quo. As the argument is elaborated by Tom, the word *precedent*, and its derivatives and synonyms, are often closely collocated with the words *safe* and *safest* (for example, lines 7 and 8). By using such argu-ments, Tom reinforces the authority of the existing institutionalized power structure and organizational hierarchy. CDA here exposes the underlying taken-for-granted assumptions that enable power structures to recreate themselves and remain unchanged and unchallenged. Tom's appeal to the *safest* procedures, the simplest, most sensible, tried and true methods of dealing with a situation – namely, to *precedent* – is a paradigmatic example of the way power relationships are performed and systematically reconstructed.

Clearly Linda's challenge is not welcomed as an opportunity to modify the status quo, or question existing hierarchical relationships. Rather she is firmly re-placed in her subordinate position and told to follow the established rules if she wants to make progress in the organization. Similarly, in providing advice to Linda about how she should strengthen her case for future promotion, Tom quite explicitly asserts the importance of Linda using the 'proper' channels to make her request for consideration for preferment.

EXCERPT 9
  1 Tom: the issue . . . . . . [drawls]: probably: one that um+
  2   you could address directly with Joseph . . . . . .
  3 Tom: you might like to raise that as a development issue with
       Joseph . . .
  4 Tom: because he's your immediate controlling officer . . . . . .

By explicitly referring to Joseph's status as her *controlling officer* (line 4), Tom emphasizes his point that Linda should follow established procedures.

Indeed, at several points during the discussion, as illustrated in Excerpt 10, Tom refers to the way he himself follows proper procedures in dealing with those of different status in the organization.

EXCERPT 10
1 Tom: there would be very little chance of me crossing paths
2   with the p m the policy manager . . . . . .
3 Tom: um but I'll never override my policy manager
4   unless I thought it absolutely necessary to do that
5   and that would be quite rare

Thus Tom asserts and imposes a management perspective on the issue Linda presents. He consistently asserts the importance of using the correct channels, namely those which the organization provides to deal with the situation under discussion. His arguments presume the legitimacy of existing hierarchical relationships, and take for granted that Linda should act in an appropriately deferential manner in her dealings with her superiors.

This interaction also illustrates a point mentioned above, that summarizing is a very useful strategy for asserting and maintaining control of an interaction and determining the 'official' institutional interpretation of the proceedings (see also Sollitt-Morris 1996; Holmes, Stubbe and Vine 1999). Managers in meetings regularly summarize progress and set the agenda for future action (Holmes 2000), and there are a number of instances of Tom's use of this strategy in the interaction under examination. At a relatively early point in the encounter, for instance, Tom provides his gloss or version of what has been 'agreed' (see Excerpt 8, lines 4–7 above). And at the end of the discussion, Tom again summarizes the interaction, expressing a rather patronizing attitude to Linda.

EXCERPT 11
1 Tom: that's really what it boils down to . . . . . .
2   so (now-) I mean + next time it happens
3   and if it does happen again then yeah sure no difficulties

Tom thus constructs his role as a reassuring adviser to an acolyte in need of advice, and concludes the discussion in a way that is convenient and unthreatening to the institutional status quo. His arguments systematically support the existing power relationships, and imply the 'given' and incontestable nature of those relationships: a nice example of how 'discourse reproduces inequality' (van Dijk 1999: 460). Tom is pleasant and reassuring throughout the interview, but he clearly draws on covert

systemic understandings of the way power operates institutionally in order to manage the interview with Linda in a way that ensures she does not disrupt the organizational status quo.

Interaction 2[4]

My second example illustrates (more briefly) similar processes at work in a different public service organization, one which at the time we undertook our research could be described as having a rather different, much more democratic and egalitarian workplace culture (Holmes and Marra 2002a; Holmes and Stubbe 2003b). Nevertheless, in the following encounter between a manager and a subordinate, the manager's discourse clearly emphasizes the power differential, and underlines the institutional rules and requirements of the organization in which they both work.

Kerry, a relatively junior staff member, is seeking approval from Ruth, a manager, to attend a conference on full pay, although she is about to leave the organization. Excerpt 12 illustrates the marked contrast between the manager's terse, succinct questions and Kerry's verbose responses.

EXCERPT 12
Context: meeting between a senior manager and a junior policy analyst in the senior manager's office

1	Ruth:	when do you finish here
2	Kerry:	well I'm not sure- [voc] well my contract goes till April
3		but [department name] rung me today and they're trying to negotiate
4		sort of me to go over there and Jamie to come over here
5		and just do a swap while we change over to train each other
6	Ruth:	yeah . . . . .
7	Kerry:	and then + she said and then
8		because she said they were trying to set it up with my manager themselves
9		and then I'd (stay) over here to do- train Jamie type thing in what I do so
10		yeah and (I) imagine it'd be (in the) week after that so two
11	Ruth:	okay so you you haven't got that much longer here
12	Kerry:	no . . . . . .
13	Ruth:	okay so you need to know today

Although Kerry talks most, Ruth is clearly in control of the discourse. Through her terse questions (lines 1, 11, 13) she constructs herself as

the authority to whom Kerry must provide a satisfactory account of what she is proposing. Ruth succeeds in eliciting from Kerry an admission that she is leaving within a couple of weeks. Thus she has little right to expect the organization to pay her while she attends a conference from which the organization will receive no benefit. Indeed, as Excerpt 13 illustrates, Ruth confronts Kerry very directly with the nub of the issue which Kerry has devoted considerable effort to avoiding:

EXCERPT 13
1 Ruth: okay would you- would you still go
2   if [this department] says you can go but we won't pay you
3 Kerry: no

Ruth then makes it very clear to Kerry that proper procedures must be followed. She indicates that she will not make a decision before considering what Kerry's immediate manager (who is away) would want, and before ensuring that Kerry's absence will not inconvenience any projects in which she is involved.

EXCERPT 14
1 Ruth: I need to think about what Leila might think ( )
2   er how will it impact on the work that you're doing
3   and what Leila wanted you to have completed by the
4   time you finished here

Like Tom, Ruth is here ensuring that Kerry's appeal is subjected to agreed institutional processes. Drawing on taken-for-granted assumptions about the appropriateness of the institutional rules, Ruth manages the interaction in a way that ensures that Kerry is fully aware by the end of the interview that it is unacceptable to attempt to bypass the organization's recognized procedures.

*   *   *

These examples illustrate, then, the ways in which those in positions of power appeal to established institutional processes to give weight to their decisions, taking for granted that their addressees share their assumptions about the incontestable status and correctness of those procedures. Appealing to precedent, to the simplest and most logical institutionalized processes for reaching a decision, to the unchallengeable propriety of taking a superior's judgement into account, and to the importance of using the 'proper' channels: these are all ways in which

systemic power is unobtrusively exercised in the discourse of everyday workplace interactions.

Is gender relevant in unequal encounters at work?

Let us turn now to the issue of the relevance of gender in the analysis of power relationships in the workplace. I take the position that gender is omni-relevant in social interaction, and that it is often (though not always) particularly relevant in analysing the construction of power relations in the workplace.[5] As with the preceding discussion of power in workplace interaction, it is important to recognize that there is a good deal of uncontroversial and overtly observable evidence that gender contributes to the construction of power relationships at work. Hence, although my main focus is on ways in which a CDA approach contributes to uncovering more covert evidence of the relevance of gender in workplace interaction, I first provide a brief example of more overtly gendered workplace discourse.

Overtly gendered discourse

Gender regularly emerges as an issue in workplace interaction (Holmes forthcoming; Holmes and Stubbe 2003b). Indeed, participants some-times comment quite explicitly on overtly 'gendered' behaviour, or alternatively on behaviour which does not conform to gendered stereo-types. For reasons of space, I provide just one example here (but see Holmes forthcoming for further examples). Excerpt 15 is a digression during a report from Connie, the executive officer, to a mixed gender team of senior policy analysts in a government department. She is updating the team on a recent meeting with the Minister, and she mentions the name of a particular businessman. Jake interrupts her with some information about the businessman's local standing.[6]

> EXCERPT 15
> *Context*: regular meeting of mixed gender group of 13 people in government department.
> Connie is the executive officer. The remaining participants are all Senior Policy Analysts. The Manager (also the Chair) does not contribute to this exchange which is a digression interrupting Connie who is reporting on a meeting with the Minister.
> 1 Jake: he's also very popular locally as well
> 2   'cause he actually looks after his workforce he's //kept them\=
> 3 Stu: /oh right\\

4	Jake:	=he's kept them on payroll while there's been no stuff
5		going through the factory he's he employs far more people than
6		than [*company name*] across the ro- er=
7	Stu:	=no
8	Jake:	across the way he's he's got a quite high profile
9		and he's considered to be + //you know=
10	Connie:	/a good chap\
11	Stu:	/a good guy\
12	Jake:	=a bloody\ good bloke
13	Stu:	a good guy /oh okay\
14	Jake:	/and the\\ Minister thinks so as well so you know
15		//an- and\ he's quite an honourable guy
16	Wendy:	/( )\\
17	Connie:	[quietly] mm
18	Jake:	he's a sort of a handshake and I trust you type guy
19		so you know + when you've got another good bloke
20		talking to another good bloke then you've got a
21		[general laughter]
22	Stu:	they didn't go to the same school //did they\
23	Jake:	/us good\\ blokes have gotta stick together
24		[*general laughter, buzz of sceptical noises and comments including 'oh right' from more than one woman*]
25	Wendy:	//bloody good bloke\
26		/ [general laughter]\\
27	Jeff:	bet he doesn't employ many women workers
28		[general laughter]
29	XM:	no
30	Connie:	(oh) I probably wouldn't want the job either

In this excerpt, the men and women (who are all of similar professional status) appear at first to be in agreement, as reflected in the development of a collaboratively shared floor between Jake and Stu (lines 1–9) and Connie (line 10). Connie's contribution *a good chap*, is practically simultaneous with Stu's synonymous *a good guy* (line 11), and Jake's *a bloody good bloke* (line 12). This is maximally cohesive, collaborative and supportive discourse, with all three clearly on the same wavelength, developing a single shared floor.

However, gender gradually emerges as an alternative and contentious issue as the men develop the notion of the pervasiveness and power of the old boys' network (lines 14–24). The issue of gender becomes

gradually foregrounded as Jake expands the concept of a *good bloke* (lines 15, 18–20), and Stu's comment *they didn't go to the same school did they* (line 22) provides an implicit reference to the influence of the old boys' network, a reference which Jake picks up in an overlapping turn *us good blokes have gotta stick together* (line 23), an explicitly gendered development of Stu's humorous comment. The women protest and contest the men's scenario with comments such as *oh right*, and sceptical noises, and Wendy contributes a challenging and sarcastic echo *bloody good bloke* (line 25). By this stage, gender is very explicitly the focus of the discussion and Jeff joins in (line 27) with a taunt to the women, bet *he doesn't employ many women workers*, to which Connie responds challengingly, *I probably wouldn't want the job either* (line 30). In the course of this exchange, then, the women and men explicitly articulate rather different views about at least some of the characteristics of *a good bloke*.

Hopper and Le Baron (1998: 61) comment that *noticing* (paying discursive attention to something), may bring gendered issues to focused attention, allowing gender to 'creep into our talk, rather than to be framed as one speaker's explicit rhetorical project' (1998: 73). This is exactly what occurs here: gender gradually becomes the explicit focus of attention as the women's contributions to the discourse indicate their unwillingness to accept the values implicit in the picture of how the business world works, as constructed largely by the men at the meeting. The systemic nature of men's more powerful position in the workplace is emphasized and underlined in this exchange which focuses on the strategies men use to maintain economic power, and the dependence of women on powerful men to provide them with opportunities for employment.

Such examples illustrate how sexist attitudes often lie hidden beneath an egalitarian veneer, and in certain circumstances they may surface in workplace interaction. Moreover, the framing of such interactions as humorous banter subtly 'legitimizes' such attitudes, and serves to reinforce underlying gendered assumptions, such as the assumptions in excerpt 15 that the old boys' network is a 'good thing', and that women are dependent on men for at least some aspects of their success and progress in the workplace. Participants are clearly aware of such gendered norms as relevant background to interpreting what is going on. Furthermore, the ways in which these norms are exploited reflects the ideology of the wider society, and pervasive assumptions about the position of women in the workforce.

Covertly gendered discourse

In this final section, I use a CDA framework to examine the issue of how gender may contribute to the systemic manifestation of power in the workplace; more specifically, I discuss how gender plays a part in the taken-for-granted assumptions about the way power relations are constructed in workplace interaction. My starting point, as mentioned above, is the assumption that gender is potentially relevant in any and every social interaction. Sometimes it is foregrounded, as in Excerpt 15, but more often it is simply assumed background information which influences the ways people behave in a variety of subtle and not-so-subtle ways.

The 'masculine' discourse patterns of powerful males in workplace interactions have been well documented, as have the supportive, facilitative and positively polite discourse strategies typically associated with women in the workplace (for example, Tannen 1994b; Holmes 1995; Aries 1996; Coates 1996). These gendered discourse patterns typically emphasize the power of the male, and underline the supportive role of the female in workplace interaction. The weight of these well-established and widely documented patterns thus operates in the background of any specific workplace interaction, underlining its normality or, less often, indicating its abnormality. There is no neutral discourse. Cameron's (1994) observation on sexist language is no less true of sex-stereotyped discourse behaviours: 'every alternative is politically loaded, because the meaning of each is now defined by contrast with all other possibilities' (1994: 26).

Hence the way people behave in specific interactions can be regarded as reinforcing the status quo, or alternatively as resisting and challenging the norms. In practice, as any detailed discourse analysis reveals, the reality of workplace interaction is much more complex. People act in ways that sometimes reinforce and sometimes contest the gender norms for appropriate workplace behaviour, and they speak in ways which sometimes conform to gender stereotypes, and sometimes do not.

In one stereotypically 'feminine' workplace, for example, where the mainly female employees were committed to participatory interactional practices, and to creating a professional environment that was comfortable for women to work in, we found many examples of management strategies which conformed to the stereotype of female behaviour. The managers recorded in this workplace were powerful women who consistently adopted management strategies which focused on facilitating discussion and reaching consensus, and who achieved their goals using discourse strategies which typically paid careful attention to the face

needs of their addressees (Holmes 2000; Vine 2001; Holmes and Stubbe 2003b). As illustrated in the first section, they also, of course, used language which took account of the rights and obligations of the participants, and the specific features of the context in which they were operating. So, for example, as mentioned above, they assumed their administrative assistants would accurately interpret their most minimal hint as a directive, when the implied task was relevant to their duties. In other words, these powerful women had developed ways of managing workplace interaction which successfully integrated the demands of their institutional positions with others' expectations of the ways in which women should behave.

More interesting, in an examination of the interaction of gender and power are the ways in which women in less 'feminine' workplaces operate. Here a CDA approach highlights the operation of gender 'in disguise', the extent to which gendered background assumptions influence interaction in unacknowledged and unrecognized ways. We find interesting and thought-provoking evidence, in other words, that gender sometimes 'leaks' into workplace interaction and, when this happens, it can provide interesting insights into the conflicts women experience when operating in powerful organizational roles, and the strategies they develop to handle such conflicts.

I discuss just two specific examples here. The first is taken from a commercial workplace where Clara is a highly respected manager, widely acknowledged as extremely competent. Indeed her recorded interactions provide extensive evidence that she is self-confident and efficient, consistently adopting very effective strategies for achieving her workplace objectives. Clara participates in social talk at appropriate points, such as the margins and boundaries of meetings, but she runs meetings in ways that challenge traditional gender stereotypes: she is direct and often very succinct, for example, and she does not tolerate long digressions from the agenda (see Marra and Holmes 2004; Holmes and Stubbe 2003b).

The following excerpt from one of Clara's regular team meetings illustrates some of these points, but it also provides an interesting example of the way gender can 'leak' into workplace interactions.

EXCERPT 16
Context: regular weekly meeting of project team in white-collar
        organization.
   1   Harry: look's like there's been actually a request for screendumps
   2   I know it was outside of the scope

3		but people (will be) pretty worried about it
4		maybe if you=
5	Rob:	=we can quickly show you that
6	Clara:	no screendumps
7	Matt:	we-
8	Clara:	no screendumps
9	Rob:	( )
10	Peg:	[sarcastically] thank you Clara
11	Clara:	no //screendumps\
12	Matt:	/we know\\ we know you didn't want them
13		and we um er //we've\
14	Clara:	[using a 'robotic' voice] /that does not\\ meet the criteria
		[*several reasons provided why screendumps should be allowed*]
15	Clara:	thanks for looking at that though
16	Sandy:	so that's a clear well maybe no
17	Clara:	it's a no
18	Sandy:	it's a no a royal no
19	Clara:	did people feel disempowered by that decision
20	Peg:	[sarcastically] no
21	Clara:	[laughs]

In the meeting from which the excerpt is taken, Clara's project team is discussing how best to provide instructions to other members of their organization about a specialized computer process. As Harry outlines (lines 1–3), the team has received requests to allow people to print from the computer screen (that is, to 'screendump'). In response to Harry's implicit request to permit the screendumps, which have been formally proscribed, Clara indicates clearly that she opposes this proposal, with a very explicit prohibition *no screendumps* (line 6). Some members of the team are unhappy with her decision, and they proceed to argue with her, providing reasons why screendumps should be permitted. Clara overrides their opposition by the simple strategy of repeating her decision *no screendumps* in an ungarnished form (lines 8,11), and then stating baldly and in a robot-like voice *that does not meet the criteria* (line 14). Disregarding conventionally polite (and stereotypically 'feminine') ways of disagreeing with one's colleagues, Clara is here 'doing power' very explicitly, using a stereotypically 'masculine' strategy of simply stating what is to happen.

There is however, some evidence that while Clara is clear about her decision – and she shows no sign of wavering despite considerable pressure and extensive argument from team members – she is somewhat

self-conscious about the uncompromising form in which she has conveyed it. Moreover, other team members, including Sandy, Clara's deputy manager, also provide evidence that, in the interests of preserving good working relations, they regard this bald prohibition as requiring attenuation. In both cases the evidence takes the form of a humorous remark, which is clearly intended to reduce the sting of the direct confrontation. Peggy's sarcastic *thank you Clara* (line 10) provides an initial tension-breaker. After listening to their arguments, Clara then responds with a more conventionally 'feminine' and polite dismissal of their suggestions *thanks for looking at that though* (line 15). Sandy's suggestion that Clara may be wavering *so that's a clear well maybe no* (line 16) is humorously internally contradictory. It leads Clara to restate her position quite explicitly, *it's a no* (line 17), but again Sandy defuses the tension with a humorous hyperbolic comment, *it's a no a royal no* (line 18), an echoic allusion to an earlier humorous episode in which Clara's high status and dignified manner were sent up by a reference to her as *Queen Clara*. The most convincing evidence for the suggestion that Clara is aware that she has stretched the gender boundaries with her confrontational veto is her own humorous comment, *did people feel disempowered by that decision* (line 19). By drawing explicit attention to the fact that she has acted in an authoritarian way, Clara implicitly acknowledges she has transgressed the norms, and I would argue that it is gender norms that are at issue here, rather than any others, since her veto is entirely consistent with acceptable strategies for doing power in this hierarchical commercial organization. The reason for Clara's self-consciousness, then, and perhaps also her team's discomfort, is their awareness at some level that such an extremely explicit and direct veto is inappropriately unfeminine (or, conversely, too explicitly masculine) in discourse style.

We identified this pattern repeatedly throughout our dataset. Powerful women would 'do power' authoritatively, issue orders peremptorily, summarize action points succinctly, and then follow up with a humorous comment or anecdote, sometimes even a self-deprecating remark, thus attenuating the effect of their 'masculine' behaviour (see Holmes 2000; Holmes, Marra and Burns 2001; Holmes and Stubbe 2003b for further examples). It seems, then, that while it is officially acceptable for women to 'do power' explicitly in the workplace, there is an underlying pressure to counter or neutralize the effects of the authoritative and 'masculine' strategies entailed in doing so with more 'feminine', supportive and collegial or self-deprecating behaviours. This is interesting evidence that societal assumptions about women's behaviour continue

to operate and impose restrictions and constraints, even when women have apparently broken through the glass ceiling.

A second brief and again relatively inexplicit example of gender creeping in to workplace interaction involved a group of men teasing one of their group members for engaging in voluntary 'communicative' behaviour.

> EXCERPT 17
>
> *Context*: six men in regular meeting of a project team in a large commercial organization. Callum's colleagues pretend to be horrified that he has actually talked face-to-face with clients.
>
> 1 Barry: but we can we can kill this//particular=
> 2 Marco: /well yep\\
> 3 Barry: =action\ point
> 4 Marco: you can kill this particular action point
> 5 Barry: and you //guys\
> 6 Callum: /are\\ you sure (3) I took the opportunity
> 7   of talking with some of the users
> 8 Barry: what again? [laughs] //[laughs]\
> 9 Marco: /not again what are you doing talking to them\\
> 10 Barry: [laughs] go on //Callum come on\
> 11 XM: /[laughs]\\

Using stereotypically masculine language, Barry and Marco suggest (line 1) that a particular proposed action be *killed*: that is, dropped. Callum protests, pointing out that the proposed action emerged from his discussions with users. Barry and Marco then proceed to derisively mock Callum, ridiculing the notion that he should actually 'talk' – that is, verbally communicate face-to-face – with clients. The underlying (only slightly facetious) assumption is that 'real men' (and especially computer experts) do not ever actually talk face-to-face with clients. Talking to clients is regarded as a suitable job for women in this organization. Indeed, talking seems to be generally regarded as relatively 'feminine' behaviour, especially within the culture of this information technology project team where the most senior participant in the team meetings contributes the least talk. Hence the team imply that Callum has behaved in an unmasculine way. This is a paradigmatic example of stereotypically masculine workplace humour (Holmes forthcoming). It is contestive in its discourse construction, involving a competitive floor, and its content reinforces traditional stereotypes of the way men interact in the workplace. In other words, this exchange underlines the message

that communicating with people, relating to people as individuals, is an unacceptable and implicitly unmasculine way to behave in this workplace.

Finally, I return to the example of Tom and Linda. Ethnographic information collected at the time of the recording indicates that Linda and some of her female colleagues interpret the fact that she was passed over for the position of acting manager as yet another example of gender discrimination within their organization, but there is no overt reference to gender in the interaction itself. Tom's placatory response to Linda's initial 'complaint' leads to a discussion of ways in which she can ensure that she is not passed over again, but her gender is never explicitly referred to. Nevertheless, in my view gender is relevant in understanding 'what is going on' in this interaction.

The discussion above provided evidence of the way Tom 'did power' through his use of a range of repressive discourse strategies; these strategies are stereotypically associated with masculine ways of interacting. However, there is also evidence in this interaction that Tom pays attention to Linda's face needs, and particularly her positive face needs (see Vine's analysis in Stubbe *et al.* 2000), behaviour more stereotypically associated with 'feminine' ways of interacting. And while overall Linda is conventionally deferent, using a range of hedging devices to avoid challenging Tom too baldly, she nevertheless manages, as Excerpt 18 illustrates, to contest his account of the procedures which led to her being passed over. Indeed, she finally succeeds in extracting a commitment that she will be favourably considered next time (lines 11–13).

EXCERPT 18

1 Tom: as I said you [laughs]: know: in lieu of a decision
2   I'll take probably the last decision that was made
3 Linda: well actually Joseph had decided (we both) would be acting (as managers)
4   he came in on Friday //and\ said that (both seniors) would be um (taking) acting
5 Tom: /(mm)\\ mm //(well he didn't) + he didn't articulate\ that
6 Linda: /well obviously he didn't um (communicate it to you)\\ (yeah)
7 Tom: and um I always have the overriding final say . . . . . .
8 Linda: so next time (if a) you would you'll consider me as // (the same as Jared)\
9 Tom: /oh yeah I mean I\\ think what you're raising is quite valid

10	I mean I I didn't make any balance you off against Jared at all + . . .
11	so (now-) I mean + next time it happens and if it does happen again
12	then yeah sure no difficulties
13 Linda:	all right then oh good

Linda clearly lets Tom know that Joseph had communicated to her that she and Jared would be sharing the position of acting manager (lines 3–4). Even though Tom asserts he did not know this (line 5), he is put in the position of accepting responsibility for the decision, and the exchange puts Linda in a position to seek an assurance that he will consider her *next time* (line 11). Indeed, Tom finally gives Linda the outcome she has been looking for as illustrated in excerpt 19.

EXCERPT 19

1 Tom:	so . . . I mean + next time it happens and if it does
2	happen again then yeah sure no difficulties
3 Linda:	all right then oh good
4 Tom:	okay?
5 Linda:	okay thanks
6 Tom:	okay

This interaction thus illustrates a number of the points developed in this chapter. Tom draws on a range of strategies ranging from those which are stereotypically associated with masculinity and overtly doing power, through to more 'feminine' strategies aimed at attending to Linda's face needs and negotiating an acceptable outcome. Linda similarly behaves both in ways that are stereotypically 'feminine', expressing deference and re-framing her 'complaint' as a much more acceptable strategy of seeking advice, and in more 'masculine' ways by contesting Tom's account of how her situation arose.

In this interaction, then, although gender is never explicit, I argue that it is always relevant; it operates in the background, constraining the behaviour of each participant, but arguably restricting Linda's options more strongly than Tom's. In other words, gender acts as a framework which implicitly legitimizes Tom's assertive behaviour, the overt strategies he uses for doing power, while also providing a context for interpreting his more negotiative, other-oriented 'feminine' behaviour. Conversely, gendered assumptions about appropriate ways of behaving

endorse Linda's deferent behaviour as 'proper' and appropriate in a contest where she is interacting with a superior, and frame her less feminine challenging strategies as much less appropriate. A CDA approach, however, usefully identifies the predominantly 'repressive' nature of Tom's discourse as it enacts and reinforces the organizational status quo, while it also highlights the contestive, challenging components of Linda's contribution to the discussion.[7]

Conclusion

The examples discussed in this chapter suggest that gender issues and gender stereotypes are often just below the surface in social interaction, making an unacknowledged contribution to the ways in which it is considered appropriate for men and particularly women to behave within a particular workplace culture. However, powerful women are steadily chipping away at the parameters of what is considered acceptable behaviour from a woman in the workplace. As the earlier sections of this chapter illustrated, many of the women managers we recorded operated for much of the time in ways that would not distinguish them from their male colleagues. Every so often, however, they would hit the gender barrier, adopting a strategy or speaking in a way that pushed and tested the boundaries of what was considered appropriately gendered behaviour in their place of work. At such points, they or others often reacted in ways that signalled awareness of these boundaries. In other words, it seems that there comes a point at which a woman who does power too overtly, who behaves in an extremely stereotypically 'masculine' way, is perceived as too obviously contesting the status quo. Such salient points are significant evidence that gender is always there in the background, often in disguise, ready to emerge to reinstate and reinforce the limits of acceptable behaviour for women at work.

Men, I suggest, do not operate under such restrictive social constraints. In several of the workplaces in which we recorded, males operated in traditionally 'feminine' ways without any evidence that their behaviour was perceived as out-of-line. Their willingness to negotiate and discuss decisions, to engage in small talk and gossip and to give instructions in ways which paid attention to their addressee's face needs were accepted as appropriate in the workplace cultures and communities of practice in which they operated. Excerpt 17 is thus an interesting indication that there remain workplaces (or, perhaps more accurately, sections in some workplaces) where an overtly 'masculine' culture prevails, and where face-to-face communication skills, for

example, are the focus of derision and perceived as a threat to the dominant workplace ethos.

In conclusion, this chapter has provided some evidence that a CDA approach can make a useful contribution to the analysis of the construction of power relations at work. The analysis has also demonstrated that gender is often, if not always, covertly relevant as an important systemic characteristic, a background framing construct, unobtrusively influencing people's unconscious interpretation of what is considered appropriate in workplace interaction. Though people orient to power and gender differently in different workplace settings, and in different workplace cultures and communities of practice, the analyses we have undertaken suggest that both must be attended to in order to fully understand 'what is going on' in workplace interaction.

Appendix: transcription conventions

[laughs] : :	Paralinguistic features in square brackets, colons indicate start/finish
+	Pause of up to one second
(3)	Pause of specified number of seconds
. . . // . . . . . . \ . . .	Simultaneous speech
. . . / . . . . . . \ \ . . .	
(hello)	Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance
?	Rising or question intonation
-	Incomplete or cut-off utterance
. . . . . .	Section of transcript omitted
and=	Latching of speech between speakers or between
=then	lines for same speaker
XM/XF	Unidentified Male/Female
[editorial]	editorial comments *italicized* in square brackets
[voc]	untranscribable noises

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 The Wellington Language in the Workplace Project team comprises Janet Holmes, Maria Stubbe, Bernadette Vine, Meredith Marra, Deborah Jones, and

a number of research associates and research assistants. See website for more information: www.vuw.ac.nz/lals/lwp. The project was funded by the New Zealand Foundation for Research Science and Technology. I here express appreciation to our funders and to those generous participants in the wide range of workplaces who recorded data for us.

2 All names are pseudonyms. The total LWP database includes material from New Zealanders of diverse ethnicities, but the material used in this chapter involves only representatives of the two largest ethnic groups, namely Pakeha (European) and Maori New Zealanders. Ethnicity is not a focus of analysis in this chapter.

3 This example is analysed in more detail in the contribution by Marra and Holmes in Stubbe *et al*. 2000. I have renamed the female participant 'Linda' to avoid confusion with other pseudonyms used in this chapter. I here record my appreciation to Meredith Marra, in particular, for her contribution to the discussion on which the analysis is based.

4 This example is discussed in a somewhat different context in Holmes and Stubbe (2003a, ch. 4).

5 See Edley and Wetherell (1997); Kitzinger (2000); Stokoe (1997; 1998; 2000); Stokoe and Smithson (2001); and Weatherall (2000) for detailed discussion of the issue of the relevance of gender in the analysis of spoken interaction.

6 This example is analysed in much greater detail in Holmes (forthcoming) and Holmes and Marra (2002b).

7 See Holmes and Marra in Stubbe *et al*. 2000 for a fuller analysis of the whole interaction in CDA terms.

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3
The Gender of Power: The Female Style in Labour Organizations

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Introduction

This chapter explores how the way women exercise authority and communicate in labour organizations in Spain is seen and evaluated. Our main objectives are the following. First of all, we wish to show the influence of the work context (organizational culture and structure) on the way women manage and communicate, and on how these capacities are perceived. To this end, we shall try to identify the present model of management in Spanish companies and to examine its relationship with communication style, in particular that of women. Likewise, we shall consider the connections between the gender system and labour-related power, and in doing so examine the importance of social networks for the development of women's professional careers and for the integration of women in labour organizations. Our second objective is to suggest good practices in work organizations. In these sections we shall encourage, by means of examples, reflection on women's style of leadership and communication, with the aim of considering new ways of developing our professional careers.

Communication practices

Communication practices affect all aspects of life in work organizations. It is through acts of communication that information flows and circulates, that activities and tasks are organized, that relationships are established, and that teams and social networks are formed. Communication is, therefore, an essential ingredient in the functioning, constitution and structuring of work organizations and in the creation of links between those working in them. Given its importance, communication is always

regulated, and restrictions are imposed on how to speak, what to speak about, with whom to speak and when to speak. In this chapter we shall examine some of these regulations and restrictions, but most of all we shall explore the consequences of the fact of whether those communicating are men or women.

In order to approach the issue of the regulation of communication in relation to gender, we shall need to refer to the 'communicational styles' in socio-linguistic research. The concept of style in communication will throw a great deal of light on what occurs in workplaces in Spain, though we must be careful to avoid oversimplification. It is certainly the case that the weak social position of women (common to many societies), as well as similarities in forms of socialization, explain, along with other factors, the existence of common features that help to shape a broadly similar communication style among women. Nevertheless, it is equally true that there are differences among women in all aspects, including that of the way of speaking, depending on their socio-economic class, occupation, educational level, cultural background and age. Furthermore, and this interests us especially in this chapter, depending on the labour context in which she finds herself, each woman will vary her style and adapt it to the situation and people around her (see Caldas-Coulthard and Martín Rojo 1999).

In relation to the way this behaviour is appraised, it is important to bear in mind that in work organizations in Spain and in many other countries, a male culture continues to predominate. This is reflected in the fact that the models and criteria employed for measuring competence and requirements in relation to management positions continue to be clearly linked to the male stereotype (authority, decisiveness, freedom of judgement, strength). The same applies to communication styles.

Thus we shall begin this chapter by considering an aspect that is extremely important for women working in companies and institutions in positions of responsibility: how to exercise leadership. Second, we shall examine another aspect, still related to the way we communicate, which is the establishment of relationships with peers and superiors. This is an extremely important factor in the development of our lives and of our professional careers, which presents some obstacles for women due to the predominance, until quite recently, of male patterns and styles in the workplace.

In order to study the two dimensions, vertical and horizontal, of workplace relationships, we use the multidimensional grid proposed by Kendall and Tannen (1997: 98) as our point of departure. These authors establish two axes of work: the hierarchy/equality axis, which refers to

power relations, and the closeness/distance axis, which refers to social distance. As they point out, differences are perceived in both genders with regard to the interplay of hierarchy and connections (that is, in the balance between exercising authority and creating proximity, and in the way these aspects are combined).

Since we have not employed an ethnographic approach, the communicational practices data we have come from interviews and discussion groups, and therefore refer to social agents' perceptions of these practices. These data are approached from a socio-linguistic perspective, which is enriched by a critical discourse analysis of the social representation of managerial women. In discourse studies, CDA's understanding of discourse as a *social practice* has given place to a *socio-constructivist* epistemological stance (discourse constitutes active processes of production, reproduction and transformation of social structures: see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Martín Rojo 2001). The analyses, therefore, often focus on the production of discourse and knowledge in relation to social structures and social effects. As a result, discourse analysts become engaged in specific, discourse-focused struggles, which concern the circulation of particular kinds of social representation, particularly in relation to social exclusion and the control of discursive production. In this context, adopting a critical approach in gender studies means to problematize concepts and representations, to bring into question evidences and postulates, to break habits and ways of acting and thinking, to dissipate the familiar and accepted naturalization, to retrieve the measure of rules and institutions, and to explore the techniques of production of knowledge, domination and control of discourse (Martín Rojo and Gabilondo Pujol 2002).

The emergent leadership style in Spanish companies

Models of leadership

A key factor in understanding the problems affecting management practice is the leadership model, that is beginning to dominate Spanish companies to the detriment of the old models. The greater complexity of tasks, together with the development of a more democratic society, is resulting in the emergence of a more relational and communicative model of management. This model – in contrast to the traditional, more authoritarian model – basically is no longer legitimated by the hierarchical structure of the organization, but rather must be legitimated by the actual relationships with subordinates. Even more, without questioning hierarchy and the decision-making process, it stresses a

gentler approach and a capacity for listening and convincing by those in charge.

In this new model, the legitimacy necessary for exercising management with authority depends on the following basic capacities (see Gómez, Martín and Callejo 2000), to which we shall return later:

- technical know-how
- capacity for decision-making
- capacity for management and organization of teams
- capacity for delegation
- communicational skill

This is the model that is positively appraised in Spanish companies at present, and in relation to which the different management and communication styles will be assessed.

Various researchers have posited the existence of female and male leadership styles, and the extent to which they might be linked to the different communication styles traditionally attributed to women and men. Let us recall the descriptions of these styles, which coincide basically with the 'conversational styles' established by Deborah Tannen (1990): (a) *rapport talk*, women's characteristic relational style, whose conversational strategies are oriented to the establishment of connections and social bonds and to the negotiation of relationships (women's conversational ritual thus gives an impression of equality and solidarity, with consideration of the effect of the linguistic exchange on the interlocutor); (b) *report talk*, men's characteristic informative style, used as a means of preserving independence and negotiating their status within a hierarchy. (For an up-to-date review of the communication styles of men and women, focusing on the social situation of contemporary Spain, see Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban 2003.)

For Tannen (1994), Loden (1987) or Helgesen (1993), these communication styles also appear in the workplace, and shape different management styles. Thus, in the case of women, their normal style of communication would be more democratic and 'transformational', in line with the emergent management models. However, some studies that have analysed work relationships in a number of regions in Spain report more similarities than differences between men and women with regard to the way they exercise the role of manager (see, among others, Carrero Planes 1991; De Luis Carnicer 1992; Sánchez-Apellániz 1997; Sánchez Santa-Bárbara and González González 1998; Barberá 2001). The issue to be explored, then, appears a complex one. In fact, women

managers alternate styles, depending on the communicative situation. However, although this model is perhaps the most widely followed, it remains invisible.

The data we shall consider in order to throw light on this matter and to fulfil the objectives we have set come from some of our own research (Gómez *et al*. 1994; Martín, Gómez and Santamarina 1995; Goméz, Martín and Callejo 2000), focusing above all on the autonomous regions of Madrid and Catalonia (the examples we present are taken verbatim from the fieldwork carried out in these studies). (For a more detailed picture of this research on communication in organizations, see Martín Rojo and Garí Pérez 2002.)

The emergent model of management in companies and women's style

In the management model outlined above, a great deal of importance is attributed to good communication with employees and colleagues, but this does not imply, as might be expected, that women's form of management meets less resistance. This is because the possibility of maintaining good communication with subordinates and equals, and of obtaining their recognition, is conditioned by the survival of an association between power and masculinity.

Not only does the ideal boss have a precise gender, but so does the boss that convinces, which employees of both sexes readily accept as a leader: such a boss is represented as a man who is capable of exercising authority, but 'using tact and diplomacy'. Paradoxically, in this new management context, some of the characteristics traditionally attributed to women – such as 'using tact and diplomacy', being less distant, less authoritarian and more communicative – are associated with men.

Indeed, if we return to the five capacities necessary for exercising leadership with authority following the emergent model described, we see that women are always more poorly appraised.

Technical know-how: in contrast to experience, which is generally understood as 'knowing one's job', and associated with men, women tend to be more often associated with 'a good education', implying 'non-practical knowledge' which is not applicable in hands-on situations.

Capacity for decision-making: this is a key capacity in modern business, given the constant need to adapt to ever-changing economic contexts. In relation to this capacity, women are in general perceived as being afraid to make decisions (in the case of public administration) or as capable of making them, but only in situations of urgency or tension, not

in those that require strategy, foresight and planning. This perception, reflected in the image many women managers have of themselves as '*troubleshooters*' within the company, may possibly be a result of the fact that men leave women the least relevant and important tasks, as a way of dignifying their own position (Bourdieu 1990). Such behaviour helps to maintain segregation between men and women in the same occupation, and to reinforce the preconceived idea that women want and have 'fewer responsibilities' in the labour context than men.

Capacity for management and organization of teams: it is men with women as their superiors who perceive management by females least positively, though this capacity depends to large extent on the following two, in which women receive extremely low appraisals.

Capacity for delegation: women managers appear to lack this, so that they are seen as stern controllers of their employees and incapable of leaving any decision, however trivial, in the latter's hands.

Finally, we have *communicational skill*, the most important area, since knowing how to manage is largely a case of knowing how to communicate; it is a quality in which, surprisingly, managerial women are considered to be totally lacking. In what follows, we shall examine in detail the prejudices and stereotypes underlying this perception.

The way in which these abilities are modulated in the case of women shows us that knowing how to exercise authority is not easy (not even for men in some cases). In the case of women it is even more difficult, since the preconceived idea is that women are not '*natural*' leaders because they are unable to find the tone, the style or limits of the proper exercise of power. This idea is reflected in the comments of employees of both sexes, who claim that managerial women 'overstep the mark' or 'are not up to the job'.

Communication styles and forms of management

In this section we shall consider how women exercise power in work organizations and how this is perceived by their subordinates of both sexes.

When women accede to intermediate and superior positions in companies, they have two possibilities, clearly influenced by the work context involved (sector, type of company, proportion of women employees, job level, dominant values and norms, and so on). These possibilities are: to maintain the style considered as traditionally female; or to assimilate the still-dominant style and forms of Spanish companies, traditionally male practices (see Martín Rojo and Garí Pérez 2002 for a more detailed description of the linguistic forms). A third possibility is what Walsh (2001) in her study of political discourse calls the *performative model* which consists of

women switching between the other two models depending on the communicative situation and other factors. Although this model is perhaps the most widely followed, apparently it remains invisible. (See also Stubbe *et al*. 2000 for the same conclusion in workplaces)

With the aim of exploring both possibilities, which we shall subsequently analyse in detail, it is useful to consider some of the situations that may present difficulties: for example, when it is necessary to request that a member of the team does his or her work again, or to work overtime to finish a job, or when someone wants to reject an obligation. It is not possible to explain the difficulty of such behaviour, without considering women's lack of status in the labour context and their interiorization of this fact. Even so, it may be that this their lack of status, in addition to other factors, could also have had quite positive effects, such as the development of a form of exercising authority that does not cancel out the other, but that uses dialogue and shows consideration; and a way of establishing relationships with colleagues and subordinates that is less mediated by hierarchy.

The appropriateness of the female style of management

The relational style of management: an inappropriate style?

The first possibility available to women when they take up positions of responsibility is to adopt the style considered traditionally feminine. Let us consider in detail the resources and communication strategies it involves, and how its use is appraised when women bosses employ it (see Martín Rojo and Garí Pérez 2002 for a more detailed presentation of this).

1 The first feature of this style is the greater attention women seem to show to others in verbal interaction (to their wishes, opinions, welfare, and so on). This greater attention is expressed in resources such as initiating conversation by referring to what the other has said previously ('as you said, . . .'); naming or referring to him or her frequently while they present their point of view ('I suppose you think . . .'; 'that's right, Juana, isn't it . . .?'); and using question-tags or similar forms that invite the other's point of view (such as, 'isn't it?', 'eh?', 'right?'). Moreover, women tend to pepper their discourse with questions (direct or indirect) with which they try to guess and take into account the opinion of the other ('I don't know what you think, but I think . . .').

This feature, in itself highly positive, may prove disruptive in the development of certain activities, particularly those considered of great importance, such as decision-making. Despite the fact that more democratic models are gradually establishing themselves, all the signs are that in the decision-making process it is still expected that the leader,

the 'boss' endowed with authority, assumes this responsibility. Such expectations explain why, when women in positions of authority resort to behaviour such as asking others' opinions, such behaviour may be understood as a sign of their lack of independent judgement, rather than as the expression of their desire to create a team of people with 'opinions' who participate in decisions (Gómez, Martín and Callejo 2000).

2   Another feature, frequently found in conjunction with the previous one, is not drawing attention to (or showing off) one's own merits and achievements, but perhaps even playing them down by means of strategies that dilute responsibility, such as through the use of the pronouns 'us' and 'we'. This aspect may well be associated with the fact that women presently are not brought up to compete in the workplace. This feature is in itself highly positive, but may prejudice and weaken the position of women in companies and at the most competitive levels. In Example 1 below, we see how a woman Human Resources Manager spreads and dilutes her responsibility in personnel selection, and even denies it, avoiding assuming the role of agent in this process ('they carry out'). (This tendency to renounce indicating agency in female discourse has been studied by various authors: see Martín Rojo 1997).

