

Language and Gender

(ENG527)

VIRTUAL UNIVERSITY OF PAKISTAN

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Lesson 01

SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND-I

Topic-001: Introduction to the Course

The central theory of this course is that language builds our social and gender identities when we use it in social practices. All worlds' theories agree on the world- building capacity of language itself. As participants produce discourse in the real world – as we talk to one another, read a novel or a poem, watch a film or a play – we create mental representations of states of affairs, based on the language we encounter. These mental representations have been variously termed 'possible worlds' (see Ryan 1991), 'text- worlds' (see Werth 1999), 'storyworlds' (see Herman 2002), 'mental spaces' (see Fauconnier and Turner 2003), 'narrative worlds' (see Gerrig 1993) and 'frames' (see Emmott 1997) by an assortment of researchers, from differing but closely related disciplines, all with their own specific analytical aims. For some analysts, the 'text- as- world' metaphor simply provides a neat, but broadly applied description of the cognitive activity which enables us to comprehend discourse. The following reading will clarify the possible world theory.

Possible worlds. We are by now familiar with the idea that one popular way of explaining 'truth' is to say that a proposition can be described as true, or as a fact, if it corresponds with reality. We haven't been too much concerned with the nature of this 'reality', but have seen that it can be equated with the way the world, or the universe, actually is.¹⁰ Now of course reality might have been other than it actually is. Consider, for instance, the way in which we all, from time to time, indulge in imagining how things might have worked out if a particular decision had been made differently, or a particular turn of events had not occurred. In other words, we are all capable of imagining different possible versions of reality, which are often closely related to how things actually are, but differ in some particular respect. One way to describe our imagined state of 'what might have been' is to say that it is in fact reality, but reality in another possible world. Possible world semantics is based on this simple fact that things might be other than they are, and on what follows from this: namely that, in different versions of reality, different propositions must be true and false. These ideas have, as we shall see, been developed and worked on by a number of philosophers of the twentieth century. But the origin of possible world semantics can be found in the work of Leibniz.

The notion of 'possible worlds' has been used by a number of philosophers in different ways. Some see them as a convenient figurative or metaphorical way of thinking about complex issues. The American philosopher David Lewis, however, gives them a more concrete definition. According to his account, every possible world, our world included, is defined by the entities which exist in that world and the facts which are true of those entities. Our world is generally described in this context as 'the actual world', but is to be thought of as no different in status from all the other possible worlds. Other worlds differ from it 'not in kind but in what goes on in them'. Worlds other than the actual are not 'imaginary' worlds; they are worlds just like ours, but in which things are different, to a greater or lesser extent. So, for instance, another possible world might be exactly the same as ours except that in it snow is blue. Yet another world might have blue snow and cold fire but be like ours in all other respects. The same goes for entities. There are possible worlds which are just like ours, but populated by a slightly different selection of people, or of dogs, or indeed of ants, than exist in the actual world. This way of looking at things can require quite a leap of imagination. We normally think of it as a plain fact, as simply true, that, for instance, snow is white. Looking at the matter in terms of possible worlds, however, we need to consider that it is merely possible that snow is white, and that this just happens to be so in the actual world. To put this another way, the world we inhabit is just one of those worlds in which snow is white, and so on for many other facts we take for granted. Possible world semantics, then, is concerned not just with what *is*, but with what is possible, and, as we will see, with what is impossible. Possibility and impossibility are what are known as **modal** concepts, and belong to a type of propositional logic which we haven't

considered yet. We will need to find out something about modality, therefore, before we can understand some of the implications of possible world semantics

Topic – 002: Central Concepts

This is a glossary for the entire course.

Biologism explaining things, especially social phenomena, entirely in terms of biological causation: 'anatomy is destiny' as an explanation for women's subordination, for instance.

Competence 'linguistic competence' is the Chomskyan term for what people know about the grammatical structure of their language. Dell Hymes used the term 'communicative competence' for speakers' knowledge about what kind of language is appropriate in a given context.

Deconstruction a way of reading texts that exposes gaps and contradictions, and is especially suspicious about binary oppositions. Shows how terms that are supposed to be absolute and opposite actually depend on one another, and are often organized as a hierarchy, one term being privileged over the other.

Discourse in mainstream linguistics, language 'above the sentence', that is, a stretch of speech or writing more than one sentence long (a paragraph, an exchange, a conversation). Discourse analysis is the study of linguistic organization in these larger units. For semiologists, 'discourse' refers to an organised set of related utterances or propositions. Thus one can talk about 'the discourse of masculinity', meaning the set of statements a culture uses to organize its definition and understanding of masculinity (for example 'men don't cry', 'they're only after one thing', and so on).

Essentialism belief in 'essences'; an essentialist believes her object of study has essential basic qualities that can be used to explain its behaviour, and that do not require any explanation themselves. An example is 'human nature' as an explanation of how humans behave. Masculinity and femininity are often treated as essences.

Ethnicity a form of group identity which rests on a shared heritage and way of life, often also a shared language. Not the same as race or nationality. Races and nations contain many different ethnic groups.

Ethnography of speaking the study of speech events (for example a healing ritual, a political speech); practised by anthropologists and linguists.

Gender in grammar, a system of concord or agreement affecting nouns, pronouns and articles. In feminist theory, the social differentiation of masculine and feminine persons, activities, behaviours and characteristics; as distinct from the biological differentiation of male/female, which is usually called sex.

Grammar the level of language between sound and meaning that is its form - word and sentence structure, technically called morphology and syntax. Also used for the linguist's analysis of linguistic form; and (in fact the earliest of these usages) for prescriptive rules laying down correct usage.

Intonation use of pitch contrast to give grammatical and attitudinal information.

Nonstandard applied to language, a variety that is not codified and does not have (overt) social prestige.

Performance complements competence; refers to people's actual linguistic behaviour as opposed to their knowledge of the underlying grammatical rules.

Phonetics the study of speech-sounds.

Phonology the study of sound systems, that is, how speech sounds behave in languages as opposed to their general properties (the province of phonetics).

Postmodernism novel philosophical perspective which rejects the epistemological tenets elaborated during the Enlightenment - that by using our reason we can know the truth about things.

Post-structuralism so called because it is a current of thought that follows on from structuralism, drawing on it and criticising it at the same time. The technique of deconstruction is associated with it.

Prescriptivism laying down rules of correctness and making value-judgements on language.

Semantics the study of meaning.

Semiology the study of sign-systems.

Sexuality socially-mediated way of being sexual or expressing sexual desire; often refers in particular to sexual object-choice, as in the terms 'heterosexual', 'homosexual'.

Sign entity composed of a form (signifier) and a concept (signified) deriving its value from contrast with other signs.

Social network important in current sociolinguistics; denotes the set of contacts a speaker has with others.

Sociolinguistics the study of language in society, or more narrowly, of linguistic variation and change.

Speech community group of people with shared communicative and linguistic norms. Not everyone who speaks English belongs to the same speech community.

Standard language codified and prestigious variety of a language, usually spoken natively by an educated elite. Often becomes synonymous with the language itself.

Structuralism a method based on breaking something down into its constituents and analysing their relationships. In linguistics, it usually refers to the work of a school of North American linguists such as Bloomfield and Hockett; elsewhere it tends to refer to the work of French theorists Barthes and Levi-Strauss.

Style type of language affected by situational factors, especially (for sociolinguists) the formality of the situation. Modifying speech as the situation becomes more or less formal is known as 'style-shift'.

Syntax the study of sentence structure.

Universal in linguistics, a feature or tendency common to all languages.

Variation differences in linguistic behaviour, studied by sociolinguistics.

Variety neutral and inclusive term for some kind of language: a dialect, a style, a register. Often means 'dialect' in the technical definition (see above) but is an attempt to avoid the negative connotations of that term in ordinary usage.

Vernacular historically, denotes a mother-tongue as opposed to a learned 'high language' like Latin or classical Arabic; in sociolinguistics, the least formal style of speech used by an individual or the least standard variety found in a speech community.

Topic – 003: Gender & Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics emerged as a sub-discipline of linguistics (and occasionally of sociology) during the 1960s. It is most succinctly defined as the study of linguistic variation in space (both social and geographical) and time. Several factors were at work in its genesis

Since the nineteenth century, students of language had undertaken to describe regional varieties of languages, an enterprise usually called *dialectology*. But dialectology dealt with traditional rural speech, compiling maps of linguistic features; it did not (and could not) deal with the speech of urban areas, where divisions of class and race, social and geographical mobility, were producing new linguistic configurations. Sociolinguistics addressed this gap in our knowledge of variation. It is sometimes referred to, indeed, as 'urban dialectology', though in fact its methods can be applied in non-urban communities too.

At the same time, many sociolinguists were motivated by social and political concerns. They felt the impulse toward a socially relevant linguistics that would address the social and educational problems suffered by subordinated groups of working class and minority speakers whose speech was stigmatized (not, however, the linguistic problems confronting women. The nonstandard speaker of most early studies is typically, explicitly male). The explanation and defence of nonstandard speech is a common motif in sociolinguistics to the present day.

Finally, sociolinguistics had a theoretical agenda which was critical of Chomskyan linguistics. Some sociolinguists expressed concern at the idealisation and abstraction of the orthodox model suggesting that the older method of collecting a corpus of data for detailed analysis was the only safe basis for generalisation. The technique of sociolinguistics is to quantify selected features in people's recorded speech and correlate them with the social characteristics of the speaker (class, race, gender, age, and so on) and/or the situation. In this, sociolinguistics might appear to be the study of *parole* or performance rather than *langue* or competence; but in fact its effect is to question or reformulate that distinction. It shows that variation in so-called performance is not random or unsystematic. It is statistically highly patterned and predictable from social and linguistic information. Thus, it is argued, the socially conditioned aspects of language use are as much a part of our competence as the ability to construct grammatical sentences.

Someone who doesn't vary her language according to the situation, or who cannot tell a young from an old speaker and use the language appropriate to her own age and status is not a competent language user.

This kind of sociolinguistic knowledge is often called 'communicative competence'.

Sociolinguists also dispute the Saussurean notion that language *change* is unsystematic, arguing instead that it arises from socially meaningful variations in the present. The synchronic and the diachronic are thus interconnected.

Topic – 004: Linguistics & Feminism

Feminist linguists have been in dialogue with feminists in other disciplines since the field's formation, yet this historical relationship and its implications for current work are only occasionally highlighted in scholarship. This chapter reaffirms the feminist foundations of a wide range of research on language, gender, and sexuality by highlighting and illustrating the numerous, sometimes clashing, and often not fully articulated feminist positioning taken up within various studies over the course of the field's development. Because the term "feminism" is often misunderstood, I offer the following definition: *Feminism*: a diverse and sometimes conflicting set of theoretical, methodological, and political perspectives that have in common a commitment to understanding and challenging social inequalities related to gender and sexuality. Although "feminism" often appears in the singular, its reference is always plural; there is no unified feminist theoretical, methodological, or political perspective.

Yet, despite the often vigorous and heated debates between different versions of feminism, they share a commitment to addressing social inequality. Furthermore, the field of language, gender, and sexuality is both unified and divided in precisely the same way as is feminism itself: more or less unified in its general political goals, divided in the perspectives it takes toward achieving those goals. But despite this broad scope, not all scholarship on the intersection of language with gender and sexuality is part of the field, because not all of it shares a political commitment to social justice. Indeed, a sizable body of traditional social science research seeks simply to correlate language patterns with categories of gender and/or sexuality and does not engage meaningfully either with feminist theory or with feminist linguistics. The following discussion is in some ways a continuation and extension of a conversation between feminist theory and theories of language that Deborah Cameron launched over 25 years ago. Her path breaking book *Feminism and Linguistic Theory* (1985) articulated the theoretical and political grounds for linking language and gender in both scholarship and activism and demonstrated the deep linguistic roots of feminist questions. Cameron's work was an important early step in what became a revolution in feminist linguistics. Thanks to developments in feminist theory that are further discussed later in the chapter, by the 1990s language had become central to feminist theorizing not only in France, where the issue had long been explored, but also in the English-speaking world. In the same period, feminist theory became more explicitly central to empirical linguistic investigations than ever before. Before examining this turn of events, however, it is necessary to consider the feminist foundations of language, gender, and sexuality studies from the very beginning of the field.

Topic-005: Women's Language

The form of feminism that is currently most widely advocated by non-feminists – albeit generally not under this label – is liberal feminism. The primary goal of liberal feminism is to establish equality between women and men in all aspects of society by eradicating barriers to women's full participation; thus, it does not seek to change the structure of society but rather to provide equal opportunities for women within existing social structures.

While liberal feminism has made important strides in establishing equality for all women through its focus on such fundamental issues as equal pay, abortion rights, and domestic violence, its impact has been particularly significant for middle-class women, who have benefited from liberal feminist efforts to expand women's access to traditionally male institutions of influence and power such as politics, the law, and professional workplaces. Given its concern to bring women into men's spheres, liberal feminism has generally aimed to eradicate gender inequality by eradicating or at least reducing gender difference.

Beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, some attempts to advance this notion, particularly in middle-class workplaces, had the unintended consequence of encouraging women to look, act, and speak more like men, producing a widely circulating stereotype of "ball-busting bitches" dressed in broad-shouldered power suits. Thus, despite some liberal feminists' early advocacy of androgyny for both women and men

as an escape from the constraints of gender roles, in practice, efforts to eliminate gender differences have sometimes resulted in societal expectations that women must adapt to male norms.

The primary figure associated with liberal feminist linguistics is Robin Lakoff, whose text *Language and Woman's Place* (2004 [1975]) played a crucial role in establishing the study of language, gender, and sexuality as a linguistic sub-field. This pioneering book has been nevertheless widely criticized by both feminist and non-feminist linguists on a number of theoretical, political, and methodological grounds (for discussions, see, e.g., Bucholtz 2004; Bucholtz and Hall 1995), and it has especially been targeted for what critics have viewed as a privileging of male linguistic norms and a devaluing of women's linguistic practices.

Nevertheless, her broader concern with the ideological effects of language in disempowering women remains an important liberal feminist contribution. More recent work that shares some aspects of this general perspective is Judith Baxter's (2010) research on the speech of women who hold leadership positions within the business world.

Topic-006: Different Speech Styles

While liberal feminism concentrates on the downplaying of gender difference in order to achieve gender equality, another second-wave theory, sometimes termed "cultural feminism". Within linguistics, the most prominent representative of a liberal cultural feminist approach is Deborah Tannen, whose bestselling book *You Just Don't Understand* (1990) catapulted the study of language and gender to international awareness.

Tannen's basic claim both in this popular text and in her scholarly writings on gender (e.g., Tannen 1994) is that women and men in intimate heterosexual relationships often miscommunicate because of different gendered interactional styles. In particular, she proposes that women have a cultural preference for cooperative, egalitarian interaction and for "rapport talk," or emotion-based, connection-oriented communication, while men have a preference for competitive, hierarchical interaction and "report talk," or fact-based, information-oriented communication. (See Tannen, Chapter 25 in this volume.

Topic-007: Women's Style of Interaction

The primary figure associated with liberal feminist linguistics is Robin Lakoff, whose text *Language and Woman's Place* (2004 [1975]) played a crucial role in establishing the study of language, gender, and sexuality as a linguistic sub-field. Her work has served as a touchstone for the field for over 50 years thanks to its cogent characterization of "women's language" as a set of ideologically saturated linguistic practices constraining women's ability to participate in male domains. Scholars continue to debate the concept of "women's language" as well as the empirical evidence for and against the claims Lakoff made about its specific features, from the use of hedges and tag questions to women's perceived inability to tell jokes. Nevertheless, her broader concern with the ideological effects of language in disempowering women remains an important liberal feminist contribution. Now read some pages from her book.

Talking Like a Lady: "Women's language" shows up in all levels of the grammar of English. We find differences in the choice and frequency of lexical items; in the situations in which certain syntactic rules are performed; in intonational and other super-segmental patterns. As an example of lexical differences, imagine a man and a woman both looking at the same wall, painted a pinkish shade of purple. The woman may say:

(2) The wall is mauve,

with no one consequently forming any special impression of her as a result of the words alone; but if the man should say (2), one might well conclude he was imitating a woman sarcastically or was a homosexual or an interior decorator. Women, then, make far more precise discriminations in naming colors than do men; words like beige, ecru, aquamarine, lavender, and so on are unremarkable in a woman's active vocabulary, but absent from that of most men. I have seen a man helpless with suppressed laughter at a discussion between two other people as to whether a book jacket was to be described as "lavender" or "mauve." Men find such discussion amusing because they consider such a question trivial, irrelevant to the real world.

We might ask why fine discrimination of color is relevant for women, but not for men. A clue is contained in the way many men in our society view other “unworldly” topics, such as high culture and the Church, as outside the world of men’s work, relegated to women and men whose masculinity is not unquestionable. Men tend to relegate to women things that are not of concern to them, or do not involve their egos. Among these are problems of fine color discrimination. We might rephrase this point by saying that since women are not expected to make decisions on important matters, such as what kind of job to hold, they are relegated the non-crucial decisions as a sop. Deciding whether to name a color “lavender” or “mauve” is one such sop.

If it is agreed that this lexical disparity reflects a social inequity in the position of women, one may ask how to remedy it. Obviously, no one could seriously recommend legislating against the use of the terms “mauve” and “lavender” by women, or forcing men to learn to use them. All we can do is give women the opportunity to participate in the real decisions of life.

Aside from specific lexical items like color names, we find differences between the speech of women and that of men in the use of particles that grammarians often describe as “meaningless.” There may be no referent for them, but they are far from meaningless: they define the social context of an utterance, indicate the relationship the speaker feels between himself and his addressee, between himself and what he is talking about.

As an experiment, one might present native speakers of standard American English with pairs of sentences, identical syntactically and in terms of referential lexical items, and differing merely in the choice of “meaningless” particle, and ask them which was spoken by a man, which a woman. Consider:

- (3) (a) Oh dear, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again.
(b) Shit, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again.

It is safe to predict that people would classify the first sentence as part of “women’s language,” the second as “men’s language.” It is true that many self-respecting women are becoming able to use sentences like (3b) publicly without flinching, but this is a relatively recent development, and while perhaps the majority of Middle America might condone the use of (b) for men, they would still disapprove of its use by women. (It is of interest, by the way, to note that men’s language is increasingly being used by women, but women’s language is not being adopted by men, apart from those who reject the American masculine image [for example, homosexuals]. This is analogous to the fact that men’s jobs are being sought by women, but few men are rushing to become housewives or secretaries. The language of the favored group, the group that holds the power, along with its nonlinguistic behavior, is generally adopted by the other group, not vice versa. In any event, it is a truism to state that the “stronger” expletives are reserved for men, and the “weaker” ones for women.)

Now we may ask what we mean by “stronger” and “weaker” expletives. (If these particles were indeed meaningless, none would be stronger than any other.) The difference between using “shit” (or “damn,” or one of many others) as opposed to “oh dear,” or “goodness,” or “oh fudge” lies in how forcefully one says how one feels—perhaps, one might say, choice of particle is a function of how strongly one allows oneself to feel about something, so that the strength of an emotion conveyed in a sentence corresponds to the strength of the particle. Hence, in a really serious situation, the use of “trivializing” (that is, “women’s”) particles constitutes a joke, or at any rate, is highly inappropriate. (In conformity with current linguistic practice, throughout this work an asterisk [*] will be used to mark a sentence that is inappropriate in some sense, either because it is syntactically deviant or used in the wrong social context.)

- (4) (a) *Oh fudge, my hair is on fire.
(b) *Dear me, did he kidnap the baby?

Such features are probably part of the general fact that women’s speech sounds much more “polite” than men’s. One aspect of politeness is as we have just described: leaving a decision open, not imposing your mind, or views, or claims on anyone else. Thus a tag question is a kind of polite statement, in that it does not force agreement or belief on the addressee. A request may be in the same sense a polite command, in that it does not overtly require obedience, but rather suggests something be done as a favor

to the speaker. An overt order (as in an imperative) expresses the (often impolite) assumption of the speaker's superior position to the addressee, carrying with it the right to enforce compliance, whereas with a request the decision on the face of it is left up to the addressee. (The same is true of suggestions: here, the implication is not that the addressee is in danger if he does not comply—merely that he will be glad if he does. Once again, the decision is up to the addressee, and a suggestion therefore is politer than an order.) The more particles in a sentence that reinforce the notion that it is a request, rather than an order, the politer the result. The sentences of (14) illustrate these points: (14) (a) is a direct order, (b) and (c) simple requests, and (d) and (e) compound requests.

- (14) (a) Close the door.
 (b) Please close the door.
 (c) Will you close the door?
 (d) Will you please close the door?
 (e) Won't you close the door?

Topic-008: Physical and Linguistic Violence

The final second-wave feminist theory I consider here is radical feminism, of which radical cultural feminism is a special case. Where radical cultural feminism focuses on the unique situation of women, sometimes even to the exclusion of any consideration of men, the more general form of radical feminism keeps its focus squarely on the relation between women and men. Radical feminism is what most members of the public think of when they hear the term “feminism” and is presumably part of the reason that many people do not identify as feminists; in part this situation is due to the fact that “radical feminist” has become an epithet hurled by hostile right-wing commentators. Yet the principles and goals of radical feminism are quite different from those ascribed to it in highly distorted popular representations. What makes radical feminism radical is not its goals but its founding principles; here radical means not “extreme” but “root.” For radical feminists, the root cause of social inequality is gender inequality, which is based in men's systematic and structural subordination of women, or patriarchy. It is crucial to recognize that in radical feminist thought, patriarchy is not simply the power of individual men over individual women but a system of oppression from which every man benefits in countless ways, even without recognizing or intentionally participating in this system. Thus individual men sympathetic to feminist aims cannot simply renounce their patriarchal privilege.

Topic-009: Class and Gender Inequality

Some feminist linguists argue that socio-economic class plays a significant role in the oppression of women. According to this perspective, the economic status and class structure within a society influence the power dynamics between genders, often placing women in positions of disadvantage. This inequality is especially visible in lower socio-economic classes where women's autonomy is limited, and they may be treated as subordinate to men. In these segments of society, traditional gender roles are often more rigidly enforced, where women may be regarded as the property of men. This perspective sees women as dependent on male figures—either as daughters or wives—often without the freedom or support to act independently. Such societal norms contribute to women's limited social mobility and reinforce patriarchal structures.

Feminist scholars also note that the feminine body and mannerisms are often commodified in marketing and advertising. Women's bodies, voices, and behavior are frequently used to attract consumers, portraying femininity as a commercial asset. This exploitation reinforces stereotypes of femininity as tied to physical appeal and subservience, reducing women to objects of consumption rather than full agents. These complex relationships between class, gender, and language are critically examined through methods like Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is used to reveal how language not only reflects but also reinforces power relations in society. This approach investigates how language is shaped by, and in turn shapes, the societal expectations and stereotypes surrounding class and gender.

Critical Discourse Analysis, as discussed by linguist Mary Bucholtz (2014), is a powerful tool to

investigate the relationship between language use and societal power structures. CDA explores how language can be used to maintain or challenge power dynamics, especially in gender-related issues. By examining discourse critically, scholars can uncover hidden biases and the ways in which language reinforces societal norms that contribute to gender inequality.

Topic-010: Women and Color

While material feminisms often call attention to socioeconomic class, they do not necessarily focus on race and ethnicity, despite the fact that racialization is rooted in sociopolitical interpretations of the body and is hence a fundamentally material issue. The investigation of the intersection of race and ethnicity with class, gender, sexuality, and other dimensions of subjectivity in relation to historical and present-day workings of power is the concern of what is sometimes called multiracial feminism (Thompson 2002) and the closely related approach of postcolonial feminism (e.g., Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991). This long-standing political and intellectual movement, which goes by a number of names, has been an important counterpoint to white-dominated versions of feminism (e.g., Collins 1990; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981; Smith 1983), and some theorists set aside the label “feminism” altogether in favor of terms that place women of color at the center of political thought and action (as seen, e.g., in Walker’s 1983 concept of “womanism”). Such feminist theories may focus on the experiences of particular groups of women as well as commonalities of experience of women across politically subordinated communities; they may additionally consider the sometimes shared and sometimes divergent experiences of men of color. Some forms of multiracial feminism have been criticized as similar to cultural feminism in their focus on the cultural situatedness of gendered experience, which is often read as a form of essentialism.

Lesson 02

SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND-II**Topic – 011: Implications of Different Views**

There are a number of increasingly controversial theoretical assumptions about gender often implicitly embedded in this approach, including the notions that the study of gender is closely wedded to the study of heterosexual relations, that gender is an attribute rather than a practice, Studying gender in heterosexual dyads can suggest that “gendered talk is mainly a personal characteristic or limited to the institution of the family” (Gal, 1991, p. 185).

A focus on interactions between heterosexual romantic partners assumes rather than investigates the relationship between sexuality and gender, and also prejudices which gendered dyads are central to the elaboration of gender in a given locale. It also draws attention away from the importance of studying the ways that gender is a structural principle organizing social institutions such as workplaces, schools, courts, and the state, and the patterns they display in the recruitment, treatment, and mobility of different men and women (Gal, 1991). Increasingly, linguistic studies of gender adopt a *practice* approach. To suggest that gender is something one continually *does* is to challenge the idea that gender is something one *has*. A variety of metaphors have arisen to capture this idea: gender as activity, gender as performance, gender as accomplishment (Butler, 1990; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Goodwin, 1990; West & Fenstermaker, 1993). They participate in a wider move within linguistic and sociocultural anthropology since the mid-1970s to use practice-based models (Abu-Lughod, 1991; Hanks, 1990; Ochs, 1996; Ortner, 1984, 1996).

Practice theory reacts against structural–determinist social theories (e.g., British–American structural–functionalism, determinist strands of Marxism, and French structuralism) that did not incorporate a sufficient sense of how human actions make structure. A focus on activities suggests that individuals have access to different activities, and thus to different cultures and different social identities, including a range of different genders. We discover that: stereotypes about women’s speech...fall apart when talk in a range of activities is examined; in order to construct social personae appropriate to the events of the moment, the same individuals [will] articulate talk and gender differently as they move from one activity to another. (Goodwin, 1990, p. 9). Crucial to note here is that it is not just talk which varies across context, a point long familiar in sociolinguistics. Gender identity also varies across context. Language and gender *covary*.

However, adopting such a practice-based approach does not always challenge approaches which focus largely on gender in individuals. Thus linguistic anthropologists have recently begun to develop more carefully an approach to gender which considers it as a principle for allocating access to resources. Gender, like class and racialized ethnicity, nationality, age, and sexuality, is an axis for the organization of inequality, though the way each of these axes work may have their own distinctive features (Scott, 1986, p. 1054). Such work considers the role that language and gender together play in political economy, defined here as as: resource allocation in the sense, for example, of control over goods.

Topic-012: Implications: Sex Stereotypes

Ochs (1992) argues that the use of different child-rearing strategies shapes, in considerable part, some of the differences in how the social positions of women are understood. Some caregivers accommodate to children (child-centered cultures); others ask children to accommodate to them (adult- or

situation-centered cultures). For example, European American middle-class North American caregivers simplify their talk when speaking to young children. They use a smaller vocabulary, shorter sentences, exaggerated intonation, talk more slowly, and repeat themselves often. Before children are able to talk, they may even construct elaborate dialogues in which they take the part of both interlocutors (“You see that squirrel outside? Yes, you do! You like the squirrel don’t you? Look at him moving across the yard!”). In order to do this, the caregiver must place self in the position of the child, arguably diminishing or losing adult status in doing so.

Ochs (1992) concludes that European American middle-class mothers have become underrated, in part, in Western families and society because they do not socialize children to acknowledge their participation in their accomplishments, and because their own language behavior makes mothers invisible. Samoan mothers, by contrast, enjoy a more prestigious position because they command human labor (younger caregivers) and socialize children to recognize and accommodate to them.

Topic –013: Implications: Male Domination in Decision Making

What is meant by the “status” of men and women in cultures around the world? Anthropologists do not agree on what the relative status of the two sexes means in abstract nor do they agree on how to measure it. Does equal status mean “equal” rights for men and women society? Some argue that the key to status is the power and authority of men and women and the roles of both sexes in decision-making, while others say it is how a particular society values the qualities defined as masculine versus those defined as feminine.

Still others ask about the work of women and men if it is equally valued. And this, in turn, leads some to question whether separate can also be equal. Others try to gauge if men and women have equal rights to live their lives as they see fit. Do women have personal autonomy and do they fully participate in the institutions of their society at large or are they barred from public life and primarily confined to the domestic sphere? Still others suggest that the regulation of sexual access to females is the key to their status. Is divorce equally available to women and men? Is there a double standard in the premarital and extramarital sexual activities of men and women, that is, do men have more sexual freedom than women? Do all of these conditions co-vary? Do women have equal rights to men in some areas of life but not others?

For example, do they have the right to inherit property but no say over whom they marry? Do women enjoy the same freedom as men but have little influence on political decisions? Research suggests that these areas are not always related and that status does vary from one sphere to another. In fact, some researchers insist that so many elements comprise women’s status that we cannot generalize about “low-status” and “high-status” societies (Quinn, 1977). Nevertheless, here we will take a broad overview and suggest that in some societies women’s status is high in many spheres of life, while in others it is not (Whyte, 1978).

Lesson 03

GENDER AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY**Topic-014: Introduction**

In the 1980s and 1990s, feminist sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists also increasingly asked questions about fundamental analytic concepts. The definition of hypercorrection (Cameron and Coates 1988), standard and vernacular language (Morgan 1994; 2002), definitions of speech community (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999), and even theories about the way language constructs social identity (Ochs 1992) were all examined by feminist sociolinguists. It is not only, however, analytic concepts which are distinctively sociolinguistic that require feminist re-examination. I argue here that the fundamental feminist category of “gender,” as implemented in sociolinguistics, has often included certain political and social assumptions which prematurely narrowed our area of inquiry. Early sociolinguistic studies of gender often assumed that gender should be studied where it was most salient, and that gender was most salient “in cross-sex interaction between potentially sexually accessible interlocutors, or same-sex interaction in gender-specific tasks” (Brown and Levinson 1983, 53).

At its best, work based on this assumption led to a series of insightful studies of the linguistic styles of men and women in romantic heterosexual relationships or in experimental settings designed to simulate such relationships (e.g. Fishman 1983; Gleason 1987; Tannen 1990; West and Zimmerman 1983; Zimmerman and West 1975). There are, however, a number of problematic, theoretical assumptions about gender embedded in this recommendation: (1) gender is closely wedded to sex, and the study of gender is closely wedded to the study of heterosexuality; (2) gender is an attribute; and (3) the study of gender is the study of individuals rather than institutions and larger systems.

Topic-015: Gender as Persona

When feminist linguists are studying social inequalities as manifest in language are they, or should they be, studying sex or gender? The distinction between sex and gender has been one of the foundations of Western feminist thought. The following pairs of definitions are typical. [Sex and gender] serve a useful analytic purpose in contrasting a set of biological facts with a set of cultural facts. Were I to be scrupulous in my use of terms, I would use the term “sex” only when I was speaking of biological differences between males and females and use “gender” whenever I was referring to the social, cultural, psychological constructs that are imposed upon these biological differences...[G]ender designate a set of categories to which we can give the same label cross-linguistically or cross-culturally because they have some connection to sex differences. (Shapiro 1981, cited in Yanagisako and Collier 1990, 139).

In this sociobiological view there is no gender, for there are no cultural determinants of human life. All is “sex.” This view of sex as naturally dictating behavior and roles supports a functionalist model of human social organization. Feminists who make a distinction between sex and gender do not necessarily abandon the idea that there are some biological differences between women and men, but most attempt to sharply circumscribe that which can be attributed to such differences. Often implicit in such distinctions is the idea that what is socially constructed (gender) can be more easily transformed than what is biological (sex). An increasing number of feminists argue that sex–gender models like Shapiro’s are problematic, both in their conception of gender and in their assumptions about sex (see also Cameron 1997b). To say that “gender” refers “to the social, cultural, psychological constructs that are imposed upon these biological differences” implies that there are *two* genders, based upon two sexes. Linda Nicholson (1994) calls this the “coat-rack” model of sex and gender.

Philosopher Judith Butler argues that: Gender ought not to be conceived merely as the cultural inscription of meaning on a pregiven sex...gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. Instead of asking “What are the gender differences?” this approach (an approach which has been called poststructuralist or deconstructive feminist) leads one to ask “What difference does gender make?” and “How did gender come to make a difference?”

Topic-016: Gender and Community of Practice

Goodwin (1990) draws on the Vygotskian tradition to argue that activities, rather than cultures, groups, individuals, or gender, should be the basic unit of analysis for the study of interactive phenomena. A focus on activities suggests that individuals have access to different activities, and thus to different cultures and different social identities, including a range of different genders. We discover that stereotypes about women’s speech...fall apart when talk in a range of activities is examined; in order to construct social personae appropriate to the events of the moment, the same individuals [will] articulate talk and gender differently as they move from one activity to another. (Goodwin 1990, 9) It is crucial to note here that it is not just talk which varies across context, a point long familiar in sociolinguistics. Language and gender co-vary. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) have also argued that studying how gender is constructed in **communities of practice** challenges existing approaches to the study of gender in sociolinguistics. A community of practice “is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor.

Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor” (1992, 464). Communities of practice articulate between macro-sociological structures such as class and everyday interactional practices by considering the groups in which individuals participate and how these shape their interactions. The groups in which they participate are in turn determined and constituted by their place within larger social structures. Studying communities of practice also allows us to investigate how gender interacts with other aspects of identity because “people’s access and exposure to, need for, and interest in different communities of practice are related to such things as their class, age, and ethnicity as well as to their sex” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, 472).

The study of gender in institutions also highlights some problems with a notion related to “activity” and “practice” which currently enjoys significant popularity in gender theory, that of performativity (see Butler 1990; Parker and Sedgwick 1995). A focus on the construction of gender in activities seems to accord speakers a great deal of agency in their language choice, and in their construction of social identity. Indeed, Ortner (1996) points out that the practice-based approach moves beyond a view of social behavior as ordered by rules and norms, but that it also grants actors a great deal of agency, thus perhaps reproducing the hegemonic model of personhood of Western capitalism.

Topic-017: Gender as Organizer of Social Institutions

A final problem with a focus on studying gender in heterosexual dyads is that it suggests that “gendered talk is mainly a personal characteristic or limited to the institution of the family” (Gal 1991, 185). This is then accompanied by a preference for studying gender in “informal conversations, often in one-to-one or small-group relationships in the family or neighborhood” (Gal 1991, 185). A focus on interactions between romantic partners in sociolinguistics can draw attention away from the importance of studying the ways that “gender is a structural principle [organizing] other social institutions: workplaces, schools, courts, political assemblies and the state” and the patterns they display in “the recruitment, allocation, treatment, and mobility of men as opposed to women” (Gal 1991, 185). Because certain linguistic strategies are indirectly and indexically linked with certain groups, institutions need

only be organized to define, demonstrate, and enforce the legitimacy and authority of linguistic strategies associated with a particular gender while denying the power of others to exclude one group without needing to make that exclusion explicit. In the case of policing, for example, the downplaying of the importance of talk for effectively doing the job, and the overplaying of the importance of physical strength, can be seen as one strategy for excluding women from the job.

Gender differences are created in bureaucratic interactions in legal, medical, psychiatric, work and welfare settings (McElhinny 1997). Gender is a principle for allocating access to resources, and a defense for systematic inequalities. It is, like class and racialized ethnicity, not an attribute or even merely an activity, but an axis for the organization of inequality (Scott 1986, 1054, 1069). Institutional definitions of gender have been influential in history (Scott 1986), sociology (Connell 1987, 139), and sociocultural anthropology (Ortner 1996; Silverblatt 1991), but the focus on dyads has been much more significant in sociolinguistics than in other fields. For some trenchant examples of studies of gender and sexuality in institutions, see Gal 1997; Inoue 2006a; 2006b; Kuipers 1998; Leap 2010; McElhinny 1995; 2010; 2011; Philips 2000).

Topic-018: Is Gender Always Relevant to Language?

To assume that gender is attached only to individuals is to adopt uncritically the hegemonic ideology of gender in Western capitalism. An elegant exposition of this is given by Ortner (1991), who points out that one analytic puzzle for anthropologists studying the United States is how to talk about class when Americans rarely use this analytic category themselves. She argues that class must be understood in terms of its displacement onto other categories: because hegemonic American culture takes both the ideology of social mobility and the ideology of individualism seriously, explanations for non-mobility not only focus on the failure of individuals (because they are said to be inherently lazy or stupid or whatever), but shift the domain of discourse to arenas that are taken to be “locked into” individuals – gender, race, ethnic origin, and so forth (Ortner 1991, 171). Such an account becomes a serious critique of definitions of gender that uncritically adopt this hegemonic notion of gender as attached to individuals since they will fail to allow the theorizing of gender as a structural principle or the interaction of gender with systems of inequity (see also Comaroff and Comaroff 2001; Klein 2000). If studies of gender proceed without assuming a close association between gender, sex, and (hetero)sexuality, if gender is understood as an activity rather than a relation, if we consider gender as an axis for allocating access to resources, if we understand gender in its local and global dimensions (as we interrogate how those scales are invoked), then it becomes possible to study gender and language in communities, contexts, cultures, and times where alternative assumptions prevail, and to challenge dominant ideologies where they help to perpetuate inequities.

Lesson 04

SOCIALIZING WITH CULTURAL GENDER**Topic – 019: Constructing Natural Gender**

It has become increasingly clear that children play a very active role in their own development. From the moment they see themselves as social beings, they begin to focus on the enterprise of “growing up. And to some extent, they probably experience many of the gendered developmental dynamics we discuss here not so much as gender-appropriate, but as *grown-up*. The greatest taboo is being “a baby,” but the developmental imperative is gendered. Being grown-up, leaving babyhood, means very different things for boys than it does for girls. And the fact that growing up involves gender differentiation is encoded in the words of assessment with which progress is monitored -- kids do not behave as good or bad people, but as *good boys* or *good girls*, and they develop into *big boys* and *big girls*.⁷ In other words, they do not have the option of growing into just people, but into boys or girls. This does not mean that they see what they’re doing in strictly gendered terms. It is probable that when boys and girls alter the fundamental frequency of their they are aspiring for some quality that is itself gendered -- cuteness, authority.

And the child’s aspiration is not simply a matter of reasoning, but a matter of desire -- a projection of the self into desired forms of participation in the social world. Desire is a tremendous force in projecting oneself into the future -- in the continual remaking of the self that constitutes growing up. Until about the age of two, boys and girls exhibit the same play behaviors. After that age, play in boys’ and girls’ groups begins to diverge as they come to select different toys and engage in different activities, and children begin to monitor each other’s play, imposing sanctions on gender-inappropriate play. Much is made of the fact that boys become more agnostic than girls, and many attribute this to hormonal and even evolutionary differences (see Maccoby 2000 for a brief review of these various perspectives).

Topic – 020: Deconstructing Natural Gender

While it takes a community to develop gender, not all participants in the community are equally involved in enforcing difference. In research on early gender socialization, males -- both children and adults -- have emerged as more engaged in enforcing gender difference than females. This enforcement is more intensely aimed at boys than at girls. Adults are more likely to reward boys for choice of gender-appropriate toys than girls -- and fathers are more likely to do so for their own sons than for other boys. Boys, in turn, are more rigid in their toy preferences than girls, and they are harder on other boys than on girls for gender-inappropriate play styles. As study of three to five year olds (Langlois and Downs 1980) showed that while girls tended to be neutral about other girls’ choices, boys responded positively only to boys with male play styles, and were especially likely to punish their male peers for feminine choices. The outcome is that while activities and behaviors labeled as *male* are treated as appropriate for females as well as for males, those labeled as *female* are treated as appropriate only for females.

One way of looking at this is that female activities and behaviors emerge as *marked* -- as reserved for a special subset of the population -- while male activities and behaviors emerge as *unmarked* or *normal*. This asymmetry is partially a function of the cultural devaluation of women and of the feminine. One way or another, most boys and girls learn that most boy things and boy activities are more highly valued than girl things and girl activities, and boys are strongly discouraged from having interests or activities that are associated with girls. Even where they do not encounter such views formulated explicitly or even find them denied explicitly, most boys and girls learn that it is primarily men and not

women who do “important” things as adults, have opinions that count, direct the course of events in the public world. It is hardly surprising then that pressures towards gender conformity are not symmetrical.

This asymmetry extends to many domains. While females may wear clothing initially viewed as male, the reverse is highly stigmatized: western women and girls now wear jeans but their male peers are not appearing in skirts. Even names seem to go from male to female and not vice versa. There are girls named Christopher, but no boys named Christine. A girl may be sanctioned for behaving “like a boy” – particularly if she behaves aggressively, and gets into fights -- on the grounds that she is being “unladylike” or “not nice.” But there is a categorization of “tomboy” reserved for girls who adopt a male rough and tumble.

Topic – 021: Reconstructing Natural Gender

It is not only that male adults seem to enforce gender more than female. This enforcement is more intensely aimed at boys than at girls. Adults are more likely to reward boys for choice of gender-appropriate toys than girls -- and fathers are more likely to do so for their own sons than for other boys. Boys, in turn, are more rigid in their toy preferences than girls, and they are harder on other boys than on girls for gender-inappropriate play styles.

Topic –022: Asymmetric View of Gender

The outcome is that while activities and behaviors labeled as *male* are treated as appropriate for females as well as for males, those labeled as *female* are treated as appropriate only for females. One way of looking at this is that female activities and behaviors emerge as *marked* -- as reserved for a special subset of the population -- while male activities and behaviors emerge as *unmarked* or *normal*. This in turn contributes to the **androcentric** (male-centered) view of gender. This asymmetry is partially a function of the cultural devaluation of women and of the feminine.

Topic – 023: Asymmetry in Dressing

This asymmetry extends to many domains. While females may wear clothing initially viewed as male, the reverse is highly stigmatized: western women and girls now wear jeans but their male peers are not appearing in skirts. Even names seem to go from male to female and not vice versa. There are girls named Christopher, but no boys named Christine. A girl may be sanctioned for behaving “like a boy” – particularly if she behaves aggressively, and gets into fights -- on the grounds that she is being “unladylike” or “not nice.” But there is a categorization of “tomboy” reserved for girls who adopt a male rough and tumble style.

Topic – 024: Asymmetry in Names & Public Behavior

The separation of children in same-sex play groups has led some gender theorists to propose a view that by virtue of their separation during a significant part of their childhoods, boys and girls are socialized into different peer *cultures*. In their same-sex friendship groups, they develop different behavior, different norms, and even different understandings of the world. Daniel Maltz and Ruth Borker (1982) argue that because of this separation, boys and girls develop different verbal cultures -- different ways of interacting verbally and different norms for interpreting ways of interacting. They argue, further, that this can result in *cross-cultural miscommunication* between males and females.

Deborah Tannen (1990) has popularized this view, emphasizing the potential for misunderstanding. The separation of gender cultures does not necessarily entail male--female

misunderstanding, although it describes the conditions under which such misunderstanding could develop. Certainly, if girls and boys are segregated on a regular basis, we can expect that they will develop different practices and different understandings of the world. The extent to which this actually occurs depends on the nature of the segregation -- when, in what contexts, for what activities -- in relation to the actual contact between boys and girls. In other words, to the extent that there is separation, this separation is structured -- and it is structured differently in different communities.

Gender segregation in western societies is virtually always embedded in practices that bring the sexes together and that impose difference in interpretations even where there are great similarities in those actions or people being interpreted. As we move farther along in development, the complexity of explaining gender differences increases exponentially. As kids spend more time with their peers, and as they enter into more kinds of situations with peers, not only does the balance between adult and peer influence change, but the nature of peer influence also changes. Peer society becomes increasingly complex, and at some point quite early on, explicit ideas about gender enter into children's choices, preferences, and opportunities.

Whatever the initial factors that give rise to increasing gender separation, separation itself becomes an activity, and a primary social issue. Barrie Thorne (1993) notes that public choosing of teams in school activities constrains gender segregation, hence that games that involve choosing teams are more likely to be same gender, while games that simply involve lining up or being there are more likely to be gender-mixed.

Separation can carry over to competitions and rivalries between boys' groups and girls' groups, as in elementary school activities such as "girls chase the boys" (Thorne 1993). These activities can be an important site for the construction of difference with claims that girls or boys are better at whatever activity is in question. In this way, beliefs about differences in males' and females' "natural" abilities may be learned so young and so indirectly that they appear to be common sense. It is not at all clear, therefore, to what extent differences in behaviors and activities result from boys 'and girls' personal preference, or from social constraint.

Lesson 05

GENDER CONSTRUCTION & GENDER ORDER**Topic – 025: Gender Reconstruction Via Peer Cultures**

In childhood, it is primarily adults who attend to children's behavior. As the peer social order develops, it takes over much of this function as it develops the means to organize its own social control. Heterosexuality is the metaphor around which the peer social order organizes itself, and a heterosexual market (Thorne 1993) becomes the center of the emerging peer social order. While up until now, boys and girls may have seen themselves as simply different, and perhaps as incompatible, in the context of the heterosexual market, boys and girls emerge as complementary and cooperating factions.

The market metaphor is not frivolous, for the heterosexual market is the first of a series of social markets that the age cohort will engage in on the way to, for example, the academic market and the job market. It is here that both girls and boys will come to see themselves as having a place in a structured system of social evaluation. Kids participating in the heterosexual market can act as both commodity and as broker -- they can be paired up, or they can engage in negotiating the pairing up of others. The matches that are made on this market are initially short-lived -- a pair may remain "together" for a few hours, a few days, a week, sometimes longer. It is the rapidity of "trades" on the market that establishes individuals' value, and that establishes the nature of value.

Topic – 026: From Peer Cultures to Social Markets

The rapt attention that the market attracts from those participating in it and even from many nonparticipating observers is part of the establishment of gender norms, as people's worth is recalibrated within the context of heterosexual attractiveness. These activities establish a system and hierarchy of desirability prior to the actual onset of overt heterosexual desire and activity. One's value on the market is a function of the matches that are made on one's behalf -- not so much on the number of matches, on the people with whom one is matched. The new and enduring status system that forms around this market constitutes the core of the emerging adolescent social order. In this way, the social order is fundamentally-heterosexual, dramatically changing the terms of the cohort's gender arrangements. What was appropriate for boys and girls simply as male and female individuals now defines them with respect to a social order.

Throughout gender development until the emergence of the heterosexual market, the emphasis has been on difference -- on opposition. The heterosexual market brings an important change in the nature of dichotomous thinking, as suddenly, opposites are supposed to attract. Opposition gains the twist of complementarity, and where before male and female might have been in conflict, now they are collaborators. And with this comes the introduction to gender of the conscious element of desire.

Topic –027: Developing Desire

We think of emotion and desire as natural, but in fact both are highly structured and learned. It is generally said that the taboo against men crying or showing fear requires men to learn to control their emotions. This is certainly true, and many boys and men can attest to how difficult such control can sometimes be. Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, many Americans watched obviously brave and tough men from the New York City police and fire departments weeping unashamedly for their friends and colleagues and for the many others who died in the World Trade Center. Since then, news media have speculated that we are moving into a new era in which men no longer need to control

their tears. Well, perhaps. More likely is that there will be more acceptance of men's tears in some contexts but there will still be gendered constraints on crying and other expressions of emotional vulnerability.

Topic – 028: Gender as Learning

The focus on male control of emotion misses the fact that there is also a good deal of socialization involved in women's learning to display their emotions to others, learning when to cry or show fear to an audience. It is appropriate for women to shed public tears, for instance, upon the death of an acquaintance, and it is appropriate for women to show fear in the face of physical threat. In fact, it is appropriate for women to show these emotions in imagined situations, as they read novels or watch movies. There are situations in which girls and women push themselves to shed a tear for something that has not touched them as much as it "should" -- and perhaps sometimes to convince themselves that it has touched them after all. Acting scared in action or horror movies can be an important female skill. Learning to be immune to fear in these situations, and learning to not be immune, are alternative possibilities -- gendered alternatives. And the choice between these alternatives is further supported by the structuring of desire. People do not simply learn to have the appropriate emotional responses; they learn to want those responses, and to be the *kind of people* who have those responses. Girls and boys envision themselves in situations, and mold themselves to those situations.

As we've seen above, learning to be male or female involves learning to look and act in particular ways, learning to participate in particular ways in relationships and communities, and learning to see the world from a particular perspective. We are inclined to see many of our habits, preferences, and beliefs as simply the result of our individual history -- not as a result of our place in the social order. However, habits, preferences, and beliefs develop in response to experience, and to the extent that the social order structures our experience, there are likely to be patterns to who develops what. This does not mean that women or men are homogeneous groups: some men may cry readily, some women may never shed tears. Not everyone adopts the dominant script. How we develop, however, is never a matter of the straightforward unfolding of individual dispositions but always reflects exposure to norms, expectations, and opportunities that depend on gender and other social categories.

Topic –029: Gender and Other Social Categories

Of course, gender is by no means the only aspect of social identity that one learns in this developmental story. Gender interacts with other hierarchies based in such socially constructed categories as class, age, ethnicity, and race: we find, for example, sexualized racism and racialized sexism. We could rewrite this entire section, focusing on how kids learn their socioeconomic status, their race, their ethnicity -- even their body type and their reading abilities. And we could rewrite this entire section for each possible combination of gender, class, race, and all the other socially significant categories we might list -- for of course, it is the combination that people experience, not the abstraction of any element.

The rewrites would, of course, bring out interesting and important differences between how gender and other categories are structured. Importantly, there is not really an analogue of the heterosexual market and the broader heterosexual imperative, or of the strong gender polarization and notions of gender complementarity it supports. Gender norms try to inculcate the desire for a partner of the other sex, whereas while there are cases in which race and class do structure aspects of family life, race and class norms do not operate in this way. Indeed, there are strong pressures towards finding a partner of the other sex who is of the *same* race or class; this is one way that gender and race or class interact. And gender and age are categories that systematically structure family life, whereas racial or

class diversity within families is relatively rare. We could go on detailing such differences between gender and other principles of social division and inequality, but the important point remains that social hierarchies interact and inflect one another, making talk about any of them in isolation potentially very misleading.

Topic – 030: Principles of Gender

First of all, it is clear that gender is learned. And because gender involves a restriction of choice -- severe constraints on behavior for all, as well as asymmetries -- it must be not just learned but taught, and enforced. This leads to the second principle, that gender is collaborative. It is common to think of gender in terms of individual attributes -- an individual is male or female, more or less masculine or feminine, is fulfilling male or female roles. This focus on the individual obscures the fact that we cannot accomplish gender on our own.

Gender is not an individual matter at all, but a collaborative affair that connects the individual to the social order. As we have noted, children learn gender initially by having other people do gender for them, and eventually take over the responsibility for their own performances and for supporting the performances of others. This support involves some direct coercion, but mostly gender is so built into our ways of doing things that simple actions and interactions usually call forth gendered responses in others with eventually little or no conscious attention to this gendering.

This leads to the third principle, that gender is not something we have, but something we do. Children often do gender quite consciously -- it is clear to all that the swaggering boy and the mincing girl are engaged in gendered performances. As they get older, they get better at masking the raw performances they are engaging in, but more importantly, their gendered performances also become second of gender are not consistently performed at all levels of society they can wither away.

Lesson 06

THE GENDER ORDER & SOCIAL ORGANIZATION**Topic – 031: The Gender Order**

Gender does not simply unfold from individual biology, or from an individual predisposition to be a particular kind of person -- it is not even an individual property. Gender is a social arrangement, and every individual's gender is built into the social order. For this reason, we turn to the nature of the gender order, and of individuals' connection to it, in preparation for investigating the role of language in maintenance and change of the gender order.

One thing that is overwhelming in our narrative of development is the ubiquity of gender. Children get gender from everywhere. Gender consists in a pattern of relations that develops over time to define male and female, masculinity and femininity, simultaneously structuring and regulating people's relation to society. It is deeply embedded in every aspect of society -- in our institutions, in public spaces, in art, clothing, movement. Gender is embedded in experience in all settings from government offices to street games. It is embedded in the family, the neighborhood, church, school, the media, walking down the street, eating in a restaurant, going to the restroom. And these settings and situations are all linked to one other in a structured fashion.

Gender is so intricately organized at every level of experience that there is something approaching a seamless connection between a girl's desire for a frilly party dress and the male control of the means of production. What we experience as our individual, perhaps whimsical, desires emerge within a far-reaching gender order -- an order that both supports, and is supported by, these desires. It is this seamless connection that makes language so important to gender and vice versa. Our smallest interactions can be imbued with gender, and our continual performance in those interactions strengthens their role in supporting gender. Every time a little girl desires a frilly pink party dress, insists on having one, or wears one, she is performing a gendered act that renews the gendered meanings associated with pink, frills, dresses, and party clothes. The little girl who insists on wearing grubby overalls has a different effect.

Interestingly, however, people often dismiss what they see as "exceptions" so that the actions of the nonconforming girl may have less ongoing effect. The purpose of this section is to give some account of the connection between the pink party dress and the male control of institutions -- an account of the structuring of gender ubiquity and of male domination. We begin by reiterating that dichotomous gender is at the center of our social order because we keep it there. Our survival does not depend on males wearing blue and females wearing pink; humans are a reflective species, and we can talk to each other? The continual differentiation of male and female serves not to guarantee biological reproduction, but to guarantee social reproduction -- to reaffirm the social arrangements that depend on the categories *male* and *female*. These dichotomous categories are an ongoing human accomplishment, and for this reason, our study of language and gender will treat language not simply as reflecting preexisting categories, but as part of what constructs and maintains these categories.

Topic –032: Convention & Ideology

In Marxist usage, ideology is what causes us to misrepresent the world to ourselves. As I have just said, for Marxism the basis of any society is its economic organization, which then gives rise to certain social relations for instance, the class relations between capitalists and workers in nineteenth-century capitalist economies. This socio-economic base then conditions the cultural superstructure.

However, there are forces at work that prevent us from seeing this: for instance, the liberal humanist idea that we are essentially free and can remain free as long as we can think. For Marxists, ideology is not so much a set-of beliefs or assumptions that we are aware of, but it is that which makes us experience our life in a certain way and makes us believe that that way of seeing ourselves and the world is natural. In so doing, ideology distorts reality in one way or another and falsely presents as natural and harmonious what is artificial and contradictory - the class differences that we find under capitalism, for instance. If we succumb to ideology we live in an illusory world, in what in Marxism has often been described as a state of false consciousness. As we will see later, the idea that we are blind to our own condition is in more than one way still vitally important for literary studies.

How is ideology able to hide authentic reality from us? One very influential answer was given in the 1960s by the French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser (1918-1990). Althusser's first thesis regarding ideology is that 'Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence' (Althusser 1971: 18), which roughly corresponds with what I have just said: ideology distorts our view of our true 'conditions of existence'. His second thesis connects ideology with its social sources. For Althusser ideology works through so-called 'ideological State apparatuses', which, although they may have their own sub-ideology, are all subject to the ruling ideology. Althusser's ideological state apparatuses include organized religion, the law, the political system, the educational system in short, all the institutions through which we are socialized. Ideology, then, has a material existence in the sense that it is embodied in all sorts of material practices. Althusser mentions some of the practices that are part of the material existence of an ideological apparatus, be it only a small part of that apparatus: a small mass in a small church, a funeral, a minor match at a sports club, a school day, a political party meeting, etc.

The list of material ideological practices could be almost infinitely expanded. What is clear is that ideology is waiting for us wherever we go and that practically everything we do and every-thing we engage in is pervaded by ideology. Althusser puts it this way:

Ideas have disappeared as such (insofar as they are endowed with an ideal or spiritual existence), to the precise extent that it has emerged that their existence is inscribed in the actions of practices governed by rituals defined in the last instance by an ideological apparatus. It therefore appears that the subject acts insofar as he is acted by the following system ...: ideology existing in a material ideological apparatus, prescribing material practices governed by a material ritual, which practices exist in the material actions of a subject acting in all consciousness according to his belief.

While we believe that we are acting out of free will, we are in reality 'acted by the... system'. We recognize in this formulation the anti-humanist structuralist anthropology of Lévi-Strauss. Because within such a perspective there is no room for freedom, Althusser does not attribute the unequal distribution of wealth that we find within capitalist societies to the manipulations of 'a small number of cynical men who base their domination and exploitation of the "people" on a falsified representation of the world which they have imagined to enslave other minds' (18). The driving mechanism behind ideology is not the self-interest of those who profit from the way a given society has economically organized itself and who work hard to hide the exploitative nature of that organization from the lower classes. Those who profit are as blind as everybody else.

But if that is the case where does ideology come from and how has it acquired its immense influence? To answer these questions Althusser draws on the writings of the French psycho-analyst Jacques Lacan (1901-1981), whose work I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter. For Lacan, the processes that we go through when we grow up leave us forever incomplete. Aware of that deep lack - although we cannot name it - and yearning for completion we turn to ideology, the more so since it

constantly 'hails and interpellates' (addresses) us as 'concrete subjects' - as if we are complete already. In so doing, it may 'interpellates' us in the different social roles that we play, or, as Althusser would say, the different 'subject positions' that we occupy. One and the same woman could be 'interpellated' as a mother, as a member of a particular church, as a doctor, as a voter, and so on. The way ideology addresses us creates that subject position for us, yet simultaneously that position is already familiar to us because it is part of what we know. Ideology convinces us that we are whole and real, that we are the 'concrete subjects' we want to be. No wonder, then, that we see whatever ideology makes us see as natural, as belonging to the natural, harmonious order of things.

Topic – 033: Features of Conventions/Customs

The gender order is a system of allocation, based on sex-class assignment, of rights and obligations, freedoms and constraints, limits and possibilities, power and subordination. It is supported by -- and supports -- structures of *convention*, *ideology*, *emotion*, and *desire*. These are so interwoven that it is often difficult to separate gender from other aspects of life. The power of convention, or custom, lies in the fact that we simply learn ways of being and ways of doing things without considering any reasons behind them, and without recognizing the larger structures that they fall into. And while convention changes continually, members of society often view individual conventions as timeless and necessary, and as key to order.

An important property of convention lies in its apparent timelessness. Indeed, part of the process of conventionalization is an erasure of the actual circumstances under which the particular practice in question came into being. For example, we automatically say, "Mr. and Mrs. Jones" -- not "Mrs. and Mr. Jones"; and "husband and wife" -- not "wife and husband." While this is a matter of convention, the convention was explicitly established that men should be mentioned before women on the grounds of male superiority. As early as the sixteenth century, grammarians argued that male should be mentioned before female: "let us keep a natural order, and set the man before the woman for manners Sake" (Wilson 1560, p. 189; cited in Bodine 1975, p. 134), for "The Masculine gender is more worthy than the Feminine" (Poole 1646, p. 21; cited in Bodine 1975, p. 134). Here is a case in which linguistic convention has been overtly determined by gender ideology and, in turn, supports that ideology at least implicitly. Ideology is the system of beliefs by which people explain, account for, and justify their behavior, and interpret and assess that of others.