EXAMPLE 1
O SEA QUE **TÚ TE ENCARGAS** DE TODO EL PROCESO DE SELECCIÓN
– de todo el proceso de reclutamiento exactamente, entonces de lo que es poner desde los anuncios en la prensa, diseñar los anuncios, eh . . . o entrar en contacto con (*no se entiende*), porque a veces el reclutamiento lo **hacemos** o directamente o a través de la prensa o umm, con (*no se entiende*) ¿no? . . . y, y **llevan a cabo** el primer proceso de selección.
(Entrevista a mujer directiva de empresa privada)

SO **YOU ARE IN CHARGE** OF EVERYTHING, OF THE WHOLE SELECTION PROCESS
– of the whole recruitment process, exactly, from putting advertisements in the newspaper, to designing the advertisements, eh . . . or getting in touch with (*not understandable*), because sometimes **we** make the selection either directly or through the press or um, with (*not understandable*) don't we? . . . and, and **they carry out** the first selection process.
(Interview with a woman manager in a company)

3   Another feature, which we have frequently found to be criticized in Spanish companies, is the use of indirect and non-imperative forms when giving orders. For example, let us consider the difference between:

'finish the report today, and if you have to stay until 9 o'clock, then stay', and 'if we don't finish the report today we'll lose the contract, so we'll have to stay here till late'. This feature, which may be judged as highly positive from transformational leadership perspectives, gives rise, like the previous ones, to different interpretations: it may be understood either as a way of showing consideration to the other speaker and not trying to impose oneself, or, on the other hand, as an interiorization of a lack of authority reflecting a difficulty in imposing oneself.

4   Indirect style,[1] of course, is used by both men and women, since it constitutes a fundamental element of human communication. Nevertheless, men and women, depending on their social position, tend to use this strategy in different situations and in different ways, which may lead to misunderstandings. Women are more likely to use it to regulate the behaviour of others in public spaces, in which they have not traditionally enjoyed a strong social position of authority.

In this case, as in the previous ones, we have found that indirect style in managers is appraised in a different way when used by a man or a woman. In the case of women in positions of responsibility, indirect style is always criticized. In some cases this is because it is considered as revealing a lack of self-confidence and security, and therefore of the ability to lead. It may also be criticized for being seen as a strategy of manipulation: the supposed interest in seeking the approval of the other may be perceived as merely rhetorical, since the difference in position obliges the other to follow the superior's orders anyway. In contrast, we have found that indirect style in men does not call into question either their authority or their capability.

> EXAMPLE 2
> Yo, pienso que las mujeres son un poco más retorcidas, ¿eh?
> ¿MÁS RETORCIDAS?
> – sí. A la hora de decirte algo, en lugar de decirte eres un 'hijo de puta', dicen que: 'Tú, no estás seguro, de que tu madre comerciase con su cuerpo y . . .' .
> (Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en la Administración)

> I think women are a bit more devious and oblique, eh?
> MORE DEVIOUS AND OBLIQUE?
> – Yes. When they want to say something to you, instead of saying 'you're a son of a bitch', they say: 'Are you sure your mother didn't sell her body and . . .?'.
> (Discussion group of female Civil Service employees)

5   A final feature which tends to be attributed to women's style of management, and which is widely criticized in Spanish companies according to our data, is that of revealing personal confidences at work, as in the example, 'I haven't finished the report. Since I began the divorce proceedings, I've not been feeling too good.' The exchange of confidences has also been considered an effective way of forming horizontal social relationships, involving greater proximity, since it allows the affirmation of similarities and the expression of solidarity and, consequently, the creation of bonds of loyalty (as, in general, we tend to console those who confide in us and assure them that we can understand, because we have had a similar experience). This behaviour is considered more frequent in the relationships formed by women, and appears to be quite disruptive in work organizations.

EXAMPLE 3

. . . las mujeres en mi trabajo, un **error** que cometemos muchas veces con, es notar que, haces amigas que **cuentas problemas personales**. Entonces, muchas veces después se te escapa. Yo creo que, los **hombres** entre ellos, muchas veces **hablan de fútbol**, **de alguna tía** que ha salido en la televisión que está muy bien. Y entonces, no tienen después esos roces personales que tenemos después las mujeres . . .
(Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en la Administración)

. . . the women where I work, a **mistake** we often make is . . . you realize that . . . you make friends and you talk **about personal problems**. Then, many times you let go things carelessly. I think that **men**, among themselves, often **talk about football or some good-looking girl** they've seen on television. And then they don't have that personal friction that women have later on . . .
(Discussion group of female Civil Service employees)

It is female employees with a woman boss that are most critical of this feature: they consider that, as was the case with indirect style, this attitude confuses relationships of power and solidarity. In this case, the similarity and bonds deriving from membership of the same gender conceal and disarrange, but only temporarily, the differences of hierarchy. This feature, therefore, is understood as a manipulative tactic and an intrusion, which may even have negative consequences later on. It may reveal weak points in the person who tells the secret, which is always more prejudicial if the person who does so occupies an inferior position in the hierarchy.

EXAMPLE 4

ENTONCES, A MÍ, ME DA LA IMPRESIÓN DE QUE LAS JEFAS QUIEREN QUE SE SEPARE LO QUE ES EL MUNDO DE LA VIDA PRIVADA Y TAL, DEL MUNDO DEL TRABAJO; PERO . . . ¿NO ACABAN DE CONSEGUIRLO?

– No. Es que además, mi jefa, en mi caso, me pregunta directamente, y no me exige, pero sí que presiona para que le cuente todo lo que pasa alrededor mío. Luego, tengo la sensación de que lo utiliza un poco en mi contra. O sea, para cuando . . .

– Son muy liantas –

. . . sí. Eso, muy liantas . . .

– . . . tremendamente liantas. **Ya**, **lo somos por naturaleza**. **Pues**, **imagínate encima con poder**

(Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en la Administración)

SO, I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WOMEN BOSSES WANT TO SEPARATE THE SPHERE OF THE PRIVATE WORLD AND SO ON FROM THE SPHERE OF WORK. BUT . . . THEY DON'T MANAGE TO DO IT?

– No, the thing is that, in my case, my boss asks me directly and does not demand, but she does put pressure on me to tell her everything that's going on around me. Then, I feel she uses it a bit against me. I mean, for when . . .

– They're troublemakers.

– Yes, that's it, real troublemakers . . .

– Tremendous troublemakers. **We already are**, **by nature**. **So**, **imagine that with power**

(Discussion group of female Civil Service employees)

From what we have seen up to now, it would appear that maintaining a communication style considered typically female contributes to reinforcing an image of women in positions of responsibility that highlights their weakness or incapacity for holding such a post; it may also lead to their being seen as false and manipulative. The message we can draw from this does not seem particularly positive at the moment for women: if they use a female style of management they are criticized, either in the professional context or in the personal and ethical one ('troublemakers', 'devious'). In the following section we shall see that, however paradoxical it may seem, the other possibility – adopting a more impositional style – does not seem to work either.

The informative style of management: also inappropriate?

The second possibility available to women in positions of responsibility is to adapt themselves to already-established patterns and adopt an 'informative style'. This style is characterized by being more direct when giving orders, stressing more the independence of the speaker when making decisions, not resorting to exchanging confidences when making bonds, and not concealing responsibility for decisions or actions, but rather making it stand out. The use of this style is often made necessary by a more male-oriented work context, at levels such as the intermediate one, where women's authority is more questioned. Nevertheless, adapting to moulds and forms traditionally considered as typical of male bosses often leads to women being seen as strange specimens; behaving as would be expected of a leader, but not of a woman (the case of Margaret Thatcher is a paradigmatic one).

Women are often criticized based on the argument that they appear incapable of finding the middle ground in their behaviour: they go from the one extreme of quite indirect approaches to the other, an authoritarian style characterized by shouting; indeed, it is often claimed that managerial women shout their orders.

> EXAMPLE 5
> En mi caso concreto, bueno yo tengo una jefa que es, bueno no sé como decirte. Es que **no habla**, **grita**.
> (Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en la Administración)
>
> In my specific case, well, I have a female boss who's, well, I don't know how to put it. She **doesn't talk**, **she shouts**.
> (Discussion group of female Civil Service employees)

Images of women managers: subordinate or tyrannical?

Despite the fact that the communicational approaches and practices characteristic of the relational style are useful and praiseworthy, they are often rejected in work contexts where there is a persistence of sexist stereotypes or difficulties in recognizing or accepting the authority of women. Before discussing the reasons for the survival of these stereotypes and difficulties, in this section we shall examine some of the images of women widely found in the work environment.

In everyday communication in companies we have recorded the following phrases used for describing women and their activity in the world of work: 'You can clearly see it's she that wears the trousers';

'They've made her the boss because she's decorative'; 'What a sergeant-major, an iron lady!'; 'She got to the top using her womanly wiles'; 'She controls the budget as though it were the weekly shopping account.' All of these reflect the perseverance of numerous stereotypes in which power is associated with the male gender.

Also frequent are other expressions, in which men appear as the point of reference, since neither their capacity nor their training are called into question. These do not contribute, either, to creating a positive image of working women: 'Women work as well as or better than men'; 'women are as well-qualified or better than men' (Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban 2002).

Some of the allusions we have seen as we studied the communicational resources women may use in the work context in Spain point us to an essential fact for understanding the way women's management style is appraised; the tendency to present managerial women either as being overzealous or as lacking the capacity to exercise power. As we shall see in the following example, women bosses are 'shit-scared' or abuse their power and are seen as 'super-aggressive'.

EXAMPLE 6
. . . pues que está por ejemplo, la típica conservadora y **acojonadilla** y tal, que la pobre no da para más. Y la **superagresiva**, que pasa al lado, te pisa el pie y encima **te grita**: Anda . . .
(Reunión de grupo de varones empleados en empresas privadas)

. . . well there is, for example, the typical conservative and **shit-scared** one, who's just not up to it, poor thing. And then there's the **super-aggressive** one, who steps on your foot as she walks by you, and **screams at you**, to boot . . .
(Group of male employees in a private company)

As can be seen from this example and some of our research on this aspect (see, for example, Gómez *et al*. 1994; Gómez, Martín and Callejo 2000), in the work context we can identify two basic images of women who hold positions of responsibility: 'soft' and 'hard'. And, as we shall see, in either case the images refer to a supposed inability of women to exercise power properly; stereotyped and prejudiced images that reflect how people still find it hard to accept women's power.

In general, the 'soft' ones, those that are 'not up to it', are presented as lacking authority because, supposedly, they are not professional enough or lack leadership qualities. In this case, employees' (of both

sexes) reluctance to accept women as managers is expressed through a set of images that denies their capacity, alleging precisely the female style of management as the cause; thus, in the images they are associated with traditional female stereotypes. In the second case, referring to 'hard' managers, their authority is denied because their form of management is considered overzealous; these are the women who would lack true authority because they are too authoritarian. These are the ones that 'overstep the mark', either because they work harder than men, or because they show themselves to be stronger than them (which is always perceived as a need to impose themselves on others). The resistance to and fear of their dominance is appreciated in the images used to represent them, all of which tend to deny their femininity and underline their 'virilized' nature.

To summarize what we have said above, we can state that, as occurs with other behaviours in the communicational dimension, too, the primary notion of authority is associated with masculinity, so that not only are the images of women in positions of responsibility marked by gender, but also their communicational behaviour. In other words, this association between authority and masculinity goes deeper than the simple association with men's physical appearance (more sonorous voice, taller, and so forth). The main problem is that in the linguistic system itself there are underlying features that associate authority with the masculine: for example, the tone of voice, intonation in giving orders, and a preference for direct speech acts.

As a result of these prejudices and associations, Spanish women in positions of responsibility often find themselves obliged to perform juggling acts to minimize and conceal their authority at the same time as exercising it. Thus, for example, when they use indirect and impersonal forms to give orders and state their requirements, they appear to be upsetting the hierarchy. Typically, in the work context, subordinates are expected to take care to show consideration for and not offend their superiors, while in the opposite direction – that is, from superior to subordinate – the possibilities are various. Even so, such possibilities are in fact limited in the case of managerial women, since they are mediated by the association of power with masculinity, and by the precarious position in which such association places women holding positions of responsibility. If, as we said on presenting the emergent model of management in Spanish companies, the fact of being acknowledged by others – subordinates of both sexes – is essential for being able to exercise authority, then the rejection of women with power that still persists in the work context will make the exercise of that power difficult, and will

oblige female managers to worry more about not offending their subordinates and peers than about not offending their superiors.

Power and gender

This difficult situation faced by women with power in the workplace suggests the need to consider the concept of social closure (social domination), applied by Bernstein (1975) to the socio-linguistic field. Social closure implies a process through which social groups attempt to maintain exclusive control over resources, in this case linguistic, by restricting access to them. Language and communication style, as with any of the elements associated with differences in status, may create social closure. In this case, while no specific communication style is demanded of men for exercising power in organizations, managerial women do not seem to have an appropriate one available. This inequality in demands leads to a process of exclusion which makes it difficult, or even impossible, for women to gain access to important resources and positions in the organization. This exclusion may, in turn, give rise to a situation in which access to these high-level resources and positions is achieved by means of adaptation to the dominant styles and forms. However, such behaviour will not be totally successful for women either, since it will continue to be judged according to the prevailing gender stereotypes, underlain by the already-mentioned association between power and masculinity. The result in this case is that, normally, the female manager becomes 'de-womanized' (in other words, her power may be accepted but she is not seen as feminine); as one of the discussion groups put it: 'a woman has to be even more of a man to exercise leadership'.

   In our studies, we have found that of the two types of image of women managers we have described, the most usual is the one that considers women as being overzealous in their job and in the exercise of power; thus, women would be more studious and more hard-working, but also stricter, more authoritarian, and so on. However, it is important to stress that this female image, though distorted, reflects women's obligation to be 'more' than their male peers if they wish to accede to positions of power; and how, when they finally reach these positions, they have to continue being 'more', making more effort, given their greater visibility and the resistance from their environment. Given that, at the same time, the prevailing management model in Spanish companies continues to be the male one, women often find that they have to take it as a reference, which implies (especially in highly masculinized work contexts) eliminating many of the communicational behaviours we

would expect from women. Thus it is common to find that women behave very differently from the way they did before taking up their post of responsibility or the way they behave in other contexts.

They have to be 'more', above all, because they lack the authority that is conceded to men. This is the main problem faced by women in positions of responsibility today: to be able to exercise power and be fully accepted, managers have to 'have authority', not just power, and they have to 'earn the respect' of their subordinates.

To obtain this recognition, however, it is fundamental to make explicit the reason for what is ordered and decided. It is not sufficient for employees merely to recognize the hierarchical level within the structure; they must also be aware of why they are required to do a certain thing. This is one of the basic points that form the basis of the criticisms of the way managerial women communicate. Subordinates (of both sexes) argue that they behave in an overemphatic and impositional way when giving orders, as though they were deliberately avoiding the necessary explanations and arguments behind the order.

This criticism is sometimes borne out by reality, since some female managers explain how they are obliged to avoid all communicational behaviour that could be interpreted as a sign of weakness; how they need to put on 'armour' as a means of demonstrating that they are strong and have enough firmness to occupy their position in the hierarchy. It is thus that they sometimes tend to put on a show of strength, but they are also seen as being harder than they should be, since toughness is neither expected nor tolerated in women. In contrast, male bosses are almost never perceived as 'hard', and their actions never considered as 'excessive' or overzealous. Out of this need for armour, and of the continuing robust resistance to women leaders as opposed to men, emerges the common image of female bosses as 'masculine' and authoritarian women.

If managerial women feel the need for 'armour', however, it is because they are questioned in a prejudiced and constant way with regard to their leadership, and all for the mere fact of being women. Moreover, as the images referred to show, social and work rejection of female bosses is presented as a problem caused exclusively by them, when what actually happens is that neither men nor women totally accept the exercise of power by a woman. And this rejection emerges with greatest intensity among those who have to acknowledge daily the authority of the woman boss, for it is precisely the employees (of both

sexes) with women superiors who, according to our data, judge managerial women most negatively. In fact, many of the most acerbic comments come from those who generally suffer most discrimination: women in subordinate posts, who in their criticisms reproduce many of the social divisions imposed by the gender system and male domination.

By way of a summary of what has been discussed in this section, we can say that when women arrive in positions of power in Spanish companies, they find themselves in a territory organized by men and for men, and therefore in a situation of weakness. This situation often obliges them to be 'more' than the men, and to eliminate some of the dimensions that can allow a more natural exercise of power – which has fewer pitfalls – such as encouraging more participation of subordinates or using less direct communication styles. If this does not happen, or at least is not perceived to happen by the employees, conflicts arise whose most relevant consequence is the reinforcement of the initial view that persists in many sectors and companies, that women 'do not know how to lead', and that promoting them to positions of responsibility is a risk.

However, as we saw, there is also criticism of the woman manager who uses a 'typically feminine' communication style; thus, it seems inevitable to conclude that women always have to 'pay' for having power in the work context. The prevailing social logic, which associates power at work with the male, always puts women in a difficult situation.

Women are either more than men or less, according to these images, but the implicit message is clear: in order to enjoy authority at work, you have to be a man (because the only form of leadership accepted as natural is the male one). Thus, communication and the exercise of power by women is necessarily forced and unconvincing, and is consequently rejected. The gender system prevailing in our societies thus imposes itself in the productive context.

Vertical and horizontal relationships: social isolation of women in positions of responsibility

So far we have dealt with an aspect of great importance for women to accede to and work in positions of responsibility: the stereotypes and prejudices through which their exercise of power is appraised. In this section we aim to show the enormous importance, for the development

of women's professional careers and integration in organizations, of the social relationships and networks that are formed within organizations (see Martín Rojo and Garí López 2002).

As we saw in the case of leadership style, all the signs are that the way in which communication is organized in organizations not only renders any female behaviour inappropriate, but also contributes to women's social isolation, making it difficult for them to become integrated in the social networks that are established. In order to illustrate this difficulty we shall examine, above all, horizontal relationships (peer networks), and to a lesser extent the vertical relationships with superiors (as mentors and sponsors). Finally, we shall refer to the fact that, in this scenario of isolation, women managers appear to turn to those women that occupy lower positions in the hierarchy and, more specifically, to secretaries. This tendency to become friendly with secretaries, attested to in Spanish organizations, cushions the feeling of isolation, but generates relationships loaded with confusion.

> EXAMPLE 7
> Está anoréxica. O sea, el trato, nunca había tenido un trato. O sea, me refiero a la jefa más jefa de todos. Pues, era la jefa y era intocable. Y además, con muy mal humor y muy malas pulgas. Y de pronto, en una **fiestecilla** de éstas de un cumpleaños de alguien, empezó a contarme que se había ido de vacaciones, que había conocido un hombre y que no podía comer y no sé que. Y empezó a contarme una serie de detalles. Y mientras tanto, comiéndose la tortilla acabó con un plato entero de tortilla. Que yo, estaba con la boca abierta, que decía: Bueno, no para. O sea, **que de pronto**. Y después, de **contarme su vida con unos detalles superíntimos**, ya no ha vuelto a hablar más conmigo del tema. Digo, bueno. Pero, sí algo increíble. Y además, que luego he necesitado algún favor y tal y como que no me conocía de nada...
> (Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en empresas privadas)

> She's anorexic. I mean, I had never really talked to her. I mean, I'm talking about the boss, the very top boss. Well, she was the boss, and she was untouchable. And she got in bad moods and had a nasty streak, as well. And suddenly, at one of those **birthday parties**, she started telling me that she'd been on holiday, that she'd met a man, and that she couldn't eat and whatever. And she started telling me a series of details. And meanwhile, eating a Spanish omelette, she finished the whole omelette! And me, I was open-mouthed, I thought: Wow, she

can't stop! **Like suddenly**. And after that, after **telling me about her life with really intimate details**, she's never talked to me about it again. I mean, it's incredible! And later on, I've needed her help or something, and it's as though she didn't know me at all . . .
(Discussion group of women employees in a private company)

The communicational order we have been considering, and in particular that which is related to topics that can be touched upon in informal communication, reinforces this isolation, as we shall see. Also contributing to this is the 'discomfort' or uneasiness shown by men, due to the difficulty many of them still have in incorporating into the work context the communicational forms and conversation topics of women (we find a similar analysis in Bhatnagar 1988).

Peer networks

In order to study the factors affecting women's isolation in work organizations, we shall focus on peer networks: that is, the informal relationships formed between individuals with the same job level. Given that one of the main objectives of this chapter is to encourage reflection on styles of communication and leadership, and above all on how women relate to their peers and superiors in the workplace, it is interesting to consider whether differences are detected in certain contexts, from coffee-breaks during work hours, to conventions and conferences with their crowded meeting and function rooms. In such contexts, those interviewed feel they can identify preferences by gender with regard to the form of interaction, the topics considered appropriate, and the topics that are taboo.

Topics of conversation

Tannen (1994) proposes that, within the work context, together with what she calls 'big talk', referring to work, there also comes into play the 'small talk' considered appropriate by each gender (see also Kendall and Tannen 1997: 102). Thus in the interviews it emerges that women often mix business with conversations about their private and personal life, while men tend to talk about their hobbies and interests, but not about their personal relationships.

EXAMPLE 8
 . . . yo, **los señores** que veo en la oficina, los veo **hablando de fútbol**, **hablando de toros**, **hablando de pesca**. Pero **no hablando de su mujer**, de su marido, de no sé que, de no sé cuantos.
(Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en la Administración)

. . . me, **the men** I see at the office, I see them **talking about football**, **talking about bullfighting**, **talking about fishing**. But not **talking about their wives**, or their husbands, about this or that.
(Discussion group of female Civil Service employees)

In fact, men often have difficulty finding appropriate subjects on which to make small talk with their female colleagues or bosses.

EXAMPLE 9
Hombre, yo nunca he tenido un jefe, pero estoy convencido que cuando llegas un lunes a trabajar, tienes más temas de que hablar, con un hombre que con una mujer. Muchísimo. O sea, a la hora de hablar con una mujer, te cortas muchísimo.
(Reunión de grupo de varones empleados en empresas privadas)

Well, I've never had a male boss, but I'm convinced that when you get to work on Monday you've got more to talk about with a man than with a woman. A lot more. I mean, when you talk to a woman it's a lot more uncomfortable.
(Discussion group of male employees from private companies)

Not only is the choice different, but each gender makes a different appraisal of the pertinence of mentioning certain topics in the workplace. In the case of men, the introduction in work contexts of topics related to leisure, sex or friendship does not appear to involve risks for their position and integration in the context. Even in cases where a man reveals his private life, opting thus for a relational style, the appraisal is quite positive, especially from his female subordinates (he's 'nice', 'sensitive'). This is in contrast to what we saw in the case of managerial women.

EXAMPLE 10
Sí. A mí, mi jefe me ha contado cosas de su familia y, pero en plan **entrañable**. Me he sentido mejor, cuando él me lo ha contado que cuando me lo contaba la otra.
(Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en la Administración)

Yes. My male boss has told me things about his family and, but in a **nice** way. I felt better when he told me about it than when she told me about her life.
(Discussion group of female Civil Service employees)

In adapting to the dominant topics in informal communication among colleagues, we find it is women who make the most effort.

EXAMPLE 11
Yo paso totalmente del **fútbol**, pero normalmente en el desayuno, que es donde más se monta la tertulia, lo sigo por pura chorra, porque . . . pero nada más. Igual que salen programas de televisión.
(Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en empresas privadas)

I don't give a damn about **football**, but normally over breakfast at work, where the most discussion takes place, I manage to go along with it . . . but that's all. The same goes for when they talk about television programmes.
(Discussion group of female employees in private companies)

Men, on the other hand, as shown elsewhere (Henley and Thorne 1977; Kramarae 1981; Tannen 1994), do not appear to make the same effort of adaptation.

EXAMPLE 12
Yo no he oído a ningún compañero **hablar de ropa**, ¿eh?
– Ni yo tampoco.
– Pues yo sí.
– Yo sí.
– A ese nivel que me estás diciendo, no.
– De camisas y eso sí he oído algunavez
– De coches
(Reunión de grupo de mujeres empleadas en empresas privadas)

I've never heard a male colleague **talk about clothes**, eh?
– Neither have I.
– Well, I have.
– I have.
– At the level we're talking about, no.
– About shirts and things, yes, I've heard that the odd time.
– About cars.
(Discussion group of female employees in private companies)

Until recently, in Spanish organizations, it was the male context that predominated, with its characteristic forms and styles, which restricted these peer networks to relationships among men. This allowed the use

of an informal and strongly masculine style, which included physical contact (slaps on the back, for example), uninhibited expression, swearing and language with sexual allusions, as well as touching on topics that may be considered taboo in other contexts.

Men often refer to the disconcertment caused now by the presence of women and the difficulty of changing their style of interaction to adapt to it.

> EXAMPLE 13
> Y tú cuidas mucho el trato. Estoy contigo. No puedes decirle: venga, cabrón, corre y . . .
> (Reunión de grupo de varones directivos de empresas privadas y Administración)
>
> And you're very careful with the way you treat them. I agree with you. You can't say: c'mon, bastard, go and . . .
> (Discussion group of male managers from private companies and the Civil Service)

This male discomfort and the stress it appears to generate is presented by men as one of the causes of social isolation in women, to justify the distance in organizations between women and their male peers.

Contextual situations

Finally, informal relationships require certain scenarios, in which relationships become less formal, where people become relaxed and the power relationships are less manifest. Coffee-breaks, mealtimes, parties, Christmas dinners, nights out and so on permit the formation of more fluid and informal relationships from which more stable networks emerge. Paradoxically, participating in this type of situation also presents obstacles for women. When such situations involve their work peers, and especially in highly masculinized sectors, women find themselves excluded from these contexts, due to the predominance of men's tastes and choices. This can be seen clearly in the following example.

> EXAMPLE 14
> Mi mujer es ingeniero de caminos, es un mundo totalmente de hombres. Bueno, pues entonces es un mundo en el que los club de carretera, y como aquí no hay ninguna mujer, los club de carretera se nutren de cantidad de ingenieros de obras y cosas de estas. Ella es ingeniera. Entonces se **van a dos tipos de comidas: las comidas donde va ella y las comidas donde no va ella**.

(Reunión de grupo de varones directivos de empresas privadas y Administración)

My wife is a civil engineer, and it's a men's world, totally. So, I mean, it's a world in which road-side whorehouses – and since there are no women here – road-side whorehouses get so much business from civil engineers working on sites and that kind of thing. She's an engineer. So, **they go to two types of meals**: **the ones she goes to and the ones she doesn't go to**.
(Discussion group of male managers from private companies and the Civil Service)

It is important to draw attention to the social implications of this relative isolation and marginalization by male peer networks, since at the higher levels of organizations it is in these groups that the real power resides. Male networks operate as a mechanism of exclusion of women that is justified by '*discomfort*' with regard to the other gender. This mechanism reduces the influence of women within the organization, hinders their promotion, and facilitates the perpetuation of stereotypes and prejudices with regard to women's communication and management style.

Added to this marginalization suffered by women is, in many cases, a difficulty of finding female models of reference and mentors who could help them in their professional career and teach them the rules of the game. Women often admit that they have to face uncomfortable situations and various dilemmas when establishing informal relationships in the workplace, when choosing topics, when accepting invitations, or when going to different kinds of meetings. Nevertheless, failing to establish links in this way leads to isolation, and this leads to difficulties in doing their job.

On joining an organization, especially in a position of responsibility, it is important for new employees to get to know not only the technical aspects of the job, but also the prevailing forms and styles of interaction, and details about those working with them; it is also important to develop a feeling of belonging to a peer group and an institution. It is superiors that show an interest in the welfare of new arrivals, and peers with whom these new employees will form relationships, who will provide them with the necessary knowledge about what is expected of them, about the customary norms and ways of operating. Peer networks also fulfil a highly important role in promotion, since on occasion it is not merit that counts so much as the extent to which one is acknowledged and respected. We shall now move on to a

consideration of relationships with superiors: that is, the so-called vertical relationships.

Vertical relationships

For reasons of space, we pay less attention to vertical support relationships, despite the fact that the bonds with superiors in which someone acts as a 'mentor' in the professional context make an essential contribution to the promotion and development of the career of any professional. In this regard, in the studies carried out it has been found that women face the problem of not finding mentors due to one of the following circumstances: (a) the absence of female role models in posts of responsibility in some companies; (b) the reluctance to act as mentors for other women, as shown by some well-placed women within the hierarchy; and (c) the fact that, likewise, many men with power in the work context have enormous reservations about actively taking on this role.

With regard to those women who are reluctant to support the professional career of other women, we should point out that this attitude has been described in the specialized literature as 'the queen bee syndrome' (Baster and Lansing 1983). These may be women who are not fully aware of the difficulties that they and many others have to face for being promoted, so that they are not prepared to help others avoid these difficulties. It may also be that the struggle in developing strategies alone for adapting to a hostile environment (which highly-masculinized work contexts often represent for women), and the implicit message emerging from these contexts that promotion is only gained by distancing oneself from feminine behaviours, mean that (in many cases) when they reach the top they feel unique. It may even be that, knowing they are in 'the territory of others' and that their decisions are highly questioned, the women are afraid to seem unfair if they supported their own gender.

As far as men are concerned, if they frequently reject the role of mentor for women's careers, this may be associated with the fact that whereas in the work context it is usually accepted that a man gains promotion with the support of other men, if the candidate is a woman, the relationship may be called into question or be 'under suspicion'. Furthermore, as women are assumed to have less capacity for leadership than men, defending the professional career of a woman or choosing her for a management post always has to be justified. This is not normally the case when the candidate is a man.

Some conclusions and suggestions for good practice

The study of communication regulation in Spanish workplaces has made evident the fact that women live in a situation of isolation and lack of recognition, which puts obstacles not only in the way of their doing the job, but also in the way of establishing networks of relationships, both vertical and horizontal, the role of which is equally important in the selection and promotion of employees. However women behave, there will be prejudice with regard to their activity. This will undoubtedly have effects on the appraisal of their capacities, their professional development and promotion, and their integration in the organization. Women's social isolation appears to be one of the greatest difficulties they face, but is combined with others that emerged during our research, such as the association between power and masculinity, the negative perception of gender differences and the fact that the models with regard to promotion and leadership continue to be masculine.

Thus the study of communicational regulation is essential in order to understand the on-going changes in organizations, and in order to be able to contribute to pulling down the so-called 'glass ceiling' that limits women's access to positions of responsibility. The study of organizational communicational regulation shows that this hinders women's integration into social networks, which are of crucial importance in relation to promotion.

The ethnographic perspective focused on the nature of the action and on the internal dynamics of the interaction must be complemented by a representational analysis, as shown by the analysis presented in this chapter of the social representation of women managers. Discursive practices are an expression of organizational structure, but also the means by which an organization's members create this structure and give coherence to everyday reality and practices. A CDA perspective may reveal the ideological, political and economic dimensions in which these discursive practices emerge. From the CDA perspective, the study of discourse gives access not only to the study of institutions and social practices, but also to the study of the social representations produced through these practices, and to their social implications.

In view of the situation we have outlined, it is time to consider what we can do and what may constitute good practice for contributing to changing this situation. In this chapter we have discussed the problems that may emerge in communication: independently of the style women use, it is often badly judged, and to such an extent that in many

cases women are faced with a dilemma deriving from the deep-rooted and close association in our culture between power and masculinity.

Given this situation, women can opt for the use of certain strategies that reinforce their position within the work organization, such as making their own achievements more evident, or taking advantage of the possibilities for forming relationships with superiors and peers. Even so, in our view, it is a question of changing not only women's behaviour, but also, and above all, of modifying the work-related order and even the social order.

Changing ourselves, as has been proposed on occasions, by reproducing the prevailing patterns of agency, assertiveness and leadership, does not appear to be the solution, since it may contribute to reinforcing the image of 'overzealousness' in the exercise of power. In fact, as Cameron (1995) points out, this tendency to recommend women to use the affirmative – or 'masculine' – style is strongly on the decline, both in the USA and in Europe. On the other hand, stressing the differences between the masculine and feminine forms of exercising power, while being a route for women to develop their own style of leadership, also involves risks. Emphasizing some aspects of what has been defined as specifically feminine leadership, or defending its virtues, may in fact serve only to further stereotype and marginalize women in relation to management and leadership.

What is necessary, then, is to act on the work-related order in two ways: first of all, by trying to put an end to discrimination, and second, by feminizing work organizations. Among the most important ways of contributing to a reduction in discrimination would be measures such as encouraging the creation of committees for monitoring hiring and promotion in companies, especially in sectors with a low proportion of women, and supporting initiatives for reconciling family and professional life.

Moreover, giving greater visibility to women's achievements – for example, by publicizing their success in management posts – would clearly contribute to the feminization of companies. Working in the same direction would be all types of measures aimed at increasing the presence of women in the top echelons of organizations. This might be achieved through the preferential assignment of official contracts to institutions or companies in which there was a given percentage of women in positions of responsibility, or through the concession of tax exemptions to companies that hire women in junior management posts. Promoting a policy of quotas aimed at achieving parity would be, in the end, the most effective procedure, given that the more the number of women in positions of responsibility increased, the more natural their presence at the top levels would become.

What we have seen in this chapter suggests the urgency of shifting the social debate, still bogged down in the question of whether or not women are suitable for positions of responsibility, towards a debate focusing on the specific measures to be taken in order to get them into these positions. This challenge should be approached in a pragmatic way, seeking to achieve maximum quantity as a means of eventually achieving quality. Promoting an increase in the number of women in positions of responsibility would not only help to balance and democratise the labour world, but would also permit the expression and perception of a specifically feminine form of leadership, and would contribute to achieving the appreciation of their activities as individuals.

Acknowledgements

Note

1   Tannen devotes the whole of Chapter 3: 'Why don't you say what you mean? Indirectness at work', to the use of direct and indirect styles, making great efforts to destroy the negative image of the indirect style.

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4
Gender Mainstreaming and the European Union: Interdisciplinarity, Gender Studies and CDA

Ruth Wodak

Introduction: some are more equal than others?

I would like to start this chapter by quoting two reference letters, one written for a male colleague and one for a female colleague, both of whom are medical scholars. These letters are part of a large sample collected by Trix and Psenka (2002), and analysed on several levels of discourse.

Example of a letter of recommendation for a male applicant

Feb. 30, 1994

Dear Dr. Koop:

William Harvey M.D., has been a Postdoctoral Scholar in Cardiovascular Nuclear Medicine at Northsouthern School of Medicine. During his time at our institution, Bill actively participated in our research and educational activities. During his last year at Northsouthern he also trained in general diagnostic nuclear medicine.

Dr. Harvey's research activities focused on the use of PET for the assessment and quantification of blood flow and metabolism in the myocardium of patients with advanced coronary artery disease. An early study established a correlation between patterns of blood flow metabolism and the long-term outcome of patients with severely impaired left ventricular function while a second study . . .

Some of this work has already been published in first-rate cardiology journals while other parts are currently under review by journals.

Bill's accomplishments are important, for they demonstrate and underscore the clinical significance of altered patterns of blood flow and substrate metabolism for patient mortality and morbidity as well as for defining their implications for the management of patients with very poor left ventricular function. His accomplishments have been recognised locally by having been awarded two consecutive grants by the Greater Affiliate of the American Heart Association. We believe it is also fair to state that his accomplishments have received, at least to some degree, national recognition as evidenced by several job offers.

Overall, we have found Bill to be a highly intelligent and hard working young man. He communicates and collaborates well with his peers and supervisors. On a more personal side, it saddened us to see him leave our institution yet we were not able to retain him for lack of funds. We believe that Bill is a promising, highly productive and creative young researcher who undoubtedly will become an independent and innovative investigator. Therefore, it is with considerable enthusiasm that we support unequivocally the proposed appointment to Assistant Professor of Medicine and Radiology.

<div align="right">

Sincerely,
Charles Lewis, M.D.
Chief, Dept. of Medical Pharmacology

</div>

Example of a letter of recommendation for a female applicant

<div align="right">February 30, 1994</div>

Dear Alfred:

I am writing to you a letter of recommendation for my good friend, Dr. Sarah Gray M.D. As you probably know, I've known Sarah for about 7 years. I watched her career develop while working at Northsouthern University, her presentations and prize winning events at the Academy of Pediatrics while a resident at Northsouthern and then her fellowship year with myself and Dr. Dolittle in St. Louis some years ago.

Without any doubt, I am struck with Sarah's integrity. She is totally intolerant of shoddy research work and any work which has a hint of padding or error. Additionally, while working with her in St. Louis, I was able to watch her surgical skills. I felt she had been very well trained surgically in St. Louis but she has a slight touch of a lack of confidence at times which I feel Sam Livingood is well aware of and

will carefully work with Sarah regarding any matters like that during her clinical practice at Centvingtcinq.

I feel the addition of Sarah to the faculty of Centvingtcinq University and particularly to the Department of Cardiology of the Children's Hospital of Missouri to be a tremendous plus for that center. Her research work over the last few years has been 'top drawer' and virtually unchallengeable. I can only predict a great future for this lady and I am delighted that she has returned to St. Louis to further her career.

If you have any further questions about Sarah I'd be happy to discuss it with you.

Sincerely yours,
Charles Lewis, M.D.
Chief, Division of Cardiology

Without going into linguistic details, it is obvious that both letters are written in very different styles and contain appraisals of different qualities, although the qualifications asked for in the advertised position are certainly equivalent. Both researchers have published extensively, are original and innovative, well connected, and have teaching experience. Figure 4.1 gives a good impression of these trends.
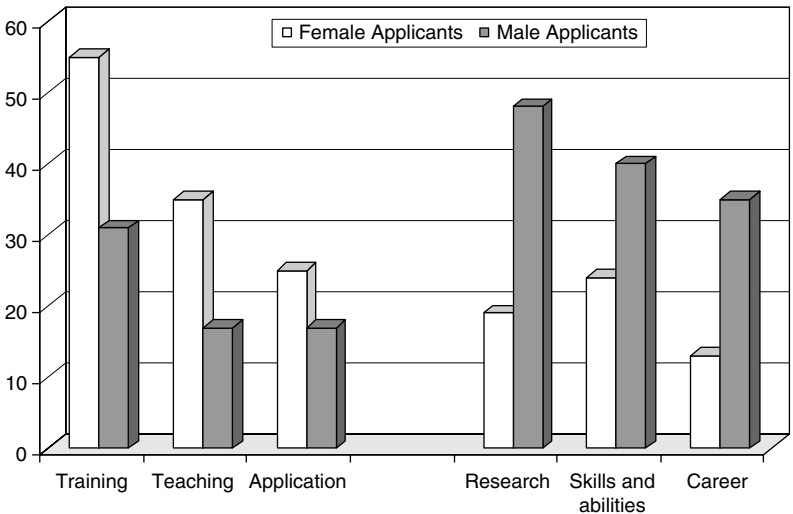
Figure 4.1 Semantic realms following possessives in equalized numbers of letters 'her training'; 'his research'
Source: Trix and Psenka (2002).

Consider the contrastive images that come forth from 'her training', 'her teaching', and 'her application' (for the position), as opposed to 'his research', 'his skills and abilities', and 'his career'. By this measure, the women are portrayed more as students and teachers, while the men are portrayed as researchers and professionals.

When discussing affirmative action, gender mainstreaming, women and men in leading positions, managerial roles, and so on, we often read and hear that so much has changed, and that 'transparency and objectivity' have been achieved. Quotas have to be reached and, in some cases, the percentages of women and men employed are almost the same. In my view, however, which takes feminist research (see Kantner 1977; Ferguson 1984; Wajcman 1998; Giddens 2001: 360ff.) into consideration, discrimination takes place in a different and maybe more subtle way, such as illustrated by the two letters. The two letters are taken from an extensive study by Frances Trix and Carolyn Psenka on the access of women to positions in medical faculties. In this paper a naturalistic set of all the letters of recommendation for successful applicants for faculty positions in a large American medical school for a three-year period in the mid-1990s was analysed. Trix and Psenka (2002) were asked by a member of the Executive Committee for Hiring and Promotion of the medical school to investigate if the letters of recommendation written for female applicants were systematically different from those written for male applicants. The broader social context is that of professions in America in which women's greater access to educational opportunities in medicine, law, business, seminaries, and academia since the 1970s has not resulted in a commensurate movement of women into positions of power in these institutions and their related organizations (Valian 1998). Thus it was important to investigate subtle and implicit procedures of gate-keeping.

Of course, reference letters are written for qualified women as well. Also, of course, it is mostly male colleagues in positions of power who write these letters because scholarly authorities still are mostly male, especially in the natural sciences. However, the writing modes of such letters, the flow of arguments and the characteristics attributed to male and female scholars differ extensively. Consequently, more men are then employed, if innovative researchers are sought after. Methodologically this study also wrestles with a situation in which what is not written is potentially salient. Thus the 'glass' in the title of Trix and Psenka's paper, namely 'Exploring the colour of glass: letters of recommendation for female and male medical faculty' refers both to the 'glass ceiling' that appears to be impeding women from advancing

professionally, as well as to 'glass' or invisible domains in the letters themselves.

In another study by Luisa Martín Rojo and Concepción Gómez Esteban (2003; see also Chapter 3 above), who studied Spanish female and male managers and their gender roles, we find similar results. In the 2003 paper, narratives about leadership produced by managers and subordinates of both genders in Spain were investigated. In particular, Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban focus on whether and to what extent new theoretical models, which regulate the functions of management, were encouraging the promotion of women to positions of responsibility in companies, and also leading to a correlative improvement of the image of women managers. The analysis of the discourses produced by managers and subordinates (inferential processes, perceptual tendencies and argumentative strategies in the construction of the images of women managers) shows that male style and values are deeply rooted in Spanish organizational culture. Thus a presentation of women in managerial positions as authoritarian men is prevalent. This finding relates well to feminist arguments in the literature quoted above which states that organizations are frequently structured in a male way. Consequently we find a 'double discourse' which, on the one hand, promotes democratic models of management, consistent with prevalent democratic and egalitarian ideologies but, on the other, masks the permanence of traditional models, only partially and superficially updated.

Does this mean that all the political and institutional attempts at reform failed? How should we evaluate these social phenomena? Have the changes and reforms proposed by gender mainstreaming been achieved or have they not? Which position should we adhere to: a more radical one which proposes alternative organizational cultures, or one which asks for inherent reforms such as gender mainstreaming?

The claims for this chapter are as set out below:

1 Although more women have achieved higher status in their professions, there still exist subtle (and also manifest) procedures of discrimination, mainly due to the fact that organizations are still characterized by a male culture of domination. It is a 'no-win' situation.

2 Even in leading positions, women are confronted with 'double discourses' (Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban 2003): they have to justify their presence and their achievements constantly and are still

measured with different norms. Equal qualifications are not evaluated the same way.

3 Linguistic gender studies need an interdisciplinary framework to be able to grasp the complexity of phenomena connected with the first-mentioned claims: issues of organizational studies, gender studies, linguistics, cultural studies, discourse analysis and political sciences flow together and influence each other.

In this chapter, it will be impossible to answer these questions once and for all. Hence, I start out by discussing issues of gender mainstreaming in the European Union (EU). Following these short remarks, I present an interdisciplinary framework for critical gender studies, which might allow the investigation of such complex social issues. In conclusion, I illustrate this framework with data collected in the European Parliament and the Commission and finally discuss the options of critical feminist linguistics.