Topic – 034: Gender Ideology

Gender ideology is the set of beliefs that govern people's participation in the gender order, and by which they explain and justify that participation. Gender ideologies differ with respect to such things as the nature of male and female, and the justice, the naturalness, the origins, and the necessity of various aspects of the gender order. Ideologies differ on whether difference is fundamental, whether it should be maintained, and whether it can -- or should -- be maintained without inequality. Some accept difference as given, and as justifying, or as the necessary result of, inequality. Some see difference as manufactured in order to support hierarchies. For some, the maintenance of the gender order is a moral imperative -- whether because it is of divine origin or simply because it is embedded in convention. For others, it is a matter of convenience -- a sense that "if it ain't broke don't fix it." Of course, the sense that it is or ain't broke depends on one's perspective. "*Essences*" and the nature of the dichotomy.

Topic – 035: Essentialism

We begin our discussion of the gender order with a brief description of what we take to be some of the main features of the dominant gender ideology in our own society -- the view of gender currently

privileged in society at large, the terms in which the male--female dichotomy is publicly understood and frequently justified. Members of any western industrial society are likely to be able to produce the following set of oppositions: men are strong, women are weak; men are brave, women are timid; men are aggressive, women are passive; men are sex-driven, women are relationship-driven; men are impassive, women are emotional; men are rational, women are irrational; men are direct, women are indirect; men are competitive, women are cooperative; men are practical, women are nurturing; men are rough, women are gentle. (Note that some characterize men positively while others seem to tilt in women's favor.) The list goes on and on, and together these oppositions yield the quintessential man and woman -- Superman and Scarlett O'Hara.

While many (perhaps even most) individuals or groups reject some or all of these both as actual descriptions and as ideals to which to aspire, virtually all our readers will recognize that they are part of a pervasive image of male and female. The dominant ideology does not simply prescribe that male and female *should* be different -- it insists that they simply *are* different. Furthermore, it ascribes these differences to an unchanging essential quality of males and females. This view is referred to as *essentialism*.

Topic – 036: Functionalism

The ubiquity of the view of male and female as opposites is witnessed in the common English expression *the opposite sex*. Rarely do you hear an alternative expression, such as *the other sex*, much less *another sex*. Gender oppositions focus not simply on difference but on the potential for conflict, incomprehension, and mystification: the *battle of the sexes*, the *gender gap*. But as male and female become collaborating factions in the hetero social enterprise, opposition is supplemented by a notion of complementarity. Embedded in expressions like *my better half*, the ideology of complementarity emphasizes interdependent characters and roles, suggesting a kind of ecological necessity. The notion of attraction (*opposites attract*) and that one is necessary to the other suggests that it is this sharp gender differentiation that keeps society on an even keel.

The view that gender differences serve central social purposes -- what social theorists call *functionalism* -- is an important component of dominant gender ideology, and one that plays a powerful role in conservative gender discourse. Gendered oppositions are ubiquitous, permeating our experience by appearing in all kinds of sites and in all kinds of forms. The opposition *larger-smaller*, for example, does not only differentiate male from female, but it operates within the male and female categories as well. Men who are small with respect to other men are viewed as less masculine; women who are large with respect to other women are viewed as less feminine. Susan Gal and Judith Irvine (1995) refer to this mirroring of the overall opposition within each component of the opposition as *recursiveness*.

Topic – 037: Division of Labor

The traditional gender oppositions listed in the above section are closely tied to a division of labor that permeates society at every level. This is not simply a division of physical and mental labor, but of emotional labor as well. Of course, no division of labor is simply a division of activity, for activity determines such things as patterns of association, movement, and use of space. In turn, the division of labor tends to call for, and even to instill, the gendered qualities that are the terms of the oppositions. Those charged with caring for others' basic needs, for example, can function well in their jobs only if they are other oriented, attending closely to signals from those others as to the state of their minds and bodies. At the same time, a career of this kind of work might well lead someone to become attuned to others and their needs. To the extent that some activities and spheres have greater power and prestige than others, a division of labor can also be a division of value. Across societies, the gendered division of labor involves

differential power and status. Men's activities -- those that are guarded the most closely as men's domain -- involve greater societal power, through the disposition of goods and services and the control of ritual.

Males in most cultures have more access to positions of public power and influence than females. While women sometimes wield considerable influence in domestic settings or in other nonpublic domains, this influence is limited by the domain itself. Since the private sphere is dependent on its place in the public sphere, the domestic woman's ultimate position in the social order is dependent on the place of her male relatives' positions in the marketplace. And her ability to exert power and influence in the private sphere depends on how these men allocate the goods that they gain in the marketplace.

The gendered division of labor in western society relies heavily on the allocation of women's function to the domestic, or private, realm and men's to the public realm. People often connect this division of labor to reproductive roles. Women, as bearers of children, are assigned not only to delivering them, but to raising them, and to the nurturing not only of children but of entire families, and to the care of the home in which families are based. If one were to imagine a division of labor based on sex alone, women would bear and nurse children and men would not.

Until recently, this division has kept many women out of the public workplace, and while nowadays most women in the west do work outside of the home, many of their occupations are extensions of their domestic role. Traditional women's jobs are in the service sector, and often involve nurturing, service, and support roles: teachers of small children, nurses, secretaries, flight attendants. There is also an emotional division of labor. Wherever they are, women are expected more than men to remember birthdays, soothe hurt children, offer intimate understanding. Men, on the other hand, are more expected to judge, to offer advice and expertise, or to "figure out" mechanical problems.

Of course, today women of all classes do participate in various ways in the public sphere. It is still the case, however, that they are frequently reminded that they do not belong there and that they should have men with them for protection.

Topic – 038: Gender Discourses

Pierre Bourdieu (1977b) uses the term *habitus* to refer to the set of beliefs and dispositions that a person develops as a result of his or her accumulated experience in a particular place in society. Depending on where people are in society, they will see and experience different things, know different people, develop different knowledge and skills. And they will engage in different conversations, hear different talk: they will participate in different *discourses*. Discourse is the socially meaningful activity -- most typically talk, but non-verbal actions as well -- in which ideas are constructed over time. When we speak of a *discourse*, we refer to a particular history of talk about a particular idea or set of ideas. Thus when we talk about a discourse of gender, or varied discourses of gender, we refer to the working of a particular set of ideas about gender in some segment or segments of society. Just as each social position has its own perspective, each has its own interests. People's understanding of what is right and proper, what is good for them, for those around them, and for the world, are likely to differ. There is no "knowledge," "fact," or "common sense" that is not mediated by position and the interest that goes with it.

For some (e.g. Foucault 1972), ideology and discourse are indistinguishable: both are projections of the interests of people in a particular social location. Others reserve the term *ideology* for a discourse that engages a central power struggle. Discourses of gender unfold not only in explicit talk about gender, but in talk about things (like burnt toast) that may be grafted on to gender. If enough people joke together continually about men's ineptness in the kitchen, women's role as cooks takes center stage, along with

men's incompetence in the kitchen. The fact that these themes emerge in joking lends them an established status -- a status as old information rather than as a new topic, naturalizing the relation between gender and kitchen activity.

The consequences carry well beyond the home kitchen. In an office in which secretaries are expected to make coffee, a female secretary who makes bad coffee is likely to be considered more inept at her job than a male secretary. She will be seen as unable to carry out a "natural" function, while he will be excused on the grounds that he has been asked to carry out an "unnatural" task. A man who cooks at home often gets more "credit" (and more help from others) than a woman: she is just doing her job whereas he is seen as doing something above and beyond the expected.

Topic – 039: Ideology and Power

Ways of thinking become common sense when we cease to notice their provenance -- and this happens when they occur continually in enough places in everyday discourse. A discourse may have a privileged status in society by virtue of the power of the people who engage in it. It can be heard in more places, get more "air time" associated with voices of authority -- and as it permeates institutions it comes to pass for "knowledge," "fact," or "common sense." Thus, by virtue of the position of its original proponents, a discourse can erase its history as it spreads, masking the fact that it is ideology.

A dominant ideology typically owes its success not to brute power and conscious imposition, but to the ability to convince people that it is not in fact a matter of ideology at all, but simply natural, "the way things are." We refer to this process as *naturalization*. This use of the term *naturalization* does not necessarily refer to biological naturalness, but to people's sense of what needs no explanation.

Topic –040: Ideology, Power, & Hegemony

Anton Gramsci's theory (1971) of *hegemony* focuses on this location of power in everyday routine structures, emphasizing that the most effective form of domination is the assimilation of the wider population into one's worldview. Hegemony is not just a matter of widespread ideas but includes the organization of social life more generally.

Adopting and adapting Gramsci's notion, Raymond Williams (1977, p. 109) explains: It is in [the] recognition of the *wholeness* of the process that the concept of "hegemony" goes beyond "ideology." What is decisive is not only the conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but the whole lived social process as practically organized by specific and dominant meanings and values. Williams emphasizes that hegemony is never total, and Sherry Ortner (1990) draws on this non-totality to talk about "[t]he loose ends, the contradictory bits" of gender hegemonies that can be "examined for their short- and long-term interactions with and for one another."

Lesson 07

CATEGORY-INTERNAL GENDER VARIATIONS

Topic – 041: Masculinities & Femininities

Earlier, we emphasized that generalizations about gender can all too easily erase the multiplicity of experiences. Male and female, masculinity and femininity, are not equally dimorphic everywhere. Nor are they experienced or defined in the same ways everywhere. In his book *Masculinities*, Robert Connell (1995) counters the notion of “true masculinity,” emphasizing that masculinity (like femininity) is not a coherent object, but part of a larger structure. Taking this structure as starting point, Connell locates, and elaborates on, two kinds of masculinities: the *physical masculinity* of the working class, and the upper-middle-class *technical masculinity*. Connell points out that working-class masculinity is associated with physical power, while upper-middle-class masculinity is associated with technical (scientific and political) power.

This is not to say that physical power is unimportant for upper-middle-class men -- the masculine ideal throughout society involves physical power. However, physical power is fundamental to working-class masculinity, whereas the masculine power that is embedded in the global market is only indirectly physical. While global men are better off with a certain amount of personal physical power, the more important fact is that they command the physical power of other men -- of men in the local market. Armies and work forces are the physical power of global men. Furthermore, the refinement needs of the global context place limits on men’s physical power.

There is a similar class reversal for women. Women in the global market are expected to be small and delicate, with a carefully maintained body down to the smallest detail. Just as physical strength is expected to some extent of all men, this delicacy is expected to some extent of all women. However, since physical work and the ability to defend oneself are important to many women in the local market, both in the workplace and out, there is less value placed on some aspects of physical delicacy. (An interesting combination of feminine delicacy and robustness is found in current fingernail technology. Long nails have for centuries symbolized abstention from physical labor. Those who engage in physical labor can now boast these symbols as well, with the help of acrylic prostheses that will withstand a good deal of abuse.). Ignoring the multiplicity of masculinities and femininities leads to the erasure of experience for many people.

Topic – 042: Why Generalizations?

The assumption of an across-the-board gender experience makes it all too easy to generalize from one group’s experience. And it is not coincidental that the girls whose experience is serving as the model are white and middle class; not African American, and not working class. Just as some people’s acts will have a more global effect by virtue of their placement in society, some people’s gender discourses will as well. For this reason, girls suffering the preadolescent crisis of confidence that Gilligan describes actually define normative girlhood at that age -- “nice” girls tend to be deferential, quiet, and tentative. As a result, the increasingly assertive behavior displayed by many African American girls at that age is viewed as inappropriate, and unfeminine.

In schools, African American girls are frequently marginalized because white teachers interpret their behavior as antisocial. It is ironic that in a climate that is seeking to help girls counteract this now famous “crisis of confidence,” it is not generally recognized that girls suffering this crisis should be emulating their African American sisters. Instead, there are people now creating programs for African

American girls, to help them through one crisis that they may not in fact be experiencing. In this way, African American girls and women are rendered invisible in totalizing discussions of gender. The construct of the preadolescent girls' crisis of confidence both erases boys' similar crises, and erases the African American experience that does not typically involve this particular crisis. And the picture of hegemonic femininity for this age group, one of a lack of confidence and a generally uncertain and self-subordinating demeanor, renders the behavior of many African American girls non-normative, so that it appears aggressive and threatening to some. If we were to talk about gender as if it were independent of other categorization schemes and the systems of privilege and oppression they support, we would effectively erase the vast range of gendered experience, tending to focus on what we are most familiar with. As it is, this is always a danger, but a danger faced is always better than a danger ignored.

Topic – 043: Gender Practice

The force of gender categories in society makes it impossible for us to move through our lives in a no gendered way, and impossible not to behave in a way that brings out gendered behavior in others. At the same time, the maintenance of gender categories depends on reinforcement in day-to-day behavior. *Male* and *female* could not persist as structurally important social categories if we did not perform enough gendered and gendering behavior -- if distinct groups of people did not continue to act like "women" and like "men." In other words, the gender order and the social categories -- *male* and *female* -- on which it rests exist in virtue of *social practice*.

We use the term *social practice* to refer to human activity when emphasizing the conventional aspect of activity and its relation to social structure. While structure constrains practice, it does not determine it. On the one hand, people may behave in ways that are compatible with existing structure -- for example, a married woman may choose to stay at home to raise her children while her husband goes to work to support them financially. As people behave in this way, they *reproduce* the existing social order.

Because structure and practice are in this dynamic and dialectical relation, there is always the possibility for change. One could say that the social order is in continual change -- that even what appears to be stability is the result not of nothing happening, but of events of social reproduction. Every time a little girl minces in her mother's shoes, and every time a little boy swaggers, they are reproducing gender difference, the relation between gender and style of motion, and all of the implications of that relation. But the little boy pushing his doll and the girl with her truck are also part of the picture even though their actions may not be so widely adopted into social practice. Life and daily living are about change -- about things happening, about creativity and intelligence at work in the space left open by the incomplete hold of ideologies and institutions.

Topic –044: Communities of Practice

People and their activities, including their use of language, are never viewed in completely concrete or particularistic terms. With no access to abstract constructs like linguistic systems and social categories and relations like class and race and gender, we could not hope to engage in any kind of illuminating investigation into how and why language and gender interact. The notions of 'women' and 'men', for example, are typically just taken for granted in sociolinguistics. Suppose we were to take all the characterizations of gender that have been advanced to explain putatively gender differentiated linguistic behavior. Women's language has been said to reflect their (our) conservatism, prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurturance, emotional expressivity, connectedness, sensitivity to others, solidarity. And men's language is heard as evincing their toughness, lack of affect, competitiveness, independence, competence, hierarchy, control.

Linguists are not, of course, inventing such accounts of gender identities and gender relations out of whole cloth. Not only commonplace stereotypes but also social-scientific studies offer support for the kinds of characterizations linguists offer in explanation of language use. What we propose is not to ignore such abstract characterizations of gender identities and relations but to take responsibility for connecting each such abstraction to a wide spectrum of social and linguistic practice in order to examine the specific cities of its concrete realization in actual communities. This can happen only if we collectively develop a community of analytic practice that holds itself responsible for language and gender writ large.

Topic – 045: Looking Gender Locally

Our major aim is to encourage a view of the interaction of gender and language that roots each in the everyday social practices of particular local communities and sees them as jointly constructed in those practices: our slogan, “Think practically and look locally”.

Language is never encountered without other symbol systems, and gender is always joined with real people’s complex forms of participation in the communities to which they belong (or have belonged or expect to join). Individuals may experience the language-gender interface differently in the different communities in which they participate at a given time or at different stages of their lives. Analysts not only jump too readily from local observations to global claims; they/we also too often ignore the multiple uses of particular linguistic resources in the practices of a given community. We can see the confusion that results by trying to put together some of the general claims about the social and psychological underpinnings of language use common in the variation literature with claims about gender such as those common in interaction studies.

Lesson 08

GENDER CONSTRUCTION & COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE**Topic –046: Features of Community of Practice**

To explore in some detail just how social practice and individual ‘place’ in the community connect to one another, sociolinguists need some conception of a community that articulates place with practice. For this reason, we adopt Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger’s notion of the COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE . The community of practice takes us away from the community defined by a location or by a population. Instead, it focuses on a community defined by social engagement—after all, it is this engagement that language serves, not the place and not the people as a collection of individuals.

A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations—in short, practices—emerge in the course of members’ joint activity around that endeavor. A community of practice is different as a social construct from the traditional notion of community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages. Indeed, it is the practices of the community and members’ differentiated participation in them that structures the community socially.

A community of practice might be people working together in a factory, regulars in a bar, a neighborhood play group, a nuclear family, police partners and their ethnographer, the Supreme Court. Communities of practice may be large or small, intensive or diffuse; they are born and they die, they may persist through many changes of membership, and they may be closely articulated with other communities. Individuals participate in multiple communities of practice, and individual identity is based in the multiplicity of this participation. Rather than seeing the individual as some disconnected entity floating around in social space, or as a location in a network, or as a member of a particular group or set of groups, or as a bundle of social characteristics, we need to focus on communities of practice. Such a focus allows us to see the individual as an actor articulating a range of forms of participation in multiple communities of Practice.

Topic –047: Choice of Community of Practice

Gender is produced (and often reproduced) in differential membership in communities of practice. People’s access and exposure to, need for, and interest in different communities of practice are related to such things as their class, age, and ethnicity, as well as their sex. Working-class people are more likely on the whole than middle-class people to be members of unions, bowling teams, or close-knit neighborhoods. Upper-middle-class people, on the other hand, are more likely than working-class people to be members of tennis clubs, orchestras, or professional organizations. Men are more likely than women to be members of football teams, armies, and boards of directors. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to be members of secretarial pools, aerobics classes, and consciousness-raising groups.

Different people, for a variety of reasons, will articulate their multiple memberships differently. A female executive living in a male dominated household will have difficulty articulating her membership in her domestic and professional communities of practice, unlike a traditional male executive ‘head of household’. c A lesbian lawyer ‘closeted’ within the legal community may also belong to a women’s community whose membership defines itself in opposition to the larger heterosexual world. And the woman who scrubs toilets in the household ‘managed’ by the female executive for her husband and also in the home of the lesbian lawyer and her artist lover may be a

respected lay leader in her local church, facing a different set of tensions than either of her employers does in negotiating multiple memberships. The community of practice is where the rubber meets the road—it is where observable action and interaction do the work of producing, reproducing, and resisting the organization of power in society and in societal discourses of gender, age, race, and so on. Speakers develop linguistic patterns as they engage in activity in the various communities in which they participate.

But in actual practice, social meaning, social identity, community membership, forms of participation, the full range of community practices, and the symbolic value of linguistic forms are being constantly and mutually constructed. What sociolinguists call the LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE is a set of resources for the articulation of multiple memberships and forms of participation. And an individual's ways of speaking in a particular community of practice are not simply a function of membership or participation in that community. A way of speaking in a community does not simply constitute a turning on of a community-specific linguistic switch, or the symbolic laying of claim to membership in that community, but a complex articulation of the individual's forms of participation in that community with participation in other communities that are salient at the time.

Topic – 048: Constructing Meaning, Constructing Selves

Gender constructs are embedded in other aspects of social life and in the construction of other socially significant categories such as those involving class, race, or ethnicity. This implies that gender is not a matter of two homogeneous social categories, one associated with being female and the other with being male. Just as important, it also implies that no simple attributes of a person, however complex a combination is considered, can completely determine how that person is socially categorized by herself or by others, and how she engages in social practice.

Suppose, for example, we categorize someone as a heterosexual middle-class African American professional woman. The attributes that make up this particular characterization—*heterosexual, middle-class, African American, professional, and woman*—all draw on reification that emerge from and constitute conventional maps of social reality. These reification structure perceptions and constrain (but do not completely determine) practice, and each is produced (often reproduced in much the same form) through the experience of those perceptions and constraints in day-to-day life. Language is a primary tool people use in constituting themselves and others as 'kinds' of people in terms of which attributes, activities, and participation in social practice can be regulated. Social categories and characterizations are human creations; the concepts associated with them are not preformed, waiting for labels to be attached, but are created, sustained, and transformed by social processes that importantly include labeling itself.

And labeling is only part of a more complex sociolinguistic activity that contributes to constituting social categories and power relations among members of a community. How people use language—matters of "style" that include grammar, word choice, and pronunciation—is a very important component of self-constitution. How people talk expresses their affiliations with some and their distancing from others, their embrace of certain social practices and their rejection of others—their claim to membership (and to particular forms of membership) in certain communities of practice and not others.

Topic –049: Constructing Selves in C-o-Ps

Within communities of practice, the continual modification of common ways of speaking provides a touchstone for the process of construction of forms of group identity—of the meaning of

belonging to a group (as a certain kind of member). It is a resource for the orientation of the community and its participants to other nearby communities and to the larger society, a resource for constructing community members' relation to power structures, locally and more globally. the local community, which will be the site of their adult lives.

The jocks work the center of the school institution; the burnouts work its margins. Because it is so basic to life in school, the jock-burnout opposition comes to define the landscape of identities at Belten. Those who are neither jocks nor burnouts commonly refer to themselves as *in-betweens*, and nuances of identity throughout the school are described in the same terms that construct these two categories. Thus, the jock-burnout opposition constitutes the dominant discourse of identity in the school, and one could say that orientation to that opposition engages almost every student in the school in an overarching community of practice.

But although both communities emerge from strongly held and positive values, they do not emerge as equal within the school. The jocks embody the institution—their personal relations are inseparable from formal institutional relations and their activities are inseparable from school activities. This bestows an institutional legitimacy and function on their activities and their alliances, including their heterosexual alliances, that stand in stark contrast to the illegitimate status accorded to burnouts' activities and alliances. The co-construction of social category and gender is indeed intimately connected to the construction of institutional power, a power in which girls and boys do not share equally.

Topic –050: Reinforcing Selves in Language Choices

The depth of the jock-burnout opposition in Belten High [American school where the research on social labeling was conducted] is borne out by differences in speech between the members of the two categories: differences in vocabulary, in grammar, in pronunciation. But more important, these speech differences are not simply markers of category affiliation. They carry in themselves complex social meanings, like tough, cool, slutty, casual, or mean, and these meanings are part of the construction of categories like those labeled by *female*, *male*, *jock*, *burnout*. Finding these meanings through correlations between the use of linguistic variables and indicators of social practice is a major challenge for sociolinguists.

The production of linguistic styles is part of the production of identities, and local and regional pronunciations provide some of the resources that can be put to stylistic use. The following discussion focuses on two vowels that have symbolic significance in this community. The symbolic significance is associated with recent innovations in pronunciation, innovations that reflect sound changes in progress:

- (uh) as in *fun*, *cuff*, *but* (phonetically [ʊ]), is moving back so that it

comes to sound like the vowel in *fawn*, *cough*, *bought* [ɔ].

- The nucleus [a] of the diphthong (ay) as in *file*, *line*, *heist* raises to [ɪ] or [ɔ], so that the diphthong may sound more like the diphthong in *foil*, *loin*, *hoist*.

For each of these vowels, pronunciations in the stream of speech will vary from the conservative to the innovative with several stages in between. Most speakers in the community use the full range of pronunciations, generally within the same conversation. However, speakers will vary in the frequency with which they use the more conservative and more innovative pronunciations. It is in the speaker's average pronunciation or in the strategic use of one or the other pronunciation that this variability comes to have social meaning.

The changes described for the vowels above represent linguistic changes in progress, and certain social principles about such changes have emerged over the years (see Chambers 1995 ; Labov 1972, 1994) . In general, sound change originates in locally based, working-class communities and spreads gradually upward through the socioeconomic hierarchy. In this way, new sound changes tend to carry local meaning and to serve as part of the local social-symbolic repertoire. This means that the speech of locally based working-class groups will generally show more of the innovative variants discussed above than that of middle-class groups in the same community.

Middle-class speakers, on the contrary, are more likely to avoid clearly local pronunciations inasmuch as they are engaged in corporate institutions that strive to transcend local resources and loyalties. It is to be expected, then, that burnouts, with their heightened locally based identities and loyalties, might use more of the advanced variants for these vowels than do the institutionally identified jocks. Gender, on the other hand, does not correlate quite as consistently with linguistic variables as class does.

Lesson 09

ORGANIZING TALK-I

Topic – 051: Access to Situation & Events

Bourdieu equated linguistic competence with the ability not simply to produce utterances, but have those utterances heeded. But no matter how broadly it is defined, *competence* may not be the best word to describe a person's capacity to be communicatively effective. Individual knowledge and skill are only part of the picture. A person's contribution to an ongoing discussion is determined not simply by the utterance the person produces, but by the ways in which that utterance is received and interpreted by the others in the conversation.

Beyond that conversation, the force of an utterance depends on what people do with it in subsequent interactions. Is it quoted? Is it ignored or disparaged? How is it interpreted? And where and by whom? The force of an utterance is not manifest in the utterance itself, but in its fate once it is launched into the discourse -- once it begins its "discursive life." And that fate is not in the hands of the initial utterer, but depends on the meaning-making rights of that utterer both in the immediate situation and beyond, and of those who might take up the utterance and carry its content to other situations and communities.

The gender balance in formal institutions has a profound effect on who constructs official discourse -- who designs the world. Although their numbers have increased dramatically in the past decade, there are still very few women in the US Senate, House of Representatives, and the Cabinet. This means that most of the conversations in which US national policy is being shaped have few female participants, and many have none. Most technology is designed by men (and in this case, they often quite consciously design the technology for themselves), so the conversations that have taken place about what technologies should be developed and what features they should have involve virtually no women. Women's relative absence from the conversations that have determined medical practice and research has led over the years to a stunning lack of information about women's health, the responses to drugs and treatments of women's bodies, and similar issues. In spite of considerable advances in women's access to positions of influence, it remains the case that it is primarily men who have the authority to engage in conversations that affect large numbers of people, and to perform speech acts that change people's civil status.

In some cases, access to speaking roles is by virtue of gender alone -- for example it is expected that women will not contribute to men's locker room talk because they are women, and women are not supposed to be in men's locker rooms. Only very recently have most private clubs in the US dropped rules barring women from dining or playing golf, opening at least the possibility of women's participating in exchanges at the club dining table or on the fairway.

Topic-052: Ways of Accessing Speech Events

It is never just the language that determines if someone's stuff gets into the discourse. The effect of one's verbal activity depends, among other things, on one's apparent legitimacy to engage in that activity. The words of a person who doesn't appear to be a professor are less likely to be taken as authoritative than the same words coming from someone who does look like a professor. And, of course, being a professor in the first place depends on one's looking (and sounding) sufficiently like one to get the job.

The practice of a woman's putting her words into a man's mouth, then, should not be surprising. George Eliot is a famous case of a woman writing under a man's name in order to get published, read, and attended to. And there are many others. As the work of Ellis Bell, Emily Brontë's prose was read as strong and forceful; when the author's identity as a woman was revealed, critics found delicacy and gentleness in the works. So it is not only whether one's words are read or heard but also how they are judged that can depend on whether one is thought to be woman or man.

The familiar claim that women are often very influential behind the scenes, through their influence on men, points out that some women do indeed have the opportunity to make their ideas known to some men, who in turn are moved by them. Nonetheless, it is the man who decides whether to take these ideas beyond the private realm, and what to do with them. And, of course, it is that man who will engage in the public deliberation, whose decisions about how to argue will determine the power of "her" words. Not surprisingly, the archetypal influential woman is the adored wife or lover of a powerful man. Whether the women were absent because they were not allowed into the conversation, or because they did not hear about the conversation in advance, or because they were busy taking care of responsibilities that fell to them because of their gender, or simply because they did not feel comfortable in the situation, their absence was very likely structured by gender.

Topic – 053: Access to Informal Networks

The individual's professional network is a set of overlapping institutional, professional, and personal networks, and the way in which the individual combines these networks is extremely important for success. Because of the overlap of personal and institutional networks, a good deal of personal information flows in institutional networks, and a good deal of institutional information flows in personal networks. It is for this reason that one cannot afford to be ignorant of personal ties, but also, and more importantly, personal networks become a key locus for the flow of institutional resources.

The fact that institutional resources get exchanged in personal encounters creates an ecology in which information of institutional importance, by virtue of spreading in informal and private situations, may never come up in public situations. Influence also resides in private groups -- many workplace problems have been resolved in bars, restaurants, poker games, people's homes. And many of the important developments in the workplace have their origins in regularly-interacting groups, as colleagues who interact regularly on an informal basis reinforce their mutual interests and negotiate ideas and plan strategy.

Another informational need that arises from the combination of personal and institutional networks is personal information -- who is friends or lovers with whom, who is married to whom, who doesn't associate with whom. This kind of information can be extremely valuable in navigating one's way through the professional world, and its lack can be dangerous. If it is apparent that the combination of personal and institutional networks maximizes the flow of career resources, it is also apparent that this combination puts women at a disadvantage for several reasons. If an individual's personal situation or activities are seen as incompatible with professionalism, the mixing of personal and professional networks can feed damaging information into the professional network.

Topic –054: Speech Activities

Every speech community, and every community of practice, engages in a limited set of speech activities: lecturing, sermonizing, gossiping, griping, talking dirty, joking, arguing, fighting, therapy talk, small talk. The reader could expand this list of activities, and could make a good deal of headway in describing the special characteristics of each one. There are some speech activities that occur in all speech communities, while others may be specific to, or more common in, particular communities. And

although a particular activity may occur in many communities, it may unfold differently across communities, and it may figure differently in ideology.

Argument in an academic community might be quite different from argument at a family dinner table, and what is considered an argument in one culture or community of practice might be considered a fight in another. And while arguing might be highly valued in one culture (Deborah Schiffrin [1984], for example, talks about the value of arguing in Jewish culture), it might be avoided in another. Scott Kiesling's research (e.g. 1997) on verbal practice in an American college fraternity shows how joking and ritual insults are commonly used in this community of practice to enforce heterosexuality. Just how a particular speech activity is classified may itself be colored by gender ideologies. Highly similar exchanges in English are sometimes classified differently depending on who the participants are. John's "shoptalk" with his friends and colleagues may be pretty hard to distinguish from Jane's "gossip" with hers. Such gendering of speech activities is often used to reinforce gender hierarchies.

Shoptalk is seen as something that professionals engage in, perhaps at inconvenient moments for others to deal with, but for laudable work and achievement-related goals. In contrast, gossip is seen as "idle talk; groundless rumour . . . tittle-tattle." To "discuss matters relating to one's trade or profession; business" (i.e., to "talk shop") is to do one's duty whereas to reveal the "private concerns of others" or "pass on confidential information" (i.e., to "gossip") is to raise questions about one's integrity. (The quotations here are taken from entries in the 1993 *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, hereafter referred to as NSOED.).

Topic – 055: Gendering Gossip

A number of feminist analysts in recent years have revisited the concept of gossip, questioning both its heavy feminine gendering and its bad reputation. Much of what passes as shoptalk involves evaluative (and often critical) commentary on absent parties, characteristics often offered as definitive of gossip. (See, e.g., Wierzbicka 1987.) There are also many other situations in which men engage in speech activities that would count as gossip, using the standard criteria.

Deborah Cameron (1997) analyzes the talk of some young men just "hanging out" in front of the TV in their living quarters in a small Virginia college. Some of this talk involved bragging about sexual conquests (and, at the same time, certainly speaking of what might seem to be "private concerns" of the women with whom they had "scored") and about their own capacity for holding alcohol. But also figuring prominently were comments about various other (absent) men. standard definitions of gossip – except for its gendering.

Some have taken the tack of trying to rehabilitate the concept of gossip, to show that women's gossip often has very positive social functions. Deborah Jones (1980) was one of the first to develop this approach. The word *gossip*, she notes, descends from Old English *god sib*, which originally meant something similar to godparent or supportive friend. Talk among women about absent others by no means always implies a focus on making absent others look bad. The talk may be very sympathetic and understanding. Observers, however, may still be quick to disparage it. Of course, like the fraternity brothers in Cameron's study, women can and sometimes do forge bonds with one another by sharing damaging observations or critical comments about absent others.

Topic – 056: Gendering Arguing

Argument canonically involves giving reasons and evidence and using rational principles of inference to support a position. In contrast, quarrels are seen as more emotional, primarily a

manifestation of “temper” and often leading to a rupture in friendly relations among participants. As Wierzbicka (1987, p. 138) puts it, “quarrelling has a more personal orientation in general, whereas arguing is essentially focused on the subject matter . . . quarrelling [involves] a struggle of wills and a display of tempers.” To be argumentative is not necessarily a bad thing: it can suggest strong convictions and intellectual skill (“fond or capable of arguing,” says the NSOED).

Being quarrelsome, on the other hand, does not suggest any capabilities, just a propensity to engage in contentious “hot-tempered” speech. To label a dispute *bickering* is to trivialize it completely: *quarrel* is used to define *bicker* (along with *squabble* and *wrangle*) but *argue* is not. Pitting reason against emotion is, of course, a staple of gender construction in most English-speaking countries. Men argue, women quarrel or bicker. That’s why a woman “ever Goes by the worse” in arguing with men. She is doomed by her inability to engage with him on intellectual grounds, by being at the mercy of her emotions. Argument is important in many different communities of practice. In communities focused on scientific and other scholarly practice, argument is typically quite central though the style can vary quite significantly. An adversarial style of argumentation is the norm in some such communities.

In some communities of practice, argument often functions as a kind of game or at least an activity that is seen as focused on the stuff of the argument and not on the arguers themselves. Cultural norms are quite variable. In many Italian-speaking communities of practice, for example, lively and loud arguments involving both women and men are frequent. Americans, whose main experience has been in communities of practice that work to minimize overt disagreement, are sometimes taken aback by the intensity and vehemence of these exchanges and even more surprised to see the “combatants” ending their encounter with laughter and embraces. In such contexts, argument can mark the strength of participants’ connections to one another.

Lesson 10

ORGANIZING TALK-II

Topic – 057: Speech Events

While arguing, dressing-down, lecturing, gossiping, and preaching are well-defined speech activities, they are further organized in *speech events*: an argument, a dressing-down, a lecture, a gossip session, a sermon. A focus on speech events allows us to consider the ways in which speech activity is embedded in situations -- how a particular activity is initiated, how it is structured, how it ends. In his programmatic article on the ethnography of speaking, Dell Hymes (1972) outlines properties that distinguish speech events within and across communities. He begins with the settings in which particular speech events can take place.

Situations that call for speech in one culture may call for silence in another culture. For instance, Keith Basso (1972) reports that in the Apache community of Cibecue, Arizona, silence is a culturally specific way to deal with interpersonal uncertainty. He found that when children returned to the community from time away at boarding school, they and their parents observed silence for some time.

Of course, there are vastly different community norms about how to go about using talk for this purpose. Is it inappropriate to strike up a conversation with a stranger at a bus stop? Or is it rude not to? When is small talk called for, and what are appropriate small talk topics? And what is an appropriate topic of conversation? The weather? The bus service? Your health? Can you tell a joke? And what kind of a joke? Can you ask the other person at a bus stop where they're going? Can you ask their name? And can a woman initiate small talk with a man she doesn't know? Are women more likely to engage in such talk together than men? Can others join in? How long can or should the small talk go on? Does it continue on the bus? These activities are governed by community-specific norms for the speech event *making small talk*. These norms dictate when a particular event can take place, and how it can be initiated.

Communities of practice commonly have a set of speech events that they engage in on a regular basis, and these events can provide a repeated performance of gender scripts. Elinor Ochs and Carolyn Taylor (1992), for example, studied the speech situation provided by dinner table conversation in several families. They found a recurring speech event that they refer to as "father knows best," in which mothers prod children to recount events in their day for the benefit of their father. Fathers, then, are set up to comment on aspects of their children's (and their wives') activities. Daily engagement in this particular speech event casts the father on a continuing basis in a judge-like role, reproducing one piece of gender asymmetry in the dynamics of these families.

Topic – 058: Conversation Frames

The same event can be construed as being about many things. What Jill thinks is a lunch meeting with her professor to discuss her dissertation, her professor may see as a date. Erving Goffman (1974) refers to the interpretive schemes that people apply to interaction as frames. Conversational frames are not gender-neutral, as people's assessments of situations are often transformed when the gender participation changes. In the year 2000, the *New York Times* reported that a young woman astronomer at a conference tried to join a conversation some men were having on a topic that happened to be in her area of expertise.

Noticing her, one of them said to another, “oh, we must be boring this pretty young thing.” The young woman was trying to join a speech situation framed as professional talk, but her male colleagues could not envision her in that frame, and when she joined them they re-framed the situation as intellectually empty male--female banter. Intentional manipulation of the frame can transform a speech event.

Western urban culture has a limited set of speech events that can take place between or among strangers in public places -- events that arise from the mobility that characterizes these settings. Asking for public information -- locations, directions, services, and the time -- is generally allowed among strangers. However, the events in which these requests take place are closely defined and tightly regulated so as to keep them public, to protect the anonymity of the participants. When we need to ask directions on the street in a strange city or neighborhood, for example, we first need to identify a person who is “available.” We are unlikely to approach a group engaged in intense conversation, a person sitting in a cafe reading a book, or someone who is obviously rushing. We are likely to seek out someone that we are certain will know the answer to our query -- perhaps a police officer, but not a small child or someone sporting a camera and a guidebook. When we approach them, we first ascertain through a sequence of small moves (often somewhat unconscious moves such as eye contact and changes in gait) that they are indeed available and willing to engage with us.

And we protect their anonymity and ours by not providing or seeking private information -- we generally do not introduce ourselves or tell them why we need to go to the place they’re giving us directions to (although in small communities where anonymity is anomalous, we may be expected to do just those things). often experiences discomfort at challenging the move as a shift of frame. Sexual harassment often plays on the face-threatening character of talking explicitly about frame. It has been a common ploy for sexual harassers, when challenged, to claim innocently that they were just being friendly -- or just joking.

Topic –059: Genres

Speech events are realized through genres. Genres are conventional text types distinguished on the basis of typical content and internal organization. Particular genres may constrain verbal form or *style* in certain ways. For example, many scientific articles are written according to conventions that promote the use of agentless passives (“ten subjects were interviewed” doesn’t say who did the interviewing) and strongly frown on first-person pronouns. Genres in which words and music are joined often make extensive use of repetitive refrains. Such genre-specific stylistic characteristics are closely connected not only to the aims of individual producers in a given genre but also to expectations and ideologies among both producers and consumers of that genre.

Each culture has its own genres. For instance, women’s lamentations do important social work in a number of different cultures (see, e.g., Seremetakis 1991, Briggs 1992), but there is no directly comparable genre in most English-speaking societies. And what one might think of as the same genre may differ from one culture to another. A funny joke in France may not go off so well in the US and vice versa. Haiku is a genre of poetry that originated in Japanese culture, as the sonnet originated in England.

And the same genre could occur in more than one event. For example, limericks constitute a genre -- five-line poems with a closely defined structure of metre and rhyme. Some communities have speech events that are limerick contests, in which individuals vie to compose the best limerick on a particular topic (or more likely, about a particular person). But a limerick may also constitute a single act in a conversation, a joke session -- or even an argument. Genres, like the events and the situations they occur in, are differentially available to people on the basis of gender. As we define speech situations, events,

and genres, we hasten to emphasize that they are not static categories. Like the rest of language, they change over time and new ones arise, while some old ones disappear.

Topic – 060: Conversational Structure

Although we tend to think of the actual pursuit of talk as automatic, conversation is, in fact, a highly structured activity. The structure of talk allows complete strangers to enter into conversations without negotiating how to go about exchanging words; on the other hand, it leaves room for strategy galore -- for people to trick and foil each other, to support or undermine, to give each other the floor or to rob each other of words. For this reason, conversational practice has been intensely examined in the study of language and gender. And many a hall of mirrors has been constructed on the conversational terrain.

Communicative conventions include conventions to regulate turns at talk. Conventions govern how many people can talk at once and what kinds of talk can take place simultaneously. They govern when it's appropriate to speak and how long it's appropriate to speak. And they include ways of letting others know that one wants to speak -- ways of getting the floor. These conventions do not simply provide rules for appropriateness; they provide the material to develop and carry out strategies -- ways to get heard, ways to get others heard, and ways to keep others from being heard.

Conversational conventions have been the subject of considerable study for several decades, under the rubric of *conversation analysis*. In English-speaking communities of the northern hemisphere, the prevalent norm for conversation is a sequencing of turns, alternating among speakers, with a minimum of silence between adjacent turns (see, for example, Sacks *et al.* 1974). This norm does not tolerate substantive simultaneous talk in a single conversation, nor does it tolerate long silences. This means that speakers have to be able to manage the alternation between speakers without the use of noticeable silence.

Kollock *et al.* (1985) found that in heterosexual couples in which the woman had greater professional or class status than the man, the man tended to talk more nonetheless. They attributed this to their finding that men were more resistant to reversals of status hierarchies. The relation between power and conversational dominance is not one-way. In her observations of fifth- and sixth-grade classrooms, Penny noted that the emerging popular crowd produced its own dominance in the classroom by colluding to give its members more quality air time.

Topic –061: Conversational Styles

Research on gender and conversation among English speakers has tended to emphasize women's strategies for cooperative, supportive talk. Women pick up and build on each other's themes (Kal'cik 1975, Coates 1996), they engage in supportive overlap (Eckert 1990, Coates 1993), they provide plentiful back-channeling (Bilious and Krauss 1988, Roger and Nesshoever 1987, Edelsky and Adams 1990). This style has been contrasted with a male style that is said to be competitive rather than cooperative. Men's conversation has been found to involve competitive banter, and to foster hierarchy (Kiesling 1997).

The topics they discussed were also different, and appeared to correspond to the style of talk: [M]ales engaged in dramatizing and story telling, jumping from one anecdote to another, and achieving a camaraderie and closeness through the sharing of stories and laughter. Females discussed one topic for a half hour or more, revealing more feelings, and gaining a closeness through more intimate self-revelation. The findings from the content analysis and who-to-whom scoring similarly reflect the themes of

intimacy and interpersonal relations for women, and themes of competition and status for men. (Aries 1976, p. 13)

Focusing on difference can also have the effect of erasing similarities. Aries and Johnson (1983) emphasize this in their study of adult friendships. In this study, Aries and Johnson asked male and female adults to reflect on the topics they discussed on a regular basis with their same sex best friend. They found that male and female close friend pairs in general discussed the same topics: religion and morals, reminiscences, family activities, personal finances, friendship, social and political issues, secrets about the past, community and civic affairs, and work. And men and women alike reported talking little about sex and sexual concerns.

Women reported discussing personal problems, doubts and fears, family problems, and intimate relationships more than men, while men reported discussing sports more than women. Women also reported discussing personal problems in depth more than men. These are real differences, but they constitute only the margin of these people's self reports. Focusing on what's different between women and men, ignoring the large preponderance of behavior that is the same, gives the impression that men's and women's concerns and conversations are overwhelmingly different.

A man's personal worth is primarily based on the accumulation of goods, status, and power in the marketplace. A woman's worth, on the other hand, has traditionally been constructed in the domestic realm and has rested on her ability to maintain order in, and control over, her domestic realm, and to develop personal influence. Deprived of public power, women have had to develop personal influence through the construction of moral authority.

Topic – 062: Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA) is based fundamentally on the model of communication as a joint activity. In the case of written texts it is joint in the sense that people share knowledge about how to interpret them. In interaction, CA is concerned with how participants produce joint achievements such as conversational openings and closings, requests, storytelling, medical diagnoses and so on. Gender is one of the many joint achievements of texts and talk. In the strand of CA concerned more with talk-in-interaction, sequences are an important focus because each utterance (or gesture) is understood as a contribution to the joint activity. Thus an important focus of sequential CA is on how interaction unfolds across sequences of actions by different participants. Common to all strands of CA is that the significance of a sentence, utterance or gesture is indexically. That is, it is highly dependent on the situational conditions of its production.

In conversation, the unfolding of an interaction depends on the interpretation of a current speaker's utterance by the next or a subsequent speaker; and to show that they are engaged in a joint activity they need to display their interpretation of that utterance in some way. Even if the next speaker's interpretation is 'wrong' from the original speaker's point of view, it is open to the original speaker to offer a correction.

Lesson 11

CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

Topic –063: How Conversation Proceeds?

In general, any utterance can be interpreted in numerous ways by analysts; for CA it is important to end evidence in the interaction of which of these possible interpretations have been taken by the participants (see Stubbe, Lane, Hilder, Vine, Vine, Holmes, Marra and Weatherall, 1999, in press). For CA, participants' actions in interaction are, in general, locally occasioned. What this means is that any conversational action is viewed, for example, as responsive to a prior utterance, or as relevant to a current non-linguistic activity. Thus utterances are viewed as fitting into whatever current sequence of actions is relevant to the interaction. Spontaneous interaction thus has an improvised character. Functional categories of utterances are not based on analysts attempting to read speakers' intentions, but rather on their responsiveness to earlier actions and on the actual or potential following actions.

An example of how the unfolding of action depends on the participants' displayed orientation to the interaction is illustrated in the extract presented below. The extract was taken from an interaction that was used by a discourse analysis research group, to which I belong, to explore the utility of different discourse analytic approaches (Stubbe et al., 1999, in press). The extract is from a workplace interaction where CT has asked TR why she wasn't approached to act in a management role:

#59: TR: so the issue in terms of + acting you into the role + is [drawls]:probably: one that um + you could address directly with Joseph

#60: CT: right

#61: TR: 'cause i've given you my reasons why i did it

#62: TR: //abso\lutely nothing + sinister or any other agenda other than
that

#63: CT: /right\\

#64: CT: no i'm not looking for that

At #62 there is a spontaneous denial of bias by TR, which displays his understanding of CT's request for an explanation as a complaint, maybe about discrimination. However, CT appears to deny this in #64. Thus, what can be said at this point is that TR's orientation to the interaction is that TR is dealing with a complaint whereas for CT it is about a request for information. The notion of normative rules is another feature of a conversation analytic approach. In CA, 'rules' (e.g. for turn-taking, for how sequences can unfold) are not invariant descriptive rules in the linguistic sense, or statistical generalizations, but rather normative and interpretative

Topic – 064: CA & Miscommunication Theory

Conversational actions within the concerns of the gender and language held are those of request and refusal. Managing responses to requests for favours (including sexual ones) has been the focus of

assertiveness training programmes, many of which are primarily aimed at women. A type of assertiveness skills training, which achieved widespread awareness, was the feminist anti-rape campaign. The slogan promoting that campaign was 'no means no'. There are at least two related ideas captured by the 'no means no' slogan. One message is that women should feel free to say no to unwanted sexual advances.

The other idea is that saying no clearly and directly is the best way of doing refusals to sexual invitations. So, despite its explicit feminist orientation, the 'no means no' campaign carries the implicit assumption that simple and direct speech (features commonly associated with men's speech) is the best form of communication. This side of the implicit assumption is that saying no in a hesitant and indirect manner (features typically associated with women's language) is inadequate for communicating a refusal. Culturally competent members have shared knowledge about how to go about refusing a request.

CA has demonstrated that a simple and straightforward response is, under normal circumstances, how invitations are accepted and requests granted. Thus, it is possible to argue that if 'no' is said simply and straightforwardly without hesitations, pauses or explanation, then, if there is an absence of malice, ill-feeling or frustration, 'no' may in fact be meant as 'yes'. Under normal circumstances then, advice to 'just say no' can be construed as misguided. Furthermore, CA has shown that hesitations and indirectness when declining requests or refusing invitations are the socially accepted form of those speech acts. There is no evidence from a CA perspective that indirect, hesitant speech is in any way inferior to direct straightforward speech.

In sum, Kitinger and Frith (1999) considered the CA literature on refusals in combination with young women's self-reports about how difficult, on the whole, they found turning down unwanted sexual advances. They developed an argument about women's difficulties in refusing, and men's difficulty in understanding those refusals, that did not rely on notions of gender differences in language use or miscommunication theory, approaches emerging from the gender and language held that are problematic. Instead, they endorsed the communication competence of both women and men, arguing that speakers have a sophisticated ability to convey and comprehend refusals as refusals, even when they are hesitant and indirect. If one accepts that women and men have a shared knowledge about how social actions (such as refusals) are done in conversation, then the assumption of miscommunication theory, that men and women speak different languages, seems unlikely. Instead, claims to mis-understanding can be interpreted as compelling but questionable justifications for coercive behaviour.

Topic –065: Preferred Sequences

An important CA ending is that many conversational actions occur in pairs. Greetings are an example of a conversational action having two parts. More complicated patterns of paired actions include questions, which get followed by answers; requests, which are followed by consents or rejections; and invitations, which are accepted or declined. The technical term for these kinds of actions in conversation is an 'adjacency pair'. This does not mean that a question is always followed by an answer. Instead, the adjacency pair structure is seen as normative.

However, the strongest empirical evidence that adjacency pairs have a normative structure is from 'deviant cases' ± instances where the adjacency pair structure is not followed fully or is in some way problematic. The examination of deviant cases in CA follows the ethno-methodological technique, described earlier, where violations or breaches of norms are examined to shed light on the nature of norms. Heritage (1984) used cases where initial questions failed to elicit responses, to illustrate the normative character of the adjacency pair structure.

However, an important point illustrated by extended sequences of questions and answers is that each utterance is locally occasioned and related to the previous one. So, although the answer to the question may not be given in the adjacent utterance, the sequence proceeds under the expectation that the first part of the question will ultimately receive its answer.

Conversation analysts have found that the different responses typically follow one of two patterns. The generic term for those patterns is preference structure, with the two patterns being referred to as preferred actions and dis-preferred actions. The structure of a preferred action is straightforward. The reply is simple and made with no hesitation. In the case of an invitation, the preferred response is an acceptance. Below is an example of an invitation followed by an acceptance. In contrast, dis-preferred responses have a far more complicated structure. They may be characterized by pauses or hesitations before a response is given, or by the use of appreciations and apologies; an explanation may be offered and there will also be an indirect or qualified declination component. An interesting social psychological aspect of the dis-preferred response structure is that it is inherently affiliative. That is, the normative structure of a response shows sensitivity to the other speaker. Thus, the normative structure of preferred and dis-preferred responses promotes a sense of social solidarity. This is one illustration of how conversational organization and social processes are intricately linked.

Topic 066: CA and Gender

CA can tell when participants relate language with gender. This is done through “gender noticing”. Social and contextual factors such as participants' gender, age and ethnicity are not analyzed as independently specifiable causes of behaviour, but rather as resources that can be invoked as relevant in a normative/ interpretative way. It is assumed that participants display to each other their mutual understanding of what aspects of context are relevant for them. The notion of ‘noticing’ has been developed in CA to refer to moments when participants display their orientation to something as relevant to the interaction.

Gender noticing is moments in an interaction when gender is invoked as relevant to the interaction. The concept of gender noticing provides a solution to a problem that is raised by a constructionist approach to gender and language. How does one differentiate between those aspects of speech that are ‘doing gender’ and those that are not, without linking language use to the (gender) identity of the speaker and without relying on gender stereotypes. A conversation analytic approach to context resolves this issue by advocating that social categories such as gender, age and ethnicity should only be used in an analysis when speakers make it explicit that that is a relevant feature of the conversational interaction (Schegloff, 1997).

Topic –067: Feminist Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis is a rigorous methodology for feminist analyses of gender, language, and sexuality. Its focus on the accomplishment of actions in naturally occurring social interaction is different from other approaches to gender and language. Aspects of a conversation analytic mentality have been critiqued by both feminists and language scholars for constraining the study of gender and communication. Nevertheless, we show that a sustained focus on the minutiae of social interaction and close attention to what people say and how they say it in the service of action can further advance knowledge about key feminist concerns including gender, power, identity, and oppression.

Conversation analysis is concerned with people’s own understandings of what they and others are doing in social interaction. In technical terms, this is referred to as ‘participants’ orientations’. What participants treat as relevant is precisely (in fact, only) what conversation analysts attend to when

analysing the interaction. One way to determine participants' orientations is through the 'next turn proof procedure'. This procedure is based on the principle that the way someone responds in a next turn of talk displays their understanding of what was happening in the previous turn.

One critique is that examining participants' orientations cannot speak to the sociopolitical, cultural, and historical contexts of gender and power (Whelan 2012). Schegloff argued that it is not legitimate to pick out gender identities from this list, just because the analyst happens to be interested in gender. Instead, conversation analysts examine the identities that *participants* treat as important, and demonstrate how these identities are used by the participants to make sense of the interaction they're involved in. Instead, feminist conversation analysis can provide a disciplined approach for investigating how sociocultural matters such as gender, sexuality, identity, and power are visibly relevant as participants build and interpret their social worlds and progress daily activities. A feminist interest in gender and power can be valid if analysts do not assume how or where this will become manifest in the data, but instead undertake to demonstrate *that* and *how* their feminist interests are noticed and used by participants (Speer 2012).

Lesson 12

MAKING SOCIAL MOVES (TALK AS MOVES)

Topic – 068: Speech Act Theory

Philosopher J. L. Austin (1962) initiated the systematic study of *speech acts* in his well-known exploration of “how to do things with words.” To undermine the view that speech and action are opposed to one another, Austin drew attention to what he called *performative* utterances. A person with the proper institutional authority, he pointed out, can say “you’re hired! and *thereby* give a job to the addressee. The utterance itself, given the proper institutional setting and a speaker authorized to produce it, brings it about that the addressee has indeed been hired. Those words start a chain of events that will, if the addressee accepts the offer, lead to the addressee’s showing up for work and getting a paycheck some time thereafter. Hiring and firing, naming boats and babies, pronouncing judgments in a courtroom, marrying two people or joining them in a domestic partnership: verbal performances are central to doing such things. And, of course, we have already observed that gender often affects which people will be institutionally empowered to bring off particular kinds of verbal performances.

Judith Butler (1990) draws inspiration (and nomenclature) from Austin’s theory of performative utterances. Butler develops Austin’s important insight that performativity is not just a matter of an individual’s wanting to do something by saying something. Verbal as well as other performances come off, acquire their meaning, and do their work, because they draw on discourse histories of similar performances, reiterating elements that have worked similarly in the past. In that reiteration, however, there is the possibility of individuals going beyond the constraints of the social or linguistic system they have inherited, perhaps ultimately thereby contributing to changing it. As Butler (1990, p. 145) puts it, “In a sense, all signification takes place within the orbit of the compulsion to repeat; ‘agency’, then, is to be located within the possibility of a variation of that repetition.”

Topic – 069: Speech Act Theory & Gendering

Not all utterances affect the world as dramatically as overt performative like “I hereby pronounce you husband and wife” (when uttered by a person licensed by the state to perform marriages). Nonetheless, Austin observed, all utterances are indeed actions. He distinguished three different kinds of acts involved whenever someone says something. There is a *locutionary* act. The speaker produces an utterance -- a stream of sound or hand gestures or marks on a page or computer screen -- *as* a particular linguistic expression with a particular structure and (literal) meaning. The locutionary act sets the stage for the *illocutionary* act, what is done *in* saying whatever has been said. Have you claimed something or inquired? Have you promised or threatened or warned? Invited or implored or commanded? Expressed your anger or your pleasure? Praised or criticized? Apologized or empathized or complained or teased?

In saying something and meaning something by it, a speaker always performs one or more such illocutionary acts. There will also be *perlocutionary* acts accomplished *by* saying something. You may persuade someone of your views, frighten or annoy them, cheer them up or comfort them, move them to some kind of action of their own (e.g. to follow your suggestion or respond to your request), impress them with your wisdom, fan their love of you. There is a large literature on apparently gendered speech acts or speech act types: for example compliments, apologies, insults, one-ups. As we observed earlier, research in this area has probably raised at least as many questions as it has answered. To try to sort out some of the issues involved and think about how research might usefully develop, we find it useful to see speech acts as kinds of social moves that are part of larger, socially accomplished plans of action.

Topic – 070: Gender & Politeness

Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1987) have developed a theory of politeness that builds on Erving Goffman's (1967) ideas about face-work and that has been very influential in work on gender and politeness. What Brown and Levinson are trying to do is articulate a theory that will shed light on general principles of politeness while also showing how it can differ cross-culturally and offering a framework for doing comparative work on politeness.

Each individual, they argue, has ongoing interests in promoting their *positive* face: projecting a self that is affiliated with others, that is liked and identified with, part of a "we." Each individual also cares about their *negative* face: projecting a self that is a separate individual, someone deserving of respect and freedom from imposition, someone whose own interests have intrinsic value.³ An individual's positive face needs have to do with need for approval from others, for a sense of being liked by others, of being connected to them.

Brown and Levinson emphasize that politeness does not lie simply in forms as such but in what speakers use those forms to do. Of course, forms are not irrelevant to politeness. There are, for example, often verbal formulas that are used to mark speech as conventionally "polite": many a child acquiring English has learned the magic powers of "please" as an accompaniment to a request. "Please" conventionally signals recognition that the request imposes on the addressee, that the speaker cares about this potential harm to the addressee's negative face and wants to mitigate the imposition. Politeness formulas are often aimed at least as much at promoting the speaker's face as protecting the addressee's.

It is not always easy to classify speech acts as promoting positive or negative politeness or neither. Brown and Levinson's distinction is not exactly the same as one between that which aims to make another feel good and that which aims to lessen the bad feelings someone might have, to repair actual or potential damage to someone's face. Drawing on her own and others research on gendered distribution of a number of different kinds of speech acts, Janet Holmes (1995) argues that women tend to be more (linguistically) polite than men. She found, for example, women complimenting (and also being complimented) more than men. She also found women apologizing (and also being apologized to) more than men. Compliments she treats as positively polite, apologies as negatively polite.

Topic – 071: Politeness, Speech Acts, & Gender

Drawing on her own and others' research on gendered distribution of a number of different kinds of speech acts, Janet Holmes (1995) argues that women tend to be more (linguistically) polite than men. She found, for example, women complimenting (and also being complimented) more than men. She also found women apologizing (and also being apologized to) more than men. Compliments she treats as positively polite, apologies as negatively polite. In other words, compliments are seen as aimed at making someone feel liked by others, connected to them.

Holmes's results and those of a number of other investigators whose work she discusses strongly suggest that women predominate as both initiators and recipients of certain kinds of "polite" speech acts among the populations studied (mainly New Zealand and US middle-class people of European descent). Can we conclude that these women are more considerate than the men with whom they live and work? More interested in strengthening social ties, in promoting solidarity? More concerned to be seen as "nice"? Less "sincere"? Even if we assume that the data represent communicative patterns among these groups fairly accurately, accounting for the observations is not so straightforward. Holmes takes the fact that men apparently direct more instances of conventionally "polite" acts towards women to indicate their recognition that women value these acts more highly than do men.