Gender mainstreaming in the European Union

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, equal rights and equality of treatment were anchored in laws of equal opportunity in many Western countries (cf. Kargl *et al.* 1997). Attitudes, values, stereotypes and role-images, however, are still severely encumbered by patriarchal traditions, and inequalities of treatment in professional and public life can be found everywhere (cf. Gherardi 1995; Tannen 1995; de Francisco 1997; Kendall and Tannen 1997; Kotthoff and Wodak 1997; Martín Rojo 2000). Men dominate political life and the world of politics. (cf. Mazey 2000: 334). Despite the attempt to introduce the concept of 'gender' into many areas of politics, including the EU, those who lead and dominate are still white men, and the agenda is still clearly determined by traditional values. For example, only one of 12 EU satellite-committees, the EUMC (European Monitoring Centre against Racism, Xenophobia and Anti-Semitism), is directed by a woman. Moreover, this one woman only obtained the same salary as her male equivalents after having worked for four years in the same job! Another leading woman (translator) in the European Commission describes her experiences at work as follows:

1 'The "spouse problem": if one partner gets a job with an international organization, this usually means that the partner/family has to move. The Commission does not help to find jobs for spouses. Quite

a number of Nordic female colleagues are faced with the following problem: their husbands agree to follow them to Brussels/Luxembourg and look after the children. If they are not able to find an adequate job within a couple of years, the husbands go back to their home countries and usually their wives give up their jobs at the Commission as well and return.

2   Gender-neutral language: this has been the largest disappointment for me. The Commission introduced gender mainstreaming as one of its main policies a few years ago. Although I believe that this has yielded many positive results (recruitment, promotion, equal treatment and so on), language has proved to be a particularly tough area. When I took up my post, I used the so-called "*Binnen-I*" in my German translations.[1] This caused some uproar, led to discussions in the terminology group (I was not given the opportunity to explain my point of view in that group) and eventually an internal paper was produced permitting translators to use gender-neutral language (*Leserinnen und Leser*; *Leser/innen*) but banning the *Binnen-I* which would have looked like *LeserInnen*.

3   I have come across the same problem in English (a language in which it is a lot easier to comply with the rules of gender neutrality). A working group compiled "Guidelines for the drafting of legal texts". The English version explicitly states that "he/his" and so on is gender-neutral and includes "she/her" and so on. Some people had objected to that, however, and one male person in the group prevented the adoption of a stance better suited to modern society. The main arguments were as follows: the Commission cannot forge ahead of the majority of its Member States, and legislation is a particularly sensitive area from the linguistic point of view.

4   In my unit I never had the feeling that my opinion/performance/ achievements/ideas were less valued/valuable than those of my male colleagues. Neither did I feel that women had to work harder to be accepted as equally good. I also have the impression that over the last few years there is a rising number of younger females slowly piercing the glass ceiling. They are more self-assertive and ready to take what they believe is due to them.

5   In a multicultural environment like the Commission, you get to see all shades of machismo. This can be funny, charming or painful, depending on the situation and one's cultural background/socialization.'

She concluded her remarks in the interview, by stating: 'At the Translation Service (SdT) the overall number of women is approximately 65 %.

One male head of unit preferably recruited men to his unit to improve the overall gender balance.'

Another top employee at the commission summarized her impressions in the following way:

> Well, whenever I feel I have some energy left to waste, I tackle gender issues, at times when my energies run low I just close my ears and eyes and remember what our grandmothers had to fight for only 70 years ago: the right to vote, access to university education and being regarded as fully fledged human beings with a soul and brains.

The legal norms on 'gender anti-discrimination guidelines' are still at a developmental stage (cf. Eglström 2000), and the experiences in the USA of 'affirmative action' are clearly ambivalent (see the study on reference letters quoted above and cf. Appelt and Jarosch 2000).

Finally, let me recall one of my own experiences. Some months ago, after a long conflict in the Austrian Academy of Sciences about establishing our Research Centre in a more permanent form, the president said to me, in a very benevolent tone: 'Everything would be much easier and different, if you were not a woman.'

What is the concept of 'gender mainstreaming' about? The European Union has decided to propose a strategy of 'gender mainstreaming' (COM 96/67 final; see http://www.europa.eu.int) (cf. Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Commission of the European Communities 1995; 1996; Council of Europe 1998; Nelen 1997), which can be defined as follows: 'Action to promote equality requires an ambitious approach, present recognition of male and female identities and the willingness to establish a balanced distribution of responsibilities between men and women.' Moreover, the commission reports state that:

> [T]he promotion of equality must not be confused with the simple objective of balancing statistics: it is a question of promoting long-lasting changes of parental roles, family structures, institutional practices, organisational work and time, their personal development and independence, but also of men and the whole society, in which it can encourage progress and the establishment of democracy and pluralism.

Reading through all these proposals makes it obvious that we are dealing with very interesting suggestions, but they stay on an abstract level (Braithwaite 2000). Employment policies are still to a very large

extent the responsibility of each member state (the 'subsidiarity' principle: see Muntigl, Weiss and Wodak 2000; Wagner 2000). Thus, the implementation of certain aspects is left to the Member States with their varying policies, traditions and cultures (see Kargl, Wetschanow and Wodak 1998). In the European organizations themselves, gender mainstreaming has led to a higher participation of women but not at the highest levels, as some recent statistics illustrate (see discussions in Rossilli 2000).

In the European Commission, there are a total of 16,279 employees at all levels of hierarchy. Some 7,739 are women, and there are 8,540 men. This means that women constitute 47.5 per cent of the sample. Looking more closely reveals that only 5.9 per cent are women at the highest level of the hierarchy (51 in total; 3 women, 48 men). Such a distribution presents us with a picture which we know all too well; namely, that women only advance to a certain point in their careers (Statistics from 1 March 2000).

If we have a look at the European Parliament (without having statistics available for the political parties: see Statistics from 28 July 1999), 27 per cent of the total number of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are women (169 women). Interestingly, they are distributed very differently among the 15 member states: 34 from Germany and 27 from France are the highest numbers, but Finland and Luxemburg have the highest percentages according to their total number of MEPs (50 per cent). Sweden has 45 per cent, and Denmark 44 per cent (see Table 4.1). These numbers illustrate the specific stance of the Scandinavian countries, which we find reproduced in interview sequences published elsewhere. Italy, Portugal and Greece have the lowest number of female MEPs (11 per cent, 12 per cent and 16 per cent respectively).

Although we would certainly need more data and more context information, these results already point to the large gap between the north and south, and to the different cultural traditions of Mediterranean countries and Scandinavian countries, where gender roles are defined in significantly different ways. The southern countries are still very male oriented (except for the famous role of the 'mama'), whereas Scandinavian countries have a long tradition of gender equality. Austria, Germany, The Netherlands and Belgium are all situated in the middle range (around 30 per cent), whereas the UK and Ireland fall towards the bottom of the scale (17 per cent and 20 per cent respectively).

Of course, these numbers tell us nothing about the quality of the attendance of these MEPs, of their initiatives and their positioning.

Table 4.1 Women in the European Parliament

	Belgium	Denmark	Germany	Greece	Spain	France	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	The Netherlands	Austria	Portugal	Finland	Sweden	UK	Total
1994 –99[a]	8	7	34	4	21	27	3	10	3	10	7	3	8	9	15	169
Percentage of women	32	44	34	16	33	31	20	11	50	32	33	12	50	45	17	27
1999–2004[b]	7	6	36	4	22	35	5	10	0	11	8	5	7	9	21	186
Percentage of women	28	38	36	16	34	40	33	11	0	35	38	20	44	45	24	30
Change in the percentage of women	−13	−14	6	0	5	30	67	0	−100	10	14	67	−13	0	40	10

[a] The numbers for Sweden, Austria and Finland relate to the first European election (Sweden 1995; Austria and Finland 1996).
[b] Status: 28 July 1999.

In addition, we do not know if certain political parties (such as the Greens) favour women more than other parties do. Lastly, these numbers do not illustrate any success of the gender mainstreaming strategies mentioned above. Very different qualitative research, in the EU organizations and in the member states, is needed to provide some answers to the question of possible and promoted changes in gender structures. These open questions refer to the importance of interdisciplinary research: we need more information, for example, about political cultures, political organizations, the nation states, and the socialization processes into the European organizations, to be able to explain and understand all of these significant differences and variations more adequately.

Some results from our interviews

In the following I would like to provide a few results from a qualitative study we have undertaken in our research centre in Vienna. The data for this analysis consist of 28 interviews with 14 Members of the European Parliament, every member of the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs, 10 Commission officials, 4 Austrian delegates to the Council of Ministers, one to COREPER (the Committee of Permanent Representatives) II (ambassador-level, permanent representative), one to COREPER I (deputy level), one head translator, and one a member of the Council's working group responsible for issues of employment and social affairs. (I cannot go into the details here but I can refer you to our extensive publications.) All interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed. In sum, then, we are working with a body of data that is suitable for in-depth qualitative, but not statistical, analysis.[2]

Essentially, I am looking for how and which gender identities are constructed, achieved and oriented. In the data analysed here, narratives are particularly fruitful sites for the analysis of the discursive construction of multiple and gender identities in interaction. As noted by Schiffrin (for example, 1996; 1997), Linde (1993), Mumby (1993), Ochs (1997), Benke and Wodak (2000; 2003) and others, the narrative is, among other things, 'a tool for instantiating social and personal identities' (Ochs 1997: 202). Schiffrin argues that narratives can provide:

> a *sociolinguistic self-portrait*: a linguistic lens through which one discovers people's own views of themselves (as situated within both an ongoing interaction and a larger social structure) and their experiences. Since the situations that speakers create through narratives – the transformations of experience enabled by the story world – are

also open to evaluation in the interactional world, these self-portraits can create an interactional arena in which the speaker's view of self and world can be reinforced or challenged.

<div align="right">(Schiffrin 1997: 42, emphasis in original)</div>

What Schiffrin highlights in particular is the dynamic aspect of identity construction in interaction, especially in narratives. Most relevant for the analysis here, however, is simply that narratives can reveal footings in Goffman's sense, which in turn reveal orientations to particular constructions of self. Moreover, the strategies of self-presentation and the topoi[3] used in defining one's own identities will be focused on in the analysis of some examples.

In contrast to the European Commission officials, who tended to speak of themselves in terms of 'we' (referring to 'the Commission', and equating this with the European Union or European level), the MEPs oriented themselves to numerous identities, both professional and personal. Among the professional identity types frequently oriented to are those such as that of a (specific) European Parliament (EP) political group member, EP committee member, rapporteur, national party member, representative from a particular Member State, and so on. Very often, however, somewhat more personal aspects of identity emerged as well, from that of a social worker, family man or woman, grandmother, to more abstract presentations of personal or moral characteristics such as tolerance, or being active, diplomatic or pragmatic. Many of these presentations of self manifest themselves in brief personal anecdotes or longer narratives.

As discussed previously, narratives are particularly revealing indices of identity because they offer a sort of 'window' into how individuals evaluate their past experience and position themselves in their world. Example 1 is a narrative in which MEP2 talks about her first experience as a rapporteur (see Appendix for an explanation of the transcription conventions).

EXAMPLE 1
 1 when I – entered the parliament –   *Orientation* (*lines 1–3*)
 2 on my first report it was about Leonardo
 3 I don't know if you know:
 4 ((smiles)) well – I said, 'I'm going to speak to the commissioner'
 5 and – I – / I knew – he only speaks very bad French
 6 and my eh my French was very bad as well.
 7 so I said 'I want to have an interpretation'

8   So – I went to the commissioner   *Complicating Actions* (*lines 4–14*)
9   with a very good int / int / interpreter
10   and I / I / I / I talked more than an hour with him.
11   because we talked the same about it
12   and at the end he said –
13   'well: I have here the advice of my: civil servants but I – agree with you:
14   and this and this and this all goes through. – '
15   so you have to be: – eh: –
16   I don't know h / how do we call it in English in / I
17   in the Netherlands we say (brutaal)
18   so you have to: ((laughs)) be polite   *Evaluation* (*lines 16–20*)
19   but you have to – you: /you mustn't be /
20   you mustn't <u>sit</u> behind your –/your <u>desk</u>. –
21   because that doesn't help. ((laughs))
22   but then then you have the worse system
23   that I tried several times   *Coda* (*22–31*)
24   then you have the Council. –
25   a:nd – it's very difficult eh:
26   to negotiate with the Council is my: – / eh is my experience:
27   it's possible to do: –
28   bu:t – now they have their own strategy:
29   and their own – reasons:
30   eh: and they don't like the power of the parliament
31   so: the: /the / that's – / that's the most difficult part.

   In Example 1, which has been marked for basic narrative structure according to Labov (1972) and Labov and Waletzky's (1967) model, we see that the MEP's story is objectively about having a successful meeting with a Commissioner while acting as a rapporteur on a report about Leonardo.[4] In lines 4–6, the complicating actions, she shows how she went to the Commissioner with an interpreter, and because she and the Commissioner had the same understanding of the issues involved ('because we talked the same about it'), he was willing to support her, despite contrary advice by his 'civil servants' on the matters involved. The main point of the story, or evaluation, from MEP2's perspective, is to show that as an MEP, to get things done, you must be active and assertive, 'not sit behind your desk'. While MEP2 might have felt hindered by her (and the Commissioner's) limited language skills in French, she found help through an interpreter and argued her points

before the Commissioner, with success. Thus, in this narrative, MEP2 positions herself as an MEP who is proactive and who will do what it takes, including arguing directly with Commissioners, to see that her voice is heard. She also orients herself to being a rapporteur (line 2), which carries some responsibility in a committee, and to being from the Netherlands (line 17), although this last identity is evoked only to characterize her style of work ('*brutaal*' in Dutch, or 'assertive').

At the same time, she presents herself as a proactive MEP who has served as a rapporteur on more than one occasion. She has a lot of experience and has been socialized well into the organization. This means, for example, that she has typically taken on stereotypical male behaviour patterns. She paints a picture of both the Commission and the Council in a way that is consistent with what many other MEPs and EC officials in these data observe about the respective organizations. Here we see a benevolent Commissioner who is willing to listen to an individual MEP and to make decisions according to reason and his own conviction, even if that means occasionally going against the advice of his Director General (DG) or perhaps cabinet. ('Well, I have here the advice of my civil servants but I agree with you and this and this and this all goes through.') In the coda of the story we see that MEP2 contrasts the accessibility and co-operativeness of the Commissioner to the difficulty and unco-operativeness of the Council ('it's very difficult to negotiate with the Council . . . they have their own strategy and their own reasons'). Thus, MEP2's narrative also constructs a world in which the Parliament and Commission can work together as partners, whereas the Parliament and Council remain at odds. The gender identity constructed here, through an account of her activities and a description of her meeting with a powerful person, is that of a woman who knows what she wants and how to proceed ('*brutaal* but polite'). Women who tend to be successful have to be active, fight for their opinions and not 'sit behind their desk'. Thus, a very active role is portrayed which might be in conflict with traditional gender roles where women are viewed as dominant, threatening and maybe even irritating if fighting for a cause.

My second example in this chapter illustrates a very different type of female habitus: MEP3 is oriented to a particularly wide range of identities (left, woman, Swedish, mother, political outsider, and so on) during her interview. Most striking is the way in which she repeatedly positions herself as being an 'atypical MEP', thus using very distinct strategies of difference. Here we see one such occasion.

EXAMPLE 2

1   I figure here the most common – eh civil – job. – for an MEP
2   is eh to be a lawyer.
3   me myself *I'm far from that*
4   the job I had doesn't even <u>exist</u> outside *Scandinavia*.
5   so: – it's a sort of a social teacher – so
6   so I'm / I'm very in / an: /a very special bird in this a:
7   <u>If</u> mhm mhm so now you don't feel like you – fit into sort of a <u>typical</u> MEP eh ME
8   *no. no: no: I'm not. I'm left I'm a woman I'm Swedish* and I'm also everything–
9   /everything's wrong. (laughs)

In Example 2, MEP3 contrasts herself with what she considers to be a typical profile for an MEP (lawyer by profession), emphasizing the degree to which she feels different ('I'm far from that . . . I'm a very special bird . . . everything's wrong'). She also points out many of the identities that she associates with, and that she perceives as marking her as different from the norm set by traditional, conservative, patriarchal Europeans (social teacher, left, female, Swedish). This sequence is a very good illustration of a successful woman who has managed to come to terms with all of her differences, which have served to marginalize her, and to emphasize them. She turns the tables, and strategically defines the traditionally negative connotations into positive attributes: She is a 'very special bird', and this way of self-presentation allows for her success. Conflicting ideological problems and dilemmas (Billig 1989) seem to be solved through self-irony, self-reflection and assertiveness.

At other points in the same interview, MEP3 emphasizes that not only is she an atypical MEP, but also that she is not a typical politician either. This is illustrated in Example 3 below. Thus, she does not follow 'the rules of the game and of the organization': she sets her own rules.

EXAMPLE 3

1   I mean I know that – even on / on a: national level
2   I mean there are very many politicians all sorts in all parties –
3   that <u>prefer</u> to / to meet the / the – eh / the citizens through – media.
4   eh –/so *I know that I'm not that sort.*
5   so I prefer to meet the people. –
6   it / it could be hard but it's more interesting . .
7   and that's the way <u>I</u> learn at the same time – a lot.

8   . . . and a (xx) of – / I met so very many politicians – during my
     – living 45 years
9   ((laughs)) so: – and it's the– /
10 I mean do you really – when you've seen them in action
11 when you were a child or
12 all through the years – you say oh – how disgusting and –
13 what behaviour they've done and instead I – /
14 *for sure I will not be that sort of person that I always despised!*
15 that means that if you go to a meeting
16 you just don't go there. –
17 and you just don't talk for forty-five minutes
18 telling everybody how the situation really is
19 and then you leave <u>off</u>. –
20 mostly with the plane first a limo and then a plane and
21 that's – not a boring life.

Just before this excerpt begins, MEP3 and the interviewer have been talking about the kind of contact MEPs have with their constituencies. In this context, MEP3 contrasts her own behaviour with that of what she considers to be typical of (male) politicians. In lines 1–3 she casts the typical politician as preferring to meet citizens indirectly, through the media. Alternatively, this typical politician 'drops in' on his constituency only briefly, in a condescending, patronizing ('telling everybody how the situation really is') and elitist ('then you leave off – mostly with a plane, first a limo and then a plane') manner. In lines 10–14 she elaborates on her point of view and emotional reaction to this sort of politician, emphasizing that her opinion of what is 'typical' has been supported by observations over many years and that this, to her, is 'disgusting'. Thus, through irony and overt criticism, she marks her differences from other (male) MEPS and constructs the negative out-group. All these strategies serve to construct her identity. Moreover, in contrast to the other female MEPs presented elsewhere (both the active MEP as well as the expert), she does not align with a group, does not use an inclusive 'we' and does not seem to belong to any one group. She constructs herself as belonging to numerous 'deviant' groups (deviant from a normative perspective), thus emphasizing her uniqueness and her difference from others (much in line with '*idem*' and '*ipse*' as described by Ricoeur 1992). In both lines 4 and 15, she explicitly dissociates herself from being 'that sort of person'.

In other words, although by virtue of being a MEP she is technically a 'politician', she is not of the sort one might imagine. What is

implied is the 'typical dominant male politician', who is not really interested in political contents or in the citizens and their needs, but mostly in persuasive rhetoric and sampling votes. Throughout the interview, she emphasizes her difference and uniqueness, according to our theory of the discursive construction of identity (Wodak *et al.* 1999). This interview is one of five interviews with female MEPs, who all use similar discursive strategies for constructing their gender and political identities. However, of course one cannot generalize from such a small sample.

Conclusions

Basically, we have found three 'types' or 'habitus' of female gender role constructions, which seem to provide success in 'doing politics': 'assertive activist'; 'expert'; and 'positive difference (special bird)' (or combinations of these). These habitus and the related social practices are very different from other roles of successful women or female leaders as described in studies of female principals in schools (Wodak 1997) or in big businesses (Kendall and Tannen 1997). This first pilot study does not allow us to generalize. However, it is necessary to contrast the different types of organizations and professions with each other in order to explain these differences: schools in the Austrian system in the above-mentioned study are extremely rigid organizations which allow for very little flexibility and are organized in a very hierarchical way. Thus possible gender constructions (moreover, in a setting with children) evoke variations of mother roles and of caretakers (Wodak and Schulz 1986). In businesses, other dynamics are at stake, as described also by the general tendencies of marketization and consumerism. In such organizations, serving the client becomes more and more important; and many previously female attributes are highly regarded for promoting flexibility and endorsing a comfortable, thus more efficient, work environment (Fairclough 1992).

The EP, as described above, through its complexity is much more open and less organized, and thus more flexible. This allows for a wider range of identity constructions: the self-definitions are not monitored as closely as in other organizations. More research into these organizational aspects will have to provide more detailed answers. However, if we come back to the beginning of this chapter, we have not answered our basic questions yet: what kind of feminist linguistics and gender studies might have an impact on such social practices? Should we endorse gender-mainstreaming, or should we call for totally different

structures of organizations? How can the 'no-win' situation for successful women be changed?

Perspectives

In concluding, I would like to put forward the case for interdisciplinary gender studies, which would also encompass critical feminist linguistics. Complex issues, such as 'gender mainstreaming in organizations', call for complex theories and methodologies; one field or one traditional discipline would not succeed in relating all the various social phenomena to all the others adequately. Let me therefore point to some reasons for such an approach, which has been first debated by German feminists, such as the sociologist Axeli-Knapp (1995), and then elaborated by the sociologist Gilbert Weiss and myself (2003).

First, in arguing for such an approach, it is necessary to address issues of context and mediation, or the relationship of gender practices or constructions and discourses. The most important task of conceptual tools is to integrate sociological and linguistic positions: that is, to mediate between text and institution, between communication and structure, between discourse and society. This problem of mediation not only refers to the hyphen in socio-linguistics or to gender studies in general, but pinpoints the central problem of modern social science. This has been given many names: subjectivism versus objectivism, individualism versus collectivism, voluntarism versus determinism, and so on. In essence, all these dualities deal with the micro/macro-problem of the reference context of player and structure. Is it actions, practices, strategies and intentions of players that explain social phenomena, or is it structural characteristics of a specific social formation (class structures, social and cultural codes, normative systems, organizations)? This fundamental question has divided the social sciences into two camps. On the one hand there are approaches focusing on the understanding of actions taken by the individual; on the other hand, we find structural-functionalist approaches concentrating on the determining structures overpowering the players and leaving them little room to manoeuvre. State-of-the-art approaches of social theory do, however, try to conceptualize the context of reference of action and structure as being mutually determined/recursive and, consequently, to treat both levels as having equal status in analysis.

This means that communicative actions, social and symbolic *practices* are not something that happens *within* wider frames of reference and contexts (for example, *in* social *systems*) in a way that micro contexts would take place within macro contexts or be embedded *in* them.

Hence it is not a box system, in which one box contains another. Therefore it is misleading to state that players engage in their actions within structures and systems, and it is equally inappropriate to claim that the individual is a part of society. Symbolic practices do not take place within social systems; instead, they reproduce the latter simply by taking place; the systems reproduced in this way then retroact on the conditions of action. This means that *engaging in an action equals system reproduction*, or in our concrete case, *text production equals system reproduction*.

This argument and approach mean that by only changing the organizational systems, no changes in gender roles would be achieved, and vice versa: by changing gender roles, no significant change of the structures would be achieved. The processes would have to be seen in a dialectical way: both would change each other and would have to be changed themselves (attitudes towards women and men, as well as organizational structures). The gender-mainstreaming project is a first attempt to change some structural characteristics but, in my view, only in a quantitative and not significant way. It might also serve as an alibi action: once more women are just there, one does not have to change anything else. Thus, more (much more) would be necessary to achieve different surroundings for women and men and qualitatively different behaviours and evaluations as well. In text production, the players reproduce the conditions that make text possible. Hence, also Bourdieu (1990) refers to 'structured and structuring structures'.

Taking this argumentation as a foundation, we could interpret the study of reference letters quoted at the beginning of this chapter as clearly manifesting traditional attitudes towards female scholars, which have to be discussed and brought out into the open. Only then might some of the attitudes change and, as a consequence, the letters might change as well and judge female and male scholars with the same criteria. Such an attitudinal change would complement structures, which have already changed in some universities in the USA.

In our second example, the European Parliament, with more equality throughout the Member States, would allow for more female MEPs. In this case, the structures are quite flexible (see examples above), and more women might cause a structural change as well. However, such a change would presuppose a qualitative attitudinal shift regarding female politicians in the Mediterranean Member States of the EU.

Following this perspective Axeli-Knapp (1995) presents five arguments in favour of interdisciplinary research within feminist theory, which would allow some innovative and significant models for new gender

roles in new contexts. Slightly modified, they also fit applied theoretical and practice-oriented linguistics as well as feminist CDA.

1 A historical argument: the clear differentiation and specialization of individual disciplines is suited to solving individual problems very accurately and comprehensively within a specific debate, in 'normal science'; but complex, new problems, such as identity research, racism research and gender studies require more than the expertise of an individual discipline.

2 An argument related to the sociology of science: although competition and careers determine the progress in individual sectors of the traditional canon of disciplines, this progress no longer meets the requirements of the problem areas identified. Last but not least, this implies that new occupational profiles and models have to be developed and accepted.

3 An epistemological argument: longstanding conventions of data gathering, theory formation and validation increasingly prove to be an obstacle in constructing new knowledge. It becomes necessary to transcend old-established modes of thinking. These steps often break taboos and are therefore perceived as threats. Moreover, in an attempt to arrive at a holistic innovation, many specialized details have to be ignored, which provokes the valid criticism of the individual disciplines. Today another 'Leonardo da Vinci' has become impossible, the classical model of the humanist scholar and the example of Humboldtian academia have become obsolete due to rapid technological and social developments. This is another argument in favour of teaming up specialists of different disciplines.

4 An argument relating to the content: co-operative and interdisciplinary research projects become more important, the more complex social relations are. New problems are considered to be of relevance. In many cases this demand is met by resorting to eclecticism and the indiscriminate copying of approaches of individual disciplines.

5 Finally a political argument: critical thinking and critical practices point to new forms of organizations as well as applications of knowledge. Feminists or CDA researchers are of the opinion that traditional organizational structures cannot be respected in this process. It is an open question whether this applies also to other disciplines.

To use Paul Ricoeur's (1992) words, an interpretation of social reality cannot rest before it has shown the way in which 'my world', or 'our world', is always an aspect of 'the world'.

Appendix: transcription conventions

:	A colon indicates an extension of the sound it follows. Longer extensions are shown by more colons.
–	A dash stands for a short pause.
<u>sit</u>	Emphasized syllables, words or phrases are underlined.
(brutaal)	When words are in single parentheses, it means that the speech was very difficult to understand and could not be transcribed with complete certainty.
((smile))	Double parentheses contain descriptions of non- and paralinguistic utterances by the speakers, and noises (such as telephone rings or the clink of glasses).
/	An oblique slash stands for hesitation, a break.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 The *Binnen-I* was proposed as an efficient solution to the problem of writing about both women and men explicitly. In the German language, multiple possibilities exist: pair-forms (writing both the female and the male form), which makes texts much longer and often difficult to read; the use of '/' which is also sometimes difficult to comprehend if more than one '/' is necessary within one word; or the use of the 'I' as an abbreviation for the female and male form. This proposal caused a lot of debate when it was introduced. Meanwhile, people have become used to it.

2 The interviews focused on four general topic areas, which means that although certain topic-related questions were generally included in all interviews (for example, 'What do you feel are the reasons for the rise in unemployment in recent years?'), interviews were sufficiently loosely structured for interviewees to have considerable freedom in developing the topics and steering the conversation as they wished. The main topic groups in the interview protocol, each with several sub-categories of possible questions, comprised:

(a) unemployment, including reasons for, possible solutions to, and perspectives on current employment-related policy-making, especially the Luxembourg Employment Summit;

(b)   the role of the EU organization in which the interviewee works, includ-ing relationships with other EU bodies, the interviewee's own role within the organization, and his or her 'access points', or contact with 'ordinary' EU citizens;

(c)   day-to-day working life, including multicultural issues and the development of documents such as reports, opinions, and so on; and

(d)   the interviewee's personal history, for example, career development, and definition of 'being European'. (In this Chapter, I focus on the construction of gender identities by women throughout the whole interview.)

3. Within argumentation theory, *topoi* or *loci* can be described as parts of argu-mentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Kienpointner 1992: 194).

4. One of three EU youth and education-related programme – Socrates, Leonardo, and Youth for Europe – established in 1995. Leonardo provides financial sup-port for professional development and job training.

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5
Negotiating the Classroom Floor: Negotiating Ideologies of Gender and Sexuality

Kathryn A. Remlinger

Introduction: language, gender, and Critical Discourse Analysis

A brief history of language and gender in the classroom

The school, more specifically the classroom, is a popular site of investigation for researchers of language and gender. Language and gender studies in general, and especially early studies, have often focused on the differences between men and women's speaking strategies, positing these differences as natural expressions of being men and women (for example, Maltz and Borker 1982, Tannen 1990). Studies of classroom talk have typically taken a more critical stance to language and gender by examining power and how it is enacted through speakers' domination of the conversational floor (for example, Spender 1980, 1992; Sadker and Sadker 1990; Swann 1992). In general, these studies find that it is the male students who tend to dominate both whole class and small group discussions through interruption, asides and laughter, among other speaking strategies. More recent studies of classroom discourse approach language and gender as social practices: ways in which people construct gendered identities and practise these identities through their language (for example, Eckert 1989; 2000; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1995; Bergvall and Remlinger 1996; Stokoe 1998). These studies primarily rely on pragmatic analyses of turn-taking strategies[1] such as interruption, questions and conversational development, as well as analyses of phonological variation. Studies of university discourse have also included semantic analyses of pejorative terms for women, which function to reflect and reinforce sexist social structures and ideologies (for example, Sutton 1995).

What's sexuality got to do with it?

No matter which linguistic approach is used, pragmatic, variationist or semantic, most often gender and language research in the context of the classroom and elsewhere examines how encoded meanings and speaking strategies reflect and affect notions of gender from an assumed heterosexual standpoint, excluding ideologies of 'other' sexualities. This exclusion typically happens because sexuality is subsumed within polarized gendered categories of 'woman' and 'man', which are often based on biological characteristics. In other words, gender and sexuality are theoretically interconnected. Ideas about being women and men transfer in theory to assumptions about the body and the physical practice of sex; distinctions that set women and men apart in dichotomous gender categories are based on physical bodily distinctions (Nicholson 1994). For example, the use of seemingly exclusive categories such as 'woman', 'man', 'straight', 'gay', and 'lesbian' gives the appearance that both gender and sexuality are neatly defined, with clear and consistent boundaries. These terms also often reflect a polarized relationship between gender and sexuality, a relationship that reflects hegemonic discourse of gender and sexuality. For example, 'woman' subsumes 'straight woman', and 'man' subsumes 'straight man', neither gender term allowing for reference to sexualities other than heterosexual. This uniform sense of definitions and practices is itself a representation of the dominant sexual ideology that upholds the dualistic notion of either/or: either 'heterosexual' or 'homosexual', either 'woman' or 'man'. In this way most gender and language studies – even those studies from a performative approach – too often serve to maintain dichotomized gender categories and in turn reinforce the assumed heterosexual imperative by ignoring the fluidity of everyday experiences, which calls for different kinds of speaking strategies in different contexts (Bing and Bergvall 1996).

In *Bodies That Matter* Judith Butler (1993) problematizes the absence of sexuality in gender research. She argues that to subsume sexuality under the construct of gender is to presume that sexuality is already constructed, and thus to ignore how sexuality is produced. Just as gender roles are constituted through people's everyday lived experiences and influenced by cultural meanings of what it means to be 'women' and 'men', sexuality is constructed as people enact gender relationships within a framework of what it means to be 'lesbian', 'gay', 'bi', or 'straight', and so forth. Julia Epstein (1990) also uses a performance framework to demonstrate how the uniform sense of definitions and practices is itself a representation of the dominant sexual ideology that

upholds the dualitistic notion of either/or: either woman or man, heterosexual or homosexual. A struggle with these rigid categorizations is reflected in discourse as speakers negotiate what it means to be 'woman', 'man', 'lesbian', 'gay' or 'straight', as we will see shortly.

Critical Discourse Analysis and the negotiation of meaning

Approaching language, gender, and sexuality from a performance standpoint – as fluid and interdependent social practices – fits neatly within the framework of CDA and its approach to language as a socially constituted practice that shapes, challenges and changes cultural ideologies (see Remlinger 1999 for a developed discussion on integrating CDA and practice theory). In the Editorial of *Discourse & Society*'s 1993 special issue on critical discourse analysis, van Dijk (1993a) explains that CDA provides researchers of 'pragmatics, semiotics and discourse analysis [with the means] to go beyond mere description and explanation, and pay more explicit attention to the sociopolitical and cultural presuppositions and implications of discourse' (p. 131).

Critical discourse analysis typically examines a combination of linguistic features to discern how language functions in the reproduction of social structures. Van Dijk (1993b) maintains that because one way of enacting power is to control the context of a speech situation, CDA focuses on a variety of linguistic features that signify power and the legitimization of ideas. These features include the organizational and contextual features of the discourse that restrict speakers and their ideas from being heard and limit speakers' control of context. For example, speakers may be silenced by not knowing about particular cultural values alluded to in the conversation or by speaking in a context, such as a classroom, that limits what speakers might say by the power vested in the particular roles they play: for example, students are often limited to how they respond and what they might say by their relative powerlessness. Analyses also include examination of features of the talk itself, such as turn-taking strategies, meanings, politeness, use of hedges, intonation and laughter. In addition, critical discourse researchers often include analyses of genre, rhetorical style and argumentation to determine the production and reproduction of power and dominance.

Relying on CDA to examine the constitution of gender ideologies in the classroom, this study approaches language and gender from a performative approach. The study demonstrates how students linguistically create, reinforce and challenge beliefs, values, and attitudes about what it means to be women, men, straight, lesbian and gay as they negotiate meanings and uses of the classroom floor. The negotiation of

the conversational floor ultimately is a negotiation of ideologies as certain speakers' turns and ideas are developed and those of others are silenced, as meanings are accepted, developed or rejected. Data from the context of the classroom is particularly significant, for not only do participants – staff and students – typically see the classroom as gender-neutral, but it is also one of those public spaces where participants reproduce and enforce ideology through speaking strategies while, nevertheless, both staff and students generally accept the notion that everyone in the classroom has equal access to participating, learning and shaping the beliefs and values of the group.

My interest in this study is to develop an understanding of the interplay of gender and sexuality and the role of language in constituting ideologies, both to demonstrate that the classroom is not a gender-neutral site and to suggest ways for participants – both students and teachers – to foster change. Thus this research is a way to advocate changes at the university through encouraging in students, staff and administration a critical understanding of language, gender and sexuality; this understanding may foster tolerance and inclusion so that all members of the community may have equal access to participating in and experiencing campus culture.

The study

This chapter reports results of a larger comparative ethnography of two public universities in the Upper Midwest of the USA: one is an engineering school of approximately 6,500 students and the other is a liberal arts and professional school of nearly 18,000 students. The demographic composition of both universities is similar, except with respect to gender. The undergraduate student population at both universities is approximately 90 per cent white and the majority of students at both schools come from the Upper Great Lakes region, with those at the liberal arts university coming mostly from Michigan. The gender ratio at each school is nearly the opposite of the other: whereas the engineering university has an undergraduate enrolment of approximately 75 per cent male students, the liberal arts and professional university has an undergraduate enrolment of about 60 per cent female students.

I have selected these sites not only because of their contrasting gender ratios, but also because of the schools' distinct academic focuses and how these respective institutional practices may affect the constitution of ideologies. Engineering is typically a 'masculine' domain dominated by societal discourses of positivism that include 'objective, distanced'

knowers, 'hard facts' and exclusion of 'feminine' topics such as 'the personal', 'the private' and 'the emotional': all that is classed as 'subjective'. (See Hacker 1989; McIlwee and Robinson 1992; Bergvall 1996 for further discussion of the gendered nature of engineering.) In contrast, 'the arts' are generally perceived as a 'feminine' domain in which competing ways of knowing, the 'subjective' and 'the personal', are typically valued. Despite the contrasts in their curricula, both universities offer courses on gender and/or sexuality from disciplines such as the natural sciences, social sciences and humanities. The offering of gender and sexuality courses is significant for two reasons: one, these courses create linguistic events where gender/sexuality ideologies are negotiated in various ways through class discussion, readings and writing assignments; and two, the courses were designed, in part, to create awareness among students of gender/sexuality issues and thus to foster gender/sexuality equality on campus as well as in the larger world.

The almost reverse percentages of gender on each campus is also significant: I began the study thinking that the higher ratio of women at the liberal arts and professional university would promote a more feminist, or at least less androcentric, atmosphere than that of the engineering university. However, the data prove otherwise in that although sexism manifests itself in different ways on each campus, a similar androcentric, heterosexist ideology is pervasive on each campus. Given this similarity, despite the gender and academic differences, the study asks the following questions: What are students' notions of gender and sexuality in these communities? How do students linguistically construct, challenge and change notions of what it means to be feminine, masculine, lesbian, gay and heterosexual? How are meanings and practices associated with being women, men, lesbian, gay and heterosexual played out with language, and in particular with turn-taking strategies? Do these ways of being and ways of negotiating meaning make a difference to students' access to learning in the classroom?

Data consist of transcribed talk from class sessions over a six-year period, 1991–7. I selected the specific classroom sites because gender and sexuality were a part of course curriculum and/or class discussions. For example, research sites include classes on Literary Representations of Class, Race, Gender and Ethnicity; Milton's Women Characters; Crimes Against Women; and Intercultural Communication. The participants are upper-division undergraduate students.[2] I selected upper-division students for this study because relative to first or second-year

students, generally they have been more thoroughly enculturated into the university community and its practices, and therefore should have a more developed sense of their gender identities and sexual relationships. I triangulate linguistic data with ethnographic data I have gathered from qualitative interviews that I conducted with students, informal and formal small group discussions based on structured questions and in which I was an observer, artefacts such as posters and photographs, and field notes describing my observations as I participated in various contexts on both campuses.

Methods

Relying on principles of CDA, I examine the spoken and written texts in context for their semantic and pragmatic content. As van Dijk (1996) explains, the primary objective of critical analysis of discourse is the study of power and dominance and how these are negotiated through language. Negotiations take place through speaking strategies of:

> 'access': who controls the preparation, the participants, the goals, the language, the genre, the speech acts, the topics, the schemata (for example, headlines, quotes), the style, and the rhetoric, among other text features, of communicative events. That is, who can/may/must say what, to whom, how, in what circumstances and with what effects on the recipients?

> (p. 102)

In addition, because the context of a speech event tends to be the determining factor in participants' use of language (Hymes 1968; Gumperz 1971; Swann 1988), and because I analyse language within a variety of academic contexts, I look for patterns in the semantics and pragmatics of the language cross-contextually to determine what notions of gender and sexuality are negotiated throughout the university community.

Specifically, semantic analyses include examination of descriptions, definitions and pejoratives marked for gender and/or sexuality. I analyse conversational strategies, or pragmatic features, for interruptions, silences, extended development, topic control and evaluation to determine what power relationships exist and how they might indicate gender and/or sexual hierarchies by assessing who is 'allowed' to participate, who is not, what ideas are produced and reinforced, what ideas are resisted, and how various participants do actually take part in

the communicative events that make up the genre, or what CDA refers to as the 'textual form', of classroom talk. In this sense, textual form is the linguistic product of the social event, its speakers, setting and related values, especially the values related to who can and cannot participate, and in what ways. As Kress notes (1990: 90–1), 'Textual form thus becomes a matter of the greatest interest, not simply in itself, but as a means of gaining access to an understanding of social and cultural organization.' I believe that the textual form, in conjunction with encoded meanings, is also an indication of how cultural meanings are constructed, challenged and maintained. Thus, how students use language indicates how power relationships based on gender and sexuality hierarchies are established and played out through language. Below I analyse the function of classroom talk as a means of encoding social and cultural values rather than its structure and form as a specific genre.

Findings

Semantic encoding

As I investigate gendered descriptions in students' language, semantic patterns have developed similar to those in other studies of gender and language in university communities. This study, along with those by Holland and Skinner (1987), Holland and Eisenhart (1990) and Sutton (1995), has found that whereas women tend to be represented in terms of their sexuality and appearance, men tend to be described with regard to their behaviour, intellect and attitude. Yet different patterns have also emerged through the data of my research which reflect notions of sexuality. The data reveal how the valued ways of being women and men are linked to beliefs about women's and men's sexual practices. Furthermore, the data demonstrate that these notions are constantly negotiated, among students as well as within individuals' own thinking.

Definitions and descriptions

In the following example (see the Appendix for an explanation of transcription conventions) we see how semantic encoding works to create a gender ideology that depends on heterosexual ideals. This talk took place in an introductory linguistics class discussion of colloquial naming practices. The discussion begins with the female professor asking students for examples of names for people in their hometown neighbourhoods.

EXAMPLE 1

Don: Yeah, like uh, like I'm talkin with some of uh the um fellas in the neighborhood we refer to women as skeezers.

Prof: As what?

Don: Skeezers.

Prof: Skeezers?

Don: I don't know where it came from. Or uh –

Prof: – Anybody else have that word?

Natalie: [( )

Laticia: [Yeah. And I mean a synonym for skeezer is sack chaser.

Prof: Is what?

Laticia: [Sack chaser.

Natalie: [Sack chaser.

Prof: Sack?

Laticia: Sack chaser.

Prof: Sack chaser.

Natalie: That's it.

Laticia: Gold:: digger,[3] you know.

Don: ((LF)) Watch your language now!

Laticia: But I mean – it's – you know –

Prof: – But what does that mean? That you're looking for somebody – gold digger I –

Don: – Well, somebody that dates somebody for they money.

Laticia: Yeah.

Prof: OK.

Laticia: You might not – I mean –

Prof: – Gold digger is common. I know that one. But skeezer is somebody who ( ).

Laticia: [((LF)) ( )

Natalie: [( )

Laticia: Or a, a person – or a female who doesn't carry herself well. We'll call her a skeezer.

Natalie: Yeah.

Don: Oh, no. We got another word for that, buddy.

Class: [((LF))

Prof: [( ) Would you like to tell me?

Don: It's not appropriate for this type of conversation.

Prof: OK.

Class: ((LF))

What is interesting here is that students give examples of derogatory, gender-marked terms for women when the professor has asked for words that name kinds of people in the students' neighbourhoods. And although they seem reluctant to define the terms when the professor asks for clarification,[4] the students respond with other derogatory terms. Furthermore, the dysphemisms reflect a negative categorization of women based on sexuality and sexual practices: what is appropriate sexual behaviour for women is restraint, 'proper' behaviour, acting like a 'lady', qualities typically not found in 'a female who doesn't carry herself well'.[5]

The gender hierarchy that is reflected in terms like 'skeezer' and 'sack chaser' is also reflected in the label 'chick'. However, unlike 'skeezer', 'sack chaser' and other similar dysphemisms used to label women who do not project normative behaviours or attitudes, 'chick' is typically used to label women who fall within the normative definition of what it means to be a woman: in other words, within an androcentric paradigm of what it means to be a woman. Because 'chick' generally represents what it means to be a woman within a hegemonic framework, 'chick' is commonly not perceived by either male or female speakers as being pejorative, although the term is often used and taken as a form of derogation. Yet 'chick', similar to 'dyke', also functions as a reclamation. 'Chick' is often perceived as a term of solidarity and endearment when used by women to address other women.

In the following example we see how a student has negotiated various meanings and uses of 'chick'. The example comes from a criminal justice class, Crimes Against Women. The female professor begins the conversations by asking students what they have come to understand about gender during the past week.

> EXAMPLE 2
>
> Prof: What about you? Anything happen this week? Any different perspective on things, or:: –
>
> Mike: – Uh, personally, I do ( ) the perspective – I mean (.) I – I don't say 'chick' anymore – I mean that's (.) since last class that's it – I –
>
> Class: – ((Clapping, cheering, laughter))
>
> Mike: I didn't realise it was bad. I wasn't saying it for – to be demeaning.

Here we can see how the student has changed his use of the word 'chick' with respect to his understanding of its function as a pejorative. He apologetically explains that he used 'chick' because he 'didn't realise it was bad' and that he 'wasn't saying it . . . to be demeaning'.

His talk represents the discordant meanings of the term and his own struggle with understanding this. Class members' response reflects an evaluation and affirmation of his new understanding and language use. This example also demonstrates that CDA applied to studies of language and gender can help us to understand how students learn to negotiate traditional gender role socialization as it manifests in so called 'neutral' language which, in turn, influences their understanding of gender.

Euphemisms and reclamations

On both campuses women students are most commonly referred to as 'girls', by both men and women. Like 'chick', 'girl' is perceived by students as neutral or euphemistic rather than pejorative, despite the fact that the terms do not connote especially positive representations of women. 'Girl' is euphemistic when used to refer to female students because it masks their age and sexuality. The use of 'girl' in comparison with the use of 'guy' reflects a gender inequality in which males develop from 'boys' to 'guys' to 'men', and in which females may or (may not) develop from 'girls' to 'women'. (It is also common for other women on campus to be called girls, especially women in support-staff positions.) In this sense, female students have not yet developed, while their male counterparts are in the process of evolving into more mature beings, 'men'. The maintenance of a gender hierarchy based on androcentric ideals is further supported by the fact that there are no comparable euphemisms marked male. Certainly, 'boy' and 'boys' are used, but not as frequently as 'girl' and 'girls'.

'Girl', and especially its variant spelling 'grrl', have been reclaimed by some female students to empower themselves, especially when used within all-female groups. A technical communication major uses the name Danger Grrl in her e-mail signature and as a pseudonym for writing she publishes in a local magazine. She told me that this name was inspired by Riot Grrls, a gynocentric music genre and activist movement among young feminists in the music industry. Danger Grrl also explained that the variant spelling graphically depicts the anger of the oppressed, of women, as 'grrl' has the onomatopoeic quality of a growl. Other all-female groups have also adopted 'girl' as part of their names: for example, Velocity Girl, a modern rock singer/songwriter, and Guerrilla Girls, an anonymous group of women artists who have statistically and graphically documented sexism in New York art galleries and museums (Chadwick 1990). For these women, and others, the use 'girl' and 'grrl' to name themselves and to address other women is an act of resistance against the social construction of a femininity defined by immaturity and powerlessness. In the following example

a student discusses how 'girl' simultaneously constitutes contrasting ideologies of what it means to be a woman. The excerpt is from the criminal justice class, Crimes Against Women. The first speaker, Mark, is asking how often women refer to themselves as 'girl'.

EXAMPLE 3

Mark: How often does it happen just cause I'm not there, that when women are in conversation together like the phrase girl comes up or they're calling each other girl. So as a male // ((Prof: Mmhm.)) would you use the word boy or son? That's demeaning and that's – that's offensive the only time you use it is to offend, to call somebody son or boy.

Prof: Good.

Fran: I think it really depends on [the group of women who are speaking together because generally in society it's <u>OK</u> to use the word 'girl' and it's <u>not</u> OK to use the word 'boy'. So, if you're – if I'm in a group of my feminist friends we <u>might</u> use the word 'girl,' um sort of to reclaim the word? But we're very conscious of it. If I'm at work, my co-workers use the word 'girl' all the time but they use it (.) just because I work with women in a job that has very low requirements, um so to speak, so it's assumed only quote girls can do it. And people call us the ( )room girls and stuff, and my bosses – the doctors I work with. But if I call them on it they still don't understand it. And I'll use the word but only in my circle of friends, with the understanding that we <u>may</u> use the word, if we choose to and we understand <u>all</u> the background behind it.

Prof: [(employ)

Zoë: I think it's also because there's no equivalent to 'guy'. // You [say boy, girl. You say girl, guy. You say man, woman.

Prof: // Right.
       [There's –

Fran: Yeah, no one uses // the word gal.

Prof: // Yes.

Zoë: Yeah, there's no equivalent.

We see in this example how students are aware of the gender hierarchy based on male-centred ideals and how it is supported by the fact that there are no comparable terms with 'guy' marked female. The talk reflects a gender inequality in which, as mentioned above, males develop from 'boys' to 'guys' to 'men', and in which females develop from 'girls' to 'women'. Given that students refer to themselves as

'girls' and 'guys', the use of 'girl' implies that female students have not yet developed, although their male counterparts are in the process of evolving into more mature beings, 'men'. Thus, similar to gender-marked terms such as 'chick', the naming practice of calling female students 'girls' relegates female students to a disempowered, diminutive, non-aggressive, complacent, less mature position. (See Kramarae and Treichler 1992 for a detailed discussion on the uses of 'girl'.) The example also represents the semantic shift of 'girl' as well as speakers' awareness of this shift and how it is affected by speakers' genders.[6]

Another reclamation, common among lesbian students, is 'dyke'. It has been reclaimed by some students to positively name lesbians, to redefine female sexuality, to identify, as well as to empower. 'Dyke' reflects a social category based on gender and sexual practices, which within the contexts such as the student lesbigay organization meetings, tend to be positive attributes (see Remlinger 1997). 'Dyke' has been reclaimed to express the concept of woman as powerful, as positive. As students Carolyn and Diane explain:

Carolyn: A dyke is actually . . . a leader in the community or is active in the lesbian community . . . she has a social role . . . a mentor.
Diane: It's a good thing!
Carolyn: That's right! Because a woman in power here is good!
Diane: A woman in power anywhere is good!

Practices and beliefs such as reclamation, which function to challenge or otherwise modify the status quo, are those that are not legitimated within the dominant value system. Resistance here is a struggle over the legitimate meanings of gender and sexuality. What differentiates these resistant events from those that reproduce an oppressive ideology is their critical element: during resistant events meanings and actions tend to be clearly defined in the attempt to challenge and change normative attitudes and values about gender and sexuality. Resistance is a therefore a conscious action to challenge normative ideologies. These examples of reclamation show how definitions of gender and sexuality are semantically shifted from the perspective of the dominant to that of the oppressed to resist imposed attitudes, beliefs and values. Specifically, 'dyke', 'chick', 'girl' and 'grrl' reclaim the power and constructions of sexuality denied women through the pejorative use of these terms. The semantic shift challenges an ideology that categorizes women according to phallocentric ideals based on physical

appearance and sexuality. The reclamation takes issue with these limiting categorizations to claim that there are ways of being women and ways of practising sexuality other than those defined by status quo.

Pragmatics of discourse

In my analysis of speaking strategies I pay special attention to speakers' uses of interruptions, silences, extended development and topic control. I develop this analysis to explain what notions of gender and sexuality are taking shape within the discourse, how they are produced, and what they reveal about power relationships within the campus communities. For example, a pragmatic analysis examining turn-taking will reveal power structures within the community by showing who is holding the floor, who is excluded from the floor space, and whose ideas are developed or silenced. Julia Penelope (1990) calls this aspect of language a 'universe of discourse' as it specifies roles for members and assigns certain values to members based on their roles and behaviours.

Extended development

Extended development (Bergvall and Remlinger 1996) is a means by which speakers interact with each other, recycle an old topic, or dominate floor space: in short, it consists of ways of holding the floor. In multiple-speaker interaction speakers facilitate talk by expanding and developing each other's ideas, by affirming what others have said, by maintaining the conversational flow, by continuing the task at hand. Extended development in this sense is collaborative, fostering balanced power relationships among speakers. It is what Tannen (1990) calls 'rapport' talk, and from a difference approach to gender and language is typically associated with women's speaking strategies. Conversely, speakers may also use extended development in monologic turns that dominate floor space, thus creating asymmetrical power relationships among speakers. This kind of talk control is what Tannen calls 'report' talk, and is often categorized as a masculine or male form of language use. In this next example, both the collaborative and controlling aspects of extended development are played out as students use the classroom floor space to raise issue with the professor about the relevance of gender, race, class and ethnicity as topics of literary analysis. Through the use of extended development, students contest the resistance to dominant gender ideologies that is presupposed in the theme and objectives of the course, Literary Representations of Gender, Class, Race and Ethnicity.

EXAMPLE 4

Prof: Before we get started with the story, Dave, right?, came into my office yesterday ( ) um and had a question that I thought was important and that I thought would be worth pursuing with the class, at least at the beginning. Dave, do you want to tell them about it?

Dave: Well, I just thought that not all the stories had anything to do necessarily with race, gender, class, or ethnicity and I thought people sometimes just (.) said that because that's (.) the nature of class. And that sometimes you uh, [you (.) you led us down – your questions were leading where you had to answer (.) to one of those themes. I didn't necessarily interpret the story the way you do. That's basically it.

Prof: [These were hard hitting questions. ((LF))

Prof: And, and there's also the issue of deep meaning.

Dave: Yeah, yeah. I didn't think all the stories had some uh deep meaning behind what the author said. A lot of people just uh [( )

Male voice: [Ooh!

Class: [((LF))

Prof: I of course threw David out. {rising then falling intonation signalling sarcasm}

Class: ((LF))

Prof: No, I think these are good questions and I'm sure if you have these questions others do as well. I don't have any answers to these questions but. (.) But you would agree?

Gary: [I agree uh

Mae: [My story I read especially.

Prof: In what sense?

Mae: In the sense of:: I didn't quite see what gender, race, or ethnicity – I mean some of it does. Ethnicity was <u>mentioned</u> in the story. There were several <u>mentionings</u> but how do you <u>tie</u> it together to make an analysis? You know, they have several things mentioned but none of it is <u>emphasised</u> enough to make a point –

Andrew: – What story was this?

Mae: A Wedding for Stella.

Andrew: OK. Yeah.

Mae: OK, now class I can see a bit you know because there was the thing about the husband was rich, Rachel's husband.

	And then they said a little bit about her husband who was a drunk, but (.) but (.) but what point does it make? I mean as far as to write an analysis on it? [( )
Darlene:	[( )
Class:	((LF))
Mae:	[( )
Class:	[( )
Prof:	[OK. Do you have an answer?
Darlene:	No, I don't have an answer. I wouldn't call it that, but what I was going to say is that I think that it's, it's up to each individual because like on <u>some</u> of the stories I've read I felt had more of what this class is about // more than others. Just like the last one we read where everybody wrote their analyses of their friendships – I can't remember the story's name – the last one [( ). Yeah. I just thought ( ) you know that she was just getting to know something different about her, but yet everybody else was like, you know, there was something more [there to ( ). Right! ( ) more to the story than the ( ).
Prof:	//Mmhm.
Mae:	[( )
Mae:	[((LF)) ( ) Mmhm.

Here the female professor and students use extended development to facilitate talk and to hold the floor. What is most interesting is that students are using extended development through monologic turns as well as developing and affirming other students' ideas, to hold floor space specifically designated for the discussion of gender, class, race and ethnicity, yet they deny that it is a relevant issue. Dave in particular holds the floor both to challenge the relevance of gender and to develop other students' ideas. Mae and Darlene, although the content of their turns reveals a challenge to the importance of ethnicity and class in interpreting the readings, also use extended development to draw and affirm as well as to hold the floor. The students' denials function to resist the perspective that gender is a relevant and important issue for study and discussion and that discussing gender issues brings about change, as well as to reinforce a perspective that discounts the relevance of gender in the construction of culture and experience. Reinforcing this perspective maintains notions imposed by the status quo by ignoring, and therefore silencing, notions that may challenge the norming of gender-related ideologies. Gender issues are

simultaneously at the margin and at the centre of campus politics. Thus gender, as a politicized topic on campus, cannot be made an issue without its being silenced by those who wish to marginalize it. And without discussion, ideas that may change perspectives about gender cannot be produced or developed. In fact, the questioning and discussion that comprised this class session led to changes in students' beliefs and attitudes. Over the course of the term, Dave became interested in connections between gender and literature; his final project for the class specifically dealt with representations of gender in several short stories.

Extended development – interacting

In the following example, the female professor uses extended development to help students expand their ideas, to evaluate and affirm what they say, as well as to keep the conversation going. Although the discussion focuses on Samson and Delilah's characterizations, the development of this conversation depends on students' perceptions of gender roles and heterosexual relationships. The talk comes from a humanities class, Milton's Women Characters.

EXAMPLE 5

Prof: How would you describe Delilah, as her reputation? (.) What would be your description of Delilah? (.) I mean the person. Describe her personality, her character.

Kelly: She seems opportunistic.

Prof: Opportunistic? Good.

Kelly: She seems like, well – I'm not sure she is a prostitute, but there's this feeling that you get that she might be a loose woman.

Prof: Yep. A loose woman. A pretty – pretty loose woman. ((LF continues into next sentence)). You might say that. Anybody else? (.) What about her relationship and her feelings for Samson? Um what kind of person would do this? (.)

Joel: ( ) caring for him or (.) or really kind of opportunistic ( ).

Prof: Yeah. It describes about how Samson feels about her, says that he <u>loved</u> and fell in love with a woman in the valley of (Zorich). (.) Which isn't surprising when he's always falling in love with <u>some</u> woman somewhere. But in this case, uh, we <u>know</u> how Samson feels about Delilah, how does Delilah feel about Samson?

Alice: She just used him to get (.) money. ( ) [she's –

Prof: [– Whatever she felt for him was not enough to stop her from doing this. Um, she's usually described in um church literature or commentary as uh a <u>deceiving</u> woman, that's how she's usually the prototype of the deceptive woman. (.) Is she a deceptive person? (.)

Alice: Mmhm

Sandy: She's um ((clears throat)) she asks him over and over again you know what could make your downfall and then every time that he tells her she tries it and it doesn't work. And then she turns it on him saying how can you tell me that you love when you're not telling me the truth. // And so she's deceiving him in that way. [She's not –

Prof: //OK.

Prof: [Why? – Why's she not telling – what – what does she lie to him about?

Sandy: Well, she doesn't necessarily lie to him [but she – tell him what she's going to do, she doesn't tell him what she's trying to do, so she's lying to him in that she's not being honest with him about her actions.

Prof: [Her whole life is a *lie*, right ((LF))?

Earl: ((LF))

Prof: OK. (.) Um. (.) Who lies in this story? Just find actual examples where people lie. (.)

Joel: Samson.

Prof: Samson. What does he lie about? (.)

Joel: He lies to Delilah about ( ).

Prof: He the – he the one who tells more lies than anybody else. Hm? He actually tells the <u>official</u> out and out lie. But we <u>see</u> him – now this is – we see him as somehow justified. Right. I gather that most of you would interpret what he did as somehow being justified. Why is he justified? (.2) Or you know, if he's not the one you think of as being a liar.

Melissa: So that maybe (they would think that he married her). He's kind of a – you know, she's made out to be the evil one and he's kind of be the good one [( ) –

Prof: [– The good guy. He's our hero.

In the above example extended development is used to draw out students, to help them develop their ideas on how Delilah and Samson are characterized. Yet we also see gender stereotypes in these

characterizations: women as deceptive and thus evil, men as justified in their deception, just as promiscuous men are justified in their actions, yet promiscuous women are perceived as 'loose', as prostitutes. In fact the female professor leads into this perspective with her use of 'reputation' in reference to Delilah; the 'reputation' of women tends to refer to the community's perception of women's sexual activity, yet 'reputation' is 'vested in men' (Kramarae and Treichler 1992). A gendered ideology is further developed through the professor's evaluative affirmations of students' responses, with evaluations such as 'Good', 'OK' and 'Yep', as well as with rephrasing and repeating their responses, as in 'Opportunistic', 'A loose woman', and 'the good guy'. The extended development thus acts to not only create notions of gender and sexuality, but to reinforce these expectations and roles.

Topic control

Topic control often represents power 'vested' in a speaker's position as the authority to set the topic. Topic control typically indicates who the dominant participants are and what the agenda of the conversation is (Fairclough 1992). In this sense the topic of the conversation influences the construction of knowledge, ways of thinking. Example 1 above demonstrates how Don, a student, controls the topic as well as the opening and closing of the conversation. His talk shapes the construction of a gendered and sexual ideology: through initiating the specific topic of 'skeezer' and in his taking of the floor, in saying there are alternative terms for women who don't 'carry themselves well', and in closing the topic by not elaborating on the definition of 'skeezer'. Natalie and Laticia support the topic through their use of extended development and tandem turn-taking, to affirm and help develop the discussion of 'skeezer'. Therefore the category of woman as sexual object is not only created through Don's control of the topic, but is also reinforced through Natalie and Laticia's collaborative strategies.

Interruption and silencing

The next example reflects a similar kind of resistance to the negotiation of ideologies through the use of extended development to dominate the floor. However, the more significant aspect of this segment is the use of interruption to hold the floor as well as to silence. This talk is from a humanities class, Intercultural Communication, during a question and answer period of a group presentation on 'homosexuality as culture'. A panel of students from the university lesbigay alliance has been asked to speak as part of the presentation. Frank is a member of the class, whereas Carolyn and Jack are panellists.

EXAMPLE 6

Frank: How do any of you respond to people that – uh – they are
           saying that homosexuality growing in the United States
           because of the – it's a product of our times, with, uh, family
           values and the father figure not necessarily being there
           all the time.
Carolyn: My father was there all the time. I, uh –
Frank: – I just – I mean,
           that's not the way I feel. I just – I think that homosexuality's
           been around – has always been around and uh, I hear
           from my friends and stuff that they think it's growing
           because in the United States, it's – it's a product (.) of
           the times. I don't know what ( ) you've heard.
Jack: That the key family unit – the family unit is breaking
           down?
Frank: Yeah.
Female: So there's more homosexuals?
Professor: Yes! Blame those single parents! {rising then falling intona-
           tion signalling sarcasm}
Students: ((LF))
Male: [No ( )
Carolyn: [I guess – no – they are entitled to their opinion. If they
           do want to engage in conversation about it, uh, you can
           point to all sorts of historical examples. I think what they're
           seeing is more people being <u>out</u> as homosexual // rather
           than <u>more</u> homosexuals. So, that might be a ( ).
Jack: // Yeah.

Interruption here appears to be a form of control. The interruption does
come at a point where Carolyn pauses in her speech, so it may look as
if Frank is not interrupting, but rather following up or adding to his
previous statement. However, it seems as if Frank wants to control what
Carolyn says, to stop her from explaining that she comes from a home
with a father figure and yet is lesbian, which contradicts the point he is
trying to make. When Jack takes a turn to clarify what Frank is asking,
Frank affirms that homosexuality is 'growing' because the 'family unit
is breaking down'. An unidentified female student in turn clarifies the
presupposition of Frank's statements: that the change in family structures
leads to the increase in homosexuality. The professor's sarcastic turn
challenges this notion.[7] Not until eight turns after she's been interrupted
does Carolyn attempt to take the floor again.

As Tannen (1993) and West and Zimmerman (1983) – among others – demonstrate, neither power nor culture alone can be used as interpretive backdrops in the analysis of interruptions. Given the culture of this classroom and the campus community, I interpret the interruption above as a form of control for three reasons: (a) because members of the alliance who were a part of this presentation told me after the presentation that they felt Frank was controlling the floor space in that he did not allow Carolyn to answer his question when she began to give an example that contradicted his claim, and in that Frank relinquished the floor to Jack and agreed with him when Jack reiterated Frank's main point; (b) because Frank's second turn merely restates his first comment; and (c) because Carolyn is silenced by his interruption. Her silencing is not only through Frank's interruption, however; eight turns follow, including a joke made by the professor, before Carolyn retakes the floor. After her response the topic changes with a male student taking the floor to talk about his rejection of Blue Jean Day, a campus event sponsored by the alliance. Both Carolyn and her topic are derailed, thus silenced. The talk here therefore is used to control and silence ideas that do not fit those of the dominant ideology, to affirm heterosexuality as the norm, to limit the participation of 'others' in constituting the culture, and to perpetuate notions of homosexuality held by those who perceive it as 'a product of the times' (thus denying its historicity and existence, although Frank states that it 'has always been around'), as well as a negative result of changing social structures such as the family. Likewise, Frank's talk regulates as well as restricts negotiation of meanings and the floor. In his exclusion of Carolyn's construction of 'lesbian', Frank's talk works to enforce an ideology grounded in androcentrism and heterosexuality.

Conclusions

The data represent the complex interweaving of linguistic features and ideological processes. Various linguistic features – silence, extended development, reclamations, dysphemisms – conjoin in student talk and texts throughout the university to produce, resist, as well as oppose resistance to a multitude of notions about gender and sexuality. These elements of language and ideology might best be conceived as threads that intertwine to continually weave new patterns and even to shape new and distinctive fabrics.

The data also demonstrate that ideologies of gender and sexuality are interdependent. How students believe, value and practise gender in

their talk directly connects to how they believe, value and practise sexuality. Furthermore, this negotiation of ideologies indicates that gender and sexuality are shifting, fluid constructions, constituted by students' daily activities and interactions. Within this fluid construction, however, is an undercurrent of an androcentric and heterosexual world view which fosters traditionally masculine values based on heterosexual relationships. This perspective reinforces the dichotomization of gender roles and expectations, and this further contributes to normative notions of sexuality.

Another thread texturing this complex weave is the interaction of member status and ideological processes. Data from this study suggest that ideological production and reproduction are mainly practised by elites (those members upholding the status quo). Elites tend to have more access to, and thus control and influence, a range of linguistic features. This ability to control the production and function of language enables these members to control a variety of linguistic environments. Van Dijk (1993b: 256) asserts that an analysis of linguistic features 'reveals a rather surprising parallelism between social power and discourse access: the more discourse genres, contexts, participants, audience, scope and text characteristics they actively control or influence, the more powerful social groups, institutions or elites are'.

This parallel seems related to another pattern developing in the study. Results demonstrate that speakers challenge the dominant ideology most often through semantic encoding, whereas they tend to produce and reinforce normative notions through turn-taking strategies. Through the reclamation of pejoratives, for example, students critique the dominant ideology that limits expression in terms of roles and expectations linked with sexuality and gender. On the other hand, students reproduce and reinforce the dominant ideology most often through conversational strategies such as interruption and topic control that function to subvert challenges to normative beliefs through silencing and domination.

The study of student discourse and the constitution of gender and sexuality ideologies is vital to understanding how and why these factors make a difference in the university, how gender and sexuality affect learning and the process of education, how the structure and practices of the university affect students' notions of gender and sexuality, and what difference gender and sexuality make in students' everyday practices. Spender (1992: 236) writes: 'To be without representations of one's experience, to be deprived of an encoded heritage or valued culture is to be oppressed; it is to be existentially denied, to be outsider, invisible,

the other.' If students are treated differently because of their gender and sexual values and practices, then access to the same education is not available to all students. This limitation often occurs through constraints on meanings and through conversational strategies, and therefore through the exclusion from the participation in and constitution of the campus culture for those students not meeting these ideal standards.

Appendix: transcription key

//	utterance boundaries: placed at the end of an utterance when another speaker's utterance interjects (an utterance is the basic element of a communicative unit); typically, places where minimal responses occur; multiple interjected utterances are followed in serial order by the interjections/responses
=	latching speech: placed between utterances with no time gap between them, typically occurs between two different speakers
(.)	pause length placed before utterances; single point in parentheses indicates slight pause; number indicates number of seconds
[	overlap: placed at the beginning of overlapped speech
–	interruption and self-interruption: placed at point of interruption
.	intonation fall
,	holding intonation
?	intonation rise
!	exclamatory utterance
_____	underline marks stressed speech
::	double colon marks lengthened syllable; multiple colons represent prolonged syllable.
(( ))	other voice qualities: that is, ((LF)) laughter, ((whisper)) whisper, ((grunt)) grunt
( )	unclear utterance: unclear segment ( ), good guess at unclear segment (campus)
{}	non-lexical phenomena describing the event: that is, {raised hand before speaking}

Acknowledgements

their readings and feedback of previous versions of the chapter. I am grateful to Tracie Hammontree who collected and transcribed a portion of the data during Spring 1997 and to Valerie Ward for her perspectives on the in-group/out-group uses of the terms 'skeezer' and 'sack chaser'. I am also indebted to the students and instructors who allowed me access to their classes and conversations, and their thoughts and feelings about language, gender, and sexuality; this research would not have happened without them.

Notes

1   See Graddol and Swann (1989) and James and Clarke (1993) for overviews of this research.
2   All participants' names are pseudonyms.
3   During an informal interview after class Natalie and Laticia made the connection between 'sack chaser' and 'gold digger' more clear. In this variety, 'sack chaser' refers to a woman who is after a man for his bag of marijuana, or 'sack', similar to a 'gold digger,' who wants a man for his money.
4   This reluctance to define may be related to in-group/out-group language use: 'skeezer' and 'sack chaser' are words from African American English (AAE). Don, Laticia, and Natalie are AAE speakers, whereas the speaker asking for clarification, the professor, is not. In addition, these students are the only AAE speakers among the 32 students in the classroom. Hence race and ethnicity, in addition to gender, may affect the negotiation of the floor and of the encoded meanings in this particular example.
5   It is also important to note the possibility of the female speakers, Laticia and Natalie, subverting as well as conforming to the dominant norms of the classroom. Laticia and Natalie produce highly 'masculine' and heterosexualized ways of referring to other women, conforming to a dominant norm. Yet, at the same time, the label may work to subvert the conversational frame by topicalising the supposedly private and potentially taboo subjects of sex and sexuality within a public and academic context, just as it may also function to subvert the dominant 'whiteness' of the conversational floor.
6   In Examples 2 and 3 there is also the possibility of students conforming to expected or assumed norms of the class, similar to what may be happening in Example 1. In Examples 2 and 3 it is possible that the male speakers are conforming to what they perceive as the dominant perspective among other students (female) and the professors (female) in the classrooms.
7   The female professor is a single parent of two children.

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6
Performing State Fatherhood: The Remaking of Hegemony

Michelle M. Lazar

Introduction

This chapter[1] is concerned with the politics at work in representations of the modern father. Particularly in contemporary industrialized societies, where women have made considerable strides in the public work arena, there has been a growing visibility and accentuation of men's domestic identity as fathers, giving rise to a 'culture of daddyhood'. Adapting the term from LaRossa (1997),[2] I mean by this the general popularization of the paternal identity. It is not unusual these days to see fathers spending time with their children; pushing strollers in parks, and playing with them. This is particularly pronounced in the media as a common representation of modern masculinity, and is fast becoming a global trend. Governments and political leaders around the globe are not exempt from participation in the promulgation of the daddyhood culture either. In recent years, Britain's Prime Minister, Tony Blair, cradling his newborn, was photographed performing fatherhood, which made it to the front pages of all the British newspapers in May 2000. On separate occasions, Singapore's former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong also publicly performed fatherhood when he shared, in his 2002 National Day televised address to the nation, and again in a speech on the eve of the 2004 Lunar New Year, his own joyful experiences as a father. In the 2004 speech he was quoted as stating: 'as a parent . . . I can tell you that children are worth every cent, every worry, every sacrifice' (Channel Five News, 21 January 2004).

This chapter examines the discursive construction of the daddyhood culture in Singapore through a different kind of endorsement provided by the state, starting in the late 1980s, in the form of a national 'Family Life' advertising campaign. This was a pro-natalist campaign which was

intended to encourage Singaporeans who in general were not having children (or having too few) to embrace parenthood. Consequently, a heightened visibility and popularization of fatherhood was one of the goals of the campaign. From a critical feminist perspective, the spotlighting on fatherhood as a social practice raises some questions for consideration. Do the representations of modern fatherhood, in keeping with social changes, promise an equitable division of labour between women and men as parents and entail a de-gendering of tasks, responsibilities and priorities? Or does the campaign continue to maintain, through subtle and seemingly innocuous ways, gender difference and inequality?

As will be shown, the advertisements in fact manifest the presence of both: fatherhood is enacted in terms of a symmetrical or shared model of parenting as well as in terms of an asymmetrically ordered social practice. These are analysed here in terms of two apparently contending discourses, namely the discourse of egalitarian gender relations and the discourse of conservative gender relations, respectively. I shall argue that the presence of the dual discourses, while indicative of contemporary social changes and tensions in gender relations, also contributes to the remaking of the hegemonic hetero-normative gender order to fit in with the changing times.

The word 'remaking' highlights two important aspects of the concept of 'hegemony' (Gramsci 1971) for this study. Hegemony maintains structures of dominance through constant re-enactment of ideology in and through a multitude of banal representations and interactions. Hegemonic structures are also never static but, in order to maintain long-term acceptance, mutate and adapt over time to conditions of social change and contestation. Hegemonic structures then, paradoxically, are both fragile and resilient. The articulation and complex interplay of the two discourses, as will be discussed in the present study, demonstrate the resilience of hetero-patriarchy.

At the start I mentioned the *politics* at work in (fatherhood) representations. Let me explain what I mean by this. First, representations are recontextualizations of social practices (van Leeuwen 1993); thus they are always political for the choices made in them, such as who/what is represented, or not, and in what ways, in relation to the other? Second, in analysing the representational practices, we are interrogating the power dynamic at work in a particular socio-historical moment: what do the representational choices tell us about the changing (or unchanging) contemporary balance of power between men-as-fathers and women-as-mothers? Whose interests are served by the representational

practices, and whose are suppressed? The focus on power relations between women and men makes the study of hegemonic forms of masculinity an important and necessary site for feminist critique (Canaan and Griffin 1990, Segal 1990; Connell 1995), alongside feminist studies on women and femininity. Third, gender relations and identities in representations and interactions are institutionally embedded and framed. In the present study, this involves the framing of gender, specifically in terms of fatherhood, by the institution of the state, which has a stake in the representational practices and the support (or otherwise) for particular orderings of hetero-gendered relations. The role of the state in (re)shaping a society's gender structure – indirectly or directly (as in the present case) – has been little studied in CDA and feminist linguistics. The present study hopes to redress this lack of attention by showing that the 'politics' involved in gender relations in this case is double-layered. The represented power dynamic between women and men in families at the micro-level ('politics' with a small 'p') is embedded within state interventionist practices that (re)articulate the norms of gender relations in the service of achieving national procreationist objectives ('politics' with a big 'P').

In what follows, the socio-political context of the Family Life advertising campaign is provided, followed by an outline of the key theoretical concepts and analytical categories for a critical analysis of discourse. Analysis and discussion of fatherhood in terms of the dual discourses of gender relations are then presented. The analysis is based on 12 sets of advertisements from the campaign, produced both in print and televisual media, that deal with representations of parenthood[3] (see the Appendix for a brief description of these). The chapter concludes by addressing the dynamic between the two discourses, and how state performances of fatherhood in the advertisements, while seemingly progressive, re-hegemonize the hetero-normative gender order.

The socio-political context

The Family Life campaign is one aspect of the government's on-going efforts, since the 1980s, to reverse the trend of declining birth rates in Singapore. Although the efforts are directed at Singaporeans in general, the better-educated class has been particularly targeted for markedly underreproducing itself in the next generation. The concern with encouraging well-educated Singaporeans in particular to be parents is motivated by the government's eugenic belief that an intelligent gene

pool is vital for the viability of the country's future economic and political survival.

The Family Life advertisements, a multimedia campaign launched on television, newspapers, magazines and buses, was one of the programmes that ran from 1987 until the late 1990s, with the aim of persuading well-educated Singaporeans not to delay marriage and parenthood. The postponement of parenthood and the trend of having few or no children have been due to a number of reasons. The rising cost of living and the intensely competitive work environment in Singapore, notably, have led to the desire for both women and men to be established in their paid careers before starting families. Compounding this is the difficulty women in particular face in having to juggle a career and family responsibilities alone, in a society where childcare and housework have been traditionally considered 'women's work'. Although women in the present generation, especially the better-educated, now expect greater parity in their relationships with their partners, Singaporean men, who have enjoyed the benefits of a culturally bestowed superiority, are generally unwilling to become equal partners (Lazar 1993). Some men do 'help out' in the home, but this has not amounted to a radical redistribution of the domestic responsibilities.

Unsurprisingly, therefore, given a choice between their educational peers and women of lower educational attainment than themselves, tertiary-educated Singaporean men have preferred to marry the latter in the belief that they would make less demanding, more submissive wives. The trend of marrying 'down', however, has caused grave consternation to government leaders, who fear that well-educated women will be left without suitable partners, thereby depriving the next generation of these women's 'smart' genes. Indeed, over the years, a steadily growing number of these women have opted for singlehood, and those who marry have few or no children. Part of the campaign, therefore, has been designed to get men to alter their traditional mindset, for this kind of overtly chauvinistic hegemonic masculinity is seriously costing the nation its future valued gene pool. Getting men to relax their attitudes, it is hoped, will make them more appealing to educated career women and vice versa, and it is hoped that a family-friendly masculinity will move these couples towards having more babies.

Although pragmatically the government recognizes that men's attitudes need to change in order to overcome an impediment towards marriage and having children, the masculinist government – still largely the preserve of conservative men – has been reluctant to initiate radical changes that would seriously alter the prevailing gender order. Indeed,

state public policies (see Lazar 2001 for details) have continued to hold sacrosanct traditional Confucian–Asian values that support men's position as heads of households, and prioritize for women their 'natural' reproductive and nurturing roles as mothers. The tension between the strategic need to change men's traditional attitudes along more egalitarian lines on the one hand, and the reluctance of the government to relinquish the male patriarchal dividend on the other hand, has produced the double-voicedness in the government's rhetoric in the Family Life advertisement campaign.

Interdiscursivity, performativity and masculine subjectivity

Discourse, following Foucault (1972), refers to a set of related state-ments – manifested multimodally through an interplay, for example, of language and visual structures (Lazar 2000) – that produce and organize a particular order of reality, and specific subject positions therein. Discourse makes possible ways of knowing about the world, a sense of who we may (and may not be) within that world order, and how we may (and may not) relate to one another. In the domain of parenthood, this means that there is nothing immanent about the identities of 'father' and 'mother', or in the way relations between them have been conventionally structured. Instead, these are ontological *effects* produced, sustained and regulated in and through discourse. Adopting Butler's (1990: 33) view of performativity, fatherhood and motherhood can be viewed as enforced cultural performances. They are socio-historically contingent, stylized representations quite literally performed in the advertisements through a set of repeated semiotic acts 'within a highly rigid regulatory frame' – in this case, sanctioned by the state – 'that congeal over time' – here, over a period of more than ten years – 'to pro-duce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being'.

Fatherhood representations in the Family Life campaign (this chapter's focus) are located within two specific discourses, which produce two kinds of performed subject-effects. The two discourses, which operate within an 'order of discourse' (Fairclough 1992, *passim*) in the field of gender relations, are a dominant discourse of conservative gender rela-tions and a counter discourse of egalitarian gender relations (Lazar 1993; 2000). Rooted within a compulsory heterosexual matrix (Rich 1980; Butler 1990) based upon the reproductive imperative of the Family Life campaign, the discourses are underscored by gender rela-tionality: that is, ways of being a 'father' or a 'mother' are always expli-citly or implicitly co-constructed in relation to each other (Lazar 2000).

The two discourses, however, structure this relationship in different, indeed (potentially) contradictory, ways. Their difference lies in whether possibilities for ways of being and becoming are equally available and interchangeable between women and men in all domains of social and personal life. The conservative discourse deriving from a traditional Confucian–Asian patriarchal ethic maintains *gender polarity*, whereby women and men each have clear gender-specific roles, responsibilities and prerogatives. The egalitarian discourse, in contrast, taking on board feminist critiques of gender asymmetry, strives for *gender parity* in all aspects of private and public life: indeed, in some instances, there is a breaking down or blurring of the private/public distinction altogether. At stake in the pair of discourses is the balance of power between women and men as they perform their respective parental (and other, careerist) identities.

In terms of fatherhood, the two discourses of gender relations produce dual significations of this identity, thus also setting up relationality between forms of masculinity (cf. Connell 1995): an egalitarian or emancipated father, and a more traditional one. It needs to be noted, however, that within a popularized culture of modern daddyhood, the distinction between the two is not always clear and easy to make. Indeed, different forms of fatherhood seem to merge and unite to constitute the amorphous culture of popular daddyhood. The locatedness of forms of masculinity within particular discourses of *gender relations* (that is, masculinities *vis-à-vis* femininities), therefore, is crucial to the identification of their performances in terms of an egalitarian or a conservative fatherhood. Forms of masculinity, further, intersect with the imperatives of class, sexuality and 'race' in the advertisements. The egalitarian model of fatherhood presupposes an educated (compared to a poorly educated) class of men, cued in the campaign in terms of 'white' (versus 'blue') collar workers, leisure patterns, and local markers of socio-economic status such as ownership of a car. At the same time, the hetero-normative imperative of the campaign requires that a married, heterosexual masculinity is unequivocally performed across the pair of discourses, suppressing the interpretative possibility of a gay fatherhood. Also, in so far as only the Chinese (the majority ethnic group in Singapore) are the key protagonists in the visual images in the advertisements, ethnicity or 'race' is implicated at the outset in the classed and hetero-sexualized representation of masculinity.

In the following section, the two discourses are analysed in terms of sets of representation pertaining to fatherhood that manifest the particular discoursal meanings of conservatism or egalitarianism. Each of the

representations is discussed through an explication of their co-semiotic (linguistic and visual) structures of expression. The framework used for the multimodal text analysis is a systemic-functional one: the study draws on aspects of the grammars of Halliday (1994) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) for the analysis of the linguistic and visual structures, respectively, in the advertisements. The linguistic analysis mainly draws on the ideational (or representational) aspects, particularly in terms of material ('doing'), mental ('sensing'), and identifying relational ('being') processes and their related participant types: Actor/Goal/Beneficiary, Senser/Phenomenon, and Identified/Identifier, respectively. It also draws on logico-semantic relations between clauses, in which one clause extends or enhances the proposition contained in another.

The analysis of the visual images also draws on ideational meanings which, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, are of two kinds. The first is 'narrative', which includes transactional (or dual participants) action and reaction structures. The names of the participant types are similar to those of Halliday's material and mental processes, respectively. Although Kress and van Leeuwen do not include 'Beneficiary' as a participant type in transactional action structures, this is a useful category which I have incorporated in my analysis. The second kind of ideational meaning analysed in the advertisements is 'conceptual', which includes classificational ('type of') and analytical ('part-whole') structures. In addition to ideational meaning, the present study draws on interpersonal aspects particularly in terms of close-up photographic shots, which suggest social affinity; and compositional aspects, specifically in terms of the notion of salience that deals with the images' relative size and sharpness of focus. The analysis of the visual images is supplemented by some of Goffman's (1979) categories in his work on gender advertisements (namely, 'shoulder-holds' and the 'executor' function, both of which will be explained in the discussion below).

Fatherhood in discourses of egalitarianism and conservatism

Modern fatherhood is a complex identity produced out of the dual discourses of hetero-gendered relations. The construction of fatherhood in the egalitarian discourse is first presented, followed by its representation in the conservative discourse. The basic distinction between the two discourses, as mentioned, is one of parity: that is, whether or not there is an equitable, fluid and mutual access to ways of being. In modern industrial societies, the issue of gender parity largely rests on the possibilities available to women and men both within the domestic sphere,

and between the domestic and public spheres of life (namely, between the home/family and paid work/career).

The discourse of egalitarian gender relations

The discourse of egalitarianism in the advertisements is identifiable in terms of two progressive representations: parenthood as symmetrical for women and men; and of men as devoted, nurturing fathers within the domestic sphere. Both are based on constructions of the 'New Man'. This is a type of masculinity that has gained popularity in the Western media since the 1980s, in reflexive response to feminism's critique of traditional forms of masculinity. Although the New Man, as a construct, is generally at home in commercial advertising and popular culture (Chapman 1988), in Singapore – unlike in the West – his beginnings were largely non-commercial. The government's Family Life advertising campaign became the main precursor of such images, following which it became popular also in local commercial advertising. The New Man (in contradistinction to the Old), as will be discussed below, is expressly caring and sharing: as a father, he cares for and nurtures his children, and shares the experience and role of parenting with his partner.

Father as equal parent

The idea of the father as an equal parent is construed through representations of parenthood as identical for women and men. In many instances across the advertising campaign, women and men are collectively referred to as joint participants. For example, in terms of lexical choice the gender-neutral noun *parents* or *parenthood* is overwhelmingly favoured (over the gender-specific terms 'mother'/'motherhood' and 'father'/'fatherhood'). In the choice of pronouns, too, we repeatedly find either the collective *our/we* or the indefinite pronoun *you* (depending on whether the advertisement is presented from the first or second person's point of view). In either case, gender is elided, and it appears to represent women and men alike, as constituting a single undifferentiated unit.

1 It [giving a child a sibling]'s the most precious gift *parents* can give (*Lonely Child* print)
2 Becoming *parents* changes *our* lives completely. (*Something Wonderful Happened* print)
3 As *you* gaze at *your* child, *you* will feel so proud to be *parents* (*Experience The Joy* print)
4 Understandably, *parenthood* is a big decision (*Experience The Joy* print)

As a corollary of being referred to as joint participants, we also find in the above clauses that women and men are represented as sharing a common experience. They are affected by parenthood in the same way and appear to respond to it identically. The representation of egalitarianism expressed in the language structures finds visual support in one of the (print) advertisements. In *Something Wonderful Happened*, the symmetry is striking on two counts. The couple is shown in a joint action process of pushing a baby stroller together in a park, thereby showing that what they are doing is a shared activity. In addition, the couple are portrayed as distributed symmetrically across the picture space (that is, they are at equal distance from each other, and are roughly equal in size and orientation) which, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 88), expresses a covert taxonomic classification process. What this process suggests is that the couple belongs within the *same* category of 'parents', rather than being classified according to the differential and culturally value-laden roles of 'father' and 'mother'.

Commenting on the now widespread use of such gender-neutral terms as 'parenting' and 'parenthood', some scholars have noted that two different but related assumptions underlie their usage (Busfield 1987; Lupton and Barclay 1997). Both of these support the egalitarian thesis put forward in this chapter. The first assumption is that gender relations are becoming more symmetrical (as analysed above), and the second assumption is that men are becoming more involved in the day-to-day care of their children, which is the focus of the next sub-section.

The sensitive New Father

A significant dimension of the modern New Father is the depiction of men as caring, sensitive and nurturing, which is a far cry from 'authoritarian' or 'distant breadwinner' (Pleck 1987, cited in Lupton and Barclay 1997) images of the Old Father of the past. The new breed of fathers is extremely comfortable with infants and very young children, and is expressive of care and emotion, which traditionally were seen to be the prerogative of women and motherhood. As Rutherford (1988: 34) puts it, the New Father 'looks soft and gentle and, what's more, he's not afraid to show it'. Indeed, what makes the New Father a part of the egalitarian discourse of parenthood is its breaking down of dualistic gender stereotypes, and the appropriation (to some extent) of feminine/maternal subject positions. The feminization of fathers, however, is safeguarded against connotations of more general effeminacy within the heterosexual matrix of the advertisements. Nurturing fathers are

represented within the context of the heterosexual nuclear family (Lazar 1999), thus maintaining the 'masculinity of the heterosexual husband' (Hammerton 1996) and father, while at the same time precluding a gay parent identity.

In the campaign, the 'emotionally literate' New Father (Chapman 1988) is strongly represented, especially in interactions between men and their newborn babies. The portrayal is jointly realised by visual representational structures as well as compositional structures. In terms of the visual representational structures, three characteristic features of tenderness and emotional bonding are evident: cradling, intently gazing and sweetly smiling at the baby. Cradling is a transactional action structure whereby the man (Actor) carries the infant (the Goal) gently in his arms. However, the cradling, at the same time, is indicative of an analytical structure that represents a compound relationship between the man as Carrier and the baby as an Attribute, which is visually seen as an extension of him. Coupled with cradling are the reactional structures of smiling and gazing upon the infant in his arms.