As Holmes recognizes, virtually all utterances serve both affective and referential functions. Indeed, these functions interconnect in many intricate ways. Making you feel good by complimenting your attire may be a move that is part of my strategy to elicit certain information I need from you in order to clinch a business deal. Or, conversely, reporting to you on certain facts may be a way to strengthen my social bonds to you, to convey that I like you. The affective/instrumental split has long been associated in the US and many other English-speaking societies with a female/male division of labor not only in talk but also in many other kinds of social activities.

Not surprisingly, (male) instrumentality is associated with reason and (female) affect with emotion. But along with the mind--body dichotomy, the reason--emotion split has been challenged in recent philosophical and neuropsychological work.⁵ Affect seems to play a particularly important role in moral reasoning and in social cognition. In general, however, the affective and instrumental are closely intertwined, making the distinction of somewhat dubious value in mapping gendered patterning in speech.

There are cultural contexts where neither the affective/instrumental division of linguistic labor nor the related gender polarities like cooperative/ competitive would ever have seemed gendered in the ways so many investigators of English speakers have found appealing. Among the Malagasy of Madagascar, Elinor Ochs Keenan (1974) found that it was men who were seen as attending to other people's sensibilities. The men observed proprieties in speaking even when doing so might make it hard for them to say what was needed for practical purposes. Women's speech was seen as blunt and to the point, effective for certain purposes (e.g. interacting with westerners) but lacking in finesse and tact.

Topic – 72: Feminist Pragmatics

The concern to embrace diversity has led some feminists to engage extensively with ideas generated by poststructuralist and postmodernist approaches which question 'essentialist' notions of gender. Essentialism is defined by Cameron (1998b: 15) as a 'belief in essences', which she goes on to describe as: 'the conviction that there is some essential, fundamental and fixed property or set of properties which all members of a particular category must share, and by which they are distinguished from the members of other categories' (15).

Perceiving 'men' and 'women' as distinct categories whose members are 'essentially' different may be explained as either an effect of biology (sex) or of culture (gender). As well as arising from a conscious rejection of meta-narrative, the heterogeneity of feminism also arises from its unique relationship with other academic disciplines. For example, on the one hand, a given piece of feminist research, just like any other form of research, is both constrained and made possible by its relationship with the specific concerns of current scholarship in its own field: that is, feminism.

The aim of my discussion is to illustrate the limitations that result in each case from the absence of a pragmatic perspective. I hope to illustrate why a pragmatic perspective is needed in studies of language use [PRAGMATICS]. This is particularly pertinent given the number of feminist studies that currently focus on language use across disciplines. . What 'language' is, how it is different to 'content', and indeed how it is different to 'discourse' is never made explicit. What Lovering appears to mean by 'content' is linguistic data that has already been interpreted with a context. If this is the case, the problem here is that the processes that led to that interpretation, what exactly is meant by the term *context* and what phenomena might constitute the context remain unexamined.

What I want to point to here are some issues that arise from this failure to problematise the processes that render the 'content' available for analysis, and to consider how this failure affects arguments that set out to understand mechanisms of gender oppression through the analysis of language.

Lesson 13

POSITIONING IDEAS AND SUBJECTS (POSITION W.R.T WHO SAYS HOW)**Topic – 73: Women’s Language & Gendered Positioning**

In the early 1970s, American linguist Robin Lakoff proposed that American women were constrained to soften and attenuate their expression of opinion through such devices as

- _ tag questions (“this election mess is terrible, **isn’t it?**”)
- _ rising intonation on declarative (A: “When will dinner be ready?” B: “Six o’clock?”)
- _ the use of various kinds of hedges (“That’s **kinda** sad” or “it’s **probably** dinnertime”)
- _ boosters or amplifiers (“I’m **so** glad you’re here”)
- _ indirection (saying “Well, I’ve got a dentist appointment then” in order to convey a reluctance to meet at some proposed time and perhaps to request that the other person propose an alternative time)
- _ diminutives (*panties*)
- _ euphemism (avoiding profanities by using expressions like *piffle*, *fudge*, or *heck*; using circumlocutions like *go to the bathroom* to avoid “vulgar” or tabooed expressions such as *pee* or *piss*)
- _ conventional politeness, especially forms that mark respect for the addressee

There were other elements in the picture she painted of “women’s language,” but the main focus was on its “powerlessness,” seen as deriving from the “weak” stance or position those women (and others) were assuming. (See esp. Lakoff 1975.). Overall, Lakoff proposed, a distinctive part of speaking “as a woman” is speaking tentatively, side stepping firm commitment and the of action. “Subject” deliberately evokes the “subject position” terminology of postmodern theorists and others who find the traditional notion of a unitary and coherent self-problematic. Although our own thinking is informed by feminist and postmodern theorizing, our focus as linguists is on grounding the abstract notions of discourse and of subject positions in concrete linguistic practices.

Finally, we adopt the term “positioning” because it brings together stance towards ideas and towards others. Goffman’s notion of “footing” (1979) is very similar to what we’re calling idea Positioning appearance of strong opinions. Women are dis-empowered by being constrained to use “powerless” language, ways of speaking that simply are not very effective in getting others to think or do what the speaker wants them to.

Topic – 74: Gendered Discourse Positions

Reading Layoff’s work, many drew the moral that women could be empowered by changing their modes of speech, assuming more authoritative positions as speakers. As Mary Crawford (1995, ch. 4) explains, lots of people jumped on the “assertiveness bandwagon” during the late 1970s and the 1980s, proposing to train women to speak more assertively, to move away from the positions Lakoff had identified as constitutive of powerlessness and of “women’s language.”

Other readers of Lakoff pointed to the fact that the positioning devices she described as constitutive of “speaking as a woman” are actually multifunctional. Many resources that she characterizes as evincing a weak position for the speaker, a lack of force behind the main message, may do other things. A tag, for example, can both indicate a willingness to entertain alternative positions beyond that which the main clause conveys (thus, the absence of unshakable conviction) and also serve to connect the speaker more firmly to others. Establishing such connections may ultimately strengthen a speaker’s position by enlisting social support for the speaker and their ideas.

We will discuss three kinds of linguistic resources that explicitly mark relative social location -- distance and hierarchy -- of the speaker and addressees and thus can directly show respect or familiarity. Positioning subjects can be accomplished through choice of forms of address (we use English examples), through second-person choices for referring to addressees (we use French), and through a more thorough-going system of honorifics (we use Japanese) that spreads positioning of subjects far beyond the marking of expressions that directly speak of or to the subjects who are being positioned.

Address forms are sensitive indicators of how speakers are positioning their addressees, those to whom they are speaking.⁴ In English, forms like *sir* or *ma’am* or social titles like *Dr.*, *Mr.*, or *Ms.* preceding a surname assign a high position to the addressee, express the speaker’s respect for the addressee. By simply acknowledging the addressee’s claims, they may also express social distance and the absence of solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. Used non-reciprocally, they can express deference from a social subordinate (a young person or someone positioned as inferior on some other grounds).

Topic – 75: Role of Grammar in Discourse Position

Unlike contemporary English, many languages incorporate in the grammar itself resources for showing respect to, or marking solidarity with, one’s addressee. Readers may be familiar with one or more of the European languages that have two second-person pronouns for talking about an addressee. As with English address options, however, the European second person pronouns now mark familiarity far more than hierarchy. As Roger Brown and Albert Gilman (1960) put it, the power semantic has been giving way to the solidarity semantic. And ideologies of gender equality have also considerably lessened the gender-inflected uses of the power semantic of hierarchy and distance.

Several centuries ago in English, the originally plural and respectful *you* won out over the originally singular and familiar *thou* for almost all kinds of address and addressee reference. The major exceptions were certain very special contexts such as prayer (in which the addressee is a deity, here seen as too close to be distanced by the non familiar form). But members of the Society of Friends, the Quakers, continued to use the familiar forms to people, rejecting the deferential flavor of the plural form *you* for relations among humans and reserving it for addressing God, the one being to whom it was deemed appropriate to show deference. Among most users of English, however, leveling was to the originally respectful and deferential form rather than to the originally familiar and solidarity form that seems to be gaining the upper hand these days in most European languages.

Systems for speaking of addressees show clearly the tensions between the power semantic of respect and deference and the solidarity semantic of familiarity and closeness. Within each of these poles, we also see the opposing demands of social equality and hierarchy. To enforce but not give respect is to require deference. To extend familiarity without inviting it in return is to claim social superiority, to show disrespect or condescension. And forms for speaking about addressees show the complex ways in which gender inflects the meanings of hierarchy and social distance. Marking social status is tightly integrated into the grammar of Japanese, and showing respect or deference is a central component of so-

called women's language in Japanese. Speakers may, for example, use humble forms to refer to the actions of their own family members, and honorific forms to refer to the actions of the addressees' family members. Not just families but companies, friendship groups, schools, and other groups may be relevant, making negotiation of appropriate honorific usage a very complex matter.

Topic – 76: Women's Language & Multi-Functionality

Women's speech has often been interpreted as indicating uncertainty or unwillingness to take a stand. In this section, we discuss two linguistic resources in English that have been so interpreted when associated with women's speech: tags and rising intonations on declarative ("uptalk"). Careful examination of their use, however, shows that the story is much more complex. These same resources can also be used to open up the conversational floor to other participants, to provide a space for others' contributions. And their gendering may have at least as much to do with how others interpret them as with differences in who produces them.

Lakoff focused on what linguists studying English sometimes call *tag questions*, which append what looks like a fragment of a question to an ordinary declarative clause. These tags contain an inverted auxiliary form, determined by the auxiliary in the main clause, and a pronoun that agrees with the subject of the main clause: "the weather's awful, isn't it?" or "your friends couldn't come next week, could they?" In both these examples the polarity of the main clause is reversed in the tag: a positive main clause gets a negative tag, a negative main clause gets a positive tag. (Positive tags can occur with positive main clauses, but matched tags have somewhat different functions than the polarity reversed ones: "she would like me to come, would she?") Intonation affects interpretation of these tags, although there are also other factors, some of which we will discuss below. English also contains *invariant tags*, as do many other languages. Researchers such as Holmes (1982) and Cameron *et al.* (1989) pointed out that tags have a range of quite different functions: they can indicate uncertainty and ask for confirmation from the other (their *epistemic modal* function: "he was behind the three-point line, wasn't he?") but they can also be *facilitative*, *softening*, or *challenging*. (This terminology is from Holmes 1995.) A facilitative tag invites the addressee to make a conversational contribution and is often found at the beginning of an encounter or from those like teachers or talk show personalities who are trying to elicit talk from others. Think, for example, of saying "great performance wasn't it?" to the friend you meet on the way out of the theater or "she doesn't look old enough to be his mother does she?" to someone with whom you're chatting about the bridegroom's family at a wedding reception.

A softening tag attenuates or mitigates the potential negative impact of something like a criticism: "you were a bit noisy, weren't you?" Challenging tags often elicit defeated silence or reluctant admissions of guilt: think of an angry parent uttering "you thought you could pull the wool over my eyes, didn't you?" or "you won't do that again, will you?" or the cross-examining lawyer saying "Your friend Jane promised to pay my client a lot of money, didn't she?" Intonation on the tag can help signal which functions are primary in a given utterance (an epistemic modal tag often has a rising intonation, a facilitative tag a falling one) but intonation interacts with many other factors. What Lakoff counts as problematically weak are tags appended to sentences that express something the speaker seems perfectly well positioned to appraise for herself.

Topic-77: Up-Talk & Language of the Weak/ Woman

Along with tag questions, Lakoff identified the use of a "question" intonation on sentences that are not questions as a central component of the style she characterized as both "women's" and "powerless" or "weak." The "question" intonation has a high-rising tone at the end of the sentence. What Lakoff called "inappropriate question intonation" has more recently been dubbed "uptalk" by the media.

We have already mentioned her often quoted example (1975): Husband: When will dinner be ready?

Wife: Six o'clock?

McConnell-Ginet (1975), an early review of Lakoff (1975), noted that there were many possible reasons for the wife's use of the high-rising **terminal (HRT)** in such an exchange other than insecurity about whether the time suggested was "right" or unwillingness to commit herself. She might be asking any one of a number of questions whose content is not explicitly given in the utterance: why do you want to know? are you listening to me? didn't I tell you already? do you have plans you haven't told me about? are you proposing that we go out for dinner instead of eating here at home? Or she may simply be indicating that she is open to continuing the exchange. Notice that the HRT is really quite different from the tag here: the wife would only reply "(it'll be ready at) six o'clock, won't it?" if she is not herself directly responsible for determining when it will be ready -- maybe one of the kids is cooking tonight and she thinks the expected time has already been announced and is (perhaps gently) reminding her husband that he's already been given the information.

Ladd (1980) argued that rising finals simply mark incompleteness, lack of finality. Indeed, in a study of preadolescent boys' narratives, Andrea Kortenhoven (1998) found that almost every utterance in the development of the narrative carried the HRT, whereas the introduction and the conclusion never did. A class project done on parents' weekend found that the overwhelmingly greatest use of HRT in response came from older (father-aged) men. The goodwill mission atmosphere of parents' weekend may well dispose society's more powerful to make special efforts to show their sociability. A high-rising final on a declarative is heard far more often among speakers of American English now than when Lakoff's analysis first appeared, especially among younger speakers.

Topic – 78: Strong Language

Swearing is widely considered an expression of very strong emotion: anger at specific others or simply deep frustration, often manifest as anger directed at the closest available target. It is viewed as potent language and can indeed sometimes achieve impressive effects. Profanity is also considered unsuitable for women and children. As we mentioned in chapter two, there is considerable evidence that young women are using taboo language in large numbers these days (e.g. Vincent 1982) but also that many men and some women still express discomfort at hearing. Lakoff and others have seen gender privilege in access to profanity as depriving women of resources they need. In many contexts a woman using obscenity positions herself rather differently from a man speaking the same way. Recognition of this different positioning is part of what leads some women to seek substitutes for the tabooed forms.

Euphemisms like "oh, piffle!" (reported by one of Sally's students as erupting from her mother at a moment of extreme frustration and anger) may sound silly to others but may enable those using them to vent without crossing over into the dangerous arena opened up by taboo language. Precht (2002), the recent corpus study of conversations recorded in 1995 that we mentioned in the preceding section, did find the men recorded saying *shit* significantly more than the women and the women saying *gosh* significantly more than the men. But there were no significant sex differences in the use of *damn* or *god* or, for that matter, of the positive interjections *wow* and *cool*.

Anger is the emotion most expected and tolerated (in some contexts even encouraged) from men. Raised voices and abusive insults are part of expressing anger: they can be frightening and thus function in social control. Anger is seen as heightening someone's power, their capacity to get others to respond as they want. The power of anger, including the power of some swearing, probably arises primarily from its capacity to produce fear, to intimidate. Of course, anger does not always intimidate. Women's anger

is often repositioned as frustration or emotional “upset,” framed as nonthreatening and, indeed, as rendering its subject vulnerable. “You’re so cute when you’re mad.” Women’s increased use of obscene language in expressing anger can represent a repositioning that challenges male dominance and that claims authority.

Along with ritual insults, many of which also involve taboo language, interjections like *fucking* are often liberally used in contexts where there is not even the pretense of anger or attempted intimidation. Kuiper (1991) and Kiesling (1997) have both examined male-only social contexts that are characterized by such “dirty language.” As they and others have pointed out, this kind of talk often plays an important role in social bonding in such groups. It signals shared freedom from the control of those who have criticized such language in the past: mainly, mothers and schoolteachers (mostly women). Its connection with anger and intimidation often remains relevant, however. Finally, as has often been observed, profanity often draws on metaphors of gender and sexuality that evoke misogynistic or homophobic attitudes and practices. Not surprisingly, this can make its use problematic for those who are consciously trying to counter such attitudes and practices.

Lesson 14

LINGUISTIC POLITENESS AND GENDERED DISCOURSES**Topic – 79: Linguistic Politeness**

Gender has begun to be theorized in more productive ways, moving away from a reliance on binary oppositions and global statements about the behavior of all men and all women, to more nuanced and mitigated statements about certain groups of women or men in particular circumstances, who negotiate within certain parameters of permissible or socially sanctioned behavior. Rather than seeing gender as a possession or set of behaviours which is imposed upon the individual by society, as many essentialist theorists have done (see Butler 1990; Fuss 1989, for an overview), many feminists have now moved to a position where they view gender as something which is enacted or performed, and thus as a potential site of struggle over perceived restrictions in roles (Crawford 1995).

Of particular interest is the notion of Communities of Practice (CofP), developed by Wenger (1998), and developed in relation to language and gender research by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet to particular (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998; 1999). A CofP is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavour. Ways of doing, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavour (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998:490). The crucial dimensions of a CofP are that it will have “mutual engagement; a joint negotiated enterprise; and a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time” (Wenger 1998:76, cited in Holmes and MeyerhoV 1999:175).

Thus, each community will develop a range of linguistic behaviours which function in slightly different ways to other Communities of Practice. However, we need to modify this notion of CofP slightly, since although there may be broad agreement as to the norms operating within that group, there will also be different ‘takes’ on those norms, and gender may play a significant role here in determining what each participant views as appropriate. This notion of a CofP is particularly important for thinking about the way that individuals develop a sense of their own gendered identity, because it is clear that individuals belong to a wide range of different communities with different norms, and they will have different positions within these groups (both dominant and peripheral). Thus, rather than describing a single gendered identity which correlates with one’s biological sex, it is possible within this model to analyse a range of gendered identities which will be activated and used strategically within particular Communities of Practice.

An important element in the assessment of an act as polite is judging whether an utterance is appropriate or not, either in relation to the perceived norms of the situation, the CofP or the perceived norms of the society as a whole. There is obviously a great deal of flexibility in these norms and the potential for misunderstandings and misapprehension of politeness is large. Drawing on Brown and Levinson’s work, Janet Holmes argues that in general women are more polite than men: Most women enjoy talk and regard talking as an important means of keeping in touch, especially with friends and intimates. They use language to establish, nurture and develop personal relationships. Men tend to see language more as a tool for obtaining and conveying information (Holmes 1995:2).

Topic – 80: Impoliteness

Much of the thinking about linguistic politeness has focused on politeness in isolated speech acts, without considering those acts in relation to what would constitute impoliteness. As politeness is an entity which is very difficult to define or describe, focusing on impoliteness may be slightly easier, since

normally at least some of the participants are aware when a breach of perceived norms has taken place. Third parties may be approached to discuss someone's impoliteness and it generally involves some sort of repair to the interaction and to the relationship if the impoliteness is considered exceptional.

Indeed, a great deal of interactional work goes into the assessment of impolite acts, involving retelling anecdotes and inviting judgments of the excessiveness of the impoliteness, in order to bolster the sense that one's assessment of the impoliteness is justified (or not). Culpeper has attempted to come to a definition of impoliteness as the opposite or reverse of politeness (Culpeper 1996). He analyses several contexts of linguistic use – a documentary programme on army training, and literary drama – where he isolates certain examples of impolite linguistic behaviour. In his analysis of the army training documentary, he lists the instances of impoliteness by the trainers to the recruits.

However, I would argue that within that particular CofP, this is not classified as impolite, although it would be within almost any other community. The dominant group in the interaction, the officers, has managed to achieve a situation where the seeming excessive impoliteness (barked orders, ritualized insults) is considered to be the norm. Thus, if we simply analyse impoliteness in the apparently decontextualised way that Culpeper does, we will be unable to grasp the way that politeness is only that which is defined by the CofP as such, and even then it is something which may be contested by some community members. Thus, I would suggest that impoliteness only exists when it is classified as such by certain, usually dominant, community members, and/or when it leads to a breakdown in relation.

Topic – 81: Discursive Meaning & Gender

Encoding, saying, and implying are what speakers do. Hearers generally both decode and draw inferences about what speakers are attempting to convey. Often the hearer is really only interested in the total message conveyed, perhaps paying little attention to just which parts were actually said and which were implied. Discursive meaning has many components, and both speaker and hearer (and sometimes others, including unlicensed over-hearers) contribute to the ultimate communicative effects of an utterance. What participants contribute, as we have already noted, depends on the positions they occupy in particular communities of practice and social institutions. And gendered stereotypes and power relations can significantly affect how both speaker and hearer approach communication.

The encoded aspect of the message is what the language system determines. This is roughly the meaning that can be assigned a verbal text independently of its being produced in a particular context. Formal approaches to linguistic semantics have focused primarily on encoded meaning. They have also emphasized what is sometimes called referential or informational meaning even though languages also encode some aspects of affective or expressive meaning. For example, *dame*, *broad*, *lady*, and *woman* encode the same informational meaning in many contexts but differ in the expressive meaning they encode. Expressions like the interjection *damn* or the formulaic *hi* or *bye* or *thanks* encode affect and attitudes rather than information.

A manual language like American Sign Language can likewise be opaque to onlookers unfamiliar with it even though there are occasional iconic signs like pointing to oneself for self-reference. Usually familiarity with the words and phrases produced is essential to accessing the content of a discourse, no matter how detailed one's non-linguistic picture of the scene might be. There are cross-cultural differences in the extent to which speakers are assumed responsible for unintended implications drawn by hearers. Much of the philosophical and linguistic literature, focused on the practices of dominant groups in England and the US, takes the speaker's intentions as delimiting responsibility: the speaker can always plead "I didn't mean that."

In other words, speakers may or may not always *mean* what they imply in the sense of openly inviting their hearers to draw the available inferences. Philosopher Paul Grice argued that what speaker A means to speaker B depends on what A intends B to figure out (and intends B to realize that the inference is being invited). The corollary is that a speaker may use a single utterance to mean something to some that the speaker does not mean to imply to others. Of attempts to refine Grice's initial account; see Levinson (2000) for a recent neo-Gricean approach and Sperber and Wilson ([1986] 1995) for a more radically altered theory. Every linguistic text has accompanying symbolic material: William Hanks (1996) uses the term *visuals* to cover all the stuff that accompanies or "inflects" the words of a linguistic text. For traditional written texts, visuals can include pictures, graphs, typography, layout, handwriting styles. Newer media provide moving and flashing elements and sound along with the printed word and familiar kinds of graphics. Speech has "tone of voice," facial expressions, and everything that goes under the heading of "body language."

In addition to visuals, what is used as a basis for drawing inferences includes a history of previous discourse and expectations about future discourse. These involve not just what has been said but what has "typically" been said, along with evaluations of ways of saying things. And, of course, there are general sociocultural assumptions as well as more local ones. These include participants' assessment of themselves and one another as particular "kinds" of people with particular communicative habits and expectations.

Topic – 82: Pre-Supposin Gender Schemas & Ideology

Sometimes speakers imply messages by presenting them as non-news, as part of the background that they are taking for granted. Presupposing is not in itself a bad thing. Indeed, it is essential to discursive practice. Without being able to take things for granted, to call on a common background, communities of practice would not function. We'd be forever stuck in the position of strangers with no shared socially significant history. Yet presuppositions that are seldom made explicit, that stay backstage, can be problematic. The particular presupposition that the feminine pronoun *she* triggers can be expressed explicitly and simply. The presupposition is just that actual or potential referents are classed as female persons.

As we saw, that assumption may itself rely on other (tacit) assumptions about characteristics distinguishing females from males. It is not, however, a linguistic convention governing *she* that brings in assumptions about how women and men differ from one another. Rather, such assumptions are often used to underpin gender ascription and hence choice of pronoun. To talk about a specific person without first inquiring about the person's sex (or having a sex-specific name as a guide) English speakers have to use the prescriptively frowned on *they*: choosing either *he* or *she* inevitably imports gender assumptions and, when the assumptions fit, helps further naturalize those assumptions.

A number of expressions, however, indicate explicitly that some rather diffuse and highly context-dependent presupposition is being made. The content of such a diffuse presupposition is often very difficult, perhaps impossible, to state in a fully explicit form. Familiar examples are words like *but* or *even* and constructions like equates and *when*-clauses. "She's a beautiful blonde but exceptionally intelligent" makes it explicit that the speaker presumes some kind of contrast or tension between a woman's beauty and her intelligence though the precise nature of that contrast is not specified. "Even my mother could understand that book" makes explicit an assumption that the speaker's mother is the least likely of those we might be considering to understand that book, though leaving unspecified just who is being considered and on what basis likelihood of understanding is being judged.

Lesson 15

SAYING AND IMPLYING

Topic – 83: Assigning Roles

Languages offer resources for representing situations involving multiple participants playing different roles and assigned differential responsibility for what is going on. Verbal meanings and word order are critical cues in English texts to how their producers are interpreting the causal relations in the situations they seek to represent, which roles they are assigning to which participants. To say “Lee kissed Kim” is to present Lee as the agent of the kissing, the one causally responsible for it, and to present Kim as what linguists call the patient of the kissing, an essentially passive recipient.

Although subjects are very often agents, this is not always the case, as we saw in chapter two. Note, for example, passives like “The cup was broken (by Lee),” where the special verbal form (the use of *was* plus the past participle form of the verb) signals that the subject is playing the role played by the object in the corresponding active sentence and where the agent may or may not be indicated in a *by*-phrase. While not agents, subjects of passives are topics -- what the sentence is about. With some verbs, things get more interesting.

In “Kim sold Lee a shirt,” Lee is the recipient of the shirt Kim sold; in “Kim sold Lee,” Lee seems to be what’s sold; in “The shirt sold,” the shirt is not the agent of the selling but its theme -- what was transferred by the selling act -- and agency is completely obscured. And, of course, with some verbs agency is hardly very active: “Kim watched Lee.

Now consider verbs like *kiss* and *marry* that certainly allow mutuality. But even though mutuality is not ruled out, to say “Lee kissed Kim” or “Lee married Kim” evokes a subtext in which it is not also the case that “Kim kissed Lee” or “Kim married Lee.” That is, as subject, Lee is being assigned the leading, most active role. Looking at grammatical roles (who is subject, who is object) as well as verb categories (*run* vs. *see*), Monica Macaulay and Colleen Brice (1997) found a tendency in 1990s syntax texts to cast males as the active doers, whereas females were more often the passive recipients of males’ actions or the spectators thereof. As Macaulay and Brice point out, similar findings emerged from a 1970s study of primary-school textbooks, which also had many more male characters overall, but a follow-up study at the end of the 1980s suggested a move away from such asymmetries in the school textbooks, making it even more surprising that they seemed to persist in most of the syntax texts.

Topic – 84: Assigning Responsibility

Susan Ehrlich (2001) shows how gender ideologies frame and help shape the constitution of gendered identities and responsibilities in a sexual assault trial. In her chapter three, she shows how the defendant presents himself through what she calls a “grammar of non-agency” that at best obscures his responsibility for what happened. One strategy implies mutual engagement: “we started kissing,” “we were fooling around.” He also uses what Ehrlich dubs “the language of love,” which stresses mutuality and gentleness, rather than the complainant’s language of violence.

Not surprisingly, agentless passives are another important resource for evading responsibility: “our pants were undone,” “our pants were pushed off.” There are frequent agentless passives that circumvent the processes of decision making: “It was agreed that,” “it was decided that . . .,” “it was established that . . .” At one point the university lawyer probes the defendant’s omission of agency. In

response to a question about something he is alleged to have said, the defendant says, “it might have been at one point . . .uhm. . . that those words were said.” Lawyer: “By you?” Defendant: “Pardon me?” Lawyer: “You said them?” Defendant: “Yes.”

In chapter four of her book, Ehrlich explores what she calls the “complainants’ discourse of ineffective agency.” In the university tribunal hearings, there was considerable talk about the complainants’ “options” and “choices” . The complainants’ expression of fear gets undercut by the questioners, who seem to discount the fear as an acceptable reason for their lack of action. What Ehrlich suggests, is obscured and underrated by an ideology of a freely acting individual agent. Operating within this ideological framework, the questioners ignore or downplay the constraining fear and confusion that the defendant’s sexual aggression produced.

These characterizations attributed to the complainants arose, however, from questions that presupposed the inadequacy of the complainants’ actions and the “irrationality” of their fears. In many ways, the proceedings served to chastise the complainants for their “mixed messages” and their failure to show the “utmost resistance” and also served to convince them “in hindsight” of their own ineffectiveness.

Topic – 85: Making Metaphors

Although we often speak of metaphorical interpretations of a particular word or phrase, metaphor involves much more than this and can extend over substantial texts. Proverbs or fables, for example, are extended metaphors that can push interpreters to adopt new perspectives on or reconceptualize some (often implicit) topic, e.g. morality or practical wisdom. The processes of producing and interpreting metaphors and the discursual uptake they involve are all critical. This discourse focus leads us also to ask who produces what kinds of metaphors and to what effect. Some uses of language are clearly metaphorical and others are clearly not.

Compare, for example, “she brought out all of her big guns and shot down my argument” with, on the one hand, “she brought out all of her big guns and shot down the bird” and, on the other hand, with “Using authoritative resources and techniques, she established that my argument was fallacious.” In most contexts, the talk of guns and shooting in the second sentence is not metaphorical, whereas in the first sentence it is; the third sentence renders non-metaphorically (approximately) what the first sentence might be used to convey.