Compositional structures, moreover, frame these performances in ways that heighten their emotional value. Close-up shots are especially deployed for this purpose. So, for example, a close-up in one advertisement (*Your Family is Your Future*) focuses on the facial expression of a young father, who gazes lovingly and smiles almost tearfully, overcome with emotion, at his infant. In another (*Something Wonderful Happened*), there is a close-up shot of a large male hand holding the very small hand of a baby to the accompaniment of the following reiterated adjective in the lyrics '*tiny* fingers, *tiny* toes'. Emphasizing the contrast in the size of the two hands, and the gentleness of the touch, evokes a heart-tugging quality of the father's sensitivity *vis-à-vis* the baby's vulnerability.

The tender, nurturing role of the New Father in these representations approximates so much stereotypical constructions of motherhood that, in a family shot in *Your Family is Your Future*, there is a reversal in the positions occupied by the father and the mother in relation to their baby. In contrast to conventional representations in the advertisements of the mother carrying the baby and the father protectively wrapping his arm around her shoulders (Goffman's 1979 'shoulder-holds'), in this particular advertisement, it is the father who is shown cradling the baby, with the mother's arm around him.

The Sensitive New Father is constructed not only visually, but also linguistically.

1 it was only then, as I took her [the baby] into my arms for the very first time and looked down into her tiny, perfect face that I realized my whole life had changed. (*Your Family is Your Future*, television)

2 They're [My children are] my life and my future. They are my hope, my strength. The reason I can carry on. (*Collage Advertisement*, television)

In these extracts we find an emotional response to the experience of fatherhood. (The first example from *Your Family is Your Future* is the verbal equivalent of the visual structures on gender reversal analysed above.) They are both expressed from the first person point of view (*I*, *my*) and stress (via repetition of *my life*) that the lives of these men are profoundly affected by children (note the material processes: *had changed* and (*can*) *carry on*). Whereas the impact is succinctly encapsulated in the first of these advertisements via premodification '(my *whole* life)', this is elaborated over a series of identifying relational processes in the second advertisement, in which the father devotedly identifies himself wholly with his children.

More generally, too, many of the advertisements show fathers to be highly visible and actively involved in family life. Apart from representations of men as Actors in the visual structures, the men are depicted also in analytical terms. To take just one example, in the (television) advertisement, *Why Build Your Career Alone?*, we are presented with various snapshots of a father playing a board game with his family, sitting alongside his son and watching him do schoolwork, and sitting with his family gathered around him. In all these scenes, the man and the other characters are represented as parts that make up 'the (whole) family'. Such a representation invites an interpretation of egalitarian gender relations, for here is a man who is portrayed as very much involved and part of the everyday family scene.

The discourse of conservative gender relations

Concurrently there is an overwhelming presence of the discourse of conservatism in the advertisements that maintains gender asymmetry in the construction of parenthood. Although within the general culture of daddyhood promulgated in the campaign fathers here remain highly visible, the paternal identity is qualitatively separate and unequal from the mother within the conservative gender order. The gender asymmetry is analysed on two levels: (1) the gender-differentiated roles performed by men-as-fathers in the domestic sphere; and (2) the generally unproblematic nature of men's negotiations between their domestic and professional identities as father and careerist, respectively. (For details

of the asymmetrical representation of women-as-mothers in the advertisements, see Lazar 2000.)

Father as gendered role model

Systematic representation of gender role differentiation is evident in the home front. Fathers are mainly depicted in executive (functional) roles, realized in transactional action structures. The role of the executor, as Goffman (1979: 32) has noted, is typically performed by men and not women in representations where the two are co-present. In the Family Life campaign, it is fathers who are solely represented as the Actors operating such equipment as cameras and camcorders in family situations:[4] making a video recording of their sleeping infant (*Something Wonderful Happened* television); setting up the self-timer function in a camera for a family shot (*Because That's Your Family* television); or photographing their children at play (*Precious Moments* television). These representations seem to draw on the stereotypical assumption that men are technologically more able (or at least more comfortable with mechanical equipment) than women and, within the family context, mark an aspect of the father's domain of expertise. So for instance, in the *Precious Moments* advertisement, we are shown the mother handing over the camera to the father for him to take a photograph of their children playing together, instead of snapping the shot herself, which signifies gender-differentiation in the performance of tasks and expertise.

Fathers-as-executors extend to their interactions with children. In the campaign, fathers are commonly represented with sons (cf. Lorber 1994) and, in these interactions, men are shown in various ways directing their young sons in gendered play and behaviour: for instance, showing the son the mechanics involved in the operation of a toy train (*Because That's Your Family*, television), and teaching the boy to ride a bicycle (*Kids Make You See*, television). Even where the father is not in an active instructor or executor role (that is, as Actor), there is a powerful representation in one of the advertisements (*Fam, Fam, Fam*, television) of a boy learning gendered behaviour nonetheless from his father through observation and imitation. The father, shown leisurely reading the newspapers with his legs widely crossed, becomes the Phenomenon (or object) of his son's avid gaze, and his body posture and activity are directly replicated in the boy's subsequent actions. The boy's emulation (Phenomenon), in turn, does not go unnoticed by the father (Senser), who smiles approvingly to himself. In this way, the father is still shown very much in the executive role, only this time directing indirectly. As noted by Pleck (1987, reported in Lupton and Barclay 1997), who

undertook a historical study of fatherhood in America, all these portrayals seem to support the more traditional, 'sex role model' type of fatherhood, which pre-dates the New Father.

The Fun Daddy

Apart from the executor representation above, fatherhood (compared to motherhood) is largely construed in terms of fun and physical play. While the representation of men's involvement with children in this way is undeniable – indeed, some would consider the playful dad part of the New Man trope (Chapman 1988; LaRossa 1997) – it is asymmetrical in so far as the performance of gender roles and relations is concerned. Fun, play and popularity appear to be the prerogative of fatherhood and take centre-stage. The latter means that there is greater frequency in the portrayal of men's activities with children, and these appear prominently in large shots (for example, *Fam*, *Fam*, *Fam* in print, and *Kids Make Your World Brand New*, also in print). Moreover, father–children interactions typically centre on leisure rather than on intensive day-to-day care-giving activities. This is indicative of differential under-standings of care that apply to fathers as opposed to mothers. 'Care' where mothers are concerned is depicted in terms of giving support and undertaking mundane chores and responsibilities such as towel-drying children, cooking for the family, encouraging and applauding children's efforts, getting the children dressed and preparing them for public events, and watching over their safety (*Fam*, *Fam*, *Fam* and *Because That's Your Family*). These tasks, moreover, are rendered unremarkable in the advertisements and taken for granted as the work mothers 'naturally' do. 'Care', when it comes to fathers, however, is understood purely in terms of fun and relaxation.

The popular 'fun dad' representation, realized mainly through trans-actional action structures, depicts fathers as Actors and their children as Goals or Beneficiaries at or for whom the father's physically affectionate behaviour is directed. For example, a father is shown ruffling his son's hair, tickling and playing with him, nuzzling and kissing his children, and making funny, playful faces at them (*Kids Make Your World Brand New*, *Kids Make You See*, and *Fam*, *Fam*, *Fam*, all on television). In some instances, there is a role reversal, where fathers are the recipients and the children are the Actors. In one such case, three young children (Actors) sitting on their parents' bed playfully pillow-fight their dad (Goal), who good-naturedly receives the mock blows (*Fam*, *Fam*, *Fam*, print).

The playfulness of dads is also significant in portraying them as 'one of the kids', or from the point of view of the children as 'one of their

buddies', which accentuates the father's popular appeal. For example, in the same advertisement (*Fam*, *Fam*, *Fam*, television), the father and children are united in their role as Actors, who conspire to 'steal' and eat biscuits from the kitchen counter; these biscuits are freshly baked by the children's mother. The representation of being 'one of the kids' is especially well expressed via a classificational (covert taxonomic) process. Preceding the biscuit-stealing shot, the father and children are identically represented as they place their heads, totem-pole style, one on top of the other in a symmetrical vertical composition. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 81) have suggested that 'For participants to be put together in a syntagm which establishes a classification means that they [are] judged to be members of the same class and are to be read as such.'

An empirical account by one scholar posits that the Fun Daddy performance which captivates children's attention so much may actually be motivated by 'the pressure to perform as a male', in competition with the mother (Kraemer 1994: 206–7). Apart from what this suggests about the father's relationship with the mother, the performance has implications that are problematic in regard to children as well. It has been noted that fathers who frequently plug into the playful mode are likely to encourage gender stereotypes in their children (Poster 1981, cited in Kraemer 1994). Furthermore, notwithstanding fathers' genuine loving feelings towards their children, the enactment of the popular role, as Kraemer (1994) notes, does not help fathers learn to look after or be mindful of the needs of young dependent children. In a beach setting in one of the advertisements (*Fam*, *Fam*, *Fam*), for example, the father is shown simply clowning around in the water with his children, leaving the mother (who witnesses the interaction, although she is excluded from it) to watch over the safety of the youngest boy by holding firmly on to his float.

Father as the family head

Representations of gender role differentiation – whether in terms of men's executive role or their 'Fun Daddy' role – are not merely about functional difference but, rather, are implicated in asymmetrical power relations. This is perhaps most striking in representations of fathers as heads-of-households. In *Why Build Your Career Alone?* (print and television) this is indicated by the central position occupied by the father in relation to members of his family. Such a shot demonstrates an exhaustive analytical structure, whereby the two adults and three children are parts (or 'Attributes') that altogether comprise 'the family' (the 'Carrier'). However, although the father is one member of the family (and one of two adults), he is represented as the most salient – literally the

central – figure, flanked by his wife, who stands partially hidden behind him, and his children who encircle him in the front. Furthermore, other portrayals of him in relation to his family represent him as a Carrier himself, with members of his family represented as *his* Attributes. This is clearest in examples involving shoulder-holds, where the father is shown with an arm around the shoulders of his family members. Although shoulder-holds may be an affectionate gesture, at the same time they can connote an asymmetrical (Goffman 1979) and, in this case, also a specifically proprietal relationship. In one scene of *Why Build Your Career Alone*, the man has an arm around the woman, which defines her in relation to him as *his* wife, and in another scene, he has an arm around a little boy, which defines the child in relation to him as *his* son. Shoulder-holds are a common enough gesture found also in other advertisements where men are represented with their families (for example, *Experience the Joy*, *Because That's Your Family*, and *Kids Make You See*).

NEGOTIATING THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE SPHERES

In this section, the focus is on how men are represented as able to negotiate between their identities as fathers and careerists. In contrast to the advertisements that address women on motherhood, those directed at men about fatherhood construct a world in which fathers, basically, can have it all without significant tension.

The 'Cool' Dad

In some advertisements family life and paid work life are represented as co-existing harmoniously for men: that is, the identities of father and careerist are reconcilable without one compromising the other. This is one sense of the term 'cool', an Americanism for 'no problem' or 'everything is fine'. In fact, as the discussion will show, there is another stronger sense at work, too; namely, that 'it is positively great' to be a dad because he remains the family's central focus (a carry-over from his popular, fun daddy image).

The compatibility between the identities of home and workplace is enacted by bridging representations of men in the public and private worlds. The portrayal of men in the public realm of work is signalled by their attire (long-sleeved shirts and ties): that is, men here are seen as Carriers whose professional identities are inscribed upon their bodies, and (optionally) also in terms of the representation of an office setting. Although the men, in these instances, are seen primarily in their professional capacity, their identity as fathers is quite easily co-enacted. This is explicitly the case in two of the advertisements, *Why Build Your Career*

Alone? and *Fam*, *Fam*, *Fam*, where the words *for dad* handwritten on a gift box and *Dad* written in icing on a birthday cake, respectively, are displayed in the foreground. Both the choices in lexis – the dimunitive form 'dad' (for 'father') – and the represented materiality of the wording by hand, using crayon (on the gift box) and icing sugar (on the cake), signify the affectionate informality of the private sphere. The men are shown in turn, via transactional actional or reactional structures, as claiming the identity of the private sphere. In *Why Build Your Career Alone?* (television) the man is shown lifting the gift up from his office desk with a smile. In *Fam*, *Fam*, *Fam* (television) the man, still in his office attire, is represented peering through the kitchen doorway of his home and being pleasantly surprised by a birthday cake being prepared for him by his family in his absence. The direction of his gaze forms a vector linking him (in his professional identity) to the cake with the words *Happy Birthday Dad* written on it.

The construction of the 'Cool' Dad, for whom the two spheres are entirely compatible and his negotiation between them relatively stress-free, is striking when compared to the message to women for whom the negotiation is fraught with tension. In the following two examples from an advertisement that addresses women (*Babies and Careers* print), the two spheres of life are subtly set up as co-existing contentiously:

1   I'm really excited about parenthood, but I also love my job.
2   How will you divide your time between the kids, housework, and the office?

In 1, the use of the adversative conjunction sets up a presupposition that the two interests are conflictual. The asking of the question in 2 also conveys a presupposition: namely, that it is an extremely difficult juggling act, and that the need for time management between her public and domestic roles is a concern that is unique to her alone as a woman (since no indication is given of sharing the tasks with a partner). Note also the order of the list presented: *the kids/parenthood* precedes *the office/my job*, which comes last, suggesting an implied order of priority prescribed for mothers (but not fathers).

Father as beneficiary
Further to the representation of the unproblematic co-existence of family and career for men, men's careers are represented as positively enriched by family life. This stands in stark contrast, again, to messages communicated to women, whose career development is curtailed on account of their family, and the cultivation of a maternal other-centredness that

finds self-fulfilment in constantly giving, rather than receiving (see Lazar 2002 for a detailed discussion).

Fathers, however, are construed as beneficiaries. It is not only the case that, as we saw, fathers are showered with gifts and birthday surprises from their family members, but that having a family is construed as positively benefiting their personal and career development. In two of the advertisements *Why Build Your Career Alone?* and *Your Family is Your Future*, the family is portrayed in instrumental terms as bringing about certain personal qualities deemed necessary for men's professional success. In the following clauses, the selection of material processes (in 1–4) and causative constructions (in 5–7) systematically represents family life as a helping, enabling agent, and men, for their part, as the recipients: the ones who stand to gain:

1 Family Life helps (*Why Build Your Career Alone?* print)
2 It also provides stability, encouragement and support (*Why Build Your Career Alone?* print)
3 It's broadened my horizon (*Why Build Your Career Alone?* television)
4 It gives you a direction, a purpose. And most of all, it gives you a future (*Your Family is Your Future* print)
5 . . . a happy, well-rounded Family Life makes people wider in their outlook (*Why Build Your Career Alone?* print)
6 Family Life has made my life really good (*Why Build Your Career Alone?* television)
7 [It has] made me more stable, understanding and less selfish (*Why Build Your Career Alone?* television)

Men are also represented as active participants, but in clauses with mental processes. These convey men's response to the benefits they have received from having a family. The self-revelatory construals by means of the mental processes indicate the positive transformation family life has had on these fathers:

1 I've *learnt* a lot (*Why Build Your Career Alone?* television)
2 And it was only then, as I took her [the baby] into my arms for the very first time and looked down into her tiny perfect face that I *realized* my whole life had changed. (*Your Family is Your Future* television)

All these personal benefits accrued on account of having a family translate directly into men's professional success. Herein lies the

represented instrumentality of men's involvement in family life: namely, that it enables the preservation and development of their own career interests. This is raised pointedly in *Why Build Your Career Alone?* (print) where, after outlining the usefulness of family life (see examples of clauses above), the advertisement closes with the rhetorical question that presupposes an affirmative response: 'Isn't that what you need for a successful career?'

Another way that family life is construed as having an instrumental effect upon men's careers is that it is shown to imbue the pursuit of a career itself with greater, tangible meaning. Consider the following excerpt from *Your Family is Your Future* (television):

> Now for the first time, I seem to have a direction and a purpose (clause 7)
> *And* I know what I'd been working for all my life (clause 8)
> Not for money or status (clause 9)
> I've been working for the future (clause 10)
> *And* here in my arms was the future (clause 11)

Here, by means of the conjunction 'and' (used twice), the instrumental link between family life and work life is established. On the first occasion (clauses 7 and 8), fruits of family life (*direction* and *purpose*) are causally linked (by *and*) to the realization of the significance behind the pursuit of a career. On the second occasion (clauses 10 and 11), the new realization concerning his career is tangibly reinforced in terms of the baby in his arms. The depiction of meaningfulness of one's career in this way, in fact, may be viewed in relation to what some scholars have suggested about conventional styles of fatherhood: namely, that men tend to translate their new responsibilities as fathers in terms of an increased commitment to (paid) work (Burgoyne 1987), which reinforces their traditional breadwinner role.

The absent father
Where there are admissions that a man's career commitments may compete with his paternal identity, this is rendered as expected and understandable. The following are two verbal examples from the *Collage Advertisement* (television):

1 even though my work takes me away, when it comes to joy and dreams, my children are the key.
2 even though my work takes me away, my children are my hope and joy supreme.

The concessive (conjunctive) adjunct at the beginning of the clause complexes sets up a presupposition that fathers would be away on account of their career, and that this in itself is hardly surprising. Further, the choice of the material process ascribes to *my career* an agency of its own, positioning the man as the unwitting Goal, ineluctably 'taken away' on work. The remainder of the clause complexes, moreover, appears to compensate the absenteeism by representations of effusive declarations of the importance of his children to him. Through the rhetorical strategy adopted in these clauses, absenteeism of fathers is accepted and forgiven and not seen as a censure on men to balance their twin roles better. This is different for mothers, who are constantly reminded to self-regulate and strike a balance between family and career:

1   One of my major concerns right now is *balancing* family and career. But I have friends who have shown me that it can be done. A lot of Singaporean women are making that choice, too. (*Babies and Careers* print)
2   And along the way, *balancing* what's best by making the right choices and practical decisions. (*Babies and Careers* print)

The need for balance, furthermore, is represented in terms of choices and decisions that mothers (and not fathers) are obliged to make. Note that *choice* in this conservative discourse does not connote freedom or the availability of a range of options; on the contrary, it suggests that women are not at liberty to pursue a career and a family anyway they like, but are constrained to select very particular options (which, according to number 2 above, are deemed 'the *right* choices').

Further, the representations in the examples above on fatherhood (from the *Collage* advertisement) are one-sided: we are told of the effect children have on the father, but not the effect of his absence upon them. The latter is borne out by Phoenix and Woollett's (1991) observation that the literature on fatherhood rarely deals with the impact that fathers' frequent absences on account of their careers have on the development of their children. Father-blaming, in other words, is non-existent, whereas mothers are held directly accountable for their children's development and behaviour, and constantly risk blame (Woollett and Phoenix 1991; Nicholson 1993; Lazar 2000).

Conclusion

The presence of the dual discourses of gender relations in the national advertising campaign is indicative of the contemporary social space

that Singapore occupies and negotiates: namely, between the competing forces of traditionalism (hence the discourse of conservative gender relations) and progressivism (hence the discourse of egalitarian gender relations). The principle that underpinned the analysis of these discourses was *relationality*: how fathers were represented *vis-à-vis* mothers. In so far as the egalitarian discourse was concerned, there was an evening out of expectations and responsibilities between women and men in the home. Representations of gender-blending worked to redress compartmentalized gender stereotypes; fathers had an active, nurturing presence on the domestic front, which has traditionally been the preserve of mothers. In the case of the conservative discourse, asymmetries in representation of fathers in relation to mothers came into stark relief. It is worth noting that were it not for the use of the interpretative principle of gender relationality, the asymmetries in the advertisements would have remained largely opaque and the representation of the modern father alone would have seemed unproblematic, even sometimes quite commendable. The politics of representation thus entails relative *presences* and *absences* organized along gendered lines. This is fundamentally an issue of power as possibilities for ways of 'being' or 'becoming' are unequally available to men and to women, and the inequity – here sanctioned by the government – benefits one group at the expense of the other.

Although the Family Life campaign manifests two apparently contradictory discourses of gender relations (one based on parity, the other on polarity), their co-articulation in the advertisements, interestingly, does not produce (inter)discursive dissonance. For one thing, although there are some egalitarian elements, in terms of proportion these are outweighed by the prevailing co-presence of the conservative discourse, which as a result helps mute the challenge posed by egalitarianism. More importantly, the 'brand' of egalitarianism supported in the campaign is itself far from subversive for it does not seriously undermine the conservative project. Indeed it is an egalitarianism which can be accommodated and/or displaced by conservatism. Further, the conservative elements of the discourse are rendered 'natural' and 'normal', and the gendered asymmetries and polarizations are sugar-coated in light, fun and heart-warming images of the 'family man'. The interdiscursivity, therefore, shows how hegemonic gender relations – and, specifically, hegemonic forms of masculine identity – can change and still remain dominant by reflexively incorporating discourses that challenge their hegemony.

The shifts and alliances between the discourses consequently produce not two single competing masculine identities, but a complex, hybrid one. The egalitarian representations make culturally acceptable a visible and active role for fathers: that is, such involvement is no longer considered 'unmanly' or anomalous. At the same time, the co-existence of the conservative discourse keeps intact the basic gendered labour of parenting. For instance, while the representation of equal parenting presents an ideal of gender symmetry, the overlaying of the conservative discourse (as shown in the analysis) glosses this over with the unequal, gendered work that continues. The notion of sharedness becomes tricky, as it can easily slip into an interpretation of gender role complementarity whereby the functions performed by fathers and mothers are rendered 'different but equal'. From a feminist perspective, such a view is problematic since it overlooks the systemic arrangements in society that maintain not just dissimilarity, but a hierarchically dichotomous gender order. It is necessary, therefore, to be critically circumspect on the meaning of 'sharing': what and how much is shared, and what this sharing entails for fathers and for mothers.

Also the New Man, central to egalitarian fatherhood, is an ambivalent creature. Some feminists (for example, Ehrenreich 1984) are sympathetic towards the New Man, whom they favour as a welcome alternative to prevailing forms of hegemonic masculinity. Many others, however, are deeply sceptical, noting the disjuncture between the media idealization of the New Man and men's actual contributions to everyday childcare and housework in reality (Segal 1990; Nicholson 1993; Lorber 1994). While popular notions on the role of modern fathers are generally changing so that men are expected to (and expect themselves to) enjoy children, there is still little substantive redistribution of parental labour. A world-wide study on childcare performed by fathers some years ago showed that although fathers may be involved in some aspects of care, when it came to taking practical responsibility for children – that is, constant mindfulness and the labour-intensive work involved in caring for children's emotional, social and physical development and welfare – this was typically left to mothers (Lamb 1987, cited in Lorber 1994). As shown in the analysis of the the Family Life campaign, this allowed fathers to step in and out of their parental obligations, since the underlying assumption was that mothers by default would always be around for the children.

This hybrid entity is a politically-correct (PC) form of masculinity; 'political correctness' here read both as reflexively progressive, albeit in a

limited superficial way, and as the identity approved and made normative in the advertisements by the government. PC masculinity gets the best of both worlds with little significant cost to men. Indeed, as the analysis of the discourses has shown, fathers stand to positively gain personally and professionally from their families, even though their type of involvement with children is rather limited. The interdiscursivity further indicates that men can perform their fatherhood role on their own terms: they have the option of being more involved, or less; or being active some of the time, and opting out at other times. Men, in other words, are not tied definitively to their identity as fathers in the same way mothers are.

PC masculinity (or specifically, PC fatherhood) is a make-over undertaken for the benefit of well-educated Singaporean women. On the one hand, women are assured that men still are 'real men' in the traditionally valued sense (for example, as dependable provider) but, importantly, on the other hand, they come in a progressive and emotionally developed packaging. For this class of women in particular, the New Man is ostensibly well matched for, as noted in the scholarly literature, he too is a middle-class phenomenon, and is believed to hold the greatest promise as would-be partners and fathers (Griswold 1993, cited in Lupton and Barclay 1997; Nicholson 1993). Yet, ironically, the same studies have shown that this class of men is also most likely to subsequently disappoint their partners because of their minimal domestic involvement. Where the same Family Life advertisements work to persuade women to become (m)other-oriented, it is assumed that the women will pick up men's slack in the homefront, as mothers 'naturally' will be the primary care-givers. In other words, the hegemonic gender order and, specifically, hegemonic masculinity, are pragmatically re-made in superficially progressive terms 'for the good of the nation' (Lazar 2001), without disrupting the still culturally and politically ratified balance of power between Singaporean women and men.

Appendix

The following is a complete list of the advertisements referred to in this chapter, the majority of which appear in print and televisual versions. A brief description of each is provided:

Why Build Your Career Alone? (print and television) Family life is positively represented as boosting a man's career by providing him with invaluable support and stability.

Precious Moments (print and television) Snapshots are shown of three young children (siblings) happily playing together, while their parents warmly look on.

Lonely Child (print and television) An only child is pictured sitting amid many toys, yet looks sullen. In the television version, he visibly cheers up when his mother brings home a new-born baby, a sibling for him.

Experience The Joy (print and television) Married couples are advised on the benefits of starting a family while they are still young.

Fam(ily), *Fam(ily)*, *Fam(ily)* (print and television) A family is engaged in a number of leisure activities, in which the father is prominently portrayed performing a popular and playful role, while the mother performs a supportive role and takes care of the less popular chores.

Because That's Your Family (print and television) Three young children in a family are engaged in a series of collaborative activities, which delights and evokes a sense of pride in their parents.

Your Family is Your Future (print and television) The advertisement depicts the emotional experience of a young new father. As the man holds his infant in his arms for the first time, he realizes that from then on his whole life takes on a new meaning.

Kids Make Your World Brand New (print and television) The advertisement puts together a collection of individual shots depicting many different children, some of whom are represented on their own, while others are with a parent.

Kids Make You See (print and television) A family of five is represented enjoying fun, active, leisure activities together.

Babies and Careers (print only) Presented editorial style, this is as a personal account of a young married woman, who is considering motherhood. She describes how balancing a career with maternal responsibilities is achievable.

Then Something Wonderful Happened (print and television) This is a narrative of a newly-wed couple, who start drifting apart on account of the demands of their respective careers. The husband decides that having a baby would save their marriage.

Collage Advertisement (television only) This is a special compilation of shots of men-as-fathers, selected from an archive of previously aired Family Life advertisements.

Notes

1   An earlier version was presented in the 'Masculinities in the Plural: Discourse Analyses of Men's Identity Performances' panel at the 8th International

Pragmatics Association Conference in Toronto, 13–18 July 2003. My thanks to Scott Kiesling, the discussant, for his feedback on that paper.

2   The culture of daddyhood, for LaRossa (1997: 139) refers quite specifically to the playful aspects of American fatherhood documented in the early half of the twentieth century. My use of the term extends beyond the play aspect, and refers more broadly to what I consider to be a rising global trend in fatherhood constructions towards the end of the last century up until the present century.

3   Most of the 12 advertisements were produced both in the print and televisual media; the total number of actual texts analysed is 22. I do not have permission to reproduce the advertisements. Because of space constraints, I am not able to provide full (multimodal) transcripts of the 22 texts, and have opted instead to provide brief descriptions of them.

4   The depictions support an early American study by Chalton (1975) cited in Goffman (1979), which reported that 'the male head of household used the camera most of the time'.

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Part II

Emancipation and Social Citizenship: Analyses of Identity and Difference

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7
Choosing to Refuse to be a Victim: 'Power Feminism' and the Intertextuality of Victimhood and Choice

Mary Talbot

Introduction

> The refusal to be a victim does not originate in any act of resistance as male-derived as killing. The refusal of which I speak is a revolutionary refusal to be a victim, any time, any place, for friend or foe . . . so that male aggression can find no dead flesh on which to feast.
>
> (Dworkin 1976: 71–2)

Viewing violence as 'male-derived', Andrea Dworkin stresses that resistance to it must itself be non-violent. Male violence against women has always been a key concern of feminism, though the extreme essentialism of Dworkin's position is disturbing. Physical violence, or the threat of it, is an obvious and crude way of wielding power. In patriarchal societies, it is used to dominate and control women. Second-wave feminism has exposed the massive scale of violence against women, generating in particular a growing awareness and concern about domestic violence (for example, Dobash and Dobash 1980).[1] The constant identification of women as victims is, to put it mildly, depressing. Indeed, victim status can be damaging, as research on female sexuality has found: 'If women increasingly view themselves entirely as victims through the lens of the oppressor and allow themselves to be viewed that way by others, they become enfeebled and miserable' (Vance 1992: 7). Among those feminists who have spoken out for the need to refuse victim status is Dworkin. The 'refusal to be a victim' she has in mind is non-violent, a matter of 'repudiating our programmed submissive behaviors' (Dworkin 1976: 72).

In this chapter I consider the curious intertextuality of victimhood and choice. Viewing individual texts as constituted from an indeterminable number of intertextual chains of relation with other texts, I examine the co-optation of feminist discourses in the USA by the National Rifle Association (NRA). I think it is important to keep track of the transformations and mutations that feminism undergoes. We need to be sensitive to the ways feminism is perceived outside the academic world, to be aware of how it is being appropriated and, especially, *mis*appropriated. This particular study has developed out of a wider interest in feminism in advertising. Feminism in the marketplace is always of the liberal variety (except in parodies: see Talbot 2000). Liberal feminism in the marketplace has both provided a justification for self-indulgence ('Because I'm worth it') and transformed a politics into a lifestyle accessory. Here I continue to explore this notion of commodified feminism, of feminism as a lifestyle accessory. I attend to promotion for the ultimate 'empowering' commodities for women, namely firearms. My aim is to provide not sophisticated abstractions or analytical density but a form of clear, accessible critical analysis.

Intertextuality

The term intertextuality expresses a sense of blurred boundaries, a sense of a text as a bundle of points of intersection with other texts. Originally coined by Julia Kristeva in her introduction of the work of Mikhail Bakhtin to the Western academic world in the mid-1960s, it asserts heterogeneity as a fundamental property of discourse (Bakhtin 1981; Kristeva 1986). The view that heterogeneity is not only possible but ubiquitous can be found in CDA. It is accompanied by an interest in relations between texts (for example, Kress 1985; Lemke 1985; Fairclough 1989; 1992; 1995; Threadgold 1989; Talbot 1990, 1995). Critical discourse analysis is unique in the importance attached to a focus on intertextuality (Wodak and Meyer 2001).

While Foucault does not use the term intertextuality, something very like it is central to his *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972). For example, a necessary condition for any statement is an associated field of other statements. It can only exist in connection with other statements that it repeats, opposes, comments on, and such like:

> The associated field is made up of all the formulations to which the statement refers (implicitly or not), either by repeating them, modifying them, or adapting them, or by opposing them, or by commenting

on them; there can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualise others (ritual elements in a narrative; previously accepted propositions in a demonstration; conventional sentences in a conversation).

(Foucault 1972: 98)

The most obvious kind of intertextuality is in verbatim or near-verbatim repetition. When, for example, one text is quoted explicitly in another, there are clear and explicit thematic, functional and structural connections between the two so that the intertextual chaining can be easily seen. In a less explicit but equally deliberate way, literary allusion involves reference to an earlier text by reusing a fragment of it. These were the main usages of the notion of intertextuality in textlinguistics in the late 1970s and early 1980s (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1980). The concept has also been used to address which texts 'go together' and how they do so. There are many different bases for intertextual relations; according to Jay Lemke, for example, generic, thematic, grammatical and functional relations between texts are the 'basic interlocking modes of intertextual connection' (1985: 281). For Lemke, intertextuality is a generalization for the 'connectivity' between texts. Intertextuality is presented as:

an important characteristic of the use of language in communities. The meanings we make through texts, and the ways we make them, always depend on the currency in our communities of other texts we recognise as having certain definite kinds of relationships with them: generic, thematic, structural, and functional. Every text, the discourse of every occasion, makes sense in part through implicit and explicit relationships of particular kinds to other texts, to the discourse of other occasions.

(Lemke 1985: 275)

Broadly speaking, Lemke uses intertextuality to express both a typological kind of relation between two texts and a relation of one text to a specific previous one. Absent from this early account of his is *discourse*. We can add discourse to his list of kinds of basis for an intertextual connection, using this term, in its Foucauldian sense, to refer to some social construction of reality: a body of historically constituted knowledge and practices which may be associated with a particular institution, or group of institutions.

Texts, then, may be generically, discursively, thematically, structurally and functionally linked. These are complementary kinds of connection,

not exclusive ones. For example, advice-giving texts as a genre set up a particular kind of social relation between source and audience; many printed advisory texts consist of numbered or bulleted points, a common organizational structure of the genre. These interpersonal and textual elements of the advisory genre may both establish an intertextual relation. In addition, a particular *theme*, say safety advice, may link texts. Alternatively, two texts may be very different in theme, interpersonal relations and textual organization, but be linked by a *discourse*; for example, feminism. In the discussion that follows in a later section, I consider intertextual links forged in a public relations campaign by the NRA to align itself with a discourse of feminism. Before going on to this discussion, however, I need to provide background details.

The National Rifle Association and gun control

The NRA is a powerful political force in the USA. It was set up in 1871 to 'protect the 2nd Amendment' of the Constitution ('A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed'). Until 1992 the NRA was highly successful in blocking attempts to set up gun-control laws. Its politics are Republican; its biggest, richest supporters are arms manufacturers; its traditional support base is men in rural areas. The rural base is diminishing, however. Hunting, a traditional leisure pursuit, is in decline; this decline is exacerbated by a continued drop in the rural population. Since at least the early 1990s, the gun lobby has been looking around for ways to replenish its membership. In seeking support in other areas, such as among assault weapons enthusiasts, the old base may be further undermined (Dahl 2003). In 1995, shortly after the Oklahoma City bombings, the NRA suffered a big loss of membership (including the then President Bush) after one of their newsletters referred to federal agents exercising gun-control law as 'jackbooted thugs' (Brady Center 2002). After the attacks on Manhattan and Washington on September 11 2001, ever quick to play on fear in order to promote their pro-gun agenda, they accused Canada of responsibility for the attacks, claiming that Canada's more restrictive gun laws 'contributed' to them (First Monday 2001).

In 1992 the first Clinton administration passed the Brady Bill. This limited federal legislation imposed a degree of control over the purchase of handguns. It was signed into law in November 1993, requiring a background check on prospective buyers during a five-day waiting period. Though the background check requirement was repealed four years later, this law was nevertheless a milestone for gun control at

a national level and the first of several key successes on the part of campaigners for gun control legislation, prominent among them being the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, a major opponent of the NRA. Since then, other legislation has followed (for example, a federal Assault Weapons Ban came into effect in September 1994) and the Brady Campaign's following has increased (Brady Center 2002).[2]

In 2000, opposition to the gun lobby was very prominent in the media, partly as a result of demonstrations collectively labelled the 'Million Mom March', which took place in Washington and other American cities. In the same year another gun-control movement was launched; currently the two biggest agenda items for 'First Monday: Unite to End Gun Violence' are the promotion of a code of conduct to govern the business practices of weapons manufacturers and dealers and a demand for an end to deceptive firearms advertising. The NRA now presents itself as beleaguered by 'the anti-gun mainstream media' (*Women of the NRA* 2002: 11). However, after the 2002 elections, the gun lobby is a formidable political presence that dominates the federal government, despite widespread grass-roots opposition. A new NRA magazine, *Woman's Outlook*, launched in January 2003, claims 170,000 female NRA members (Mehall and Smith 2003: 32). While this figure is probably inflated, it does suggest some success in developing a new support base.

Firearms for women

According to Naomi Wolf, 12 million women bought a handgun in the 1980s (1993: 216). Though this figure has been dismissed as unsubstantiated propaganda on the part of the gun manufacturers, Smith & Wesson (Brady 2002), Wolf presents it as a big increase in firearms-ownership among women and sees it as a manifestation of 'the unlabeled power feminism of women in the American mainstream' (1993: 217). Of course, the gun-toting woman is not entirely new, either in fact or in fiction, and firearms are big business in the USA. Whether or not women actually do constitute a larger proportion of the firearm-buying population than previously, the gun-carrying woman is on the increase in advertising and in the industry's market projections. There is now a range of small-frame handguns designed for women (for example, Smith & Wesson's Lady-Smith, first marketed in 1989, or the Beretta Tomcat reviewed in *Women & Guns*, March 1997). A whole range of products is available for women carrying guns: handbags with concealed gun pockets and steel-reinforced straps; outer clothing designed to conceal a weapon; even 'concealed-carry' underwear. Handguns are sometimes advertised as up-market fashion

accessories; Davis Industries, for example, run an advertisement that Sarah Brady describes as follows: 'The headline . . . reads "Precious Possessions . . ." and shows four handguns, along with a pearl necklace, a diamond bracelet, and two one-hundred dollar bills peeking out of a leather purse. The light that reflects starlight off the diamonds does the same for the handguns'. (Brady 2002: 2). Women are now favoured for modelling firearms in catalogues. A catalogue called *The Blue Press* is advertised with the help of a smiling, feminine machine-gunner. *The American Rifleman*, in which these advertisements appear, is the official magazine of the NRA.

There is a monthly firearms magazine specifically for women, *Women & Guns*. Its covers have seen fictional gun-toting women such as Sarah Connor from the *Terminator* films, and both Thelma and Louise from the film of the same name, as well as non-fictional female users of firearms. It presents women as capable, self-sufficient and serious. Though the publication is now owned by the Second Amendment Foundation, it started life as a humble newsletter independent of the gun lobby, which is some indication of a grass-roots interest in gun ownership among women in the USA. *Women & Guns* articulates a kind of liberal feminism preoccupied with women's achievement of independence and self-empowerment through weapons ownership. Its contributors express concern for autonomy and determination to take responsibility for their own safety. Rejection of victim-status is explicit in early issues of the magazine: 'I made my choice: I will not be a victim' (cited in Wolf 1993: 217). Wolf calls this 'power feminism'.

Victimhood and choice

The gun lobby in the USA often makes an association between gun ownership and good citizenship. Like their male counterparts, American women are now addressed as responsible gun-carrying citizens. An association of police officers and members of the public, known as the Law Enforcement Alliance of America[3] (LEAA), ran an advertisement in *The American Rifleman* that reads as follows:

> Helpless Victim or Responsible Citizen?
> LEAA Defends your Freedom to Choose
> NOT To Be a Victim!

This text accompanies two cartoon-like drawings, rather like 'spot the difference' pictures, and appears to be addressing women. Both drawings

depict a woman with two children being approached by two thugs. In one the family is cowering in fear, menaced by the thugs (armed with one baseball bat between them). In the other the mother is drawing a gun from her bag; it is the villains who look fearful. Put this way, being a victim is something a woman brings on herself, and her children, as a consequence of irresponsibly not carrying a weapon.

The NRA itself addresses women too. As a political force it is Republican and hardly known for its feminist activism, yet it reiterates a feminist slogan in its *Refuse to Be a Victim* campaign. This campaign began as part of a massive public-relations exercise after the Brady Bill. When the bill went through, in 1992, the NRA's public image had never been worse. It set about a transformation into 'the New NRA' (Sugarman 1994: 43) with the considerable help of a small number of ambitious female members (probably most of all by Marion Hammer, who became the first woman NRA president, 1995–8). In rewording Dworkin's much quoted noun phrase, the NRA appropriated feminist discourse. It has recently laid legal claim to the slogan by registering it (at about the same time as the launch of a range of *Refuse to Be a Victim*® merchandising). Needless to say, the slogan itself is the only connection between this campaign and Dworkin's pleas for 'refusal to be a victim' back in the 1970s. What Dworkin was advocating was predominantly a change in attitude, certainly not the use of weapons; the NRA is by no means a feminist organization. At the time, Betty Friedan denounced the campaign as a 'false use of feminism' (Stone 1994: 3) and Nita Lowey, a Democrat Congress member, identified it as 'a thinly veiled attempt ... to promote gun ownership by preying on women's legitimate fears' (Beck, Glick and Cohn 1993: 22).

The NRA's *Refuse to Be a Victim* campaign began in 1993 (a year after the launch of its *Eddie Eagle Gun Safety Program*, aimed at children, for which Hammer is credited (Mehall and Smith 2003: 33)). Piloted television advertisements in Houston, Miami and Washington played on women's fear of assault: 'they showed a woman – actress Susan Howard of *Dallas* – looking terrified as she and her young daughter walked through a dark underground garage' (Stone 1994: 3). Subsequent television, magazine and internet advertisements presented the following testimonial from the same actor: 'Like you, I've felt the fear of being female in a society where violence against women is commonplace. That's why I decided that I refuse to be a victim, and why I'm active in the NRA' (Susan Howard, actress, women's issues activist and one of the Women of the NRA).

The advertisements also offered 'personal safety' advice to women in two main formats. In seminars where women develop their own

'personal safety plan', free advisory sessions were, and continue to be, offered. They also offer an advisory brochure on home and personal safety. The promotion of gun ownership is not central to either of these advisory texts, though the NRA's current anti-legislation campaigns are presented in the seminars. The advice sheet – providing '42 Strategies for Personal Safety' – was available online throughout the 1990s and could be obtained in printed form until late 2001.[4] For the most part, this brochure provides standard advice as offered by police authorities and social services in the USA and elsewhere: 'strategies' include sensible suggestions about fitting secure locks and other security devices, planting spiky bushes under ground-floor windows and not leaving the house key under the mat. Some emphasis in the initial television and magazine advertising was placed on lack of pressure to buy firearms, though gun ownership was presented as a constitutional right:

<div align="center">

What You'll Get
And What You Won't
When You Call.
. . . You will not be encouraged to own a gun, or asked to join the
NRA, to get the help you need.
Refuse to Be A Victim.
Call 1-800-861-1166 Now.

</div>

. . . The NRA does not advocate firearm ownership. We only advocate your constitutional right to choose whether to lawfully own a gun. And if you choose to exercise that right, to help you do so safely and responsibly. In the past decade, an estimated 12 to 20 million American women have purchased firearms for personal protection. If you're among them, it's essential you take advantage of training the Women of the NRA offer you.

Number 42 of the strategies in the advice brochure involves, finally, *thinking about* buying a gun. In it, gun ownership by individuals is again presented as a constitutional right:

Firearms, **A Personal Choice**
42. **Make an informed choice about firearm ownership**. Firearm ownership is a deeply personal and profound decision. NRA does not promote firearm ownership. We only advocate your constitutional right to choose whether to lawfully own a gun. For women who do choose to exercise that right, NRA offers information on

the pros and cons of ownership, types of firearms, legal issues, and education and training for responsible use and safe storage of firearms with children in the home.

Compare the passages above with the following, part of a full-page advertisement placed in the *New York Times* in 1989 by the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL):

ON JULY 3, AMERICANS LOST A FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTY.
Now it's up to you to win back your right to choose.
The Supreme Court's ruling…has given politicians the power to intrude on the most personal decision an American can make – whether or not to have an abortion.

(quoted in Cameron 1992: 119)

Both iterate the phrase: 'right to choose'. Like the NRA, NARAL is an articulate supporter of women's 'constitutional right to choose'; but, in NARAL's case, it has been so since its inception in 1969. Their early promotional material is now hard to locate, though it has not changed greatly; in a 1998 press release, for example, NARAL asserted that 'Doctors – not politicians – should decide what is the safest procedure for a woman exercising her constitutional right to choose' (23 March 1998). The NRA texts contain phrases familiar from the discourse of pro-choice, a rhetoric devoted to protecting 'a woman's right to choose'; in launching its *Refuse to Be A Victim* campaign, the NRA co-opted a discourse of reproductive rights circulating in the same period. But, of course, rights and choices are at the heart of American political rhetoric; as one of NARAL's oldest slogans says: 'The freedom to choose: A fundamental American value'. The two organizations, politically different as they are, co-exist in the same political order of discourse, so that they draw on similar themes and share a fund of rhetorical resources. However, it goes beyond a shared emphasis on the right to choose, as shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1   NARAL and NRA

NARAL	NRA
• your right to choose	• your constitutional right to choose
• the most personal decision an American can make	• a deeply personal and profound decision
• a woman exercising her constitutional right to choose	• for women who do choose to exercise that right

Deciding whether to have an abortion is, according to NARAL, 'the most personal decision an American can make'; similarly deciding whether to go out and buy a weapon is, according to the NRA, 'a deeply personal and profound decision'. The issue of gun ownership is no longer a civic, social one: it is now a personal matter. And not only is it personal, it is also profound. The NRA's re-presentation in feminist terms of their central tenet (that unrestricted weapons ownership is a constitutional right) might almost be a parody of pro-choice campaigns.

It is not only pro-choice discourse which has been appropriated; the NRA's point-by-point 'personal safety plan' recommendations also mimic safety plans that were circulating in the same period for preventing battering and harassment, produced by the crime prevention divisions of police departments, by women's shelters and by crisis counsellors (see, for example, Crites 1992). Like the recommendations of these organizations serving the interests of victimized women, the NRA offers sensible, commonsense advice in a familiar generic format:

Home Security
. . .
9. **Plant 'defensive' shrubbery around your home**, **especially beneath windows**. Bushes that feature thorns or stiff, spiky leaves are not good hiding places for criminals.
10. **When moving into a house or apartment**, **always change or re-key the locks or have the tumblers reset**. Otherwise, the previous resident – and anyone they supplied keys to – has unrestricted access to your home.

Like other advisory texts, the 42 Strategies for Personal Safety are presented as a sequence of unmitigated directives, each one followed by an explanatory statement. The advisory brochure speaks from a position of benign authority, as a bestower of valuable information for women beneficiaries. The key differences are these: the NRA's Number 42 (under the heading: '**Firearms**, **A Personal Choice**'), their anti-gun control campaigning, their overall purpose (a prolonged, costly public relations exercise) and, not least, their financial backing: the arms industry.

So, by means of near-verbatim repetition, the NRA promotional material articulates a feminist discourse based on 'personal choice', 'decision', 'freedom', 'rights' and, not least (picking up on weariness with victim status), 'refusing to be a victim'. It articulates a kind of liberal feminism that is clearly useful for arms manufacturers, as well as for the NRA's own membership drive. The NRA's campaign is helping to open

up a whole new market, by setting it up as a defender of women. The *Refuse to Be a Victim*® campaign is now in the NRA's 'Women's Programs department' alongside its sister campaign, *Women on Target*™, which promotes game hunting for women. Industry sponsors include Beretta USA, Browning and Remington, among many others (*Women of the NRA* 2002: 3). Given the NRA's commitment to opposing all legislation and restriction on firearms – even when explicitly intended to protect women from abusive men – it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that its feminist pose is a profoundly hypocritical one. US figures relating to domestic violence are phenomenal, yet the NRA is committed to blocking all attempts at gun legislation; for example, it tried to prevent the passage of a federal gun law, passed in 1996, dictating that any person convicted of domestic violence cannot own a gun. Instead it continues to present guns as empowering commodities, and it continues to prey on women's legitimate fears in order to tap into a new potential market. According to the NRA, legislation is not empowering but repressive. Power resides in the unrestricted circulation of a simple commodity: firearms.

Conclusion

The NRA's campaign urging women to 'choose to refuse to be a victim' is tapping into the notion of women fighting back, resisting victim status. A woman wielding a weapon has certainly (if I may paraphrase Dworkin) repudiated any submissive behaviour she may have been programmed into, but the personal empowerment given by firearms can hardly be what Dworkin had in mind. It presents a personalized and commodified notion of power: a 'power feminism' that offers empowerment through gun ownership. If there is feminism here at all, it is a kind of liberal feminism preoccupied with women's achievement of independence and self-empowerment through weapons ownership. It stems from women's entirely justifiable concern for autonomy and from their determination to take responsibility for their own safety and that of their children.

The *Refuse to Be A Victim* campaign has a curious intertextuality. It uses other genres and texts that articulate feminist discourses on women's safety, rights and choices. There are the intertextual links in the NRA's co-optations of the advisory genre and themes of personal safety and domestic security from women's support networks. It is offering help to individuals on the one hand, in the form of advice on how to survive in a violent environment, while simultaneously remaining committed to blocking legal reforms that attempt to tackle the violent environment itself. Its alliterative slogan: 'choose to refuse to be a victim', with its

partial repetition of phrases from other political arenas, produces improbable alignments with both liberal and radical feminist discourses. Pro-choice supporters assert choice as a citizen's *right*. Since the rights of the individual are at the centre of NRA rhetoric, this is easy for it to plug into, despite their considerable political differences (the gun lobby's right-wing constituency is certainly opposed to women's reproductive rights (or 'pro-life')). Links like these are easy enough to make, but superficial. The links that such fragments of texts forge give the NRA a mantle of feminism that is ultimately an illusion. It is simply one more appropriation of left-wing rhetoric by the political right (as parodied in the film *Bob Roberts*, featuring Tim Robbins as the eponymous protest-singing Republican senator). Platitudinous remarks about rights and choices mean nothing outside the specific social and historical context in which they are produced and interpreted.

The distinction between rhetoric and reality is at best elusive. If we lose sight of it altogether, however, we risk also losing sight of any political engagement, which is why CDA practitioners insist on it (for example, Fairclough 2001). The thematic and generic links themselves are real enough: the repetitions of slogan-like phrases, the positioning as benefactor in the use of the advisory genre and the articulations of safety issues taken up elsewhere. They pull in feminism as part of their associated field, establishing the NRA as a champion of women's rights, but any discursive links that are implied with feminism are tenuous in the extreme.

Notes

1   This is not to say, of course, that earlier periods had not addressed violence against women. In Britain, for example, violence against women in the home was identified as a problem as early as the 1870s, during the first wave of feminism. An influential pamphlet, *Wife Torture*, produced by Frances Power Cobb, led to the Matrimonial Causes Act in 1878 (Tuttle 1986: 31).
2   This campaign takes its name from Jim Brady, press secretary to Ronald Reagan, who was shot at the time of the attempted assassination of the President in 1981.
3   This organization was launched with the NRA's financial assistance in 1991 (*Mother Jones*, 1994).
4   It has been replaced by a *Refuse to Be A Victim*® *Student Handbook*, available for NRA instructors to buy through their online store, along with keyrings, pens and other merchandising.

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8
Interdiscursivity, Gender Identity and the Politics of Literacy in Brazil

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Introduction

Disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and history have debated gender relations in Brazil. If we take sociology, there has been a recent discussion about the redefinition of men's and women's social roles. Over the past years, I have examined gender identity in the context of adult literacy. In this chapter, my aim is to discuss the results of my study conducted in two different adult literacy programmes in Portuguese as a mother tongue. Based upon CDA, I investigate voice and interdiscursivity in three different genres, focusing on the ways in which women's identities are textually mediated in a context of social change. The analysis indicates a co-existence of old and new identities among women across three generation groups, suggesting the need to discuss identity in relation to difference.

The tradition in studies of language as a form of social practice (discourse) has been influenced by Bakhtin's (1986) concern for voice, intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Voice is the language which identifies a particular group, while intertextuality can be defined as the voice of another in a text (for example, in reported speech). According to Fairclough (1992), interdiscursivity is the articulation of fragments of different genres in discourse. In this view, a genre is the language associated with a particular activity or social occasion (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 49).

In this chapter, I analyse women's identities in the following genres: (a) newsletter texts in a community adult literacy programme; (b) a discussion of advertisements in one adult literacy class of this programme; and (c) interviews with women learners in another adult literacy programme. The chapter will focus on genre analysis, mainly on the issue

of the articulation and recontextualization of genres and discourses within changes in the order of discourse (Fairclough 1992; 2000; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). In my analysis, I will be concerned with elements of texts which are (re)articulated in the three genres, and which constitute gender identities in the context of the co-existence of old and new ways in gender relations.

Language and gender identity

The definition of women's and men's social roles has been debated in Brazil by sociologists, such as Bandeira and Siqueira (1997). There have been changes in gender relations: women now take up positions (which were previously associated only with men), in the workplace, politics and in other social domains. No doubt women have become visible social actors; however, the issue of equal rights is still an issue to be debated. In fact, there are ambiguities in women's gains in relation to civil rights. Such ambiguities are part of ideological struggles in social practices, which are to a certain extent constituted by language as a dimension of the social (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999).

In order to examine the co-existence of old and new ways in gender relations and the ideological construction of gender identity, previous studies of language and gender are inadequate. These studies can be classified as: (a) speech and silence; (b) the Whorfian view; (c) dominance; and (d) difference (Cameron 1990: 3–26). The speech and silence view deals with the absence of female voices from prestigious genres in rituals, social institutions and creative art (Cameron 1990: 4). The Whorfian view, adopted by Spender (1980), claims that the grammatical and semantic categories of different languages organize our representations of male and female in such ways as to codify male as positive and female as negative. In addition, this view advocates that the reason why these languages are sexist is that they are 'man made', excluding women from the process of naming. The dominance view[1] is concerned with different styles of language used by women and men. Lakoff (1975), a leading scholar associated with this view, suggested that women's speech is characterized by such aspects as overpoliteness, qualifiers, 'empty' vocabulary and trivial meaning. Lakoff wrote from a feminist perspective, but her view of a feminine language is based on 'a tradition of comment on sex differences' which is 'blatantly anti-feminist' (Cameron 1990: 23). In a more positive interpretation, the difference approach explains the difference between women and men in the ways language is used as a cultural manifestation, since women

and men are brought up differently (Berger and Luckmann 1967; Maltz and Borker 1982).

One of the limitations of these studies is that they do not develop a 'coherent theory' of language and gender (Elgin 1982). However, as Cameron notes, it is 'pointless' to consider this now, for both are highly contested fields. Neither feminists nor linguists agree on the meaning of gender and language:

> Most of those who work in the field of language and gender are not able or willing to regard the issues at stake from a disinterested distance. Even if one accepts that researchers are never totally disinterested, gender is a particularly problematic case. For feminists, a great deal is at stake: our identities and our deepest beliefs about the world.

> (Cameron 1992: 213)

Therefore, Cameron rightly proposes to open up the discussion rather than 'closing down prematurely this crucial area of debate' (1992: 214).

In order to problematize the debate about language and gender, I propose to consider these notions from a CDA perspective. Other scholars who have adopted the same perspective include Caldas-Coulthard (1999), Walsh (2001) and the contributors to this volume.

This chapter's theoretical focus is on interdiscursivity in genres and on gender identity. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 13), interdiscursivity is 'inherent in all social uses of language', but particular socio-historical conditions 'create particular degrees of stability and durability', and 'particular potentials for articulating practices together in new ways'. In this sense, interdiscursive analysis is part of a model based on an attempt to integrate structuralism and constructivism: Chouliaraki and Fairclough consider discourse as 'a moment in social practices and as a form of social production', taking a constructivist focus on 'social life as produced in discourse' and a structuralist focus on 'the semiotic (including linguistic) and non-semiotic structures' (1999: 48). Thus, in drawing upon critical social science, CDA considers the aim of analysis to be the 'dialectical relationship of objective relations and structures' and the problems and conflicts of the lifeworld (1990: 30). This relationship is part of interdiscursivity, as subjects draw upon different and often contradictory discourses in discourse production, interpretation and consumption.

An instance of interdiscursivity in gender discourse is the co-existence of a traditional discourse which constitutes women's identities in the

private sphere (the home) and new gender discourses in which women identify themselves with work and politics. In a study of women's proposals to the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, both identities are found (Magalhães 1991; 1995).

In his discussion on interdiscursivity, Fairclough (1992: 124) refers to such terms as genre, style, register and discourse. Fairclough's caveat is that such terms should be used cautiously, while acknowledging that 'they enable us to pick out in our analyses major differences of type between the elements of orders of discourse which we might otherwise lose sight of'. I am particularly interested here in the notions of genre and discourse. I locate interdiscursivity in genres and discourses in orders of discourses, which mean the totality of discourses in an institution or in a society. According to Foucault (1996: 9), the production of discourse is organized, controlled and distributed by procedures which conjure up the power and danger of words, and exercise surveillance over what is uttered, in what circumstances and on those people who are entitled to utter it.

My motivation for the study of genres and discourses is that both are sites of changes in gender identities. Fairclough notes that one strength in the Bakhtinian view of genre is that it allows us to consider both the constraints on social practices by conventions and 'the potentiality for change and creativity' (Fairclough 1992: 126). A genre refers to particular text types and to social processes of text production, distribution and consumption. Traditionally, genres represented identities as essentialist, mediated by stable textual conventions. Bakhtin's famous quote refers to this historical dimension, viewing genres as 'the drive belts from the history of society to the history of language' (1986: 65). Fairclough advocates that changes in social practice are both manifested in the system of genres of a language and in part constructed by such changes.

Identifying oneself with prestigious genres in public domains can be highly indicative of changes in women's identities. Both Hall (2000) and Giddens (1991) have linked changes in identities with globalization, viewed as the extension of free markets world-wide and the cultural dimensions of these economic changes. As a result of this, the idea that identities are open to change is quite accepted today, even in countries such as Brazil, which have been highly constrained by traditions from the influence of Portuguese Catholic-based colonization.

For women, having an identity (such as that of a writer) is no doubt a change in traditional gender identities, since women's education is quite recent. In colonial Brazil, it is pointed out that women were taught to read and write in order to read religious texts and to keep

domestic records (Araújo 1993). According to a European traveller from the nineteenth century, the education of a *moça prendada* (Portuguese phrase meaning 'an educated young woman') was often restricted to some knowledge of music, French, dancing, embroidering, knitting and of 'the difficult art of peeling an orange' (Leite 1984: 70 ff.)

Hasan (1996: 395) points out that 'one very important fact to recognise about register variation is that not every member of a society enjoys the possibility of engaging in every kind of social activity'. She notes, for example, that in Pakistan occupations are still divided according to gender. Only women perform such activities as cooking, bathing children, feeding and dressing them, and cleaning the house, both as paid labour and as mistress of the house; whereas men perform activities such as driving taxis and trains or act as mechanics and petrol-pump attendants. Thus performing certain kinds of activity constitutes a self-identity for women.

Such an identity is constituted in a dialectical relation between discourse and other dimensions of social life. According to Kiernan (1993: 261), women's speech may have been affected by their exclusion from public domains. Indeed, in ancient Athens, women had a vocabulary of their own, with a number of words inherited from a previously dominated race; they also created new words to hide their meaning from men.

One of the deeply-rooted identities constituted for women in traditional contexts has been that related to nurturing and looking after children in the capacity of mother or in such occupations as that of teacher. In relation to motherhood, the Brazilian historian Del Priore notes that both medicine and the Catholic Church played a significant role in supporting the Brazilian government's development project, 'shaping women for the act of procreation' (Del Priore 1993: 31). In a study of medical discourse, I analysed data collected in the pediatric ward in three state hospitals in Brasilia, showing how doctors manipulated women to make them breastfeed their babies (Magalhães 2000a).

The state project referred to by Del Priore is legitimized by other institutions such as tribunals and schools. According to Graddol and Swann (1989: 143), 'the institutions which have influence over language, our attitudes to it, and the way we use it are numerous and play some role in encouraging various linguistic differences and inequalities'. In a study of women's identities in forensic texts about the so-called 'crimes of passion', Santos (1996) analyses four cases of homicide and attempts of homicide on women by their husbands or partners in the 1970s and 1990s, three in Brasilia and the other one in Rio de Janeiro. In focusing

on intertextuality and interdiscursivity, Santos emphasizes references to the 'traditional family discourse' in the voices of the culprits, prosecutors, defence lawyers, judges and even in the victims' voices. These five characters' voices represent a positive image of the culprits (men) and a negative image of the victims (women: see Santos 1996: 92). An explanation for this, according to Santos, lies in the traditional family discourse, which institutionalizes women's inferiority in relation to men, not considering the meaning of men's violence and reinforcing the roles of husband, wife, father and mother at any cost.

One other study by Lima (1997) indicates that Brazilian textbooks establish for women an identity associated with passivity, weakness and a lack of logical reasoning, whereas men are represented as active and intelligent. These results confirm previous work in the UK, quoted in Swann (1992). For example, in her analysis of a primary science scheme, Hardy (1989) finds that there are more examples of men than women; in addition, women are shown to be 'incompetent or silly' (Swann 1992: 99).

Lima also examines interview data and writing by 11–13 year olds. The following results are commented on by Lima: both boys and girls view women as 'devalued objects'; a man's reputation as a father is measured in terms of his 'control of his family's women' (wife and daughters); girls are concerned about what men (young men and adults) say about them; mothers contribute to reproducing their own oppression by shaping their daughters according to traditional values; men who practise sexual harassment are considered by girls to be clever; both boys and girls view women's role as being associated with 'serving' men; motherhood is highly valued, and women are considered to be responsible for bringing up their children. Thus Lima's study suggests that, as with the forensic discourse investigated by Santos, school discourse legitimizes a traditional identity for women.

However, as I have previously indicated, new values have influenced women in Brazil under the impact of intercultural relations brought about by globalization. One such influence can be seen in the development of a feminine identity related to consumerism (Talbot 1998: 170ff.; Magalhães 2002). One other influence lies in the chances to meet people from other cultures as part of migration.

In Radhay's study of six mixed couples, there is clearly a new sense of identity, which she analyses as a manifestation of hybridity (Radhay 1999). Hybrid identities are constructed by hybrid texts as a manifestation of heterogeneity in discourse. As Fairclough suggests, 'Intertextuality entails an emphasis upon the heterogeneity of texts, and a mode of

analysis which highlights the diverse and often contradictory elements and threads which go to make a text' (Fairclough 1992: 104).

For Radhay, hybridity is embedded in the social process of language, so there is a parallel between the dialogical relation of self/other and the dialogical relation of voices in text/discourse. This parallel is based on Bakhtin, for whom one's texts are full of fragments of the texts of others, characterized (in varying degrees) by otherness or by assimilation and also by conscious citation. The words of others in our texts have their own expression which we 'assimilate, restructure or change' (Bakhtin 1997: 314).

Radhay's analysis of the six couples' narratives suggests a negotiation between women and men, rather than a model of domination. This relation is explained as part of the conflicts which people have to negotiate in the lifeworld. In such a model of social practice, which is part of the dialectics of structures and events to which I referred previously, discourse elements can be combined in new ways. When discourse conventions can no longer be taken as tacit, agents have to negotiate which discourse elements are to be drawn upon (Fairclough 1992: 223). Radhay writes about the fragmentation of the couples' subjectivity resulting from the negotiation of discourse conventions and from the creative combination of discourse elements. She emphasizes the dialogical process and the engagement of the self with others, showing that the couples construct a basis of intimacy and co-operation.

In the next section, I will analyse gender identity in three genres in the context of adult literacy, examining the co-existence of old and new ways of representing women.

Women's identities in three different genres

First, I will consider women's identities in the newsletter *Resgatando* (*Recovering*), which was produced by the research team for the project *Intertextuality*, *Literacy*, *Identity* (funded by The National Council for Scientific and Technological Development/Brazil), in collaboration with teachers and learners of the Paranoá community literacy pro-gramme. Paranoá is a shanty town about 50 km from Brasilia.

Seven editions of the newsletter were published; after that the project came to an end. In the meetings to organize the newsletter there were more women than men, suggesting that the women had a greater interest in taking part in the activity of writing for the newsletter.

The newsletter had the following genres: editorials, opinions, life stories, interviews, religion-based texts (one of the local interests), poetry, jokes

and messages. The following comments will consider five editions. The editorials were produced by three women (two teachers and one learner) and two men (teachers), while the opinion texts were written by five women (four learners and one teacher). One of these texts was produced in co-authorship.

Three interviews were carried out, two with the town's mayor and one with the chief police officer. The interviewers were one woman (a learner) and three men (also learners). The interview questions were decided on in meetings in which all the members of the newsletter team were present. A fourth interview was planned, but the person to be interviewed – a member of the local council in charge of the protection of infants and adolescents at a time when the newsletter team was concerned about adolescent pregnancy and infant prostitution – refused to be interviewed.

The texts on religion were produced by three women (all learners) and three men (one teacher and two learners). Therefore it appears that both women and men in the town are deeply influenced by religion (not only Catholicism, but also by Pentecostal Evangelical beliefs).

Women had a great interest in writing poetry. In ten of the poems which were published, eight were produced by women (seven learners and one teacher), and only two by men (learners). One of the women also produced drawings to illustrate the poem of one of her peers.

For one of the life stories, two women (learners) interviewed street girls and boys, presenting their moving stories about being hungry and about police violence against children in the streets of Brasilia.

Jokes and messages were the most popular among learners, with 18 women and 12 men taking part in their production. They really enjoyed writing and reading these texts, probably because the texts were about themselves, and also because they were short and easy to write and read.

The analysis of the newsletter shows, therefore, that women and men had equal participation in text production, and also that women participated more than men in the production of editorials, poetry, jokes and messages. In terms of structural composition, both women and men followed the discourse conventions of the genres represented in the newsletter. Take, for example, the editorials of numbers 1 and 6. The first editorial, which was written by a male teacher, was entitled 'Paranoá's Anniversary' (text 1), and the one which was published in number 6, written by a female teacher, had the title 'Literacy Now' (text 2: for these texts, refer to the Appendix. The following structure can be found in both texts: title, summary, development and result (van Dijk 1988; Hasan 1989; Fairclough 1992: 129); see Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 The newsletter texts

	Paranoá's Anniversary (Text 1)	*Literacy Now (Text 2)*
Summary	Paragraphs 1–3	Paragraphs 1–2
Development	Paragraph 4	Paragraphs 3–16
Result	Paragraph 5	Paragraphs 17–18

The titles present the main ideas in the texts: the town's anniversary (text 1) and literacy (text 2). The summary presents an extended comment about the main idea in the texts, so in text 1 we have information about how long the anniversary celebrations were (23 days/3–26 October 1997) and about what activities were organized to celebrate the town's fortieth anniversary: the photograph and local crafts exhibition on 3 October, ball on 4 October, the Evangelical service on 5 October, the children's week, 'futsal' games on 9–12 October, the pioneers' and elderly people's meetings on 17 October, the local schools' and military parade, and kickboxing on 18 October. In text 2 we are given details about Cristovam Buarque's 'popular democratic government' (1994–8), the governor's concern about the low income population, and his adult literacy provisions. The development presents more details about the main idea, which in text 1 means the Crop Fair and concerts with local artists on 24 October; the local schools' parade with the participation of the adult literacy community and pre-school groups; the Crop Fair and the regional food feast at the Central Square on 25 October (the anniversary day); football games and 'fantastic' concerts (rap groups and the Swing Brazil Band on 26 October). In text 2 we are told about the community groups which provide adult literacy in the Federal District in conjunction with local government, given a definition of the project as based on Freire's notions of reading and writing in connection with community (generative) themes, and the three areas into which the government's provision was divided are described (Freire 1972). The result presents the course of action which was followed: in text 1, the organization work by the local council (last paragraph); in text 2, one's right to basic education and the laws about adult literacy (last two paragraphs).

Text 1 is related interdiscursively with two other discourses: one deriving from the community, represented by the local organization *Cedep* (Centre for the Cultural Development of Paranoá): 'The *Cedep* Education and Culture Groups also took part in this parade showing integration between teachers and learners, both from the adult literacy

course and pre-school' (see paragraph 4). The phrase 'integration between teachers and learners' is a significant element of this community (education) discourse, and so is the phrase 'our beloved town' (paragraph 4). The other discourse which is recontextualized in text 1 is derived from the local council government, which is mediated textually by the following sentence: 'But we cannot forget to mention the beautiful organization work by the local council, mainly the good security scheme which guaranteed law and order.' The conjunction 'but', initiating the period, and the modal verb 'cannot' indicate the text producer's attitude to the local council, presenting an argument in favour of 'law and order' (paragraph 5).

In relation to text 2, adult literacy and education in general flourished during Cristovam Baroque's government. In a visit to the adult literacy co-ordinator at the Education Foundation in 1997, we are informed that the Adult Literacy Unit was responsible for supervising adult literacy classes at local schools (*supletivo*, supplementary basic and secondary education), at the workplace (Novacap, the estate company and LSU, the garbage company, both belonging to the government), community groups such as the one at Paranoá and volunteer groups.

Text 2 is concerned about 'the education of young and adult workers', recontextualizing literacy in terms of working people's 'real needs' (paragraph 6). Women are not explicitly mentioned, but surely they are part of the group of young and adult workers. In addition to this textual feature, the phrase 'a movement of organized social and community groups (unions)' recontextualizes literacy in terms which are different from previous governments' campaigns. The negative sentence starting 'it is not a campaign' establishes an intertextual relation of opposition to these campaigns (paragraph 7). Further, the phrases 'young people's and adults' all-round development', 'humanitarian values' and 'social change' show the author's view of literacy *vis-à-vis* the present context of social change (paragraph 8). It is this view of literacy as an all-round development aimed at participation in social change which sets up new ways of representing women in the context of adult literacy. These new ways of representing women are part of the heterogeneity of present social life, which is textually mediated, as we noted in the interdiscursive relations established in text 1.

In terms of interdiscursivity and gender identity, the newsletter production no doubt contributed to empowering women as writers. It is true that given the association of writing with professional qualification at the workplace, both women and men, in adult literacy settings, need to be empowered in writing. However, women are at a disadvantage in

writing acquisition because of family demands. They take longer than men to attend adult literacy classes, starting at an older age (Magalhães 1996). It is not unusual to find women attending these classes at the age of 60. Therefore, to be an author, and to see one's text published in the community newsletter, which means that it will be read by peers, neighbours and even local authorities, not only breaks the tradition of literate men and illiterate women, but also increases one's opportunity in the struggle for employment. In sum, taking part in the newsletter production plays a significant role in the construction of a new identity for women: that of women writers.

In addition, there is a parallel between this new gender identity and the equal mastering of the structural composition of the texts by their authors. The fact that the woman organizes her text with a title, a summary, a development and a result is part of the new ways in which women relate to writing, showing that they can be as competent as men in the context of adult literacy. The woman's appropriation of the structure of the editorial establishes her subject position as an author of a legitimized genre. Thus, we find interdiscursivity here in the way that the woman draws upon discourse and genre elements as someone who knows what she is talking about (the 'field of discourse'), the role that she is playing in speaking (the 'tenor of discourse'), and the ways in which texts are organized (the 'mode of discourse': see Halliday 1989: 12). Certainly, this is a recontextualization of subjectivity in genre and discourse, showing heterogeneity and fragmentation in the relation of the dimension of discourse with other dimensions such as the institutional positioning of women. Thus the analysis of the newsletter data indicates a shift in the order of discourse: the beginning of a social change process entailing a new discourse about educated and to a certain extent emancipated women (Magalhães 2000a; 2000b).

However, there are situations in which traditional identities exist in juxtaposition with emancipated identities. In these cases, genres can indicate the co-existence of different, and even contradictory identities (see Table 8.2).

Table 8.2   Interdiscursivity and women's identities in adult literacy

Identities	*Newsletter*	*Class discussion*	*Interviews*
Writer	+	−	−
Worker	+	−	+
Mother/Housewife	−	+	+
Feminine Commodity	−	+	−

In comparing the three genres analysed, four different identities are observed. Such identities can interact in the way they are recontextualized in different genres, such as the ones discussed here. In the newsletter, women were viewed both as writers and workers. The writer identity is not considered in the other two genres.

In the class discussion at Paranoá, women are seen as having traditional identities as mothers/housewives. However, they are also perceived as feminine commodities, in a discussion of two advertisements in class. 'In this view, women are not just turning themselves into "sex-objects". They are actually involved in self-creation. We could turn feminine into a verb, to feminize' (Talbot 1998: 171).

In the interviews at Taguatinga, in the Catholic University Adult Literacy Programme, learners commented on women's identities as mothers/housewives. This appeared to be the usual identity for women in this setting, but one in four women who were interviewed considered herself as a worker.

The class discussion at Paranoá was motivated by the (generating) theme 'health', which had been selected by teachers and learners for the whole month. In keeping with this theme, two advertisements were selected for class discussion: (a) an advertisement on skin cosmetics; (b) an advertisement for a liquor brand, *aguardente* (Rodrigues and Magalhães 1997/98). The relation between reading and the advertisement was established by the teacher, Iolanda:

> If you show them an advert, they will only be interested if you link your purpose with reading, writing and numeracy . . . our main purpose is awareness raising, critical awareness development, reading, not just reading between the lines, but world reading, right? Reading related to citizenship by someone living in society, this was our main purpose, but together with this purpose, we had others which were their own, because they are eager to learn, this is the main thing they want, right?

I adopt Thompson's thinking (1990) as to how people interpret and assimilate symbolic forms in their daily lives. In addition, I take on board Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996: 31) remarks about visual texts such as advertisements: 'The world represented visually in the mass media is a different world – and produces different citizen/subjects – from the world represented in language.' Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 14) note that people can establish 'their identities and their differences through the diverse ways in which they interpret texts, and more generally

incorporate them into their own practices'. The reception and appropriation of advertisements is a complex social process which involves an on-going activity of textual interpretation and assimilation by individuals and groups with a socially structured past. Therefore, we should examine how people interpret particular advertisements, how they construct meanings in their reading and how these semiotic texts contribute to maintaining unequal power relations or to changing them. In gender relations, power is mobilized and maintained or changed in institutions such as the media.

The class discussion of advertisement (a) and (b) was conducted by the teacher with contributions from the learners. The first advertisement presents two photos: one at the top on the left, showing the skin cosmetics advertised; and the other, in the centre, presenting a magnified image of a withered grape. Below the first photo, there are two sentences directly related to the grape image: 'Today you're a grape (*uva*). But take care, the grape withers (*uva passa*).' To the right of the photos, there is a presenting the qualities of the cosmetic brand and the addresses of the shops where it is sold. Below the text, at the bottom, the cosmetic brand is presented.

As soon as the discussion started, the learners noted that advertisements lie, deceiving the readers. The first comment by one of the men learners was: 'But what a delicious grape (*uva gostosa*); you feel like eating it!' Then Iolanda wrote the headline on the blackboard and the learners started to read the written text.

Based on the learner's comment, the group established a relation between the grape image in the advertisement and the woman reader ('you're a grape'), who is represented as a 'delicious' (*gostosa*) grape. Therefore the learners interpreted the advertisement as a construction of the feminine commodity identity, which is based mainly on women's bodies. Iolanda criticized the advertisement, remarking, 'It's absurd!'

The advertisement also compares women's life cycles as noted in the way their bodies change over time: a young body with a soft skin *passa*; it changes, withering just like the grape in the photo. The learners acknowledged the ambiguity of the phrase *uva passa*, which in Portuguese can be both a noun phrase, meaning 'raisin', when it refers to the fruit surface texture; and a noun phrase and a verb phrase, in 'the grape withers', metaphorically referring to the grape as the body. In this sense, the fruit is reworded as the body (Fairclough 1992: 77). One of the women learners said that it was unacceptable to be led away by fashion, to spend money on beauty products, and worse, to consider an aged woman as an *encarancada* person (probably a dialect term for *encarangada*, a Brazilian Portuguese form, meaning 'shrunk', 'useless').

The analysis of (b) was conducted by Fernando, the second teacher. Based on their own experiences, the learners related alcohol to family arguments, addiction, illness and loneliness.

The *aguardente* brand 'Nêga Fulô' (a dialect form for 'Afro-Brazilian woman/flower') was related to the model in the photo. The 'Nêga Fulô' was taken to be drunk. As the advertisement presents some English words, the learners mentioned that the *aguardente* was an export product. Fernando noted a relation between the *aguardente* and the woman next to it. The woman is seen as the *aguardente*, and both represent Brazil. One other point raised by one woman learner was the connection between the advertisement and Afro-Brazilians, because of the presence of what appears to be an African fabric.

Advertisement (b) also presents two sentences on the left, next to the woman: 'Drink with responsibility. Appreciate quality.' The first sentence seems to have been captured by the learners, since they associated it with religion. As mentioned above in the discussion of the newsletter, religion is one of the learners' interests.

One of the learners, Peter, made a specific comment about inter-discursivity in advertisement (b), pointing out that there are 'good women', those who are influenced by religion, and women who enjoy drinking. Therefore, the class discussion at Paranoá indicates that the learners interpreted and assimilated the hybridity in women's identities and in advertisements, making connections between traditional representations of women (religion) and commodified feminine identities (advertisements).

Such hybridity can also be found in the class discussion as a genre, first in the way that learners were free to take part in the class, but also in the floor distribution between women and men. In fact, the class discussion presents a textual structure which resembles one of the meetings of the Centre for the Cultural Development of Paranoá (*Cedep*), in which every resident is entitled to a speech turn. Table 8.3 is an attempt to map main participants in the class discussion according

Table 8.3 Participants in the class discussion according to gender

	Teacher	*Learner*
Advertisement (a)	a woman	a man a woman
Advertisement (b)	a man	a man women

to gender. The fact that both women and men are represented in the discussion indicates a pattern of equal distribution of speech turns. In the discussion of (b), it was one man learner who made the leading comment, but women also took part.

This heterogeneity is almost non-existent in the interviews with four women learners from the Catholic University Literacy Programme at Taguatinga, a satellite town in the Federal District (Conceição 1999). These women's subjectivity is linked to the tradition of being a mother, nurturing children and doing housework. They attend literacy classes in most cases because they want to learn how to sign their names, or to get away from their daily problems. Such is the case of Cida, who comments on her need to go out and 'forget about her housewife's life'. Such textual features, in the interview with the learner, reproduce the identity pattern of women in the colonial past, with the literacy class only substituting for the Catholic Church (Araújo 1993: 277).

Lúcia, 64, had been responsible for looking after her brothers and sisters and a sick father. No wonder she had been unable to attend school. Then she got married and had to take care of her husband and ten children. She refers to her husband as 'the light of her eyes', solving all her problems and 'guiding' her. He reads the Bible to her and helps her with homework. Again, the learner's comment in the interview represents women as part of the past Portuguese tradition of men's power over women (Araújo 1993: 192).

Amanda, 23, is the youngest learner in her class. She shows rather low self-esteem in relation to literacy: 'Everyone here knows more than I do. I shan't learn writing. I don't know anything.' Amanda's view of literacy opposes the view advocated by the woman writer in the newsletter text 2: 'Learner participation is not that in which the learner behaves as the one who has no knowledge, but rather as the one who deals with different forms of knowledge in a setting in which everyone knows something and is willing to move beyond what they already know' (paragraph 12).

However, Sônia, 40, who works as a cleaner in a local hospital, views literacy as a change in her identity. She decided to attend the literacy classes because she did not want to be embarrassed at the workplace or in other settings.

> Many things which I did before I don't do any more. Once I paid the telephone bill twice because I was unable to read it; I paid my neighbour's bill and, on the following day, my bill arrived, and I had to pay it. This doesn't happen now because I check whose bill it is ... Well, I learnt to write my name with a lot of difficulty because

I wanted to learn it very much, and when my brother-in-law came up, I got a piece of the paper, and I asked him what was written in the paper, and he replied, and I spelled it, and I read the paper, but I was unable to write anything.

Sônia is thus different from her peers, viewing herself in relation to work and associating literacy with being promoted. Because of this, she was selected to move on to an Education Foundation school to complete her basic education: in her words, this means 'climbing a new step'. This clause indicates a new identity which opposes her past identity, recontextualizing the worker represented in the newsletter.

In sum, the interviews with three adult literacy learners from the Catholic University Literacy Programme present textual features which cite the traditional gender discourse. However, the interview with one of the learners presents textual features conveying new ways of representing women, recontextualizing literacy and gender identity as associated with the workplace.

The recontextualization of gender identities in the newsletter, the class discussion and the interviews is part of the heterogeneity of practices in a social context influenced by global discourses. In this context, women and men have to come to terms with the dialectics between traditional local identities and globalized commodified identities which are constructed in a complex social process of interpretation and assimilation of linguistic and semiotic texts. The complexity of the process lies in the fact that modern social life is open to new intercultural influences at the workplace, in the classroom and even at home through the television. In such a textually-mediated social life, usually only part of the population, those who have access to (visual) literacy and to the prestigious genres of public life have real chances of taking part in group struggles for identity politics. In this aspect, the Paranoá literacy programme, probably because of its relations to other groups and institutions (lecturers and students from the University of Brasilia, the Education Foundation, other adult literacy groups), offers more opportunities of access to identity politics than the Catholic university programme, so it is vital to discuss identity in relation to the politics of literacy.

Conclusion: gender identity and the politics of literacy

The analysis in this chapter is clear in relation to women's identities in the context of adult literacy, showing how they are recontextualized in

three different genres. In the newsletter, we noted that women and men take part equally in text production, writing texts connected with public, prestigious genres such as editorials and opinion texts. These genres represent women as workers and writers. In the class discussion at Paranoá, women are considered to have different identities, as part of the heterogeneity of discourses in the community literacy programme. Two identities were defined in our analysis: the traditional identity of mother/housewife and that of the commodified feminine which is constituted in the media (magazines, papers, television, radio). In addition, the interviews with women literacy learners at the Catholic University at Taguatinga indicates the strength of the traditional identity, but also represents women in association with work. Further, the data indicates an interdiscursivity in institutional discourses which constitute gender, suggesting hybridity and fragmentation in identities and in genres, under the impact of changes in the orders of discourse, which have created the commodified self.

Such an identity change is part of global markets and the latter's influence on advertisements. Closely related to consumerism, the commodified feminine identity should be questioned because it imposes on women a concern about having a body which suits the European, white, middle-class, male ideal. To have this kind of identity is not in itself a value to be argued for. On the contrary, a feminist view should be critical of the global discourses which construct women's representations as bodies with a market price.

This is one reason to advocate here the need to invest in women's education. In order for women to be valued as citizens with the right to a position in political life, they must have their own social place and their own voice in public domains, which have both prestige and power. This position is connected with literacy/education.

The politics of literacy we have in mind will take hybridity and interdiscursivity as embedded in the social process of language and genres. As already discussed, one should assume both the dialogical relation of self/other and the dialogical relation of voices in text/discourse. Given the fragmentation of one's subjectivity, discourse conventions can no longer be taken for granted. Thus, we should discuss which discourse elements are to be drawn upon in terms of ethics. Such a debate has much to gain if viewed from the perspective of postcolonial identities. Bhabha (1994) suggests the notions of indeterminacy and contingency to problematize essentialist identities, related to such dichotomies as mind/body, culture/nature, writing/orality. The logic of indeterminacy and contingency allows us to discuss gender identities in new ways.

Last but not least, it is urgent that the recommendations of the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education (Hamburg, Germany, 1997) be adopted in Brazilian literacy programmes. The conference demanded that governments make gender explicit in adult literacy so as to promote equal relations between women and men. In a context of social change, discussing gender openly is a first step towards equality. As Sônia remarks, 'now women are becoming liberated'. Nevertheless, she had to fight her husband's *machismo*, since he was against both her work and literacy class. In the end, he only changed his mind when he saw her wages contributing to their family income. The politics of literacy has to consider the many changes in gender identities, taking into account the present conflicts in gender relations arising from contradictory identities.

Appendix: texts 1 and 2

1: Paranoá's Anniversary

(1) 3rd October 1997 was the first day of a great celebration to commemorate Paranoá's 40th anniversary. The celebration went on until the 26th.

(2) During the celebration there were different activities, such as: the photograph and local crafts exhibition on the 3rd, the town's ball on the 4th, an Evangelical service on the 5th, the children's week, 'futsal' and other games on 9–12, the pioneers' and elderly people's meetings on the 17th, and the local schools' parade and kickboxing on the 18th.

(3) Several portable stages were built, a kind of radio station with several loudspeakers all over Paranoá and a large stage for concerts at the central square.

(4) On the last three days, there was the opening of the Crop Fair and some concerts with local artists on the 24th. At last, the 40th anniversary of Paranoá which we all enjoyed was on the 25th. On this day there was the local schools and military parade, more of the Crop Fair, concerts and regional food at the central square. The *Cedep* [Centre for the Cultural Development of Paranoá] Education and Culture Groups also took part in this parade showing integration between teachers and learners, both from the adult literacy course and pre-school. On the 26th, the last day, there were football games during the day between the Paranoá team and other towns. In the evening, there was the closing celebration with several fantastic

concerts, such as: the local rap group *Revelação* (Revelation); the Execution group, which thrilled the audience with their music; the XR-Vision; later, there was also the rap group Paradox, one of the first at Paranoá. But what everyone expected finally came on stage, the Swing Brazil Band, which made the audience go delirious for two hours, and so bringing to a close our beloved town's anniversary celebrations.

(5)   But we cannot forget to mention the beautiful organization work by the local council, mainly the good security scheme which guaranteed law and order. This time, people just went to the celebration to have fun, so there were no arguments among the people present.

<div align="right">(Resgatando Newsletter, 6, 1997, Paranoá, DF, p. 1)</div>

2: Literacy Now

(1)   The DF (Federal District) has for the first time a popular democratic government.

(2)   Governor Cristovam Buarque, concerned about Brasilia's low income population's quality of life, refuses to see them with a blindfold around their eyes forever. For this can only add to their present miserable life and to their manipulation by the interests of bosses and some politicians. Thus, he has sanctioned a law to end illiteracy in the DF and neighbouring regions.

(3)   Now there is the active participation of the Education Foundation providing its support to local groups which have been concerned about adult literacy for a long time. For example, there is *Cedep* in association with UnB (University of Brasilia) – *Cepafre* – *Cepec*.[2]

Points for Reflection

(4)   [The governor is] creating new conditions for everyone to have equal opportunities and to open up new perspectives, so that one can look forward to better working conditions, leaving behind underemployment and thus gaining better life prospects.

(5)   The need for skills development is not being downplayed, but this is quite different from guaranteeing the right to education.

(6)   This project is a proposal for the education of young and adult workers, addressing their real needs. Therefore, it is not just a question of replacing lost schooling.

(7)   It is not a campaign but rather a movement of organized social and community groups (unions).

(8)   It is linked to young people's and adults' all-round development, providing them with humanitarian values so that they can participate in social change.

(9)   For Professor Paulo Freire, reading the world precedes word reading; for him the adult's knowledge must not be restricted to the knowledge of reality.

(10) People know that some values are attributed more social prestige than others.

(11) Learners attend adult literacy classes because they expect to learn a new way of reading the world.

(12) Learner participation is not that in which the learner behaves as the one who has no knowledge, but rather as the one who deals with different forms of knowledge in a setting in which everyone knows something and is willing to move beyond what they already know.

(13) There is also spontaneous learner participation through extra-class activities. Their involvement in food collection was a great help in the organization of kiosks for the June celebrations.

(14) One other significant aspect is the generating theme which is approached in different areas, each one with its own expertise, overcoming the fragmentation of knowledge, and allowing for an understanding of reality the way it is.

(15) Such actions will be performed initially in three different education areas: from Ceilândia (*Cepafre*) to Taguatinga, Samambaia and Brazlândia; Paranoá involving the local community.

(16) From Gama (*Cepec*) to Santa Maria and Recanto das Emas. Given the progressive nature and the number of consolidated experiences in these regions, this will ensure the effectiveness of this training in the literacy process that adopts the Paulo Freire method and others.