As Eva Feder Kittay (1987) shows, very few sentences must be interpreted metaphorically or must be interpreted literally. There are, however, often clues in the sentence itself or in the larger text in which the sentence is embedded that point to either literal or metaphorical interpretations. Even those who see metaphor as central to language generally agree that not every utterance is metaphorical (“The dog is barking” if uttered in reference to the vocalizations being produced by a canine). Nonetheless, there is some dispute as to whether we really can draw a distinction between literal and figurative uses of language, where metaphor is one kind of “figure.” Many of our most everyday and apparently “literal” ways of talking almost certainly come to us originally through metaphor. Helen Haste (1994) argues that what she calls “the sexual metaphor” is central to maintaining sex-gender systems that support male dominance. What she means by “the sexual metaphor” is the striking tendency to use conceptions of female--male difference to structure talk and thinking about a myriad of other contrasts: arts vs. sciences, biology vs. physics, functional vs. formal, qualitative vs. quantitative, poetry vs. mathematics, vowels vs. consonants, peace vs. war, nature vs. civilization, emotion vs. reason, soft vs. hard, body vs. spirit. Kittay (1988) has made the interesting argument that women and women’s activities are a major source of

metaphors through which men construct their sense of a distinct self, their relation to the world, and their relations to one another. Women do not, she argues, draw on men and men's activities in a similar way.

Topic – 86: Gendering Metaphor

An important question that has been relatively little explored is just how metaphors of gender/sexuality function in particular communities of practice. Lenora Timm (2000) discusses the prevalence of the “mother earth” figure in recent discussions of ecology and the future of our environment. She pays special attention to the so-called Gaia hypothesis that the earth is a complex self-regulating organism, whose surface environment depends on interactions among microorganisms, plants, and animals. Gaia is the name the ancient Greeks gave to their “earth mother” goddess

At the same time, the metaphors have their grounding in the communities of practice in which they are deployed. As Cohn makes clear, there is not simply a larger “cultural context” but a much more specific set of relevant practices that give these metaphors their special significance in the particular community of practice of the “defense intellectual.” Birth and the rest of the reproductive process provide rich material for metaphors of intellectual discovery and invention. A “pregnant” pause (as in the title of Mendoza-Denton's 1995 article) signals the likelihood that the pause is paving the way to a particularly noteworthy thought and its expression. Kittay (1988) reminds us that Plato spoke of the (male) philosopher as a “midwife,” who brings forth ideas, and she points to such practices as male initiation rites in which men “give birth” to boys in order to transform them into men. Metaphors of procreation sometimes put the primary creative force in the paternal role, making the mother's contribution simply one of sheltering the baby. Cohn cites a quote from physicist Hans Bethe: “[Stanislaw] Ulam was the father of the hydrogen bomb and Edward [Teller] was the mother, because he carried the baby for quite a while” (n. 27, p. 700). And she also has a nice quote, which she describes as being offered “self-effacingly,” from an unnamed officer giving a briefing on a new satellite system whose technical capabilities he has just “excitedly” described: “We'll do the motherhood role -- telemetry, tracking, and control -- the maintenance” (p. 700).

Motherhood is by no means always used metaphorically as a mere accompaniment to the “main event,” but there certainly are some persistent discourse practices that give fathers the starring role in procreation. Such practices have a long lineage. The English word *seminal* originally derives from metaphorical talk of the male contribution to reproduction. Some feminists want to use *seminal* to label the work of women who have made groundbreaking contributions in some field in order to highlight those achievements for a wider community, where alternatives to the familiar laudatory *seminal* might weaken or obscure the message. *Seminal* is a nice example of a word that now works quite differently in different communities of practice. There are many other examples: mother nature with both her bounty and her unpredictable and uncontrollable violence, the poetic muse who inspires but cannot be relied upon, the whore and temptress who symbolizes what “good” men struggle against. Kittay bases her argument on Simone de Beauvoir's insight that men view women as fundamentally Other, an Other sometimes desirable or admirable, sometimes frightening or deplorable, but always profoundly different from themselves. Why don't women view men as Other in much the same way? Because, Kittay argues, of the different ways in which girls and boys form their self-identities in relation/ opposition to the mother.

Topic – 87: Gricean Pragmatics

From this perspective, to characterize meaning in communication one would therefore need to ask what *speakers* mean or intend by their use of this resource rather than to ask what a particular string of *words* mean. Grice characterized this (non-natural) type of meaning in the following way:

‘A meant (nn) something by x’ is (roughly) equivalent to ‘A intended the utterance of x to produce some effect in an audience by means of the recognition of this intention.’ And we may add that to ask what A meant is to ask for a specification of that intended effect (though, of course, it may not always be possible to get a straight answer involving a ‘that’ clause, for example ‘a belief that . . .’). (Grice 1989: 220). Levinson offers the following, more technical, reformulation of Grice’s characterization of meaning-*nn*, where S is the speaker, H is the hearer, z is the intended meaning of an utterance and U is the string of words used in the utterance.

S *meant-*nn** z by uttering U if and only if:

- (i) S intended U to cause some effect z in recipient H
- (ii) S intended (i) to be achieved simply by H recognizing that intention
- (i). (Levinson 1983: 16)

Levinson glosses this as indicating that communication involves the sender intending to cause the receiver to think or do something, just by getting the receiver to recognise that the sender is trying to *cause* that thought or action. What is being suggested then is that to say (1) that a speaker means ‘I can’t come to the phone’ by uttering the words *I’m in the bath* is the same as saying (2) that the speaker intended the words *I’m in the bath* to cause the hearer to generate the meaning ‘I can’t come to the phone’ and that, moreover, the speaker intended the hearer to be able to generate that meaning by recognising that this is indeed the speaker’s intention.

I briefly summarise the argument of an article by Sally McConnell-Ginet in which she suggests that Grice’s theory can provide an insight into the production and reproduction of sexist language use both at the level of word meaning (for example the sexualisation of words denoting ‘women’) and at the more subtle level of ‘the relative absence of a woman’s-eye view in the most readily accessible linguistic resources’ (1998: 198). McConnell-Ginet acknowledges that macro-political structures play a significant role in ‘genderising’ discourse in that issues such as who writes what, who preaches sermons to large congregations or whose speeches are broadcast around the world are determined at that level. However, as she points out, understanding the micropolitics of ‘daily discourse between ordinary individuals’ (199) is essential to an understanding of how language use works to produce and reproduce inequalities of gender.

Topic – 88: Gender & Conventional Meaning

The main point here is that endowing linguistic forms with meaning is a socially situated process. The statement applies not just to children learning to communicate but also to more mature speakers struggling to convey increasingly complex thoughts. A major insight of the Gricean perspective is that we can manage to mean much more than what we literally say. How? By relying on what we take to be shared or readily accessible beliefs and attitudes in a particular context. (202) It is the degree to which these beliefs are shared, are readily accessible and are co-ordinated in acts of linguistic communication that McConnell-

Ginet focuses on in her argument. She makes the point that the words used in an utterance are able to provide evidence of a speaker’s intention in that one type of shared belief is the set of beliefs we have about what language items can mean at a given moment in a given community. However, although the conventional links between words and concepts make language a particularly effective communicative resource, she argues that the ‘literal meanings’ of words are best seen as ‘defaults’,

operative unless something special in the discourse triggers alternative interpretations (206). Moreover, as she goes on to assert, these ‘literal’ meanings hold only because of the co-ordinated nature of communication in that it is only while there is a consensus about what a word signifies that it can continue to generate a given meaning. She uses the previously stable relationship between the word *he* in its generic sense to mean ‘he or she’ to illustrate the extent to which meaning generation is dependent upon coordination between communicators:

McConnell-Ginet’s point is that for language items to generate the meanings that we want them to generate, we must get others to co-operate with us: ‘At the very least, our listeners must recognize our intention and help us by acknowledging that recognition’ (207). The implications of this for an understanding of sexism in language use are illustrated by McConnell-Ginet’s argument that a man who wishes to insult her by saying *you think like a woman* can succeed in that intention. However, the reason that the use of this phrase can succeed as an insult is not founded on a shared belief that there is something inferior about women’s thinking. Rather, she argues, it is because: I understand that he is likely to have such a belief, and that his intention is not just to identify my thinking as an objectively characterizable sort but to suggest that it is flawed in a way endemic to women’s thought. The crucial point is that I need not know his particular beliefs: I need only refer to what I recognize (and can suppose he intends me to recognize) as a common belief in the community. (205)

Lesson 16

GRICEAN PRAGMATICS

Topic – 89: Gricean Pragmatics & Gendering in Language Use

McConnell-Ginet's discussion offers a well-argued illustration of one way in which Grice's theory of meaning is relevant to feminist research. She points out, however, that the theory is useful not only in explaining the problems, it also indicates possibilities for the solution of those problems. If Grice's account is accepted as an accurate model of how meaning is generated, then it is also indicates something about how new meanings might be generated. As she points out, new meanings are dependent upon acts of co-ordination that require co-operation between interlocutors, which indicates how feminists as a group might promote meanings that are oriented to women's empowerment. It also indicates where the problems lie in making those meanings generally accessible across a given culture.

To summarise: Grice's theory of meaning postulates that in order to understand a speaker's meaning, it is necessary to 'recognise' the speaker's intention. The issue of how far intentions can precede their articulation, and to what extent it is ever possible to recognise such phenomena has been taken up in a range of pragmatic debates. While, as a result, both the term *recognise* and the term *intention* have been extensively problematized over time, both within and outside of pragmatics scholarship, Grice's basic insight that non-natural meaning is a distinct type, and that it is generated in part through interlocutors' inferences about what each 'means' by what they 'say', has remained a useful framework for analyzing speech and writing.

McConnell-Ginet picks up on one implication of Grice's by showing how it provides a model for understanding why it is much easier to generate sexist meanings through language use than to generate meanings that problematise or run against stereotypical notions of gender. By arguing that a speaker's meaning is more easily accessed when it draws on ideas and perspectives that are generally accepted across a community than when it draws on less accepted ways of seeing the world, McConnell-Ginet is able to offer a level of explanation that simply would not be available at the level of content analysis.

Topic – 90 Political Correctness

Holmes and Meyerhoff argue that: 'To focus on gender in activities alone may be to focus on the gender of individuals, but to lose sight of the gender of institutions' (2003: 31). This plays a major role in the way that individuals judge whether their language is appropriate. They go on to state that: because certain linguistic strategies are indirectly and indexically linked with certain groups, institutions need only be organised to define, demonstrate and enforce the legitimacy and authority of linguistic strategies associated with one gender while denying the power of others to exclude one group without needing to make that exclusion explicit. (Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 32)

Thus the expression of sexism is dependent on the assumption that the context is a masculinised one where the utterance of such beliefs will be acceptable. Because overt sexism is something that many institutions have tried to eradicate or discourage, at least within the work environment, there is less overt sexism in the public face of organizations, for example in mission statements and general documentation intended for consumption by the general public. That is not to say that overt sexism has been eliminated in informal interaction, but at least within public discourse it is stigmatized.

However, it could be argued that within the context of the media (certain newspapers, television and radio programmes), sexism is very apparent, but it is a form of sexism which has been modified because of feminist pressure and because of male responses to feminism. For example, in British men's magazines such as *GQ*, *loaded* and *Viz*, there is a great deal of sexism, but it is accompanied by humour and irony; it is assumed that men and women are entirely different and the discriminatory statements which are made about women are seen to be simply reflecting that 'natural' difference: women are represented largely as sexual objects. A similar ironising sexism can be seen to underpin many advertisements in the UK, where products are associated with a stereotypical masculinity – for example in TV advertisements for Burger King, the chorus for a song about the 'double meat whopper' is 'I am man.'

Similarly, I recognise that it is not necessarily the case that sexist utterances depend on a masculinised environment, but, generally speaking, it would seem to be the case that utterances are made in the belief that they will not be seen as inappropriate or outlandish. Sexist remarks are sometimes made to shock or cause irritation, but they seem to make sense through their relation to an institutionalized context where they are viewed as normal and not aberrant. The aim of sexist remarks is to indicate that the addressee is considered the one who is aberrant. Nevertheless, in languages other than English, at least in languages which have grammatical gender, sexism is still overt and blatant, since the masculine form is used to refer to both males and females fairly consistently. Men are also represented in stereotypical ways. Benwell describes the content of men's magazines as drawing on working-class culture and values: they are not represented as concerned with the world of work but focus instead on drinking, partying, watching football and going on holiday, as well as addressing women only as sexual objects (Benwell, 2006: McCoy's crisps are advertised as 'man crisps'.

Topic – 91: Access to Speaker Meaning

Burt suggests that adopting a Gricean framework allows students to do all that the fallacy lists allow them to do, but that the Gricean approach is more straightforward and therefore more likely to be applied effectively. Her point is that when critically evaluating a text from a Gricean approach there are just four sets of connected maxims that need to be kept in mind, and looking for violations of this small number of maxims is a more manageable exercise than looking for examples of seventeen different types of flawed argument.

Burt also points out that an awareness of the maxims would enable readers to recognise other problematic aspects of argument not covered by the lists. She goes on to suggest that applying a Gricean model also provides an explanatory framework: it shows *why* fallacious arguments are problematic thereby indicating how and why they might be critiqued. Finally the Gricean framework provides a descriptive vocabulary that allows the critique to be clearly articulated. Burt illustrates these advantages in relation to the above textual example by pointing out that failing to address the question of whether abortion *ought* to be legal can be seen as a failure of Quantity on two counts. The two sub-maxims of quantity are (1) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange), and (2) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Burt also argues that since a Gricean framework is predicated on the assumption that for communication to work, there needs to be a form of **co-operation** between participants (in this case between a reader and a writer), students who approach a text with this in mind are conscious of both the extent and the appropriateness of their compliance with the writer's communicative strategies. And while co-operation between the writer and reader facilitates communication to the extent that it enables the generation of **implicatures** when a writer flouts a maxim, given that this approach foregrounds the

need for the reader to be complicit in this process, it also alerts the reader to the possibility, and appropriateness, of withholding that co-operation when maxims are being violated rather than flouted.

This is particularly useful when a text is promoting an ideological perspective that a reader might want to question. For example, Burt makes the point that although in the case of student essays such as the above, maxim violations can be attributed to a student's inexperience in putting together an effective argument, writers can of course deliberately violate a maxim in order to mislead a reader, or to promote a particular point of view without making their agenda explicit.

Topic – 92: Developing Critical Thinking by Gricean Maxims

Critical thinking is essential for researchers and students as it involves reasoning logically, forming sound arguments, and evaluating evidence effectively. A strong argument is free from **logical** or **emotional fallacies**, both of which weaken reasoning.

Logical Fallacies

Logical fallacies are errors in reasoning, often caused by:

- **Omission:** Incomplete information.
- **Oversimplification:** Reducing complex issues to simple statements.
- **Exaggeration:** Overstating importance without evidence.

Examples include:

- **Hasty Generalization:** Jumping to conclusions without sufficient data.
- **Begging the Question:** Avoiding evidence by repeating or re-framing the question.

Emotional Fallacies

These appeal to feelings instead of logic.

- **Testimonial:** "It must be true because someone famous said so."
- **Bandwagon:** "Everyone is doing it."
- **Straw Man:** Attacking the person instead of the argument.
- **Plain Folks Appeal:** Pretending to be ordinary to gain trust.

Such fallacies dominate when logic fails or is intentionally avoided.

Using Grice's Maxims to Improve Reasoning

Instead of memorizing fallacies, students can use **Grice's Cooperative Principle** to strengthen arguments. His four maxims guide clear and logical communication:

1. **Quantity:** Give sufficient information.
2. **Quality:** Be truthful and provide evidence.
3. **Relation:** Stay relevant.

4. **Manner:** Be clear and organized.

Applying these maxims helps identify where an argument breaks down and how to fix it. Thus, Grice's framework not only improves communication but also cultivates **critical, analytical, and reflective thinking**—key skills for research and academic writing.

Topic – 93: Avoiding Manipulation through Cooperation Maxim

In summing up her discussion of Gricean principle of cooperation (maxims), Burt comments that a clever writer can use maxim violations – which are usually innocent – as well as traditional fallacies to mislead readers. Alerting readers to the possibility of manipulative non-fallacy violations of maxims in a text will further encourage their resistance to co-operation with manipulative texts. (Burt 1992: 409) A familiarity with Grice that alerts readers to the extent of their own cooperation can therefore heighten readers' awareness of the possibility of being manipulated, and this in turn encourages the development of critical thinking.

Topic – 94: Does Textual Analysis Always Need Cooperation Maxims?

The following analysis of a lead article from *the Daily Mail* illustrates how Burt's idea of critical thinking through Gricean maxims might be applied in a feminist analysis.

UNDUE HARASSMENT OF THE TAXPAYERS

So distressed was Detective Constable Libby Ashurst by the treatment to which she was subjected that she resigned from the North Yorkshire police. She should be somewhat consoled now that she has been paid at least £100,000 to drop her sex discrimination claim and say nothing more about it. In all too many forces, the canteen culture can still be loutishly sexist. It should be confronted. Women officers must have legal redress. But by any standards, £100,000 is a vast sum of money for injured feelings. It is four times what a policeman, who had been criminally assaulted, would receive in compensation for the loss of an eye; twice what he could expect for the loss of a leg. **Is this political correctness gone mad or has Libby Ashurst been subject to sexual harassment so appalling as to be worse than the loss of a limb?** We just don't know. Under the terms of the settlement we are kept in the dark. What taxpayers do know is that they must pay the bill. They have every right to be told the facts. (*Daily Mail* 1991)

At one level the article can be read as pointing out that the primary issue here is the fact that the North Yorkshire Police have failed to be sufficiently accountable to the British taxpayer. For example, the question that begins the final paragraph: *Is this political correctness gone mad or has Libby Ashurst been subject to sexual harassment so appalling as to be worse than the loss of a limb* is followed by the observation that this information is not available: *We just don't know*. It would seem then that the point is being made that British taxpayers (and, of course, the *Mail*) lack adequate information to be able to judge whether the level of compensation Ashurst received is justified. Since the compensation settlement requires Ashurst to remain silent about her experiences, the stated lack of knowledge here seems to function, given the other claims made in the remainder of the third paragraph, as a means of illustrating how inadequately informed the taxpayer is, and that this is what is so unacceptable: it is the taxpayer who will have to pay for this award, without ever knowing whether it was justified.

However, although, on the evidence of the meanings generated by the final paragraph, the question that opens that paragraph appears to be rhetorical, I would want to argue that the text is designed to generate an interpretation of the situation that would lead the reader *not* to see the question

as one which cannot be answered. I would also want to argue that, without making this explicit, the article questions the validity of sexual harassment compensation generally and of this award in particular.

Indeed what I am proposing is that the text is constructed in such a way that it is likely to generate the interpretation that Ashurst's treatment could not possibly have been appalling enough to warrant the compensation she was awarded and therefore the award must be an example of political correctness gone mad. As such, I see the text as implying that the police are to blame on two counts: for not recognising that they are accountable to the taxpayer *and* for being such poor judges of sexual harassment claims that they allow an example of *political correctness gone mad* to cost so much money. But given that this is not actually stated, how can I justify this? What evidence might be called on to substantiate this claim?,

Lesson 17

WORKING THE MARKET: USE OF VARIETIES**Topic – 95: Sociolinguistic Variation**

Speakers can do very different things in talking with one another, can pursue quite different communicative goals, while using essentially the same linguistic variety. As we will see, linguistic varieties are linked to people in a unique way -- they are seen very much as reflecting who people are, where they come from. They carry a good deal of baggage as a result, and they figure in the construction of gender in a myriad of ways. In every culture, learning to talk -- like learning to walk -- is a part of growing up.

In both cases, the learning seems to happen whether or not there is explicit instruction. And in both cases, the end product is a kind of knowledge and facility that operates more or less automatically. Ways of walking are highly constrained by anatomy, but there are subtle differences from culture to culture -- for example, in some cultures some shuffling may be de rigueur, while in others it may be frowned upon. And certainly, norms for women's and men's walks are quite different in many cultures. But in the case of talking, children develop tremendously different activities from one culture to the next, and even from one community to the next. The child learns a particular language -- or maybe more than one language.

And within that language, the child learns a particular *variety* -- an English-speaking child growing up in New York will most likely learn New York English, while an English-speaking child growing up in London will most likely learn London English. And within New York and London there are significant differences in the variety one will learn depending on the specific community within each city. A child growing up in an African American community in New York will most likely learn the New York African American variety, and a working-class Italian American child will most likely develop a more distinctively New York dialect than an upper-middle-class Italian American child.

Children come equipped to learn any language, no matter what the linguistic background of their biological parents or their ancestors. They learn the linguistic variety or varieties of those who take care of them as toddlers and those with whom they spend their time when they are small. Early on, the child becomes proficient in certain ways of saying and hearing, but not in others. The child learning Chinese must attend to certain differences in the melodic patterns of syllables (what are called *tones*) that the child learning English or Spanish can ignore. And, of course, it is not just phonology, but morphology and syntax and a lexicon that are acquired.

And within each of those languages that the child learns, he or she learns a specific dialect (or possibly more than one). The differences between two dialects of the same language can be relatively subtle. In African American Vernacular English, the verb *be* occurs in invariant form to signal a continuative aspect (Rickford 1999): *He's working hard* meaning 'he's working hard right now.' *He be working hard* meaning 'he's always working hard'. More common than grammatical differences, though, are the phonological differences by which we distinguish regional dialects.

Topic – 96: Change in Linguistic Identity

Because of the relative permanence of one's language, and even one's dialect of that language, and the relative difficulty of learning "someone else's" language or dialect, we tend to think of our linguistic variety or varieties as fundamental to who we are. And as a result, dialect differences (to say nothing of differences between languages) carry a good deal of social baggage. Speakers of New York

and Chicago dialects can be quite sensitive to the patterns of occurrence of [eə] or [iə] as opposed to [æ], and they are likely to have an attitude about people who use raised /æ/ in the “wrong” words. New Yorkers and Midwesterners have stereotypes written indelibly on each other’s dialects. The pronunciation of /æ/ is socially significant on the local scene as well, as regional stereotypes give way to local ones.

We refer to features of language that vary in this way -- that essentially offer more than one way of saying “the same thing” -- as *variables*. And the study of patterns of use of such variables is referred to as the study of *sociolinguistic variation*. Whether we say [bæg] or [biæg], our hearer knows that we mean the same word -- *bag*. But in addition to knowing the general kind of object we’re talking about, our hearer can gather some social information from our pronunciation of the variable /æ/ or /ɔ/, or our use of invariant *be* or positive *anymore*. If our use of variables offers information about who we are, it should also be clear to the reader by now that who we are is never static – and speakers are not likely to simply be defined by the linguistic varieties they learn at home. Access is key to developing competence in a variety, and our greatest access is through our family and friends in our early years.

But as we get older, we may move in new circles, gain exposure to new varieties -- and we may well find motivation to learn to use those new varieties, or to tone down what makes our old variety distinctive. A New Yorker or a Chicagoan can exaggerate the raising of /æ/ or play it down, for instance, and many people do both -- depending on the situation. Even for those who remain in the same community all their lives, dialect is not static. From our earliest years, we develop a range of variability so that our speech does not simply reflect our fixed place in social space -- who we are -- but allows us to move around in that space, to do things by exploiting the space of variability open to us. Similarly, children growing up bilingually learn how to use both varieties not just grammatically, but strategically. Each language in a bilingual -- and multilingual -- community may be associated with particular groups, situations, activities, ideologies, etc.

Topic – 97: The Standard-Vernaculars Tension

The modern standard languages of France and Spain are the local dialects from the area near their respective capitals, owing their new status to the fact that they were in the right place, spoken by the right people, at the right time. These two dialects were elevated to the status of *language*, while the other dialects were demoted, to be viewed as *dialects of* those two languages. Spanish and French were not taken up automatically or through a series of coincidences -- their codification and elevation to *standard language* played an important role in the construction of the French and Spanish nations and nationalism, at the expense of all other local varieties.

French was the language of global institutions: education, modern medicine, government and finance, social programs, salaried employment, religion and the media. And as these institutions entered the life of the village, they created a contrast with the self-sufficient peasant life that they encountered. The Soulatan language[*vernacular*], along with the way of life it served, came to be associated with peasant stereotypes -- ignorance, folk medicine, political isolation, a barter economy, poverty, agricultural work, and superstition. Gradually, in the course of the twentieth century, language use shifted from Soulatan to French, as people engaged with increasing regularity in situations and transactions that required French, and as Soulatan became increasingly stigmatized in contrast with French. People began to avoid using Soulatan in public situations so as to avoid humiliation, and to raise their children in French in order to give them a head start into the mainstream economy.

The same happened with Urdu and [local] Pakistani languages because of domination of English [global language]. The opposition between the local and the global is commonly tied up with

socioeconomic class, and with power struggles and conflicting interests. Within communities, class differences are generally related to orientation toward and participation in local and global networks, activities, and interests. While members of professional and elite classes are engaged in globalizing institutions (e.g. education, non local government, corporations), the lives of laborers, tradespeople, small business people, etc. are embedded in local communities. While the local language represents membership and loyalty to a local community, and to the practices and relationships that make up life in that community, the standard language represents disengagement from the local.

The notion of the *linguistic market* is based in the fact that one's linguistic variety can ultimately enhance one's chances for material gain. If standard language serves as symbolic capital in the global political and financial markets, vernaculars serve as symbolic capital in local markets by facilitating access to locally controlled resources, which may range from privately owned housing and space, to local jobs and a wide range of services. While the locally based person may have trouble getting around the halls of global power, the non-locally based person may have trouble

Topic – 98: Stereotyping Linguistic Varieties

The ideologies associated with standards and vernaculars unfold from the particular histories in which they emerge. Nonetheless, there are certain properties of standard and vernacular that emerge from the very process of standardization. Standards, as languages of global institutions, are associated with different communities and concerns from vernaculars, the languages of local communities. By association with these communities, a range of stereotypes come to be associated with the two types of varieties.

Because of their role in nation-building, standards are designed to unite diverse populations -- not only by providing a common language or lingua franca but by symbolizing homogeneity. Through codification and institutionalization, successful standardization ultimately erases the local origin of the standard and the heterogeneity that it is intended to supplant. The codified status of standard language renders it apparently unchanging and invariable, “immune” to the vagaries of time and locality. This allows the language to symbolize its speakers' (supposed) subordination of their own personal or local interests to those of particular institutions, and ultimately to those of society at large. The conservative nature of the standard thus allows it to be associated with rationality and stability.

Furthermore, this association of standard language with impersonal and formalized communications and with rationality offers a contrast with the personal and affective engagement associated with the vernacular. Standard and vernacular are also associated with different kinds of knowledge and authority. The association with institutions of education allows the standard variety to symbolize “objective” knowledge from global, unimpeachable sources, which entitles people to act on behalf of others. By virtue of its association with elites, standard language is also associated with refinement. The time and financial resources required to manufacture a refined self and to engage in refined behavior, and the incompatibility of refinement with physical work, are an important component of the symbolic value of refinement. Refinement distances a person from the physical world, and in a working-class environment, it is the ability to work with the physical world that is valued – physical strength, mechanical know-how, the ability to make and repair the things of everyday life, and the ability to defend oneself. The opposing pole to refinement, then, is physicality, practical knowledge, roughness and toughness.

Topic – 99: Gender, Language Variety & Job

Use of any variety requires, first of all, access to participation in the communities of practice in which the variety is used, and the right to actually use it in situations. Use also requires desire. Speakers will not accept linguistic influence from people they do not value – their linguistic varieties indicate

movement in the direction of desired identities, of communities of practice in which they desire to participate.

Given that our lives involve participation in multiple communities of practice, our linguistic practice involves a certain amount of heterogeneity. We may use one language in one situation, another in another; we may use a stronger local accent in one situation, a weaker one in another. Depending on where we are, what we're doing, who is in our audience, what we're talking about, how we're feeling about the situation -- and any other of a number of things -- we call upon resources to adapt our variety to our immediate needs.

An important aspect of the gendered use of varieties is the relation of language to the structure of opportunity for material success, which importantly includes employment outside of the home and, for some, marriage to a partner with good economic prospects. Employment opportunity structures gendered language development in a variety of subtle ways. Jobs often require particular kinds of language skills - whether it's simply because of the community in which they are located, or because of the actual kind of work. And the jobs themselves may differentially attract women or men because the work is gender specific or because there are local or temporary reasons for women or men to be attracted to them.

Marriage opportunities may also play a role in motivating language development in a world in which girls are socialized to focus on marriage as a means of advancement. To have a chance of marrying a prince, a young girl had better be able to talk like a princess. The role of industrialization and urbanization has been powerful in language change and language shift, as people have moved away from their local agricultural communities into larger towns and cities, leaving small farming for salaried work, particularly in factories. This commonly entails a shift from one's local variety to a more global variety - whether a regional or a national standard. The gender pattern of this shift depends on the local details of social change, but a common development is for women to leave the farm fastest, and hence to lead in the shift from the vernacular.

Topic – 100: Language in the Globalized World: Example of China

Sociolinguists have recently begun to investigate the linguistic consequences of globalization (e.g. Coupland 2003; Heller 2003; Leap and Boellstorff 2004). However, little research has been done on the relationships between language, gender, and work in contexts of globalization. For the past two and a half decades, China has been undergoing rapid transition from a central-planned economy to a new globalized market economy (Benewick and Wingrove 1995; Yeung and Olds 2000). Economic reform and opening up to the international markets have brought about unprecedented changes in all spheres of society (e.g. Davis 2000; Sun 2003). Economic restructuring has dismantled the "iron rice bowl" system that used to provide life-time welfare for state employees.

Research shows that language is used as a crucial resource in presenting their new cosmopolitan professional identity and at the same time distinguishing themselves from a significant other group – professionals working in state-owned enterprises. This paper examines the differential salience of gender in the speech of professionals working in *waiqi* and state enterprises. There have been numerous studies on the effects of economic reform and globalization on the relation between gender and work/labor (e.g. Entwisle and Henderson 2000; Rofel 1999).