(17) It is necessary, therefore, to advocate and guarantee every person's right to learning – incomplete schooling or no schooling is a social debt to be redeemed.

(18) In Brasilia, a permanent forum on adult literacy and basic education was set up in the DF and neighbouring regions.

Laws about adult literacy

• In the Brazilian Constitution (1988), Article 208, the State's duty regarding education will be effected by guaranteeing: compulsory and free basic education, including for people who had no access to it at the usual age group.

- Federal District law (1993), Article 225 – The State will provide young people and adults, mainly workers, with evening classes in basic and secondary education, by making accessible regular and supplementary programmes to them in such a way as to make education and work compatible.
- Article 45 – DF – To eradicate illiteracy ... the Federal District government will make an effort to eradicate illiteracy among public servants in the DF in two years ...
- Law 849, 8th March 1995, Article 1 – The permanent literacy and basic education programme for young people and adults was established in the DF.
- Article 2 – To promote the education of young people and adults who had no access to schooling or who were excluded from it.
- Article 3 – The permanent literacy programme will be co-ordinated and developed by the Office of Education through the Education Foundation of the DF, through investments in the development and training of teachers and volunteers responsible for teaching in local projects.
- Article 4 – Through state universities and non-governmental organizations which will provide pedagogic consultancy to literacy centres, including: (a) Provision of courses in literacy teacher qualification.
- Article 7 – The permanent literacy and basic education programme for young people and adults will be financially supported by: DF budget funding; financial contribution from persons and firms; income generated from other sources.

(*Resgatando* Newsletter 1, 1995, Paranoá, DF, pp. 1–2)

Notes

1 Cameron (1990: 23) makes the following comment: 'Lakoff maintains that women are forced to learn a weak, trivial, and deferential style as part of their socialization ... she regards women's style as a "dominance approach".' There are other views, for example Walsh (2001: 5) refers to Lakoff's work as the 'accommodation model'. However, for my purpose here, I prefer Cameron's term, 'dominance approach'.
2 These are community adult literacy centres: 'Cedep' at Paranoá; 'Cepafre' at Ceilandia; and 'Cepec' at Gama.

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9
The 'Terrorist Feminist': Strategies of Gate-Keeping in the Hungarian Printed Media

Erzsébet Barát

Introduction: locating the chapter

In the following chapter I hope to think through and problematize the first eleven years of democratization in Hungary from a feminist perspective. My decision is motivated by the assumption that the changes in the Hungarian political system over the 1990s to a relatively more democratic political structure should at long last also mean some space in the Hungarian political (and academic) printed media for the articulation and circulation of a critique of the effects of bourgeois patriarchy as well. In other words, after the absence of reference to feminism between 1945 and 1989 in the various public domains of the printed media, one would have hoped that a more open society should involve some space in the printed media for feminist voices articulating what social and cultural changes they consider relevant in the post-state socialist era, including the contestation over the meaning of the term 'feminism' itself.

This chapter therefore is born out of my current research project which tries to explore the various meaning-making practices regarding the term 'feminism' in the printed political and scientific media in the given period. In my critical discourse analysis of the relevant media practices, I have focused on the emergence of the term 'feminism' itself for explicit thematization. As part of this project, in the current chapter, instead of keeping the two media domains separate, I shall explore their intersection, and concentrate on the little space available to self-identified feminists from Academia who have presented their views in the national daily papers and weekly political magazines against the non-feminist definitions of the term by journalists and (mostly male) academics. This focus should serve my aim to explore the network of

various understandings the term comes to mean once it has been allowed to enter the printed spaces of the (political and academic) media.

What I intend to explore, then, is the changing limits within which, in Gayatry C. Spivak's (1996) sense of the distinction, feminist discourses might speak to the mediatized power of the state instead of merely talking (mostly to themselves, if at all) without any favourable response to their self-defined needs, including the recognition of their struggle for presence in the first place in the public spaces of the printed media. That is, what I aim to show is that the very distinction between the act of speaking and talking is what is at stake in the struggle over the meaning of the term 'feminism' in the contemporary Hungarian media. The major claim pursued in my analysis is the very dynamism of the gate-keeping practices in the media. Once the term emerges (that is, is brought into focus in any article in the political printed media), that moment of emergence can be potentially invested with feminist meanings, and turned into sites of speaking to power. As soon as the term is spoken by feminists, what matters is not its mere presence any more but its particular inflections with other meanings. What may count as a moment of speech against the previous silencing of the term has thus shifted to the feminist self-definitions against the hostile practices of othering performed by the mainstream media. Nevertheless, in so far as those self-definitions of feminism come to be caught within the existing hegemonic discourses of gender in the media, the divide between speech and talk comes to fall *within* the differential feminist voices: with the reformist female academics on the one hand (in a most troubling agreement with the misogynist male position), and the hardly present representatives of the radical outlaw sexualities on the other.

As I will argue, what we are left with as potentially autonomous voices of speech are precisely the violently marginalized non-heterosexual positions. These become the shared point of departure, albeit for different reasons, for both the misogynist (hetero)sexist *and* reformist feminist voices in their hegemonic allegiance in defence of the hetero-gendered social order. In other words, from the perspective of actual political action, the distinction between speaking and talking is of ideological consequence to me. Based on my analysis, I argue that the ultimate problem with a reformist feminist strategy in Hungary at the moment is that it takes gender for granted instead of explaining and problematizing it. That is to say, the issue is not so much as a lack of willingness to fight for some presence in the media (and the academic field) as a lack of any

alternative, destabilizing approach to the dominant patriarchal under-standing of gendered relations as given. In so far as (discursive) practices can be considered to be ideological in that they aim to maintain the status quo by naturalizing the given hegemonic relations of patriarchal power – in this case that of unequal relations of a hetero-gendered social order – the various types of discourse enacted in the definition of 'feminism' reinforce the patriarchal regulation of women's labour and desire precisely by taking gender as sexually pre-given.

In order to make the vested interests of normative sexuality visible, what follows is a form of ideology critique in a twofold manner. On the one hand it is a critical discourse analysis of the gate-keeping practices of the printed media but, at the same time, on the other hand it is also a form of self-analysis, a criticism of the limits of the feminist ways of struggling for that space in the media. This double edge is informed by my understanding of the importance of self-reflexivity as formulated by Deborah Cameron:

> Feminism is *not* about giving housewives their due, it is about changing the conditions of domestic labour altogether. Similarly, feminism cannot stop at validating the linguistic strategies typical of women; it must also ask *why* women find some communicative practices more relevant than others to their circumstances: a question of their social positioning, of the social practices in which they are allowed to participate.
>
> (1995: 41, italics added)

In my opinion such systematic self-reflexivity is necessary if we wish to ensure that our commitment to women's social equity, the major concern voiced by those feminists themselves in the media, will go beyond producing words without action, beyond taking our contra-dictory relationship to the hegemonic culture as 'natural'. Otherwise any feminist could easily be caught in a position that merely results in her own personal benefit. In this particular case, the benefit consists in the access to the media space of the daily papers and to have one's voice legitimized by its very presence in the contestation over the meaning of 'feminism', over other, more radical feminist voices. However, as my analysis of the media texts will show, the hegemonic position of the 'expert' who knows 'from within' is, at the same time, a position with only ephemeral gains that can be lost as soon as it is confronted by the similarities of the masculinist positions. But above all, this is a gain that can only be achieved at the expense of other

(feminist) women collectives for whom the gate is going to be shut again.

Therefore, as a feminist academic, when I carry out an *equally systematic* discourse analysis of the non-feminist voices in terms of the various definitions of 'feminism' attributed to feminists (by way of the voice presentation techniques in the articles), I hope to avoid an unconditioned embrace of the otherwise long overdue feminist presence in the Hungarian media. I hope to perform a self-analysis without which no feminist critical analysis can be complete. In line with my dissatisfaction with the lack of systematic self-reflexivity in most critical discourse analyses (see Barát 2000a), I argue that such redirecting of the analytical gaze is especially indispensable when one claims to be engaged in some form of ideology critique. Otherwise feminists' claims to democratization, like those of the feminist academics in the Hungarian media, are caught within the hegemonic relations of power precisely because their criticism is one-sided, and as such inevitably run the risk of assuming their position to be 'naturally' outside those oppressive relations.

My view concerning the relevance of self-reflexivity follows from Rosemary Hennessy (1993: 14), who claims that ideology is an 'array of sense-making practices which constitutes what counts as "the way things are" in any historical moment'. That is, since ideology is a legitimizing material power in that it re/produces what counts as reality (including 'the meaning of feminism'), whatever feminists have to say about that is therefore inevitably shaped by the existing ideologies, and in turn the feminist representations help to shape its change. In other words, given that all discourses are effects of the existing relations of power, all definitions of 'feminism' are constructed in relation to differential distributions of hetero-gendered power. Thus, the value of one theorization over another is assessed on two interrelated accounts. Its potential for the particular purposes of empowerment is always conditioned and limited by the possibility of its hegemonic appropriation for maintaining the very status quo it should destabilize. Therefore I think that feminist critique is always a contingent political activity whose only means to secure some potential for social change is to make its own inevitable partiality visible through self-reflexivity: that is, through enacting some form of accountability.

Analysis of the gate-keeping practices

The database for my research project is itself a new form of political practice that shows the location of the media as a new, relatively separate

form of political power. It is the so-called *Pressdoc* CD-ROM produced by the Parliament Library as of 1990. The beginning of the political and economical changes in the Hungarian state systems is marked by the emergence of this collection of 'media watch' type materials. It is assembled from all the printed media products (academic included) published in Hungary. Originally this was meant to be a service for the information of the Members of Parliament only. Since 1998, however, the database has also been available for subscription by institutions, such as universities, bringing about another telling conjunctural point between academic and political practices through the mobilizing force of marketization (but this falls outside the scope of my interest in this chapter). For my analysis, I searched all the references in the database between January 1990 and December 2001 and found only 52 entries where either the title or the abstract of an entry had 'feminism' explicitly in it. The mere number itself implies a microscopic media presence! Whenever I refer the reader to the majority of the mainstream media, this is the overall figure they should bear in mind.

The majority: non-feminist mediated voices

From my analysis I have found that, in the little material available, what goes on is a systematic gate-keeping strategy that seems to be legitimized on three interrelated lines of argumentation, all of which try to discredit 'feminism' for various reasons at the very beginning of the so-called democratization process. What follows is an analysis of the rhetoric of argumentation, which draws on Charlotte Linde's (1993) work.

Linde, analysing oral life stories as sites of identity construction, is basically interested in establishing the linguistic devices of creating coherence of the emerging selves. She defines argumentation as an interactional means of explanation that establishes causality in narratives. According to her, the rhetoricity of argumentation consists in its use 'not to arrive at the truth – the role that formal logic claims for itself – but . . . to demonstrate that propositions that may appear dubious, false, problematic, or stupid do in fact have justifications that should lead to their addressee's believing them' (p. 94). That is, argumentation is a relational linguistic device for 'establish[ing] the truth of propositions about which the speakers themselves are not comfortable, or [the linguistic device for] defend[ing] propositions whose validity they feel their addressee has in some way challenged' (p. 92). The very structure of the argument (that is, the proposition and the reasons for believing the proposition to be true) 'would not be

relevant in the absence of some suggestion that the proposition might not be believed' (p. 92).

The analytically motivated separation of the three major dimensions of argumentation will result in the identification of further sub-texts, or implied discourses. This exposure of the implied values, I hope, can help me produce a more persuasive insight into the complex relations of interests at play.

The discourse of anti-Communism

The two extracts that represent the mainstream practices of misogyny I have chosen for the following reasons. Extract 1 is the most representative sample of all the three major lines of argumentation pulled together. Besides, by way of its early appearance in the media, namely 1992, and that of its genre (a survey article in a weekly political magazine), it can be considered as the one that sets the subsequent hostile scene. Furthermore, it is also relevant in that it addresses feminist academics explicitly. In that sense the two extracts from the interviews with feminist academics and/or activists in the national dailies may be considered as responses to this interpellation. Extract 2 is of special importance for my analysis because it comes from the only centre-right national daily in Hungary, called *Magyar Nemzet* (*Hungarian Nation*) which, as part of the restructuring of the daily paper market, became the semi-official organ for the first and third governments in power over the given period. The first government had MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum) as the only central party which accounted for its dominant position in the coalition. It became only the minority force by the time of the third government which was dominated by FIDESZ (Young Democrats' Association), a centre-right Christian democratic party. Furthermore, Extract 2 is taken from a letter by a Hungarian male academic who is currently on scholarship in Vienna, and who constructs himself as a regular visitor who can, therefore, make reliable comparisons between Hungarian and so-called Western women. The extract is all the more relevant here as it can be considered to be representative of the available Other, the potential 'partner' that should meet the apparently feminist demands as formulated by his female academic fellows in Extracts 3 and 4. The last few lines in Extracts 2 and 3 are underlined in order to indicate the almost verbatim similarity between the two wordings. Extract 2 is also important as the political event that motivates its publication – the re-legislation of the Abortion Act – will be taken up again in Extract 6 (from a subversive perspective there, though).

EXTRACT 1

It is obvious that modern feminism is not about the suffragette movement at the turn of the century. It is rather yet another ideology, which is just as intolerant, brutal and totalitarian as Marxism, scientism, the gurus of Buddhist and Hindu therapies, drug abuse and *New Age*. Radical feminism, which blames phallocracy for all problems in the world, therefore deserves the name of 'vaginocracy' – excuse the ugly neologism – because, like all other ideologies, it fights for an unequivocal philosophical diagnosis and absolute political power. Like all other 'soft ideologies'...which are mostly American imports, neo-feminism is also a product of US society, an ungroomed and grotesque one, for that matter...First they do their best to breed a human bull then expect the aroused bull to behave like an innocent calf. Small wonder that there are countless women who harvest millions by suing some male celebrities for alleged sexual harassment (see the case of Mike Tyson, the boxer; Clarence Thomas, the supreme judge; the Kennedy nephew; and so on)...The borderline identity, the one that these days is spreading at a frightening speed, is the huge number of lesbian love and child abuse...which is called the 'redefinition of the family' by the American scientists, who are always ready to legitimize aberration anyway...The class struggle has been replaced by the struggle of the sexes, but there is no such a thing as equity in class or sex positions. The feminist movements are led by brutal, masculine amazons, who terrorize their fellow women and force the other sex to turn to pederasty.

(*Hitel*, 24 June 1992, 'Instead of class struggle the struggle of the sexes?'
Molnár Tamás)

EXTRACT 2

I am happy to hear that – in comparison with the previous five years – the number of abortions this year has decreased by 20 per cent as a result of the Fetus Protection Act...All reasonable and healthy men love women, myself included, though we all are familiar with the male whining sometimes neither with nor without her. Let me add quickly, either way, only together, preferably in the relationship of equal partners, can we live these short earthly lives of ours...The town is full of colourful expensive boutiques where women of twenty something, probably with a GRE certificate,[1] are killing their time bored...They are the copy cats of Western business women, apparently doing self-realization, but not knowing that without expertise, merely dressed up and decorated, they could not even stand behind

the counter in the part of the world . . . With a daring jump, their behaviour reminds me of the 'emancipated' women in the 1905s of Hungary . . . Naturally, I do not miss Ibsen's doll house, but I am speaking against the frequency of the Western patent of aggressive self-realizing women who behave in a masculine manner in this more open social atmosphere. Where are the men who could make women's life easier, where is the social-economical support where it is not the woman exhausted with the daily stress who is waiting for her husband, partner in the home?

(*Magyar Nemzet*, 14 February 1994, 'The Aggressively Self-Realizing Woman – Of Her Own Accord and Happily?' by Györffy László)

The first line of argumentation that tries to discredit any feminist position is informed by a discourse of anti-Communism in various ways, all of which have in common the same ideological investment. If the media succeeds in associating feminism with the political discourses of the previous regimes of Stalinism and state socialism, all reduced to some 'Marxist ideology' (in this way, in fact, conflating the two under the single term 'Communism') they can legitimately refuse feminism as part of the legacy of the totalitarian past. Anything that is labelled as 'mere ideology' comes to mean totalitarian practices of power, and that comes to be equated with 'Communism', the ultimate 'evil' force in history. The only logical step left by this most exclusionary argumentation for any reasonable Hungarian reader is to (want to) leave this evil past behind, a past which has come to include this alleged feminism, an integral part of that era. In fact, if women seek any kind of active participation in the rebuilding of this new polity, the only intelligible position of agency constructed for them is that of some conservative 'post-feminism'. The little feminist concern audible at times of decision-making in the media, raising the question of whether we know what those women concerned want, will sound safely outdated. At the same time, the very act of explicitly claiming in the media to be a feminist, whatever the particular meaning of that claim might be, will count as an autonomous act of self-identification in such a hostile and threatening context, and one that will enact some destabilizing power through the very act of discursive announcement.

A sub-text here can be drawn from the implication of all those mocking references to the Stalinist division of labour in the extracts (the whistling woman conductor, the woman tractor driver, or the vast numbers of untrained female workers on the construction sites of the new housing estates, which ironically are their prospective homes). In so far as they draw on the readers' familiarity with the infamous term 'the woman

question' used for naming the 'female perspective' in past political discourses, we have the discourse of racism implied here. (See an insightful analysis of the use of the term 'the woman question' in the state socialist era by Adamik 2001.)

At this point let me add that when considering the mainstream definition of 'feminism' I also have in mind the journalists' voices present in the texts that will be quoted in relation to the domain of self-definition. In one of those instances, in Extract 3, the journalist explicitly accuses the feminist interviewee of 'bringing back' the old national institution of the 'Women's Council', which was the only legitimate political 'civil' organization for representing women's interests in the past. This was the state organization that had tackled the 'woman question' during the time of the different Communist parties in power over 40 or so years. The point I am making here is that the implication of racist discrimination is enacted also at the same time through the intensive emotional investment of the expected response to the 'Communist past'.

My point about the sub-text is not so much about the ideological investment of the anti-Communist discourse in discrediting 'feminism' as the implied ideological re-appropriation of the grammatical structure of the expression itself. The structure of the noun phrase ('the woman question') can easily be associated with other historically emergent discourses of violent discrimination in Hungary. The other expressions evoked by the similarity in phrase structure are 'the Jewish question' and 'the Gypsy question', which were the traditional right-wing formulations by Hungarian intellectuals (academics and artists) between the two world wars, in the context of the racist debate on the question of national identity. This was epitomized in the controversy of 'Who is "the Hungarian [subject]?"' and 'What [ways of being] is Hungarian?' (For an analysis of the various positions in the debate see Poszler 1986; 1998.)

This is a legacy that has re-emerged in the past 12 years even in certain right-wing parliamentary parties' political discourse, legitimizing their struggle to discredit some of their left-wing political rivals on the grounds of their implied 'Jewish identity' and all this legitimized in the name of securing 'new democratic' political changes (for a detailed analysis of the racist political discourse in the printed media, see Barát 2000b). What is relevant about this sub-text is its contradictory workings in relation to the past, its politics of history. The irony of the rhetoric lies in the contradictory relationship the readers are expected to have in relation to what counts as 'Hungarian history': the past 40 years of state socialism are believed to be thoroughly and homogeneously

bad and *therefore* possible to erase from the national memory, while the 20 or so years of the quasi-feudal nationalistic irredentist legacy between the two wars are evaluated as 'the' values and *therefore* impossible to forget.

The discourse of anti-Americanism

The second most prominent aspect of argumentation draws on a discourse of anti-Americanism that re-defines feminism as politically motivated *cultural idiosyncrasy* in the double sense of the word. First, as another effect of the above discourse of nationalism, feminism is claimed to be alien in the Hungarian national cultural context. At the same time, it is also argued to have become outdated in its 'original' US context in the sense that there is nothing left for feminists to fight for; in fact, they have been overly successful. Indeed, if there is any legitimate ground left for their fight, then they should fight for their oppressed men now, as the references to the legal cases of sexual harassment in the USA should 'prove'. According to this logic, any woman who does not wish to accept the most violent form of eroticisation of hetero-gendered power is to be seen as a downright 'whore'. However, the position, inflected with the alleged hunger for bank accounts, situates 'feminists' as the ruthless embodiments of consumerism and cunning abuse of jurisdiction. Here the discourse of nationalism comes to be inflected with a misogynist backlash in the name of the already evoked claim to some post-feminist era.

What is also relevant to note is the reduction of all possible forms of feminism to the allegedly homogeneous 'American' form of it. No implication is given that there may be other forms of feminism: for example, in the European Union, which is often the ultimate point of reference (for or against) in any other political debate in Hungary. Alternatively, if the problem is that the feminisms are all 'alien' imports, there could be some reference to 'our own' different forms of women's movement, and even feminism, up until the 1940s. However, despite the absolute value of that very period against the immediate past, ironically history comes to be erased as a potential imaginary site for uniting the nation when it might run the risk of including the history of any 'home grown' woman's history. Instead, feminism comes to be called something 'alien'. This way nationalism is safely redirected in a universal present moment towards an absolute hatred against anything remotely related to the USA.

There is a further sub-text emerging here as well. The misogynist argument very often draws on the claim that women have become so

'masculine' that they have lost their femininity and therefore cannot feel attracted to anybody but women any more. It is the discourse of explicit homophobia evoking the ultimate threat of 'feminism' (that of a non-heterosexual woman). The meaning of 'feminist' comes to be conflated with 'lesbian': as such, feminists emerge as 'the' realization of 'pure' idiosyncrasy, and engage in terrorizing other women, using 'ideology' as their lethal weapon.

The point I would like to spell out here concerns the varying degrees of exclusion in the mainstream meaning-making practices of feminism in the media. The discourse of exclusion on the grounds of sexual orientation, unlike those on the grounds of racial and ethnic belonging, does not need to be hedged or implied in a modulated manner. It can be spoken about without any anxiety or concern: after all, who would want to risk any kind of implication, let alone identification with them through speaking up on behalf of the non-heterosexual collectives in contemporary Hungarian society? At the same time, it is also important to already note that the self-defining reformist feminist voices are eventually also caught within the discourse of heterosexism. However, the difference there lies in the modulated presence of the position in so far as it is only implied by the naturalizing logic and never openly thematized as the assumed common ground for reader and journalist, and that should therefore assume the force of a convincing argument against the evil of feminism.

The discourse of female difference

The third dimension of argumentation, like the second one, takes up the re-appropriation of feminist discourses, but this time those that valorize women's ways of knowing. The reader is referred to women's hostile opinion in an indirect way through the othering of 'feminist women' as fierce 'amazons', whose implied violent and aggressive behaviour only 'proves' that women eventually are happier left in the safety of their homes. This most painful reversal of the mainstream feminist discourse of the unconditioned acknowledgement of women's lived experiences is further articulated together with the discourse of outright homophobia; that non-feminist women are said to be frightened, in fact to the point of feeling 'terrorized', by the American redefinition of the non-heterosexual 'family'. This claim then can easily be articulated together with the anti-Communist argument in that the new democratic period should not allow for yet another aggressive 'ideology' that tells women what they should or should not want, like the Communist Party ideology used to do, and force women to perform all those 'male

jobs'. Ironically, though, one should ask: why all this concern then? Why all this intense hatred towards this outdated, discredited, alien Other?

Feminist voices

The odd moments when there are some self-identified feminists speaking in the media seem to happen on the occasion of some events that are found to be newsworthy. These include the publication of a feminist book, the foundation of a women's non-governmental organization, the foundation of a gender studies department, or, least of all, in relation to the reading of the Abortion Bill in Parliament, in which case 'women' are pushed into the focal point of the media's interest as if they are the only party concerned. In fact abortion became the most salient instance of legislative interest with three occasions of modification in ten years. The selection, however, seems to be systematic in that the media seems to abstract feminist politics away from the actual domains of policy making, redefining it as some form of merely cultural activity, and as such something that one hopes can be kept under control. From this perspective, the media practices of editorial decisions seem to domesticate the potentially unruly feminist practices. And instead of functioning like a potential public space for channelling the non-state articulations of women's needs, as formulated by Nancy Fraser (1997), the media functions as a successful gate-keeping institution in the interest of the hetero-gendered state systems.

Reformist feminist voices

For this chapter it is the attempts at co-opting feminist discourses that obtains special salience since the majority of what little feminist voice that is present comes from a liberal feminist embrace of the difference that Hungarian women's knowledge is said to make. However, this difference is pointed out not only in relation to and over men's ways of knowing and lived experience but also in relation to and over so-called Western feminist women's ways of knowing, and – through the sub-text of naturalized heterosexual desire – in relation to and over any radical lesbian feminist or gay position as well. The urgent need for the political potential of the latter voice may emerge as a legitimate expectation when we are confronted with the only moments of exposure of the heterosexist interests of the 'new democratic' system in Hungary in Extracts 5 and 6. In my view these multiple self-distinctions in the feminist voices are drawn from the shared perspective of the liberal agenda of emancipation. Ironically, it is motivated by a claim to the

emancipation of Hungarian (non-academic) women but via the emancipation of Hungarian feminist academic women only. As the various enactments of the discourse of discrimination in the mainstream extracts prove, this agenda cannot be a legitimate aim for us.

EXTRACT 3

J(ournalist): The past forty years have changed the social consensus a bit, millions of ladies who used to be confined to the hearth of the home could have the world opened up for them: our mothers could jump and drive the tractor, grab the bricklayer's bucket . . . The traditional values were overthrown, in hundreds of thousands of family hearths the heat went out . . . but what to expect now? How to relate, for example, to the recent emergence of aggressive woman managers, where to put the army of unemployed women, what to think about women's sexual emancipation? . . . There has been formed the 'Feminist Network'. Are you trying to take over the good old role of the 'Women's Council'?

A(cademic): Not at all. For one thing, the network is an organization of volunteers . . .

J: Shouldn't you start the reassessment with whether women are really the weaker sex, in need of support? Men's average life expectancy is 10 years less; . . . most of the homeless are also men.

A: Men's shorter life span, amongst other things, is a biological issue . . .

J: Shouldn't you just take over Western societies' position that shows a higher concern with women's interests?

A: It is not sure at all that we should take over their image of an idealized housewife . . . In the single wage earner family model the housewife is to provide all these services free of charge; the capitalist employer is freed from incurring expenses. In the West this division of labour has long traditions, but we need not fall into this trap . . . Of course, it is not that feminists would reject the major elements of the bourgeois family values, or would be anti-sex or anti-men. But we should dust the ancient perception of woman in order to see what we, women, want . . . So that, in accordance with our real needs, we can choose from various options.

J: Where are men in all this process?
A: Naturally, without men, feminists would be left all by themselves in it. It would be good to see that men take democracy seriously, beyond party politics as well and start practising it right in the home ... <u>A woman who is more balanced, has more time for her appearance and children, could be a nicer partner for men as well, which can, in turn, enhance men's well-being too. We also should make our own first steps in this direction right now!</u>

(*Reform*, 6 February 1994, 'The System Change by Women – Shock Effect and Feminism', by Kruppa Géza)

EXTRACT 4

J: Perhaps you should not encourage them to assume male roles but to perform their own. In your book you seem to refer to the biological and psychological differences between men and women with contempt.

A: My concern is whether biological difference is turned into social differentiation. <u>That is, whenever just because a woman is nice, feminine, and has got the capacity for sympathy, is suitable for dealing with people, teaching, whenever these splendid female characteristics are acknowledged not only in words but in terms of moral and financial appreciation she comes last</u>...But I also think that women ... must have energy, dynamism, and cleverness ...

J: Why is it that you try to make women protest instead of looking for solutions for repairing their relationships?

A: I do not make them rebellious but I can't accept that a woman always has to choose between her children and career. I'd like if both could be available.

(*Magyar Nemzet*, 10 March 2001, 'Business women and family robots: Feminine women and masculine men: Harmony in the family', by Anna Székely)

In so far as feminism is *not* about giving housewives their due as 'partners' who are pleasurable to live with, but is about changing the conditions of marriage altogether, a feminist critique of the media's meaning-making practices cannot stop at validating the (little) reformist self-definition of feminism. It must also ask *why* these feminist women find so little media space for their meaning-making practices, or rather why it is only this 'domesticated' liberal form of feminism that can emerge at all?

My answer to the question is that the three heterogeneous discourses of misogyny are linked together and figure as a coherent anti-feminist position through the logic of some new traditionalism as defined by Elspeth Probyn (1997). It can easily tame liberal feminism into a 'woman-centredness' through affirming a possibility of choosing between the home and career but never exposing the (hetero-) gendered bias in the (alleged) choice itself. In other words, in my view it is the very avoidance of the problematization of the public/private divide itself in the feminist self-definitions that can reveal our own vested interests in its maintenance, although in a more favourably redrawn fashion. That is, this is a strategy that leaves the achievement of our feminist academic position in the public domain 'natural', and leaves our contradictory relationship to the hegemonic culture 'natural'. This is a position that simply discredits any (other) feminist claim to political change, leaving us easily defenceless when it comes to the all too similar accusations of the misogynist mainstream voices.

Ideologically speaking, there are two major points in the logic of this type of academic discourse that give way to the traditionalist, neo-conservative attempts by the media for discrediting feminism. Both seem to be the effect of its grounding premise that takes gender as the naturally given social role imposed on sex(uality). It is a position that is imagined to be the same for all Hungarian women. However, this assumption reinforces the patriarchal regulation of women's labour and desire precisely because practices can be said to be ideological in that they aim to maintain the status quo by naturalizing the given hegemonic relations of patriarchal power, in this case that of unequal relations of gender. One is blind to its own class location and the other is blind to its own sexuality.

As Extract 4 shows, what the feminist sociologist is unable to see is that the hostility of the journalist is motivated by his implied understanding of the inflection of the class dimension. The academic voice comes to be seen as 'rebellious' only from the working-class women's less privileged potentials. But such an understanding should also involve exploring how professional women can gain some space for pursuing their career by in fact exploiting some other woman who must take over the bulk of the domestic labour, whether this be a grandmother or some cleaning woman, which is not the same as renegotiating the gendered bourgeois family economy in the new middle classes. This would mean the exposure of the dual location of consumption as demonstrated by Delphy and Leonard (1992), which could destabilize the untenability of seeing the professional middle-class

family as a single 'unit', undermining the state socialist legacy of seeing the (preferably married) couple as the ultimate unit against the interfering power of the state. The implication of the institution of hetero-normative marriage brings me to the homophobic moments in these reformist voices.

As Extract 3 shows, as long as the solution to the 'choice' between career and family is taken to be naturally based in a desire to have an equal partnership in a balanced complementarity between male and female 'partners', and in so far as this position takes heterosexuality as the only possible form of erotic relationship, it is an effect of heterosexism. And as such, it gets easily caught within the explicit voices of homophobia in the mainstream media.

The non-hetero-normative voices

As the limits of the reformist position shows, if we wish to seek an account of the complex hegemonic relations between the sexes, we need a much more radical understanding of what counts as a feminist approach. In the light of the telling similarity between the male academic voice and those of the feminist academics in the above interviews, what we need to do is expose the reason for this 'coincidence'. The reason could be that bourgeois patriarchy is kept successfully in its place by naturalizing its ideological conflation of gender and sexuality. By destabilizing the (theoretically) assumed reductive continuities between anatomical sex, social gender, sexual practice, desire and sexual identity we may expose not only the mainstream masculinist but also the reformist feminist exclusionary separation of biological/anatomical sex and social gender. In other words, it is not only the explicit discourse of homophobia of the mainstream media that can keep gender inequity in place, but the various reformist feminist voices in the interviews as well in that they fix sexuality on an allegedly completely material (biological) morphology of human bodies. At the end of the day all they fight for is some share of the male privileges without questioning the foundation of the structural division itself.

The only voice that speaks from within this radical and therefore favourable position in my data are the interviews with a British feminist activist who was a visiting academic and activist at the time, and with the male leader of the Hungarian GLBT Organization, *Habeas Corpus*. Both of them are also open about their outlaw sexuality. Furthermore, both interviews were published in the same political weekly called *MANCS* ('Paw', a term that is an acronym playing upon

the old ironic name of the magazine, *Magyar Narancs*, or 'Hungarian Orange'). It is a media product from the centre-left that was originally founded back in 1989 as the organ for the most radical political voice in party politics, that is, the Young Democrats (FIDESZ). As the party gradually gained support and eventually became the leading force in the third government in 1998, the magazine's takes on the democratization process shifted to the point of stark opposition. They eventually broke up and the editors were forced to give up their original name ('Hungarian Orange') in a symbolic court case over copyright payments due to the direct symbolism between the fruit logo of the party and the name of the magazine. This is the only media space to date that is potentially open to the most destabilizing voice of self-definition, even if their journalists seem to enact some distancing in the ironic mode of framing the occasions of the particular interviews.

EXTRACT 5

J: AB is a feminist but she does not bite. She has been active in Hungary since 1988, in the Autonomy Group, the only oppositional organization dealing with the woman question. Since then she has organized lectures on social gender, at ELTE[2] amongst other places, is a NaNe[3] activist, working on constitutional recognition of women's rights.

. . .

AB: In practice, there are two roles for them: self-sacrificing, or rather nurse and whore. If they assume some roles, especially that of self-confidence, that deserves only mockery, exclusion, sometimes even rape . . . Another explanation is that now it is democracy, and rape belongs to the private domain of life. Also, women are often persuaded not to go to court, they should rather be kind to their husband, besides, they would not win their case. This is what is meant by 'reconciliation' now. But feminists are also said to be lesbians. And if they protest, their opponents only become all the more satisfied because they have managed to change the topic, to shift the direction of feminist criticism, or perhaps, because they have succeeded in frightening other women to think the same. So the only good strategy is if a feminist answers: 'Sure, I am a lesbian. So what?'

(*MANCS*, 29 July 1998, 'Women's Section', by sisso[4])

EXTRACT 6

The Constitution Court declared that the institution of obligatory counselling is in the interest of keeping the fetus. And no MPs even in the opposition are critiquing that…The point is that all political parties accept the Council's perspective, that is, that women must be blamed, and no one proposes that it is the Constitution then that should be changed and that way they could invalidate the Council's decision…In practice the article on private initiation precludes the possibility of punishing rape in marriage, though in 1997 when it was included in the Penalty Code there was lots of celebratory noise.

(*MANCS*, 19 November 2000 'Hiding and Fear', by Géza Juhász)

Concluding remarks

In my opinion, the major insight one may learn from analysing the re-articulation of the speech/talk divide enacted by the media's gate-keeping strategies is that what democratization has come to mean so far is in fact an openness to a violent conjunction of exclusionary practices. Now it is free to abuse feminism, and most explicitly at the expense of non-normative sexualities. But there is also the painful lesson we feminists should see when rereading the reformist feminist positions, namely our own contribution to this homophobia. In so far as the various academic models of sexuality and gender are themselves part of the discourses that are available for making sexuality and gender intelligible, whatever they propose about the materiality or non-materiality of sexuality and gender, they can either expose or conceal the structures of hetero-gendered capitalism. In Hennessy's formulation:

In positing male and female as distinct and opposite sexes that are naturally attracted to one another, [they are practices of] heterosexuality [that are] integral to patriarchy. Woman's position as subordinate other, as (sexual) property, and as exploited laborer depends on [this] heterosexual matrix in which woman is taken to be man's [natural] opposite.

(2000: 24)

That is, the effect of hegemonic power relations between 'woman' and 'man' means that patriarchal structures organize sexual difference ideologically. What is at stake in the ideological struggle over how to make 'feminism' meaningful in the media, academic or otherwise, is how (not) to secure a heterosexual social order by harnessing desire and

labour in the interest of the expansion of the (cultural) capital and the accumulation of profits (including our own promotion or access to research funds). In the name of self-reflexivity, then, what feminist researchers should ask of themselves is: how far does our own theoretical discourse participate in the reification of this hetero-gendered sexual identity? *How to try to unhinge our own definitions of 'woman' and 'feminism' from her exploitative relationship to 'man'?* In short, any (media) analysis from a feminist perspective should make the interests of sexuality visible as well.

Appendix: originals of the extracts

Extract 1

Nyilvánvaló, hogy a modern feminizmusban nem a századfordulós suffragette mozgalomról beszélünk . . . Inkább egy sokadik ideológiáról van szó, mely éppen olyan intoleráns, brutális és abszolutumra törő, mint a marxizmus, a szcientizmus, a guruk által prédikált buddhista és hinduista terápia, a kábítószerek használata és a *New Age*. A radikális feminizmus, mely a *phallokráciát* kárhoztatja a világ minden bajáért, ilyenformán megérdemli a *vaginokrácia* nevet – bocsánat a csúnya neologizmusért –, mert szintén, mint a többi ideológia, egyöntetű filozófiai diagnózisra és politikai egyeduralomra tör. Mint a többi *soft ideologie* . . . a neofeminizmus is az Egyesült Államok társadalmának egyik bozontos, ugyanakkor groteszk terméke . . . Előbb mindent elkövetnek, hogy egy emberi bikát tenyésszenek, aztán megkövetelik a felajzott bikától a jámbor borjú magatartását. Nem csoda, ha tucatjával számolják ma a nőket (Mike Tyson boxbajnok, Clarence Thomas bíró, a Kennedy unokaöccs, stb. esete), akik milliókat kaszálnak, miután megvádolnak nemi erőszak címén valamely prominens férfit . . . A határeset, ma ilyesztően terjedve, a leszboszi szerelem és a gyermek elleni nemi merényletek óriási száma . . . Amit az amerikai tudósok, akik mindig készen állnak, hogy az abberrációt törvényesítsék, a 'család új megfogalmazásának' hívnak . . . Az osztályharcot a nemi harc váltotta fel, de sem osztályegyenlőség, sem nemi egyenlőség nincs. A feminista mozgalmak élén brutális, maszkulin amazonok állnak, akik megfélemlítik nőtársaikat és pederasztiába kergetik a másik nemet.

Extract 2

Örömmel hallom, hogy a magzatvédelmi törvény hatásaként – az elmúlt öt esztendőhöz viszonyítva – az idén átlagosan 20 százalékkal

csökkent az abortuszok száma . . . Európai intézeti ösztöndíjjal hosszabb időt töltök Bécsben . . . Minden épeszű és egészséges férfi szereti a nőket, jómagam is természetesen, de ismert a férfinyavalygás: olykor sem velük, sem nélkülük nem boldogulunk. Gyorsan hozzáteszem: szerintem akárhogyanis, de csak velük együtt, lehetőleg társat találva járhatjuk végig rövidre szabott földi utunkat . . . telve a város csicsás, drága butikokkal, ahol huszonéves, feltehetően érettségizett hölgyek unatkoznak . . . Ők a nyugati üzletasszony utánzó önmegvalósítók, csak éppen azt nem tudják, hogy ott szakértelem nélkül, felcicomázva be sem állhatnak a pult mögé . . . Egy merész gondolati ugrással, ezeknek a hölgyeknek a viselkedése erősen emlékeztet engem az ötvenes évek Magyarországának 'egyenjogú' füttyös kalauznőire, traktorista és esztergályos leánykáira, és asszonyaira . . . Természetese nem a 'babaszobát' hiányolom, <u>az Ibsen megírta *Nóra* állapotot . . . hanem a nyugati mintára agresszíven önmgvalósítók és a szabadabb lékörben 'férfiasan' viselkedők gyakorisága ellen szólok. Tudom, örvendetes az abortusztörvény, és ez segíti az igyekvő női lélekakarást de ez önmagában még kevés. Hol vannak a férfiak, akik megkönnyíthetik a nők életét, hol van a társadalom gazdasági háttere, ahol nem a hétköznapi hajszában megfáradt asszonyok várják férjüket, társukat?</u>

Extract 3

J: Az elmúlt negyven évben némileg megváltozott a szemlélet, a korábban csupán a tűzhely körüli tüsténkedésre kárhoztatott hölgyek millióinak kinyilt a világ: anyáink traktorra pattanhattak, megragadhatták a malteros vödröt . . . A hagyományos társadalmi értékrend felborult, több százezernyi családi tűzhelyben kihúnyt a parázs . . . De mi lesz most? . . . Hogyan viszonyuljunk például a frissen megjelent rámenős női menedzserekhez, hol a helye a munkanélküli nők seregének, vagy hogy milyen legyen a megítélése a nő szexuális felszabadultságának? . . . megalakult a Feminista Hálózat. Csak nem az egyik hajdani sóhivatal, a Nőtanács szerepét kivánják átvenni?

A: Szó sincs róla, hoszen a hálózat eleve spontán szervezet . . . mondja X Y, a feministák egyik szószólója.

J: Az újraértékelést nem annak felülvizsgálatával kellene kezdeni, hogy valóban gyengébbek, gyámolításra szorulók a nők? A férfiak átlag életkora csaknem 10 évvel kisebb . . . a hajléktalanok zöme is férfi.

A: A férfi korai elhalálozása sok egyéb mellet biológiai kérdés . . . A politika mindezt csak fokozza, mert egyelőre valós érdekek

képviselete helyett csak milliók számára nem is érthető ideológiai háborút vívnak egymással a különböző pártok ... Egy nemzetközi felmérés szerint, amig a nyugaton élő háziasszonyok két-három, addig egy kelet-európai hat-hét órát fordít naponta a háztartására.

J: Nem lenne egyszerűbb átvenni a ... nyugati társadalmak nők érdekeit jobban respektáló szemléletét?

A: Egyaltalán nem biztos, hogy át kell venni az ott kialakult idealizált háziasszonyképet ... Az egykeresős családmodellben az otthonmaradó háziasszony mindezt ingyen elvégzi, a gyáros mentesül a részben ráháruló ilyen jellegű kiadásoktól. Nyugaton ennek már kialakult hagyományai vannak, de nekünk nem feltétlenül kell belemennünk ebbe a csapdába ... Persze nem arról van szó, hogy a feministák elutasítanák a polgári családi értékrend főbb elemeit, vagy szex és férfiellenesek lennének. De a megcsontosodott nőszemléletről le kell fújni a port, és nézzük meg, végül is mi kell nekünk nőknek ... valódi igényeink szerint sok megoldás közül ki-ki maga választhasson.

J: A világ női újraértékelésénél hol vannak a férfiak?

A: Természetesen férfiak nélkül a feministák nagyon magukra maradnának. Jó lenne, ha a férfiak a demokráciát nem csupán a politikai életben gyakorolnák, hanem rögtön otthon kezdenék ... Ha majd az agyonhajszolt, neurotikus, csapzott, a terhektől roskadozó, rosszkedvű nők több levegőhöz jutnak, megbecsülik őket ... megváltozik körülöttünk a világ. <u>A derűsebb, önmagukkal és gyerekeikkel többet foglalkozó, ápolt asszonyok kellemesebb társai lehetnek a férfiaknak is, ami persze az ő életérzésüket is javítja. ... Már ma tegye meg mindenki a maga első kis lépését ebbe az irányba!</u>

Extract 4

J: Akkor talán nem arra kellene biztatni őket, hogy vállajanak férfi szerepet, hanem arra, hogy saját szerepüket játszák el. Mintha megvetéssel emlegetné könyvében a nemek közötti biológiai és leki különbségeket.

A: Problémám mindig abból adódik, amikor a biológiai különbségeket társadalmi különbségekké alakítják. <u>Tehát amikor azért, mert a nő kedves, nőies és megvan benne az empátia adottsága, alkalmas arra, hogy emberekkel foglakozzon, hogy tanítson, ezeket a nagyszerű női tulajdonságokat a szavak szintjén elismerik, de az erkölcsi és anyagi megbecsülés tekintetében legalulra kerül az illető</u> ... Nagyon szeretem, ha a nő él a nőiességével,

a férfi a férfiasságával, ez az élet sava-borsa...Ugyanakkor azt tartom, legyen egy nőben a nőiesség és szeretni tudás mellett energia, dinamizmus és okosság is. És nagyon férfiasnak tartom azokat a férfiakat, akik még ha nagyszerű üzletemberek is, akkor is segítnek otthon a háztartásban...