Topic – 101: Impact of Globalized Economy on Gender & Work

The different gender patterns in the linguistic practice of the two groups is only one aspect of gendered distinctions in the *waiqi*[foreign company] and state businesses. Such distinctions were

apparent the moment I entered a foreign company. The decorative use of women to represent the public face of the company was more prevalent and conspicuous in the foreign companies than in the state companies that I visited. Every time I went to a foreign company or a representative office, I was greeted by a friendly, polite, and pleasant “face” representing the company, and this face was feminine. What constituted the public face of the companies typically included a front desk (often with a basket/vase of flowers), a young and pleasant-looking Chinese female receptionist or secretary, and her polite and soft greetings in Mandarin (or in both Mandarin and English if on the phone).

The pleasant feminine front resembles the “pretty package” described in Kanter’s study of American corporations (1993: 76). Such a feminine front was absent in most of the state companies that I visited. Most of the companies did not have such a clearly defined front desk or reception area as did the foreign companies. I either went directly to the manager’s office if I had been told of their office location beforehand, or I had to find my way by asking whoever was encountered first after I had entered the workplace. In several cases, right after the interview, the manager introduced me to other employees either by doing this her/himself or by calling in a (subordinate) colleague or a secretary. Although state feminism disrupted the traditional patriarchy and propelled women into the public sphere of socialist production, it also diminished the salience of (feminine) gender as a site where identity production took place (e.g. Yang 1999).

Another factor is the role of gender in the ways in which professionals in the two groups claimed access to their jobs. Whereas the state played a central role in the job allocation of the state professionals, among the *waiqi* professionals it was the market that allocated jobs in the foreign business sector. Gender was a crucial factor in the recruitment as well as the career paths of the *waiqi* professionals. Gender as well as language skills were found to be crucial in the ways in which the *waiqi* professionals were recruited by their companies. Based on the interviews with the *waiqi* professionals, I found that despite their comparable current positions, women and men went through different career trajectories. Furthermore, although most of them capitalized on their language skills, particularly foreign language skills, language played different roles in their career paths.

Lesson 18

GENDER IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE-I

Topic – 102: Gender & Bilingualism

The relationship between gender and bilingualism, as discussed in the previous module, reveals how language use is deeply connected to social and economic structures. In the context of globalization and the new economy, women often find themselves in a favorable position within the job market, particularly as “*technicians of language*.” Their bilingual abilities enable them to navigate professional and social spaces more effectively, granting them access to new opportunities and roles. Bilingualism also influences women’s cultural roles. Women who lack access to employment often rely on the vernacular variety of their language. When they participate in bilingual conversations, their use of the standard variety tends to be limited and context-specific. In such cases, women act as **cultural guardians**, preserving traditional linguistic and cultural norms within their communities. In contrast, men—especially younger men—tend to switch codes more freely, largely due to their exposure to out-of-community or urban environments.

In workplaces where women are hired for front-facing roles, such as customer service or hospitality, they are typically required to use the **standard language** exclusively. However, in other contexts—particularly where working-class, educated women are employed by elite families as caretakers or tutors—they often function as **cultural brokers**. These women acquire both the standard language and aspects of elite culture while teaching children or interacting with employers. During informal interactions, however, they may switch back to their vernacular. This constant movement between two linguistic and cultural systems makes them **inter-sentential code switchers**. Through this dual engagement, such women not only adopt the elite variety but also bring elements of that language and culture back to their own communities. Their use of the traditional variety aligns them with their role as cultural guardians, while their mastery of the standard variety associates them with their role as cultural brokers.

A third pattern emerges among **young women** who use bilingualism as a means of social mobility and personal transformation. For some, acquiring the standard or foreign variety becomes an **escape** from the constraints of their traditional language and community life, which often involve unpaid labor and domestic dependence. By mastering the standard language and integrating into urban professional networks, these women gain access to the new economy and more autonomous lifestyles. Thus, the relationship between gender and bilingualism is not uniform. While young women tend to benefit more than men from bilingualism in the job market, this advantage depends on their **access to education, employment, and opportunities for foreign language learning**.

Topic – 103: Familiarization of Service Industry...Gender Imbalance

The question I want to focus on is how various forms of social categorization (understood as the construction of social difference), of which gender is one, intersect in a process of social change, positioning people differently with respect to strategies and resources open to them, and with the consequences for them of trying out one thing or another. How is the relationship between gender, class

and ethnolinguistic categories bound up in historical shifts in the social organization of work, from primary and secondary-sector economies to the tertiary one developing as part of the ‘new work order’ (Gee et al. 1996)?

In these conditions, how are ideologies **and performances of gender and ethnolinguistic** identity shaped and shifted **together? Who gets to do that** shaping? **In order to see how one might explore these** questions, and in particular **social structuring through gender, class** and ethnonational categorization **which informs them, it is necessary to understand** the ways in which relevant **processes work out in situ.**

Not only are traditional gendered divisions of labour destabilized through the collapse of many masculine domains of work and the opening up of new feminized ones, but the linguistic capital, with its gendered distribution, at the heart of dominant discourses of community and identity, takes on new form and value by the foregrounding of language as a central component of marketable skills in the new economy. The relationship between French and English, and between vernacular and standard, are questioned, and the value, the parameters of distribution and the legitimacy of gendered linguistic capital is in the process of being redefined. The central processes of social change, for example, in francophone [French-English] Canada are:

- 1) Traditional gender roles associated with the Catholicism once central to francophone identity (*la foi, la race, la langue*) are in flux, opening spaces at the same time for a reconfiguration of ethnolinguistic categories and processes of identification.
- 2) In ways familiar to sociolinguists (see work cited above), for the francophone Canadian working class, new economic opportunities are generally greater for women than for men, leading to an increasing investment on the part of working-class women in standard French, and in French-English bilingualism (although not necessarily to a devaluing of vernacular French); it also leads to a retrenchment of working-class men in vernacular-speaking skills-based work units (usually in kin-based small companies).
- 3) The middle class, on the other hand, finds itself no longer able to control the ethnonational definition of language and community, as it gets increasingly caught up in diversified and extended networks and activities.
- 4) Everyone gets drawn into struggles over authenticity as language and identity are increasingly commodified, sometimes separately (that is, language can be commodified by people who stake no claim to identity, and identity can be commodified by people who cannot speak French). Indeed, new actors are drawn into the discursive space of francophone Canada because of these changes; many of these new actors are immigrants of a wide variety of backgrounds, including but not limited to the varied regions of the francophone world, many are Canadians who have learned or are learning French, many are non-francophone who have established kinship or other ties to participants in francophone Canadian discursive spaces.

Topic – 104: Gender & Discourse

A more contemporary understanding (for post-structuralism and CDA alike) would however refer to the discursal representation or construction of women and men, boys and girls in particular gendered ways in written text or talk – ways that may be idiosyncratic or normative, conservative or progressive. When women and men, boys and girls are represented and/or expected to behave in particular gendered ways, post-structuralism and CDA see gendered discourses as ‘subject positioning’

those individuals or groups concerned. 'Subject' is used here in the double active/passive sense of 'subject' (as opposed to 'object') and 'being subject to'.

Actual behaviour may or may not correspond to those representations and expectations, but people can be seen as 'taking up' (or not) particular gendered 'subject positions' (see Wetherell 1998, Weatherall 2002). Rather than focusing on (and 'ferreting out') any 'gender differences' (or tendencies), a discourse approach would see gendered subject positions which are taken up not as an end (or the end of the investigation) in themselves, but as legitimating the 'male/female binary', and as potentially constitutive of gender more widely.

Topic – 105: Workplace Discourse: Gendered or Not?

The notion of the "gendered" workplace arose repeatedly during our research on workplace discourse in New Zealand. Gender appears to be a particularly salient dimension of social interaction in New Zealand. Indeed, New Zealand has been described as a "gendered culture," a culture in which "the structures of masculinity and femininity are central to the formation of society as a whole," a culture in which "the intimate and structural expressions of social life are divided according to gender" (James and Seville-Smith 1989: *i-1*).

The recent rise to prominence of a raft of successful career women suggests, however, that New Zealand social patterns are changing. In the year 2000 in New Zealand, as almost every newspaper and magazine noted, women held the positions of Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition, Chief Justice, Attorney-General, and Governor-General, as well as the top position in Telecom, and the position of Chief Executive in a number of Ministries and influential government organizations. What exactly do people mean when they refer to a "feminine" or "masculine" workplace? While non-linguistic characteristics such as the gender composition of the workforce, the nature of the organization's work, and how often people socialize in and out of work are undoubtedly components of the picture, it is also clear that specific kinds of communication pattern are equally important. In fact, many distinguishing features of what are widely considered male versus female styles of interaction have been identified since the early 1970s

In interviews, team discussions, in classrooms, and in department meetings, patterns of domination of talking time, aggressive interruption, and competitive and confrontational discourse have been found to characterize men's rather than women's discourse, and it is certainly true that such features are habitually labeled "masculine" rather than "feminine" (see Tannen 1994a; Swann 1992; Stanworth 1983; Nelson 1998; West 1984). Men have been found to interrupt more than women in similar employment positions (e.g. Case 1988; West 1984; Woods 1988). Moreover, the "masculine" style tends to be more highly valued, largely due to the fact that men have dominated most workplaces until relatively recently, occupying nearly all the influential and powerful positions. Hence, as Kendall and Tannen point out, "styles of interaction more common among men have become the workplace norm" (1997: 85). It is perhaps worth emphasizing at this point that we are not talking about places that are literally "women's" workplaces and "men's" workplaces, but rather about cultural dimensions and perceptions, which are a matter of degree.

It is both impossible and unilluminating to examine workplace talk in a functional vacuum. People participate in a wide range of types of workplace talk, from one-to-one meetings, through small group discussions, to large-scale formal meetings, as well as variable amounts of social talk around the edges of task-oriented talk, and at ratified social breaks. Any analysis of gendered styles of interaction, and the related issue of what people mean when they talk of a "feminine" or "masculine" workplace, must therefore compare reasonably similar activities, with reasonably similar objectives.

A community of practice (henceforth, CofP) is The CofP approach focuses on what members do - the practice or activities which indicate that they belong to the group, and also the extent to which relations which underlie their practice. Hence, the CofP model encourages a focus on "not gender differences but the difference gender makes" (Cameron 1992: 13).

Topic – 106: Feminine Workplace

The office workplace, for example in New Zealand, represents the stereotypically feminine end of the gender continuum. It is a relatively small organization with a predominantly female staff whose main task is to monitor and advise on economic and social issues in New Zealand from the perspective of equality for women. A research shows that members of the organization, and in particular members of the work units within it, engaged with one another many times a day in a variety of ways. They spoke face-to-face in formal meetings and informal problem solving sessions, engaged in informal work-related and social chat in their work spaces, at breaks, and in passing; they communicated by telephone or e-mail on occasion, and they regularly read and commented on one another's written output (e.g. letters, reports, etc.).

There were organized opportunities for socializing at work with colleagues and with external contacts, with some individuals also choosing to mix socially outside of work. In short, the communication patterns in this workplace could be characterized as "high involvement" and heavily context-embedded, with a strong emphasis on face-to-face interpersonal talk, all features consistent with the feminine end of the style continuum. Second, there was a very clear sense of joint enterprise both in the organization as a whole and within individual teams, which went beyond simply doing the tasks at hand to encompass the pursuit of certain ideals relating specifically to gender issues. For instance, its staff included women who had joined the organization largely because they felt a particular commitment to furthering the aspirations of women. There is ample evidence, both from our analysis of actual interactions and observations reported by our informants, that these shared practices were typified by many of the features stereotypically associated with a feminine style. For example, participants in the study explicitly noted to us that although there was a recognized workplace hierarchy, this tended to be downplayed in most contexts, with managers adopting a relatively egalitarian and consensus seeking approach in their interactions with their teams.

However, as illustrated above, even in such a workplace, managers do still exert their authority overtly and directly in certain situations, colleagues openly disagree with one another and compete to push their own point of view, and it was clearly regarded by participants in the interaction as unremarkable for them to do so. Just because a workplace has a predominantly "feminine" culture, this does not mean individuals will always use "feminine" discourse strategies, nor does it rule out the use of stereotypically more "masculine" strategies where these are appropriate and necessary.

Topic – 107: Masculine Workplace

It is often claimed that females who attain high-status positions in traditional male-dominated workplaces succeed by adopting a "masculine" style of management and communication. Not unexpectedly, operating in a mixed-gender environment and a more masculine workplace culture does indeed appear to influence the discursive practices of women managers. However, while it is certainly apparent from their discourse strategies that women in these workplaces are interacting in a differently gendered CofP from the more "feminine" one described above, it is not the case that they shift wholesale to a "masculine" style; and nor do they all use exactly the same mix of strategies. For example:

Context: Ginette the team leader talks to Russell in manufacturing via the intercom

Ginette: copy kiwi copy kiwi

Russell: what's up

Ginette: stand by and I'll give you the figures bro

Russell: yep go

Ginette: for the line 1 acma rainbow flight we need 24 tonnes 24

Russell: yo bro

Ginette: .. then we are on orange wave orange wave # for the line 1

As mentioned above, the amount and style of humor used by members of this team is one of its defining characteristics. Example (11) is a classic example of the sort of no-holds-barred contestive humor that is commonplace between members of the Power Rangers.

Context: Some team members have not been filling out packing codes correctly

Ginette: check the case .. make sure you check them properly 'cause like I said it's just one person's stupid mistake makes the whole lot of us look like eggs +++check them properly. There is then a bit of horseplay from team members, one of whom says he didn't have a pen. Ginette responds:

Ginette: no pen you come out here and get one These are very direct imperative forms, expressed forcefully with an explicit *you* in the final instance. At the end of this long harangue, which has been spiked sporadically with humor, she says:

Ginette: please fill them out properly fuck youse

The comic mix of imperative form and forceful expletive, alongside the formally polite *please*, and the friendly colloquial pronoun *youse*, an in-group solidarity signal, elicits appreciative laughter from the team. Ginette thus ends the instructions on a less serious note, while nevertheless getting her message over very explicitly. Her direct style in this context works well, not just because it accommodates to masculine discourse practices, but also because she has developed a strong, positive relationship with her team: they trust her and are confident that she will look after their interests when dealing with higher management. To sum up, then, given its salience in New Zealand society, it is inevitable that the social category of gender will be used to guide people's behavior at work. Stereotypes provide simplifications which reduce the complexity of ongoing decisions about how to act, talk, dress, and so on, and how to respond to the actions, talk, and dress of others.

Topic – 108: Gender & Authority at Work place & Family

The movement of women into managerial and professional positions in the workplace is one of the most significant organizational changes in the past century (Burke and Davidson 1994). As women entered professions traditionally occupied by men, studies addressed the question of whether women and men in comparable positions linguistically constitute those positions in similar ways. The women in these studies were more likely to use "polite" language and/or less likely to use linguistic strategies that

would make their authority more visible (Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998; Case 1995; Fisher 1993; Preisler 1986; Tannen 1994a; West 1990).

At the same time, research on language and gender in the family addressed the question of whether mothers and fathers speak with their children in similar ways. The woman in a study, whom I call Elaine, creates disparate, gendered demeanors of authority at home and at work through her face-related practices as she performs directives to influence and control her daughter and subordinates. During dinnertime at home, Elaine creates a demeanor of explicit authority characterized by values of parental care-giving and "civilized" behavior. Her directives vary linguistically based on the discursive positions she takes up within the frames she creates and maintains during dinnertime, and they reflect the dinner-related and socialization functions of mealtime.

In the workplace, Elaine creates a benevolent demeanor of authority by linguistically maintaining the faces of her subordinates when asking them to perform tasks in five short encounters and in a longer review in which she provides one subordinate with feedback on her work. Her controlling actions vary linguistically based on the functions they perform within these encounters and reflect the teaching component of the review. Ironically, when Elaine directs the actions of her subordinates, she draws on mitigating strategies that evoke the qualities associated with sociocultural conceptions of "mother"; however, she does not use these strategies to the same extent to "do" her identity as a mother.

Seven directive categories were identified, representing the primary face-related strategies Elaine uses in these encounters. First, conventionally polite requests are questions constituted by modals and subject-auxiliary inversion (*Would you double check that for me*) (Brown and Levinson 1987). They may also include rising intonation, formulaic expressions (*please*), tag-type questions (*Would that be okay*), and per-requests (*Could you do me a favor*). Second, directives framed as joint activity are constituted by suggestions, which are statements mitigated by modals such as *might* and *can* (*And then you can bring the plate over to Daddy*), hedges (*maybe*), and/or subjectivities such as *think* (*I think that probably both of these should come out*) (Goodwin 1990; Tannen 1994a). Third, minimized imperatives are mitigated by the lexical items *Just*, *little*, and *real quick* (*Just draft up a little memo to him*). They generally save the face of the other through non-imposition. Fourth, *statements of need/obligation*, which attribute the source of the directive to exigencies of the situation, are constituted by expressions of *need* (*I need cheese grated*) and modals of obligation such as *should*, *have to*, and *supposed to* (*Beth, you're gonna have to uh heat your tortilla up*). Minimized imperatives and statements of need are mitigated, but not to the extent of requests and suggestions. Fifth, *unmitigated imperatives* are neither mitigated nor aggravated (*Wash your hands*). They are neutral in terms of face (Blum-Kulka 1997).

Sixth, *impersonalized directives* frame the need for the directive as external to the speaker and addressee by framing the directive as a *general rule* through assertions of what the addressee will or will not do, or through avoidance of "I" and "you" by inclusive points of view (*we*, *let's*), agent deletion, general *you*, existentials, and passives (*Hey, let's not use that language. It would be "droppings," thank you*).

Finally, *aggravated directives* are constituted by any of the forms above, but are aggravated by linguistic structures or prosodic elements that increase the force of the directive (*Hey! Excuse me, let's not use that language!*) (Aronsson and Thorell 1999; Culpeper 1996; Goodwin 1990).

Lesson 19

GENDER IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE -II**Topic – 109: Construction of Gender in Adolescence**

The joint consideration of gender and adolescence provides a double opportunity to discuss the problems of power, homogenization, reification, and essentialism in the study of language and social groups. Just as gender does not unfold naturally from biology, neither do life-stages such as childhood, adolescence, adulthood, or old age. Biology imposes some constraints, and culture takes off from there. Adolescence is an outgrowth of industrialization - of the shift to institutionalized preparation for work, and the need to keep the young out of the workforce. While there are physiological changes that coincide to some extent with the entrance into adolescence, to attribute "adolescent behavior" to "raging hormones" is to ignore the obvious: that above all, adolescence is an age- and generation-based location in the political economy.

What is commonly ignored is the fact that adolescents are not simply left to develop into adults, but are put into institutions that isolate them from adults. This situation produces a social hothouse, in which a social order emerges that solidifies the gender hierarchy as well as class, racial, and ethnic hierarchies. Adolescence slows time for the age group as, rather than focusing on getting to adulthood, adolescents enter into a kind of time warp - or a cultural sink - in which adolescence is not something to pass through, but something to achieve. And in the process, people become not more adult, but more adolescent, as the ultimate adolescent is the oldest: the high school senior. "Adolescent culture," in other words, is very much the product of the place given to adolescents in our society.

Topic – 110: Gender & Adolescent Language

Adolescence is a particularly rich life stage for the study of the interplay between the construction of language and the construction of social identity because while it is eminently transitional, it is also highly reified and experienced as static (by many as painfully so). In the following discussion, I will step back a bit from adolescence to include the transition into adolescence. For it is in this transition that one can see the extent to which adolescence is not simply an abstract stage, but the dynamic accomplishment of an age cohort.

Topic – 111: Construction of adolescence at School

Because adolescence is defined by secondary education, this takes place primarily in reference to schools. Even for those who are not in school, or who don't spend much time there, the very fact of their relation to the school is central to their place in society as *dropouts* or *truants*. The dominant adult view of adolescence is of an "unfinished" population - a population in which judgment has not quite caught up with desire. This attribution constructs the age group as not yet responsible but harmless, their antics relatively predictable. And it defines adolescents as a special leisure class - without family and financial responsibilities, living out of danger and with comfortable adult caretakers, and content to participate in the school institution until it's "time" to join the adult world. Those people in their teens who for whatever reason do not fit this description are cast as anti-adolescents. For them, adolescence and adulthood are blurred, both in day-to-day experience and in treatment by the institutions of society - schools, social services, the courts

Topic – 112: Hetero-Sociability

By the time the cohort moves into secondary school, it has accomplished the social changes that move it into a heterosexual and hierarchical social order. And as the official locus of adolescence, the US high school brings an institutionalization of traditional gender arrangements, heterosexuality, and romance. The female supportive role is formalized in the pairing of such activities as girls' cheer leading and boys' varsity athletics, and in the feminization of organizational activities such as holding bake sales, organizing dances, and so on. Girls tend to do the majority of the behind-the-scenes work for school activities, while boys predominate in top managerial roles (class president, student body president, etc.).

And the heterosexual couple is institutionalized in the king and queen of the high school homecoming and prom, and the yearbook's choice of "cutest couple." Heterosexuality and romance are also publicly constructed in high school through formal activities. Within this enterprise arises a new gender differentiation and division of labor. Boys come to dominate certain arenas of recognized accomplishment - most notably sports and overt competition of many kinds. They begin to accomplish masculinity - to expand themselves physically, developing sports moves and postures that maximize the appearance of contained volume and strength, and engaging in aggressive, competitive talk about "masculine" subjects.

And as girls become marginalized in these activities, they establish and dominate new spheres of activity and accomplishment. They engage with the technology of beauty and personality, experimenting with cosmetics, clothing, hairstyles, and the development of cute or clever personalities. And more important, they engage in *social engineering*. The entire heterosexual enterprise at this point is about alignments within the cohort rather than about individual boy-girl relationships. The pairs are brokered by members of the crowd, and the individual couples generally do not spend time together except in a few cases for very brief ritual appearances.

The drawn-out nature of *he-sa id-she-said*, as girls police and sanction each other's behavior (Goodwin 1990), and the cleverness of girls' insults as they shun undesirables (Goodwin 2000),[^] all show an engagement in mean articulateness. It may be that a certain amount of this nastiness comes from the feeling of subordination and exclusion in the new gender order, but the fact is that girls are not sugar and spice. This emerging social order brings with it - indeed depends on - an increase in peer-based social control and negotiation.

Topic – 113: Adolescent Verbal Culture & Media

It is continually observed that adolescence provides a crucial market for consumer goods and services, and that the media are poised to exploit that market. The media that target adolescents do not stop there, but target pre-adolescent audiences with adolescent oriented consumerism. Thus the pre-adolescent market is prepared in advance, and hurried along, through the marketing of adolescence itself. An examination of magazines aimed at adolescents shows an overwhelming gender ideology, with magazines aimed at boys focusing on activities (skateboarding, sports) and magazines aimed at girls focusing on romance and the production of the self.[^] The encouragement of a preoccupation with the self as object is an important means for building a market (Chanda 1991), and it is well known that the media target adolescents with sexually oriented consumerism, and target girls in particular with the technology of physical and spiritual perfection.

These magazines do not simply put forth ideas, they set up a gendered discourse for adolescents to participate in, engaging them in imagined communities that are formed to a great extent by linguistic practice. Many of these magazines, as well, introduce the readers to the writing and editorial staff,

showing photographs and portraying their speech as cool, perky, and "teenage," and inviting them into friendship. In the process, the young adult writers recycle a form of discourse that they view as adolescent. In this way, the readers are engaged in an adolescent discourse invented by adults.

Topic – 114: Policing Adolescent Language

Adolescent language is also directly policed - in school, in after-school programs, even colleges. The recent fervor about "Mallspeak" in the USA is a particularly dramatic illustration of the convergence of the stigmatization of the language of adolescents and females. In 1999, Smith and Mount Holyoke Colleges (private universities in Massachusetts) made a big media splash by introducing programs in speaking across the curriculum. Aimed at training students to be articulate public speakers, a reasonable goal in itself, this initiative was unfortunately couched in a discourse of verbal hygiene (Cameron 1995), locating the problem not in the need to learn an academic register, but in the need to eradicate "Mallspeak."

Smith College English professor Patricia Skarda was quoted in the *New Jersey Star Ledger* (August 29, 1999) as offering the following "Mallspeak lexicon": "'Like' is an approximation - an unwillingness to say one thing. 'You know' begs for agreement, as if the speaker is terribly unsure of him or herself. 'I mean' indicates that the student does not, in fact, know what he or she means."

The actual object of attention in the famous college courses designed to eradicate Mallspeak is more general inarticulateness, and the new efforts at "speaking across the curriculum" are aimed at developing argumentation skills. Professor Skarda's examples - *like, you know, I mean*, are certainly not specific to women or girls (nor does she claim them to be). Yet they are folded into a female style and related to what is commonly thought of as a trivial female activity. (I will not, here, go into the untriviality of hanging out in malls - among the few safe spaces where girls can "go public")

Women and adolescents also appear to lead in the use of rising intonation on declaratives. In Australia, this feature is used most frequently by working-class speakers, teenagers, and women, and in description and narrative (Guy et al. 1986). Cynthia McLemore, in a study of sorority speech, found that this intonational contour is part of "sorority" style, and that within the sorority it carries authority. However, a *Darwin Magazine* article (August 2001) says: A speech pattern called uptalk - ending sentences with an upward inflection that makes it seem like you're asking a question - is inhibiting success in many people, especially women.

Lesson 20**SOCIO-PHONOLOGY OF THE MALE LANGUAGE****Topic – 115: Socio-Phonetics & Socio-Phonology**

We are still, however, at a very early stage in our understanding of how women and men speak, why they speak as they do, and the importance of language use for women in ‘a man’s world’. We have only recently begun to realize that social constraints on speech behavior may restrict women’s and men’s options and that such constraints function in the control of women. Recent investigations in this area are largely the product of feminist scholars’ concern to understand how talk works to create and maintain sex stereotyping and male dominance.

Our speech not only reflects our place in culture and society but also helps to create that place. “Ordinary linguistics,” as Hymes calls it, provides theories and descriptions of structured language systems—for example, an account of the regular syntactic relation between English declarative (“Joan ate the spinach with gusto”) and interrogatives (“*Did Joan eat the spinach with gusto?*”) or of the processes involved in pronunciation of *want to* as *wanna*.

What I call ‘extraordinary’ linguistics—the explicit and detailed characterization of the actual utterances of people situated in real social contexts—relies on standard linguistic accounts of the language systems in which those utterances are cast. One important factor is intonation—the tune to which we set the text of our talk—functions prominently in stereotypes of female and male speech in American English. Somewhat peripheral status of intonation in the linguistic system may help to explain why speech melodies seem to be sex-typed. Over and above literal message content, tunes and their variations do apparently convey (cultural) values of femininity and masculinity as well as other traits that are culturally linked to gender (emotionality, for example). Although not all aspects of how speech melodies are performed are relevant to describing the structured language systems, some certainly are. What we do know about the linguistic structure of intonation in American English also makes plausible the hypothesis that the basic intonational system might be used differently by women and men.

Topic – 116: Intonation & Culture

The intonational choices will be among the primary indicators of a speaker’s aims and of the speech strategies used to pursue those aims. Given a sociocultural system in which women and men are in different social networks and positions and in which their behavior is differently evaluated, we might predict that intonational usage would be an important constituent of sex-differentiated ‘styles’ of speaking. This applies whether such styles are normative ideals, disparaged stereotypes, or attested actualities.

A single speech melody can be performed as part of a number of quite different strategies, and thus its occurrence is not definitive evidence of any particular strategic orientation. Similarly, there can be many different reasons for performing a particular melody in a certain way, for selecting one ‘variant’ rather than another.

Topic – 117: What is Intonation?

Intonation does not characterize segments of sound but is perceived as a rhythmic structure ‘overlaid’ on a complete utterance. The main perceptual cues are pitch and volume changes over the course of an utterance. The language system does not recognize absolute values of pitch, volume, and

duration but rather a number of abstract relational patterns, each of which can be ‘realized’ in different registers, in different volumes, and at different rates. These VARIANTS — alternative ways of performing basic intonational contours—play a role (only partly conventionalized) in communication. What variant is used may tell us, for example, where the speaker is from, or whether she just woke up, or whether he is lecturing to a class or talking to a friend, or how interested in the conversation the speaker wishes to appear.

These are different versions or VARIANTS of the general pattern often notated as “Hello ↑,” a pattern some analysts call ‘high rise’ to indicate that it may occur on utterances that are not questions. The second kind of sex difference that can be manifest in speech involves different SELECTION among the basic structural units—that is, different uses of the common system. By this I mean that women and men might tend to choose somewhat different strategies for speaking in roughly comparable situations. For example, a woman might more often than a man answer the phone with a “Hello ↑.” He might, however, tend to prefer “Hello ↓” (the fall or ‘neutral’ intonation). These two intonational contours or tunes are quite distinct linguistically—they are *not* variations on a single melodic frame but different tunes altogether.

To put it slightly differently, we can think of the intonational system as including a ‘dictionary’ of meaningful tunes, an inventory of meaningful contours. Two people with the same internal dictionary can nonetheless have different patterns of usage. Since any basic linguistic unit can be acquired by any speaker, all intonational (and other) differences in the speech of the sexes with a physiological explanation are variation-based. There are probably a few such differences. Adult men tend to be larger than adult women and thus their basic instrument for speech is pitched in a somewhat lower register.