J: Ön vajon miért lázadásra buzdítja nőket, ahelyett hogy azokat a módozatokat keresné, amelyekkel a kapcsolatok megjavíthatók?

A: Nem lázadásra buzdítok, de nem tudom elfogadni, hogy egy nőnek mindig választania kelljen a gyerekei és a hivatása között. Szeretném, ha a kettő együtt a nő számára is adott lenne.

Extract 5

J: *AB* aktív feminista, de nem harap. 1988-tól tevékenykedett először Magyarországon az Autonómia csoportban, ami az ellenzéki szervezetek közül egyedül foglalkozott annak idején a nőkérdéssel. Azóta előadásokat szervez, többek között *az ELTE-n*, a társadalmi nemekről (gender)...*a NaNe* önkéntese,...a női jogok alkotmányos megerősítésén munkálkodik.

AB: Gyakorlatilag két szerep létezik számukra, az önfeláldozó anya, illetve ápolónő, és a kurva. Ha más szerepet vesznek fel, különösen ha öntudatos magatartást tanusítanak, azért gúnyolódás jár, akár kirekesztés, esetleg erőszak is...Újabb magyarázatot jelent, hogy most demokrácia van, és ez (az otthoni erőszak) magánszféra. Aztán sokszor lebeszélik a nőket arról, hogy feljelentést tegyenek, mondván: inkább próbáljanak jók lenni a férjükhöz, vagy hogy úgysem fognak pert nyerni. Ezt 'kibékítésnek' tekintik...De szokták persze a feministáknak azt is mondani, hogy leszbikusok, és ha emiatt ellenkeznek, csak még elégedettebbek lesznek, mert sikerült témát váltani, a mondanivalójukról elterelni a figyelmet, esetleg más nőket elriasztani a hasonló gondolkodásmódtól. Úgyhogy ilyenkor az egyetlen jó taktika, ha erre azt mondja egy feminista: persze, hogy az vagyok, na és?

Extract 6

Az Alkotmánybíróság kimondta, hogy a tájékoztatást a magzat megtartása érdekében kell kifejteni, ezt pedig egyetlen ellenzéki képviselő sem támadja...A nőt teherbe ejtő férfiről mindenki úgy gondolkodik, hogy ő pusztán szexuális életet élt. A probléma ott marad a nő hasában. A biológián nem lehet változtatni. Mégis úgy gondoljuk, hogy a férfiaknak és nőknek egyenlő jogot kell biztosítani a szexulitás területén is...a törvényjavaslat úgy tesz, mintha kizárólag a nők

dolga lenne a védekezés...Ha azt akarjuk, hogy a férfiak és a nők egyenlő szexuális szabadságot élvezzenek, akkor mentesíteni kell a nőket az aránytalanul nagy kockázattól....Magyarországon a közbeszéd nem ismeri a nők szexualitáshoz való jogát...Az a lényegi probléma, hogy mindegyik politikai erő elfogadja az AB felfogását, hogy a nőket kell hibáztatni, és egyikük sem javasolja, hogy az alkotmányt változtassák meg, és ezáltal tegyék tárgytalanná az AB határozatát.

Notes

1 GRE is the certificate every school learner must take, the condition for a university entrance exam. It is the equivalent of the GRE in the American education system.
2 ELTE stands for 'Eötvös Lóránt Tudományegyetem', Budapest (Eötvös Lóránt University, Budapest).
3 NaNe stands for 'Nők a Nők Elleni Erőszak Ellen', ('Women Against Violence Against Women') a feminist NGO (the short form is also a pun, playing on the Hungarian discourse marker, 'Na ne!' which, as a speech act, functions like a directive 'Come on! Don't do that.')
4 'sisso' is the author's pen name in the given magazine.

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10
Assumptions about Gender, Power and Opportunity: Gays and Lesbians as Discursive Subjects in a Portuguese Newspaper

Carlos A. M. Gouveia

Introduction

This chapter sets out to examine how gays and lesbians have been socially represented in one of the most important quality daily newspapers published in Portugal, *Diário de Notícias*, in a particular set of texts that was released over a week, under the general title '*Gay Power*' ('Poder Gay'). The texts appeared from Sunday, 22 April to Saturday, 28 April 2001 and were announced in a previous edition of the newspaper, on Friday, 20 April, as 'The Gay Power: an in-depth report starting Sunday in DN' ('O Poder Gay: Uma grande reportagem a partir de Domingo no *DN* [Diário de Notícias]').

Confirming the importance the newspaper was attributing to this specific news coverage, on Sunday, 22 April the entire front page was dedicated to it, as well as pages 2 and 3, and the editorial on page 5. Under the heading 'State of the nation' ('Estado da Nação'), in small capital letters, the front page presented readers with the large headline 'State promotes "gay" tourism' ['Estado promove turismo "gay"'], together with the following two sentences in small print: 'Lisbon City Council and ICEP edit catalogue for homosexuals. Poll reveals that "gays" have little influence in Portugal' ['Câmara de Lisboa e ICEP editam catálogo para homossexuais. Sondagem revela que "gays" são pouco influentes em Portugal']. The headline and the text are followed by a large photograph (and its caption) where in the foreground one can see two men in drag.

The remaining texts in the serial appeared over the following days and were spread over two inside pages of the newspaper, though always

(with the exception of the last day, Saturday, 28 April) with a brief text on the front page calling the reader's attention to them. These texts were part of the 'Society' section of the newspaper (one section among others, such as 'National', 'International', 'Education', 'Sports', 'Science', and so on). Apart from the ones published on the first day, all the texts were presented under the general heading 'Feature: Gay Power' ['Documento: Poder Gay']. These headings were numbered between brackets and in roman numerals, from two to six, plus the conclusion.

All the texts were about Portugal, except the ones on Wednesday, which were dedicated to Spain, and those on Thursday, which were dedicated to Brazil, France and Germany. The total number of words in the texts was 13,600.

In what follows I will begin by locating the present study in terms of the theoretical and methodological framework used, then move to a discussion of the socio-political context of Portugal in relation to the particular social group I am working with, gays and lesbians. This is followed by an analysis of the representation of gays and lesbians as discursive subjects in the newspaper in question. Finally, I will conclude by summarizing the findings of the analysis and suggesting some lines of interpretation for the overall news coverage in relation to the socio-cultural context that motivated it.

Theoretical and methodological framework

From the eclectic perspectives of analysis of public culture and of discourse in late modern social life, the frameworks for this study are Fairclough's theory and method of CDA (Fairclough 1989; 1992; 1995a; 1995b; 1998; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) and Halliday's theory of grammatical description, systemic functional grammar (Halliday 1994).

CDA is defined by Fairclough (1995b: 57) as the analysis of relationships between the three dimensions or layers of a communicative event: the text, the discourse practice, and the socio-cultural practice. In this framework, texts may be either just spoken or written, or spoken or written and visual; discourse practices are processes of text production and text consumption; and socio-cultural practices are the social and cultural activities of which the communicative events are a part. The theoretical assumptions supporting the framework stress the fact that language use is always constitutive of social identities, of social relations and of systems of knowledge and belief, in the sense that it helps shape these aspects of society and culture. As Fairclough (1995b: 55) puts it, the way this process takes place will depend upon different factors:

Language use is, moreover, constitutive both in conventional ways which help to reproduce and maintain existing social identities, relations and systems of knowledge and belief, and in creative ways which help to transform them. Whether the conventional or the creative predominates in any given case will depend upon social circumstances and how the language is functioning within them.

CDA is a textually-oriented discourse analysis (cf. Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 152), thus departing from other versions of discourse analysis. Its analytical claims about discourses and social life are anchored in close analyses of texts, using instruments and concepts from linguistic theories that share with CDA some of its assumptions about language, particularly the linguistic theory of systemic functional grammar (SFG), as this theory is seen as the one that has most in common with CDA (cf. Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 139).

SFG is a theory of grammatical description that views language as a semiotic system structured in terms of strata and that looks at grammar in terms of how it is used. It describes languages in functional terms with the aim of providing a general grammar for purposes of text analysis and interpretation. SFG is functional in several different but interrelated senses: for instance, in the way it looks at the linguistic system and at its description, in the way it looks at linguistic elements and structures, and in the way it looks at texts and at their interpretation (that is, in the description of how language is used). SFG is, thus, as Halliday (1994: xiv, xxvi) puts it:

a theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options … as a resource for making meaning. Each system in the network represents a choice: not a conscious decision made in real time but a set of possible alternatives.

Since choice is moved by intentionality, it ultimately means that speakers word and organize their texts according to and in order to fulfil the expectations they put in them as conveyers of messages. Echoing Leap (1996: xvii), and keeping the idea of text-as-choice in mind, we may say then that 'meaning is not inherent in text but is instead a product of situated, social action that must be studied accordingly'.

SFG has multiple applications and there are many purposes for using it. For a critical discourse analyst to use it, for instance, SFG needs 'to include considerable social contextual information to facilitate informed

text deconstruction' (Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997: 2). But no matter what its application, SFG doubtlessly provides analysts with the tools for understanding why a text is the way it is, and in that respect it stands as the most relevant theory of grammatical description to be used in a textually-oriented discourse analysis, as is the case with CDA.

As socially constructed systems, gender, power and opportunity are products of representations and social constructions of individuals and relations between individuals that are interwoven with processes of cultural and historical reproduction, in which tradition plays a fundamental role. The stability or variability of those systems – that is, the maintenance or modification of the social, gender and power positions of individuals in the community – depends on how tradition evolves over time. From the point of view of CDA, analysing assumptions about gender and opportunity as they are presented in the representation of gays and lesbians as discursive subjects in a Portuguese newspaper is therefore a reflection on the stability or variability of the systems in relation to their traditional configuration.

Tradition and the cultural context

The main characteristic of the news articles under analysis seems to be the willingness of the newspaper to make gays discursive subjects of news for a week. This is a fairly important aspect, considering that in Portugal homosexuality is not a theme found regularly in the news when compared with other countries, and in particular with other EU countries. For instance, in terms of legislation, one may say that in Portuguese laws there are more omissions concerning homosexuality than explicit references. These omissions give way to multiple situations of exclusion, which are made possible not only by the long tradition of socially silencing the homosexual condition, but also (and mainly) by the legal vacuum that frames that condition in terms of social rights.

As has been stressed by Santos and Fontes (2001: 175–6), this way of acting has been characteristic of the Portuguese state, which has tried to silence discrimination and harmonize consciences, while legitimizing a rigid morality that is heir to centuries of religious puritanism and to a lack of critical contestation.[1]

Due to these factors, Portuguese gay and lesbian activism is a reality that was only made possible in 1995, when ILGA-Portugal (International Lesbian and Gay Association–Portugal), the first lesbian and gay association, was founded. And though other similar movements were set up afterwards, it is a fact that to this day the majority of Portuguese

lesbians and gay men choose to remain 'in the closet'. As stressed by several activists interviewed for this specific news coverage, Portuguese gays and lesbians are still afraid of disclosing their sexual condition and of fighting for their rights, as they regard society as still too homophobic: 'Social fear is what prevents people from coming out, because they feel they will be discriminated against, if their sexual orientation becomes known' ['O medo social é o que faz com que as pessoas não se queiram assumir, porque sentem que vão ser prejudicadas, se a sua orientação for conhecida']. In this respect, the situation has similarities to that of Austria, as reported by Bunzl (2000: 215–16), where gay and lesbian activism has shifted 'from working toward large-scale social transformations (which would fully emancipate lesbians and gay men along with other oppressed peoples) to carefully targeted, ideologically flexible, efforts intended to subvert and disrupt the reproduction of heteronormative regimes'. A result of this shift was the organization of a Pride/Rainbow Parade almost at the same time in both countries (in 1996 and subsequent years in Austria, in 1997 and subsequent years in Portugal). But a major difference between Austria and Portugal is that despite the fact that the population of Austria is around 80 per cent of the size of Portugal's, in Austria the 'Rainbow Parades have drawn up to 50,000 marchers and spectators to Vienna's Historic Ringstraße – the symbolically-laden site of such political mass convergences as the annual labor day parades held on May 1st' (Bunzl 2000: 216), whereas in Portugal the parades have never had that many marchers and have been confined to low-visibility sites, such as Jardim do Príncipe Real and Praça do Município.

The symbolic repertoire of a community is not yet fully present in whatever binds lesbians and gay men together in Portugal. In fact, the ideological integrity that constitutes a community and informs the expression of its symbolic repertoire is non-existent if we consider that the reality of difference manifested by both gays and lesbians and by the members of each group in isolation consistently refuses to construct the appearance of similarity. While it is necessary to unite members in their opposition, this appearance of similarity may be in the process of formation but is not yet close to being totally expressed (for an appraisal of this process, see Meneses 1998). The growing numbers of bars and places of cultural animation one may label 'gay friendly' has helped develop a sense of identity, a sense of belonging to a community, but the community, in the precise sense of the notion, simply does not exist as it is not visible to the larger community.

It is a fact that in almost every country in the world there is fervent discussion about sexuality, its regulation and its equality. In Giddens'

words (1999: 51), 'There is a global revolution going on in how we think of ourselves and how we form ties and connections with others.' But as Giddens also points out (1999: 52), 'the transformations affecting the personal and emotional spheres go far beyond the borders of any particular country . . . We find parallel trends almost everywhere, varying only in degree and according to the cultural context in which they take place.'

Furthermore, along the lines of Meneses (2000: 954), but not entirely concordant with them, we may consider that gays and lesbians in Portugal see themselves more as part of the modernity and globalization of lifestyles than as members of a community constructed discursively on the basis of their homosexual condition and their history of discrimination; that is, the discourse of identity is mostly constructed through a confirmation of their difference in relation to the rest of society than through a discourse that aims at destroying the difference in the legal text and in social practices.

Concordant with some of the aspects mentioned above is the almost total absence of academic and scientific studies about gays and lesbians in Portugal when compared to other countries (Gameiro 1998; Meneses 1998; 2000; Santos and Fontes 2001 are somewhat the exceptions). This is due not only to a long tradition of gays and lesbians silently living their lives and hiding their sexual orientation, but also due to the lack of interest of researchers towards a non-visible 'community', their fear of being associated with a group that is still discriminated against, and their fear of the negative consequences that their research may bring them in academic as well as in social terms.

Analysis

Aiming to distance itself from what has been the practice in Portugal, the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* proposes a news coverage that will put homosexuals in the limelight for an entire week. This action is based on the principle stated in the editorial on the first day of news that 'The so-called right to be different in sexual orientation has become an irreversible reality during the last few decades' ['O chamado direito à diferença na orientação sexual é uma realidade irreversível das últimas décadas']. Keeping this principle in mind, the newspaper stresses in the same editorial that

> Um posicionamento social moderno e equilibrado deve situar-se no combate à discriminação e no apoio a todas as medidas capazes de garantir a um cidadão a plena igualdade de direitos em todas as circunstâncias, independentemente das suas preferências sexuais.

(a modern and balanced social positioning must be located in the fight against discrimination and in the support of all the measures capable of guaranteeing a citizen full equal rights in every circumstance, independently of his/her sexual preferences.)

This seems to be, from the start, the point of view of the newspaper, particularly because this last sentence is the only one foregrounded in the text as it is repeated in a separate column. In the process of construction of its ideal reader, the editorial is then providing a reading position from which the news coverage seems unproblematic and natural. That is, it serves as an example of 'a modern and balanced social positioning' condemning and fighting any form of discrimination towards the social group in question; but, as we shall see, that is not the case.

The editorial

Beginning with the editorial written by the director of the newspaper, what we have in the texts constituting the data does not seem to be what readers, following the highlighted text, may want to consider 'a modern and balanced social positioning'. On the contrary, considering this same editorial, entitled '[The] Gay Power' ['O poder "gay"'],[2] what readers are to find is an *unbalanced* social positioning: first, because the editorial and the remaining texts in this news coverage simply presuppose the existence of a social group, gays, that has considerable power in social terms; and second, because from that presupposition one can read the assumption that gays should not have that power. If we are to pursue that argument, the assumption that gays should not have the power they have is not only based on the presupposition that they have it (if a group has power and if that power is negative, then the group should not have that power), but also on the following negative premises stated in the editorial that validate the assumption: (a) the gay community functions 'as an organized force with the aim of protecting or benefiting its members, in professional life, in politics or even on the more noble plane of social solidarity'; (b) the power they have is 'a domain of yet unclear features', whose veil must be uncovered; and (c) it is a power that has 'less transparent aspects' and 'tends, sometimes, to surpass the admissible frontiers of action in a democracy'.

Referimo-nos ao *funcionamento da comunidade gay como força organizada com o objectivo de proteger ou beneficiar os seus membros, na vida*

profissional, na política ou ainda no plano mais nobre da solidariedade social.

O DN inicia hoje a publicação de um conjunto de trabalhos que procura *levantar o véu* sobre esse *mundo de contornos ainda difusos que é o poder gay* . . . não nos inibiremos de abordar *os pontos menos transparentes de um poder que tende, por vezes, a extravasar as fronteiras de acção admissíveis numa democracia.* (my emphasis)

It is rather surprising to find stated as facts what, *de facto*, is a matter of opinion. What one can read in this editorial are serious accusations that portray a community as putting unwarranted pressure on society and other social and institutional groups so as to favour its interests. There is nothing wrong with the assertions, particularly if one is to find them substantiated in the texts that constitute the news coverage, which in turn is guided by 'the seriousness and rigour that are the trademark of journalism' produced by the newspaper, as stated in the same editorial: 'Fá-lo-emos com a seriedade e o rigor que são a imagem de marca do jornalismo desta casa.' Contrary to expectations, what the readers find in the texts is not a substantiation of the assertions stated in the editorial. Furthermore, these assertions are, in most cases, denied by the people interviewed, mostly politicians and defenders of gay rights, and particularly by the informants of the poll presented by the newspaper on the first day of its report: 'Homosexuals are discriminated against by Portuguese society. According to the results of the DN/Marktest poll, most Portuguese think that gays are not favoured and that they have little power of decision.' ('Os homossexuais são discriminados pela sociedade portuguesa. De acordo com os resultados da sondagem DN/Marktest, a maior parte dos portugueses considera que os gays não são favorecidos e têm pouco poder de decisão.').

Transitivity processes

Another important but dubious aspect that deserves attention is related to the decision to make gays into discursive subjects for an entire week. It seems to have been called for by the necessity to portray the gay community as 'an organized force', thus warning society about the dangers they represent. Despite the fact that, as stated in the editorial, 'we have come a long way from the days when the life of a homosexual was confounded with the existence of outcasts in the dark ages' ['estamos já muito longe dos tempos em que a vida de um homossexual se confundia com a existência dos párias da idade das trevas'], the newspaper seems to suggest that the gay community is a dangerous one.

This process is made clear by an analysis of the data from the point of view of the transitivity processes used. For instance, counting only the 20 processes in which the noun *gays*[3] is used as subject, without any type of modification to the noun, one finds that it is mainly a participant in relational processes, totalling 65 per cent of the occurrences, as shown in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1 Transitivity processes in which the subject is the noun *gays*

Processes	Occurrences	Percentage
Material	4	20
Mental	0	0
Relational	13	65
Verbal	0	0
Behavioural	0	0
Existential	3	15
Total	20	100

It is rather striking that as discursive subjects, gays are represented in the newspaper mainly as participants in attributive relational processes (Halliday 1994). Considering that 'Strictly speaking, neither of the basic experiential terms, "process" and "participant", is completely appropriate for this category [relational processes]' (Thompson 1996: 86), one may say that gays are not entirely participants in the actions represented in the texts of the newspaper. In fact, they are represented mainly as Carriers of Attributes, as in:

os gays não são favorecidos e têm pouco poder de decisão
(gays are not favoured and have little power of decision)

Tudo parece indicar que os gays têm cada vez mais poder
(It seems that gays have increasingly more power)

As real participants in transitivity processes, gays are mainly Existents in existential processes, or goals in material processes. As one can see from the processes below, exemplifying, respectively, an Existential process and two material ones, gays are affected participants in agentive processes. On the other hand, cases of representation where gays are Actors, exemplified by the last example in this series, are rather rare:

Há gays em todo o sítio
(There are gays everywhere)

foi João Soares que pôs os gays no nosso mapa político
(it was João Soares who put gays on our political map)

Sei, por exemplo, de um banco que dava prioridade a homossexuais
(I know, for instance, of a bank that gave homosexuals priority)

Os adolescentes homossexuais têm de se bater contra a discriminação
(Homosexual adolescents have to fight against discrimination)

In the texts under analysis, the representation of gays mainly as participants in relational processes is very important. Indeed, despite the fact that the texts are about gays, which makes them not only discursive subjects but also an available social category open to definition and characterization, the authors of the texts could have chosen to represent them more as participants in processes other than relational. Considering that this type of process is used to represent class membership (attributive relational processes) and symbolization (identifying relational processes), the final result in terms of the representation being constructed can only be that of ascribing to gays certain attributes, either as a quality, a circumstance or as a possession; or it may be of using another entity to identify gays, again either by a matter of quality, of circumstance or of possession. This type of representation serves the purpose of confining the social group under consideration to a set of characteristics that indicate membership and identity and which helps to differentiate them from other social groups (that is, from other memberships, other identities).

The process just analysed is homologous to the process of constantly affirming that in Portuguese society gays have power. In fact, the Nominal Group 'gay power' that serves as a header for the texts is itself a nominalization[4] of another attributive relational process (gays have power) that helps to construct a sense of threat associated with gays, via the naturalized assumption that they have power.[5] Tending towards this construction of fear in the minds of the readers, the newspaper treats power as a monolithic concept, as the sort of thing a social group can have to a greater or lesser degree, in a society that may be regarded as what is called an economy of power.[6]

It is rather awkward, though, that, despite most of the interviewees denying the existence of this power, the newspaper insists on its presence in Portuguese society. Furthermore, if one looks at the Attributes that gays are Carriers in attributive relational clauses, one may note a discrepancy between the Attributes given to gays in the texts and the general idea of gay power transmitted by the overall news coverage. In fact, almost all

the Attributes contradict the general assumption that gays have power, with only a minority of them confirming that idea. What we find in the texts is that gays are 'are not very influential in Portugal' ['são pouco influentes em Portugal'], are 'discriminated against by Portuguese society' ['são discriminados pela sociedade portuguesa'], are 'constantly attacked' ['são constantemente atacados'], are 'not favoured' ['não são favorecidos'], have 'little power of decision' ['têm pouco poder de decisão'], are 'not a lobby' ['não são "lobby"'], are 'people who naturally have diverse options, particularly in terms of political choices' ['são pessoas que, naturalmente, têm opções diversas, nomeadamente em matéria de escolhas políticas'], and, if they happen to be politicians, they are 'right wing' ['os políticos gays são de direita']. Transmitting the opposite idea, but highlighted by the newspaper in the headlines, there are only a few Attributes such as: gays are 'quite powerful' ['têm muita força'] and are 'well placed in the entrepreneurial world and in political positions' ['estão bem colocadas, no meio empresarial ou em cargos politicos'].

Moreover, the lexical choices associated with the representation in transitivity processes belong to what we may refer to as an abstract domain, not to a material, causative domain. In fact, bearing in mind expressions such as 'political map', 'influential', 'power of decision', 'lobby', 'well placed', 'entrepreneurial world', 'political positions', and so on, we may actually say that gays are not represented as concrete entities, performing concrete activities.

Quotes and projecting verbs

Most of the Attributes referred to above are given by the interviewees. Generally speaking, we may say that the interviewees fall mainly into three categories of social actors: politicians, advocates for gay rights and gay people. The entities considered in these three categories seldom speak for themselves (there are no letters to the editor or opinion texts, for example). Most of the time their discourse is represented by the journalists, whose practice is to submit the discourses to a selection process, to a representation of what was actually said.

The journalistic representation of the social actors' discourse is made by direct quotes or by reports of their 'voices' using what is called, in traditional grammar, direct speech, reported speech and free reported speech. Most of the texts are thus a mediation of the discourses of the social actors integrated in another discourse, that of the journalist.

From a clausal point of view, and following Halliday's systemic functional model, what we are dealing with here are cases of projection, the logical-semantic relation in which a clause does not work as a direct

representation of non-linguistic experience but as a representation of a linguistic representation. Projection varies according to the characteristics of its discursive function, to the interdependency between clauses and according to the projecting process that motivates it; thus projection may result in a quote, a report or a fact.

The establishment of obvious or oblique frontiers between the discourse that represents/projects and the discourse that is represented/projected, whether we are facing quote cases or report cases, is in itself an important variable for analysing the data (Fairclough 1995: 81); it is even more important when it is looked at in relation to the projecting verbs, as the overall result activates a particular framing that informs the way the represented discourse is interpreted.

As faithful representations of linguistic representations, quotes are abundantly used in the general data under analysis. However, their frequency of use is much lower than that of report cases. This is probably because the report, being a summarizing process, is more open to the transformation of the represented discourses, thus becoming more easily integrated in the discourse and the ideological purposes of the journalists. In that respect it is important to note that the transformation of quotes into reports, when moving from what people say to headlines or leads reporting what people say, is more often than not a transformation of both *the spirit and the letter* of what was actually said. For instance, in one of the texts, the Mayor of Lisbon (known for being supportive towards gays and lesbians) is quoted as having said that in his team at the City Council there are no gays and lesbians. This is quoted as a confirmation of his sympathy for gays and lesbians and to make the point that this sympathy does not lead him to favour gays (that is, to discriminate positively towards: gays and lesbians).

'Mais do que o BE (Bloco de Esquerda), foi João Soares quem pôs os gays no nosso mapa politico', anota Manuel Monteiro. O autarca confirma. Mas acrescenta: 'Na minha equipa da Câmara Municipal, não há gays nem lésbicas'.

('More than BE (Left Coalition Party), it was João Soares who put gays on our political map', notes Manuel Monteiro. The Mayor confirms. But he adds: 'In my team on the City Council there are neither gays nor lesbians.')

It is interesting to note how these projections, which constitute the last paragraph of the text in question, give readers a different reading from that of the paragraph beneath the title of the text:

'Quem pôs os gays no nosso mapa político foi João Soares', diz Manuel Monteiro. 'Mas não há homossexuais na Câmara', contrapõe o autarca.

('The one who put gays on our political map was João Soares', says Manuel Monteiro. 'But there are no homosexuals on the City Council', counterargues the Mayor.)

The difference between the two extracts, or should one say the difference between the two versions of the same quote, apart from being a difference in wording, is most of all a difference in the way of rendering meaning. In the paragraph beneath the title of the text, the whole thing is represented as a verbal fight between two politicians, with an accusation and a subsequent defence. In fact, the Mayor is represented as defending himself. Note for that matter the projecting verb used to project his quote, 'contrapõe' ('counterargues'). The relevant thing about the paragraph beneath the title of the text is that the Mayor's quote is different from the one in the final part of text. From one quote to the other the Mayor's team on the City Council has become 'the City Council', that is, from a reduced spatial location circumstance we pass into a large one. This transformation helps to represent a different Mayor, one that either has imposed a restrictive policy on the employment of gays and lesbians in the City Council, a discriminating one, or a Mayor that claims to have control over something that is far from being controlled.

The example above is not an isolated one as the process underlying it is used several times in this news coverage. For instance, the same process serves to connect gays to right-wing politics and to portray them as a reactionary group. Considering that in Portugal, a country that was ruled by a fascist dictatorship for almost 50 years, the word reactionary has a high negative status, bringing into the reader's mind the fascist regime and the struggle for freedom, its use is not innocent at all. Furthermore, the word is used as part of an Attribute in a relational clause in which gays are construed as Carriers. This clause, a quotation, is presented as the title of a text together with the verbal process that projects it:

BE acusa: 'Gays são reaccionários'
(BE accuses: 'Gays are reactionaries')

The Sayer in the verbal process is BE, the Left Coalition of small political parties that has publicly defended gay and lesbian rights. It is interesting to note how this title frames not only the text in itself but the entire news

coverage. In fact, the title provides a general attribute to gays that stands in close relation to the relational process that synthesizes the entire theme of the news coverage, 'gays have power', nominalized in the noun group 'gay power'. The particular projecting verb used, 'acusa' ('accuses'), is again very important. It helps the construction of gays as dangerous entities from whose positions and methods of lobbying even the Left Coalition, a traditional defender of gay rights, is trying to distance itself. The implication of the title and the text is: what can one expect then from gays when even the Left Coalition is trying to distance itself from them?

The use of this headline led to an extra text in this news coverage as the coalition party in question wrote a letter to the newspaper protesting against the title saying:

O título da notícia é errado. Nenhum dirigente do Bloco de Esquerda fez alguma vez essa absurda generalização.

(The news headline is wrong. None of the leaders of the Left Coalition has ever made this absurd generalization.)

Collocates and noun groups

The representation of gays as reactionaries is homologous to their representation as a powerful and dangerous group. Not counting function and non-content words, the most recurrent collocates for the word gay(s) in the entire set of texts are power, community and lobby. These collocates function as Thing in noun groups where gay is a Classifier, as we can see in Table 10.2.

The use of these noun groups helps construct the idea of an organized force present in Portuguese society. The construction of that 'organized force' as a dangerous one is a matter of the ideational devices used to

Table 10.2 Most recurrent collocates for the word 'gay(s)'

Nominal group	Occurrences
gay power (*poder gay*)	15
gay community (*comunidade gay*)	14
gay lobby (*lobby gay*)	10

represent it: namely, transitivity processes and modifications in the noun groups 'gay power', 'gay lobby' and 'gay community'. In the case of the noun group 'gay power' (repeated throughout the news coverage as its general title), it is construed as a Carrier in relational processes such as 'still has no face' ['continua sem rosto'] and 'is still a shadowy world' ['é um mundo de contornos ainda difusos'], and as an Actor in the material abstract process 'conditions political behaviours' ['condiciona os comportamentos politicos']. In the case of the noun group 'gay lobby', pre-modified at least in one instance by the Epithet 'powerful' ['poderoso lobby gay'], it is construed as Existent in existential processes, as a Carrier in a relational process such as 'is well organized' ['está bem organizado'] and as a post-modifier in the noun group 'prisoner of the gay lobby' ['prisioneiro do lobby gay'], which is in itself an attribute of a negative relational process of which the Left Coalition party is the Carrier.

Concerning the noun group 'gay community', it is a Carrier in the nominalized relational processes 'this freedom of movements manifested by the gay community' ['esta liberdade de movimentos manifestada pela comunidade gay'] and 'the functioning of the gay community as an organized force' ['o funcionamento da comunidade gay como força organizada']; it is used as a post-modifier in the noun group 'the major obstacle of the gay community' ['o maior obstáculo da comunidade gay'], and as an Existent, or post-modifier, in noun groups that are Existents in existential processes.

What is disclosed through this analysis is not at all favourable to gays. In fact, besides the idea of a community that it helps to construct, classified as an organized force with a certain freedom of movement that is unacceptable, these occurrences, when seen together, make it clear that the main objective of the coverage is to promote a sense of fear in the newspaper's readers. The newspaper puts itself in the position of the 'defender of the realm', warning the readers about the dangers that we are all facing due to the existence of a gay lobby in Portuguese society.

Opportunity and gender

In Portugal, power is a male domain, revealed not only in the high number of cases of domestic violence and sexual harassment towards women, but particularly in the low number of women that have access to decision-making posts. For instance, in 1999 in the European Union, Portugal was one of the countries with the lowest percentage of women elected to its national Parliament, 17.4 per cent (40 out of 230), and with the lowest percentage of women elected to the European Parliament, 20 per cent (5 out of 25). In the same year, only 6 (9.4 per cent) out of

the 64 government members (ministers and secretaries of state) and only 2 (15.4 per cent) out of the 13 members of the Constitutional Court were women (Canço and de Castro 2000: 95–100).[7]

What these numbers reveal is that in Portuguese society, men, including gay men, have access to opportunities in ways that are not available to women, and the newspaper reflects this social stratification and discrimination in these specific news articles. For instance, the majority of the interviewees that fall into the social category of gay people are really gay men. In fact, lesbians are a social category that hardly appears in the entire news coverage.

After analysing the occurrences of the word 'lesbian(s)' in the texts, either as nouns or as adjectives, we come to the conclusion that the word occurs only 22 times while the word 'gay(s)' occurs 197 times. Furthermore, seven of the occurrences of the word lesbian happen to be adjectives associated with the adjective gay in complex noun groups, such as 'gay and lesbian film festival' or 'gay and lesbian bookshop', which are standard designations which the newspaper has to comply with.

In 11 of the remaining uses of the word, 'lesbian(s)' stands in relation either to 'gay(s)' (6 occurrences) or to 'homosexual(s)' (5 occurrences), in each case forming a copulative noun group that represents women and men separately. The noun group 'homosexuals and lesbians', though, is a problem as it represents women and men differently, with the concept of homosexuality being applied only to men.

Of the remaining four uses, two of them refer to concrete examples, but they are not expressive, as they refer to the French tennis player Amélie Mauresmo, who publicly announced her homosexual orientation, and to the activist movement Delas, a lesbian movement in Brazil. What we can extract from all these numbers is that only two instances of the word are used to actually represent differences between the women and men. One is in relation to the social situation in Spain, of which it is said that 'the change in mentalities [concerning gay men] does not seem to cover lesbians who continue to say they still are being discriminated against' [A mudança de mentalidades parece não abranger as lésbicas, que continuam a dizer-se discriminadas]. The other is the quotation of a Portuguese politician who says that 'there is more tolerance in society towards male homosexuality than towards lesbians' [Há mais tolerância da sociedade em relação à homossexualidade masculina do que quanto às lésbicas].

The representation of different systems of opportunity in relation to gays and lesbians does not seem to be important for the newspaper. It is as if whatever is said about gays is also true about lesbians. But that

social construction is not exclusive to the reporters, considering the fact that even the way gay men talk about homosexuality is male-specific and male-oriented, as it is marked by the masculine grammatical gender, despite the fact that in certain circumstances a neutral meaning could have been worded as in the following example, already quoted, produced by a gay rights activist:

O medo social é o que faz com que *as pessoas* não se queiram assumir, porque sentem que vão ser prejudicadas, se a sua orientação for conhecida. (my emphasis)

(Social fear is what prevents people from coming out, because they feel they will be discriminated against, if their sexual orientation becomes known.)

The absence of any explicit references to lesbians as agents of power, at the same level as gay men, ultimately mirrors the systems of gender and opportunity that are at play in Portuguese society. In fact, the use of the noun 'gays' as a way to signify both gay men and lesbians is concordant with the use of 'Man' [Homem], for instance, to refer to both men and women,[8] a use that is generalized in Portuguese society.

Gay males as effeminate beings

Texts in the last day of the news coverage are all about the presence of gays and lesbians in the arts. The first page opens with a lead covering the entire page of texts as follows: 'whereas in cinema, theatre, music, literature or in fashion, there is greater openness in relation to homosexuality' ("Nas artes, seja no cinema, teatro, música, literatura ou moda, existe uma maior abertura em relação à homossexualidade"). This lead is used to introduce the texts but it serves another purpose: that is, to justify the newspaper's incursion into the culture and fashion industries. Instead of actually questioning the stereotyped assumption that equates gays and lesbians with the field of the arts in general, the newspaper chooses to perpetuate that stereotype by providing readers with a reading position that validates the stereotype. Despite gays being 'in all places', as said by an interviewee, who is an activist for gay rights, the newspaper chooses to focus their readers' attention on the arts, culture and fashion industries.

Moreover, in these pages composing the last of the sequence, the newspaper also validates the social construction of gay males as effeminate beings. That construction was already present in the words of two politicians quoted in a previous edition of the newspaper:

Os pederastas são tipos macios, suaves, com sensibilidade e tendência artística. E têm um diálogo amável com as mulheres.

(Pederasts are suave, gentle, sensitive guys with an artistic tendency. And they engage in easy-going conversation with women.)

Conheço homossexuais que se comportam de forma muito digna. Mas alguns dos que assumem essa orientação sexual fazem-no, por vezes, de forma extremamente panfletária, o que acaba por ser prejudicial para a imagem dos homossexuais em geral.

(I know many homosexuals who behave in a very dignified way. But some who openly admit that sexual orientation sometimes do it in a rather showy way that ends up being harmful to the image of the homosexuals in general.)

What the newspaper chooses to do is to pick out the stereotype and develop it further by the perpetuating this social construction in its representation of gays in the arts and fashion industries. Using a relational process to transmit the idea of 'the stuff they are made of is well known', that is, 'the threads sowing together the personalities of those whose mission is to create, present and sell all sorts of fashion products, are well known' ('são por demais conhecidas as linhas com que se cosem as personalidades daqueles que têm por missão criar, apresentar e vender os diversos artigos de moda'), one particular journalist ends up by associating with a gay orientation the following professions: fashion designers, top models, hairdressers, fashion accessories designers, and sellers of cosmetic products.

Conclusions

In the West, the main elements of sexuality have changed over the last few decades. As Giddens (1999: 57) puts it:

Sexuality is for the first time something to be discovered, moulded, altered. Sexuality, which used to be defined so strictly in relation to marriage and legitimacy, now has little connection to them at all. We should see the increasing acceptance of homosexuality not just as a tribute to liberal tolerance. It is a logical outcome of the severance of sexuality from reproduction. Sexuality which has no content is by definition no longer dominated by heterosexuality.

Although these trends may be visible everywhere in the industrialized world, the way they are dealt with varies from society to society. In Portugal, the discussion in Parliament of a Civil Unions Law that would guarantee domestic partner benefits to gay couples in exactly the same way they were to be guaranteed to heterosexual couples may be seen as one of the outcomes of those trends. It was during this discussion in Parliament that gay associations and activists were most visible, asking for equal rights not only under the Civil Unions Law but also a specific paragraph of the Constitution (Paragraph 13) that would add sexual orientation to the list of attributes (such as sex, race, religion, language and social condition, for instance) on the basis of which citizens could not be discriminated against. The initial bill, presented by the Socialist Party, which did not discriminate against any type of domestic partnership (no matter the status), being thus favourable to most of the claims put forward by gay associations and activists, was substantially reduced and did not fulfil the expectations raised during the public discussion. The final outcome was a Civil Unions Law that is far from guaranteeing gay couples the same rights as their heterosexual counterparts.

The news coverage analysed in this chapter was produced a few months after this discussion and was thus framed and informed by it. In fact, one can say that this news coverage found its motivation in the public discussion that took place at the time of discussion of the Civil Unions Law in Parliament. And in that sense, what one can see in the coverage is homologous to what one could notice during the discussion, considering that in both cases there was an initial willingness not to discriminate against gays and lesbians, despite the outcome being rather different.

Taking into account the analysis just presented, we can say that in this specific representation there is an explicit refusal to discriminate negatively against gays and lesbians, but at the same time there is also the construction of a sense of fear associated with homosexuality, via the assertion that gays and lesbians have more social and political power than one would expect. Furthermore, as I hope has been shown, the homophobia is male-directed. In fact, although one may see a reference to the power of both gays and lesbians in the noun group 'gay power', analysis shows that lesbians are not explicitly referred to as agents of power. This ultimately brings to the forefront of the process of discrimination the discrimination women undergo in a society which claims to have the most advanced female-rights legislation in the world but where they are far from having their rights guaranteed in their daily life and where the exercise of power is still a male prerogative.

The fear the newspaper wants its readers to experience focuses on the existence of a so-called gay lobby. Once again, it represents a case of discrimination in the long history of discrimination against gays and lesbians, intended to: (a) prevent gays and lesbians from 'coming out' and from defending their rights; and (b) maintain the traditional view of male homosexuals as effeminate beings and, as such, fitting into only certain jobs and activities in social life, such as culture and the fashion industries.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 This is still true and plays an important part in the legal text. As Santos and Fontes (2001: 176) point out, Portuguese law, against European recommendations, not only 'forgot' to criminalize discrimination based on sexual orientation, but has also tolerated, up till now, some legal regulations indirectly but effectively punishing the homosexual citizen which may still be active. These include, for instance, specific regulations that prevent their access to a military career or that prevent them from being blood donors.

2 The use of the definite article (even if between brackets) in the expression 'The Gay Power' is kept from the original expression in Portuguese, where, in this context, and contrary to the English language, its usage is optional. The fact that the editor chose to use it is thus meaningful, as it contributes to emphasizing and discursively establishing in the minds of its readers the power the newspaper refers to.

3 For these statistics, I am only considering cases such as 'gays earn wages above the average' ['os gays recebem ordenados acima da média'], leaving out cases where *gays* is not the head of the noun group as in 'Gay consumers travel more and choose more expensive destinations' ['Os consumidores gays viajam mais e escolhem destinos mais caros']. The overall analysis is not restricted to this data, though, which serves here only as an example.

4 Critical linguists such as Roger Fowler, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew (1979) have been particularly concerned with nominalization as an effect of the deletions of participants in processes of transitivity, and in that respect their work has been highly influential for the consideration of techniques for obscuring agency. But, as stressed by Potter (1996: 182), while nominalization is 'a

technique for categorizing actions and processes that allows the speaker or writer to avoid endorsing a particular story about responsibility', other techniques 'build an impression of agency'. That is the case of the so-called 'intention-promoting' verbs. In the data under analysis, the headline 'State promotes "gay" tourism' ['Estado promove turismo "gay"'], on the front page of the first day of news has an example of an 'intention-promoting' verb. The story concerns the production of a leaflet entitled 'Lisbon Friendly', produced by the City Council under a protocol with a Gay and Lesbian Association, and distributed internationally by governmental agencies. While it is strictly true that the action being reported is a promoting, marketing one, the title implies something bigger, that is, that the government/the state is in fact promoting a bill in Parliament concerning gay tourism (tourism for Portuguese gays).

5 I am well aware that in English the expression 'gay power' is paradigmatic with such expressions as 'black power', carrying with it meanings that go far beyond the ones involved in a restricted sense of the expression. One has to bear in mind, though, that the meanings associated with such expressions have never been fully activated in the Portuguese language, namely the meanings of emancipation or of access to full rights. Portugal only became a democracy in 1974, and before that time there was tough censorship and a total absence of freedom. Before the 1974 revolution, and against the opinion of the rest of the world, namely the UN, Portugal still had colonies (which only gained independence in 1975), for instance, and women (up till the end of the 1960s) were not allowed to travel, open a bank account or run a business without the consent of their husbands or fathers (see Mónica 1996: 218–19). It is not entirely certain that the meaning of 'emancipation', for instance, is associated in Portuguese with the expression "gay power" by most of the newspaper's readers. In fact, the reading of the expression as a nominalization of an attributive relational process seems not only more adequate at the light of this clarification but also when considering the manipulation of meaning uncovered by the remaining analysis of the data.

6 Notice for this matter, that the question most of the interviewees were asked to answer was 'Is there a gay lobby/power?', as if the main concern was to get to know whether gays have or do not have power in Portuguese society. This also shows that the interpretation of 'gay power' as a nominalization of the relational attributive process 'gays have power', discussed above and referred to in the previous endnote, seems correct.

7 Four years before, in 1995, these same figures were as follows: national Parliament: 12.2 per cent (28 out of 230); European Parliament: 8 per cent (2 out of 25); Government members: 10.3 per cent (6 out of 58); Constitutional Court: 15.4 per cent (2 out of 13) (Canço and Joaquim 1995: 123–5).

8 The use of the generic 'he/man' in English, of course, has been well documented by feminists (for example, Spender 1985).

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