The larger vocal cords tend to vibrate more slowly, producing sounds that are lower in fundamental frequency (measured in units called hertz, abbreviated Hz) and thus heard as lower pitched. There is actually considerable overlap between the physiologically determined pitch ranges of adult female and male voices, but individuals seldom use in speech the full gamut of pitches they are capable of producing.

Topic – 118: Intonation & Grammar

To use arising terminal rather than a falling terminal is, as discussed above, to select a different basic ‘tune’. It relates intonation with sentence types that is area of syntax (grammar). A syntactic analogy is the choice between issuing directives in an interrogative form (“Would you put out the garbage?”) or an imperative form (“Put out the garbage”). We impute different intended structural messages on the basis of the selection of units. Patterns of such differences indicate strategic orientations. The difficulty, of course, is determining what the intended messages are, since intonational ‘words’ can either provide a ‘frame’ for the text they carry or can have a meaning that is superimposed on (and largely independent of) that text.

The discussion of a particular example that follows will illustrate these points. The English high-rise or ‘question’ intonational pattern, as noted earlier, ends with a rising terminal that reaches a level higher than earlier parts of the utterance. Lakoff (1975) has claimed that women are more likely than men to use what she calls an “inappropriate question intonation,” as in the following:

HUSBAND: When will dinner be ready?

WIFE : Six o’clock?

Lakoff claims that the wife’s rising terminal indicates her failure to make a statement when discourse requires it, thus signaling uncertainty or lack of self-assertiveness. However, as was argued in McConnell-Ginet (1975) , there are many alternative functions that this high-rise tune can be serving.

The wife in the scenario may be heard as both stating and questioning. Her unexpressed question may be “Why do you need to know?” or “Are you listening to me?” or “Do you want to eat earlier?” or any of a host of other possibilities. Or, less specifically than questioning, she may be simply indicating desire for a continuation of the discourse.

Do women and men actually tend to answer *Wh*-questions with different contours? (*Wh*-questions include “ *When* will dinner be ready?” “ *Where* do you live?” and “ *What’s* your name?”) The answer seems to depend, as one might expect, on the nature of the communicative context. Edelsky (1979) compared use of high rise, fall, and another pattern that she calls fall rise. This fall-rise, called ‘low-rise’ in McConnell-Ginet (1978) , is heard as having a definite rising terminal, but it is not perceived as at all ‘incomplete’ or ‘questioning’ like the high-rise. Acoustically, its final rise usually stops at a point below some earlier high in the utterance. Schematically, we can contrast the three patterns as follows: Edelsky’s female and male subjects were not differentiated in their use of the high rise.

I argue that, in order to understand the ways in which ‘how she said it’ can work for and against her, we need to widen our descriptive base. Women certainly do not at all times in all places “talk in italics,” to use Lakoff’s characterization. We need to know when, where, and why does someone talk ‘like a woman’, and, an obvious but often overlooked question, who talks ‘like a woman’? We also need to know how sex differences in intonation develop and what their consequences are for women’s and men’s lives.

Topic-119: Intonation & Gender

Overt SPEECH STEREOTYPES of ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ speech (either believed typical of women and men, respectively, or desirable for them) rely most heavily on variants. This is probably because distinctions among variants do not alter overt referential meaning and are thus readily available as explicit signals of social meaning. Even dimensions of variation that are quite constrained by individual physical characteristics can be affected by social and cultural factors. For example, different cultures settle on different parts of the possible pitch range for actual use in speaking by each sex.

The studies of H. T. Hollien and his colleagues suggest that the speaking pitches of American males are, on the average, lower than those of some of their European counterparts by more than differences in size would predict. Devereux (1949) observes that the Mohave pay no attention to the male ‘voice change’ at the time of puberty and that men do not shift pitch when imitating women. In our own culture, however, high-pitched voices are devalued and labeled ‘shrill’ if they are loud. The fact that our speech melodies are sung in different registers, then, reflects not simply the biological fact of our different physical size but is also a product of our *learning* to sound like women and men, although we have relatively little information on exactly how this works.

If average speaking pitch is an important cue to speaker sex, reflecting both biologically based differences and cultural stereotypes overlaid on that biological base, it is apparently *not* the primary cue for stereotyping speaker’s gender. Sachs, Lieberman, and Erickson (1973) , Sachs (1975) , and Coleman (1976) show clearly that pitch is not crucial to the identification of speaker sex and that other vocal tract characteristics play an important role. Sachs and her colleagues first played recordings of elicited sentence imitations from preadolescent children to judges and found sex of child quite reliably assigned, although overall the average fundamental frequency was higher for the boys’ voices than for the girls. Matching girls and boys for height and weight (as a rough guide to probable vocal tract size and fundamental range), they found that vowel formant structure differed significantly for voices judged most reliably as ‘girl-like’ or ‘boy-like’.

Topic-120: Factors Behind Intonation Variation

Comparing male speech perceived as effeminate to characterizations of global differences in female/male speech suggests the likely intonational cues for judgments of speakers on a femininity/masculinity dimension. Overall, without reference to particular contexts or to individual differences, female and effeminate male speech are apparently distinguished from ‘ordinary’ male speech in the following ways: the male pitch range is narrower than the female/effeminate and shows slower and less frequent pitch shifts. d Amplitude changes—linked to loudness—are not mentioned but are probably also important, with female/effeminate speech registering more and greater shifts in amplitude. We can call this cluster of factors DYNAMISM and say that female and effeminate male intonational variants are characteristically more dynamic than typical male patterns. By this I mean that we ‘hear’ dynamism as ‘feminine’, that dynamism is an especially salient cue to speaker gender.

Keeping this in mind, it is noteworthy that the dynamic complex associated with the speech of women and effeminate males is also associated with emotional expressiveness. The degree of perceived emotion is strongly correlated with pitch range (at least for male speakers): the greater the range of pitches used, the greater degree of expressed emotion hearers perceive. Thus, when compared as a group to men, women may well (simply on the basis of their dynamic pitch patterns) be heard as emotional.

However, though emotional expressiveness and its possible concomitants might not be handicaps if androcentric biases were eliminated, the fact remains that one’s intonational patterns are not really adequately expressive of emotions if they are heard in reference to a presumptive ‘ideal’ that inadequately reflects usage of the entire speech community. The young male apparently learns to ‘sound masculine’ (as he learns to ‘sound cool’), whereas the culture believes that the young female is destined by her biological endowment to be at the mercy of inner psychic upheavals which produce her dynamic tunes. To some extent, such a belief simply reflects ignorance of the fact that intonational patterns are basically cultural constructs (different cultures using their own distinctive patterns and ‘meanings’), although they are ‘internalized’ very early and not easily subject to conscious modification.

Topic – 121: Natural Base of Intonation

To make matters more complicated, intonation does have a ‘natural’ base as well. The quickened breathing and muscular tension that accompany certain kinds of heightened emotion can have an effect on our speech melodies: increased fluctuations in respiration and muscular activity will produce more dynamic tunes. And many of the culture-specific ‘meanings’ associated with particular melodies represent conventionalized metaphors that refer to the nonlinguistic (‘natural’) significance associated with certain features of melodies. For example, to keep the voice level, to speak in a ‘flat’ monotone, requires suppression of certain ‘natural’ physical impulses. It is thus a ‘natural’ indicator of ‘control’ over one’s internal mechanisms.

By extension, the style can come to signify ‘control’ more generally and can be thus heard and evaluated that way. As Bolinger (1964) puts it, intonation is “around the edge of language.” Because of this interplay between the natural and cultural ‘meanings’, intonation is readily available and perhaps especially effective as a cultural symbol of woman’s perceived greater ‘naturalness’, one important aspect of which is the ‘ free’ expression of her emotions. This is easily perceived by male-dominated culture as a failure to control emotion and a reflection of her innate inferiority to the male. Of course, one could equally well emphasize the positive side of dynamic and expressive communicative behavior and suggest that many males apparently fail to achieve the expressive versatility of most females. The point of interest in the present discussion is that women *are* (culturally) emotional because they sound that way.

Lesson 21

THEORY OF SEX & GENDER IDENTITY**Topic – 122: Theory of Sex Differences in Intonation-I**

‘Ordinary linguistics’ leaves unanswered many of the most interesting questions about the function of language in people’s lives. Linguists have recently, however, expanded the horizons of ‘ordinary linguistics’. This expansion is partly due to social and political pressures (originating in the civil rights movement of the 1960s and continuing in the women’s movement) to understand how language is used to support the status quo and to serve the interests of the powerful. Such understanding can suggest strategies to change the status quo and can be used to increase appreciation of speech styles of subordinates.

Unless language is put back into the social setting from which it is extracted for initial analysis, the processes of language change, for example, cannot be properly understood. But even an expanded and ‘extraordinary’ linguistics will not be able to answer all the issues raised by examining sex differences in language use. We must turn to other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, and, more generally, women’s studies scholarship. Because it requires sophistication in all these areas, a comprehensive theory of intonation (in a man’s world or anywhere else) awaits future collaborative research.

Topic – 123: Theory of Sex Differences in Intonation-II

The following outlines a preliminary theoretical perspective on sex differences in intonation:

1. In oral communication, speech melodies are primary cues of speaker sex.
2. The speech community explicitly associates certain intonational patterns with the speech of women. These patterns function as part of a cultural stereotype and can be used in derogatory imitation directed against women or men. The negative connotations of the stereotype are the products of misogyny in an androcentric culture. But ‘feminine’ patterns can also be adopted by males to express a rejection of socially imposed canons of sex-appropriate behavior.
3. In addition to the overt stereotypes, there are certain general features of intonation that correlate with speaker sex. To present oneself as feminine or masculine, one shifts speech melodies (probably not consciously) toward the extremes identified with female and male speech, respectively. It is not the sex of the other conversational participants that determines how strongly feminine or masculine a speech style will be used, but the speaker’s need or desire for a particular mode of self-presentation.
4. Our culture, overtly espousing sexual egalitarianism and providing many shared spheres of activity, predisposes us to believe that learned behavior is androgynous and that actual sex differences in behavior must be due to biological rather than social and cultural factors. The belief that intonation directly reflects internal states promotes its use to mark gender.
5. Because certain features of intonation are in fact affected by a speaker’s internal state, those features are often (incorrectly) believed to be consistently reliable indicators of speakers’ attitudes and emotions. Intonational ‘habits’ are established without conscious consideration of available options and perhaps partly in unreflexive response to available models.

6. The ‘feminine’ habit of keeping pitch and loudness changing may serve the important function of attracting and holding the listener’s attention. Women may need this device more than men because of (1) their relative powerlessness (dynamic rendition of the text is invaluable in holding the listener’s attention if one lacks the authority to require that attention) and (2) their frequent contact with young children who are not yet socialized to attend reliably

to verbal signals.

7. Because the primary linguistic function of intonation is to indicate how an utterance ‘fits’ in a discourse—what the speaker is doing by means of uttering a particular text in a particular context—women and men will typically use different patterns for equivalent situations because they have different strategies for speech action.

Topic – 124: Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS)

IS is uniquely suited to capture discursive complexities. It’s close relationship with ethnography and anthropology has allowed for a systematic consideration of the role of the researcher and the importance of reflexivity. The framework and associated methodology provide a voice to the researcher to systematically discuss their own role in the research process and in the framing of the findings (Angouri 2018) and a way to connect with widespread ideologies visible in the lives of the interactants. Gender has been said to be omnirelevant (e.g. Cameron 2009; Holmes 1995), which makes it difficult to ‘pin down’ analytically.

This is where IS is so valuable. Early investigation of gender in an IS tradition is influenced by the work of Tannen, a student herself of the originator of IS, Gumperz. Tannen (1994) addressed the workplace as a setting in *Talking from 9 to 5*, which like her most famous book (*You Just Don’t Understand*, 1990) was aimed at a more general audience. In both cases she argued that just because there are recognizably gendered ways of behaving, this does not mean that any behaviour is inherently inferior or superior. Her work showed the complexities of distinguishing between gender/ed and other categories, paving the way for an emphasis on the symbols, or indexicalities, of meaning as well as the importance of intersectionality in our understanding of identity construction.

Understanding the enactment of gender identity involves a micro-analytic approach and typically makes use of naturally occurring data. In line with the wider discursive trend in the social sciences, workplace discourse analysts argued for the importance of data which showed what we *actually* do in our communication at work rather than what we *think* we do.

This premise motivates the research of workplace discourse scholars and means that since the earliest days of the field of workplace discourse analysis (in the early 1980s/90s) data regularly comprises recordings of authentic interactions between colleagues in workplace settings. Self-reported data widely used by other social science disciplines, and notably in business schools, has been criticized for failing to capture the nuance of identity work in situated moments.

Next we turn to the ways in which gender has been analyzed using these datasets. We begin with the core focus, gender identity, which is as relevant to current research as it was in the earliest days of workplace discourse research some two to three decades ago.

Topic – 125: Gender Identity

Identity is one of the main interests of the IS analyst, and gender is one of the identities that has received the most attention within workplace discourse analysis. Holmes (2006), for instance, provides a

comprehensive, and intentionally non exhaustive, list of normative gendered styles at work. Traits stereotypically associated with femininity include: providing supportive feedback, being conciliatory, contributing less in public, and being person/ process oriented. Amongst the features identified as normatively associated with masculinity we find competitiveness, aggressiveness, and confrontational style, alongside being task/ outcome oriented. These and other gendered behaviours are not equated with biological sex; they do however reflect, and perpetuate, the wider sociopolitical and ideological context (macro-level) when they are claimed, projected, and resisted discursively in the situated moment of interaction (micro-level).

This is how and where an IS approach becomes relevant for bridging the macro- and micro-levels and unpacking gendered norms in the workplace, investigating the indexicality of meaning which considers the correlation between linguistic/discursive features and social identities. Angouri (2015: 45) argues that ‘it is through the utterances’ indexical properties that people create relationships between the identity categories [i.e. social identities] and position self and other’. This applies to the male/female dichotomy as well.

An area in which gender has been particularly highlighted in workplace talk is leadership. Building on the ‘think leader, think male’ stereotype (Marra, Schnurr, and Holmes 2006), researchers have been eager to show that femininity and leadership can be co-present identities within talk. Recent research demonstrates that leadership performances are dependent on the characteristics of the local context. For instance, Mesinioti et al. (2020) explore leadership enactment in medical emergencies, investigating how senior clinicians ‘do being’ the leader discursively. Their findings highlight the consistency of leadership claims by senior clinicians. They show that leadership in that context is signalled, projected, and resisted discursively, through directives and questions that are used in ways consistent with the role/responsibility being claimed.

Although the authors are immediately concerned with the use of material space in the emergency room, their findings show the difficulty in disentangling gender from other ways of enacting self and other in any professional setting as well the importance of systematic and detailed analysis from multiple angles in a given ‘community of practice’.

Topic – 126: Gender Identity in Workplace Discourses

By the 2000s, there was recognition that gender identity occurred within gendered contexts—enacting femininity in a feminine workplace was different to constructing femininity in a masculine context. An early example of this argument came from Holmes and Stubbe (2003b) who contrasted an all-female and ‘feminine’ workplace in the form of a particular government department with a factory team described as masculine in which the gender identification of the team members included both women and men but where identity construction was shaped by the more masculine norms of the group.

Their arguments made use of the *Community of Practice* (CofP) framework which derives from the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998). Lave and Wenger define a CofP as ‘a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice’ (1991: 98). In their definition, CofPs are characterized by mutual engagement (typically enacted through regular interaction), joint negotiated enterprise (involving the complex relationships of reciprocal accountability), and a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time.

The CofP framework has been widely applied in workplace studies, as many of the ideas it employs are applicable to the workplace e.g.: the interaction among CofPs; the progression from

legitimate peripheral participation towards core membership; and the ways newcomers learn from old-timers through apprenticeship schemes (Angouri 2018; King 2019). The focus of sociolinguistic work has concentrated on the discourse practices that CofPs develop over time, as CofPs ‘provide a way to study language use locally and to link the micro-context to the broader socio-cultural environment’ (Angouri 2016: 314).

CofPs are also gendered, operating as sites of gendered activity (Paechter 2003); being part of a CofP more often than not comes with gendered expectations. Membership is discursively claimed and negotiated through adherence to gender norms that meet these expectations. The construction of an identity in line with hegemonic gendered discourses for claiming membership in the workplace is shown in all the excerpts below which cover a range of very different kinds of workplaces. The following excerpt focuses on identity construction by a builder’s apprentice, Max. In the extract we see Max enacting masculinity within a team in which normatively masculine ways of behaving form part of their shared repertoire.

Excerpt

Context: *Max, the apprentice, talking to another tradesman on site1*

Max: [clears throat] did you get did you watch any of the league

or the highlights or anything

John: oh I’ve seen saw a few games eh

Max: fuck man there are some pretty decent hits man

John: yeah

This team of builders spend long hours on site working alongside each other. As John and Max cooperate on their manual task, their talk drifts to non-work-related talk. Interestingly the topic of this talk is something that we might associate with masculinity, sport, and more specifically rugby league which has inter-sectional indexicalities of both masculinity and class or region. As well as content (in the form of this topic), elements of masculine identity can also be seen in the discursive practices which are used. Expletive use, swearing, is a strategy overtly associated with masculine styles (Daly et al. 2004).

Topic – 127: Balance Between Gender & Professional Identity

We now turn to eldercare as an example of an industry which is typically gendered as feminine. We choose this extract because not only do you see more evidence of the balancing of a range of identities by carer Afato, but you also see his identity being co-constructed by resident Ida for whom he is caring. Gendered norms at both a macro-societal and micro-interactional level are relevant to any workplace and are mobilized through interaction.

Excerpt

Context: *Afato is checking on Ida as part of his duties as a carer in a residential aged-care facility. While this medicalised discussion is taking place, Ida refers back to a lamp that Afato had accidentally knocked over on the previous day. Frank is another carer in the facility interacting with Ida. Like*

Afato, Frank identifies as Samoan, but he is 20 years his senior. Before this extract, Afato and Ida have been laughing about his involvement in the recording process for our research.

Afato: so are we going back into the wheelchair or the lazy boy love

Ida: (over there)

Afato: alright [...] they want an incident form for that thing + the the lights //going off\

Ida: /okay\\ of course

Afato: yes

Ida: I didn't even see what you do did but you were doing it rather vigorously //obvious\ly

Afato: /[laughs]\\

Ida: did you see what he's done Frank

Frank: yeah [laughs]

Ida: Frank

Afato: not me?

Ida: crashed the light off one of them

Afato: (and this)

Ida: you just can't let him loose

Afato: eh?

Ida: can't let some people loose can you

Afato: yeah

Ida: they run amok

Afato: it is

Ida: they run amok I love those expressions + you know what amok means

[Ida explains amok to Afato who doesn't know the expression]

Ida: amok //Afato\ ran amok

Frank: /(no)\\

Afato: what's that

Ida: he's got out of control and started smashing lights

Afato: it's not like I did it deliberately

Ida: [laughs]

Afato: it is

Ida: but it happened

Afato: yeah ++ okay anything else Ida you need anything else

Ida: no thank you Afato

Throughout, there is evidence of Afato's skilful negotiation of overlapping identities, as well as co-construction in action through Ida's positioning of Afato. Immediately of note is Afato's use of 'love' (line 1) as a term of endearment towards Ida. Analysis has shown that this term is commonly used by eldercare workers (Marsden and Holmes 2014), and is indexical to a professional identity in feminized care contexts. Further evidence of this attention to professional identity is seen in the collaborative, or even conspiratorial, discussion between Afato and Ida about the paperwork he has to do (lines 3–7) with a demanding and commonly understood 'they' (line 4) constructed as in opposition to Afato and Ida. Ida's teasing of Afato (lines 11–32) is revealing in that as well as being playful and relational, it draws on entrenched notions of masculinity, in this case, aggression. Positioning Afato as 'out of control' and 'smashing lights' (line 28), we see how gender identity construction is a two-way process depending on moment-by-moment linguistic negotiation (micro-level) within the sense-making frameworks of gender ideologies (macro-level).

Topic – 128: Is Interactional Sociolinguistics Critical (CIS)?

Adding a critical ethnographic lens to IS allows for further subtleties. Capturing gender in interaction requires constant attention to complexity and to the multitude of ways gender can be instantiated or challenged. We take as a starting point that IS is inherently critical and political (cf. Heller 2013), reminding us to keep a constant eye on power and inequality in our data. 'Acceptable' versions of masculinity and femininity are often felt acutely by those who experience marginalization (Dawson 2019; Holmes 2018), creating ideological constraints.

To enact this stance, we return to the methodology for data collection and analysis described at the beginning of the chapter. To move more firmly into the critical space which may have been at the heart of IS, but has often been somewhat implicit or even neglected in practice, researchers increasingly engage with questions of power and inequality, and how the sociolinguistic practices we observe have consequences for the people involved. Simultaneously, there is a recognition of the importance of reflexivity; regular and ongoing reflexivity involves analysing ourselves as researchers, our various identities, and the assumptions we may bring to our data. Explorations of workplaces are in-depth and situated and relationships are prioritised in the ongoing commitment to researching 'with' participants (Roberts 2003).

We draw on our knowledge of context to strengthen interpretations and make regular field notes which describe and question the practices we witness and are part of. This critical ethnographic layer is a natural extension of IS, and allows us to move between emic and etic perspectives (see Marra and Lazzaro-Salazar 2018). In workplace contexts, analyses of gender can be ethnographically enhanced at different levels.

At a meso level, developing understandings of the particular workplace is essential. Attention to the organisational structure, goals, expectations, and norms provides valuable contextualization, and offers insights into the wider sociocultural discourses which inform them. In the abstract, it remains imperative to engage with context at the ideological level. The gender order and heteronormativity (as ingrained and normalised ideologies) do not limit themselves to a particular time or place. The shape they take may be locally variable, but these ideologies have colonized much of the world imperialistically (cf. Kress 1989: 7). In other words, in negotiations of gender, the dominant ideological framing stays similar irrespective of place.

What differs, however, is the shape and strength of the particular norms and discourses that give voice to these ideologies. As we have begun to demonstrate in the previous examples, IS provides the tools to unveil the connections from micro-linguistic features to the level of abstract ideology. Ethnographic approaches therefore operationalise aims of calling upon wider context while also enhancing understandings of the subtleties of actual ‘on the ground’ interactions in which gender is salient.

Lesson 22

GENDER IDEOLOGY & IDENTITY IN WRITTEN DISCOURSE**Topic – 129: Ethnographic IS & Gender Ideology**

IS has not traditionally been used for exploring issues of power and politics. Recent work, however, revisits its affordances and makes a case for the relevance of the framework for a critical study of professional interaction (e.g. Angouri 2018). As some workplaces are highly hierarchical (see, for instance, healthcare contexts), the IS approach becomes particularly relevant, allowing us to take into account both the institutional roles and power asymmetries at work, as well as the here-and-now interactions. In order to meet this goal, a combination of datasets such as meetings and interview interactions, and a systematic analysis of the latter, allows us to unpack different layers of context and draw robust inferences.

We show this by analysing an interview excerpt from a higher education (HE) context and a project on 'Gender and INequality in HE' (GaIN). As we turn to a more critical use of IS, it is important to recognise and acknowledge gender inequality in analysis. This societal inequality, as for example reflected in the gender pay gap, applies both horizontally as well as vertically across professional settings. Horizontal and vertical gender asymmetries make local negotiation of imbalance always subject to negotiating dominant hegemonies and parallel structures that affect individuals across domains of human activity (consider the relationship between 'home' and 'work').

GaIN brought these considerations to the forefront, aiming to provide an understanding of the dominant discourses and ideologies that circulate in one HE setting and aimed to the way for establishing the landscape of gender equality and diversity in HE. The project involved review of institutional documents and interviews with academic staff members from various levels and disciplines.

Topic – 130: Workplace Discourse & Gender Inequality

As noted earlier, as a field workplace discourse analysis has prioritised analysis of recordings of naturally occurring talk. It is now time that interviews are repositioned as a method and data-set. Interviews constitute co-constructions between the researcher and participants. GaIN brought these considerations to the forefront. Her project involved review of institutional documents and interviews with academic staff members from various levels and disciplines.

Excerpt

Context: Mary (the interviewer) and Lucy, the interviewee, discuss how Lucy navigates

male-dominated spaces. Lucy is a junior staff member working in a quantitative field, which entails, according to her, a lack of women in academic events.

Mary you are in a very quantitative field aren't you?

Lucy yes I am + and I guess that it stands out because sometimes because sometimes I go to conferences where + I can be + like + the only woman in the room

Mary right

Lucy so it's (1.0) it does stand out sometimes

Mary was that + I suppose (1.0) how do you navigate or how do you + kind of + work around that I suppose if you are does it have an effect on you [drawls]: or: ?

Lucy I don't think it does er + no (1.0) no obviously no + yeah I think I'm +I'm quite lucky being like + a childless well not lucky + [chuckles] but I am a kind of childless woman [drawls]: so: in these circumstances I can + behave like a man[chuckles] if you know what I mean as mothers have to go home and look after their children so + I guess that gets me accepted more in these situations yeah

Mary right + what do you mean behave like a man

Lucy well I guess + these men like + if you go to events and stuff they can just stay and go for a drink or something + and there are a few women who quite often they would say + oh I have to get back to have my kid. or if we are in a conference away sometimes they will say oh I am just gonna go and skype my kids. and tell them a bedtime story and things +but I don't have to do these things so you kind of (1.0) remain in the group

Mary mhm + mhm + do you find your character has changed at all? kind of like + because of that + social interaction with uh? Lucy um + I did + one guy I do research with + he often says + oh + I'm one of the boys and that's why it works to do research with them + because they can all talk to me because I'm one of the boys

Mary right

Lucy so I don't know + I don't know what that kind of means

I don't know if that's a compliment or an insult [laughs]

Mary but how does he mean it + you're one of the boys?

Lucy I think he's + he's like+ you know- they can all open the talk in the group and if I go in the group it's not like er oh + there's a woman there + it's like I'm part of the group

This excerpt is a succinct illustration not only of how gendered norms are (re)produced at work, but also of the value of interview data under an IS approach. Throughout the excerpt, hegemonic gender norms are recycled and gender is foregrounded both in the interviewer's prompts and the interviewee's uptake; Mary makes an association between 'quantitative' and 'male dominated' which is consistent in the dataset. Lucy ratifies this and in the unfolding narrative, femininity is associated with childcare responsibilities (lines 11, 15, 20–24), while drinking behaviour (line 19) and lack of childcare (throughout the excerpt) are indexing biological maleness and masculinity. The prefacing of 'quite lucky to be childless' (line 11) in the navigating of male-dominated spaces frames the narrative in hegemonic terms where Femininities are associated with caring responsibilities.

Conforming to the dominant gendered norms, Lucy overemphasizes the gendered stereotype of women as carers later in the excerpt, too, by choosing to draw on a prototypical example of maternal devotion and affection, that of reading bedtime stories to the children (line 24). The negotiated

performance between Mary and Lucy provides a rich insight into hegemonic discourses of femininity in the academic context.

Topic – 131: Gender Identity & Women Magazines

Bourdieu (1991) refers to ‘cultural capital’ as the sum of valued material and symbolic goods, including knowledge, social and physical characteristics, and practical behavioural dispositions. The form of ‘cultural capital’ is not merely related to skin colour but is culturally and historically constructed. The following extract from the Accrington focus group discussion presents a strong message that fairness is expected if girls are to make a good marriage match. The women are leafing through magazines, stopping to comment on aspects that they find interesting:

Aimee: you know what’s really really strange as well is I’m looking at this and this is a wedding magazine and then I think about how many Asian weddings I’ve been to where there’s very pretty girls that have darker skin and then on the wedding day they look like [they’re]

Naz: [they look like ghosts]

Aimee: yeah they look like ghosts and the neck doesn’t match their face and it’s really sad that they’ve done that so so pale.

Dialogically, the extract illustrates the ways in which the focus group discussions often showed the close relationships between speakers. For example, Naz anticipates what Aimee is going to say next and completes her sentence ‘they look like ghosts’. As Aimee does not correct her, it is assumed that Naz anticipated correctly. From the tone of the discussion, it is clear that neither woman approves of the practice of skin lightening. Nevertheless, they allude to preoccupations with beauty and fair skin in the South Asian community confirming Glen’s (2008) contention.

Topic – 132: Response by Hybrid Identity

This topic is also based on Accrington’s research. In the following talks, the participants belong to two cultures (hybrid identity). Mubina is one such girl. She talks about her experiences in UK culture:

Linda: so coming to Britain erm what was that like it must have been a culture shock?

Mubina: yeah it was I find living in UK quite boring and actually I met up with a girl who had come all the way from London to do modelling in Mumbai she said ‘oh it’s exciting’ the life of

Mumbai is vibrant you see and I think we actually suffer from the weather and also the winters are harsh but I don’t know I still feel I long to go back Preston, May 2013

Mubina’s response to the representations in magazines was more positive than the other women’s, she felt they were, in fact, presenting Asia in the way that she remembers.

Another topic that revealed conflicting viewpoints relates to the hijab. My analysis suggested that magazines treat it as a fashion accessory. It is not clear whether the women believe magazines have been influential in this but the Blackburn group commented on a current practice they have noticed:

Rashida: do you know the hijab is becoming a fashion statement to my eyes it's no more a religious thing I don't think

Mariam: I think it's an identity thing people want to be identified as belonging to a group belong to somebody I'm sure there are some people who genuinely wear it for religious purposes but the line is [. . .] very thin now Shahida a few weeks back in one of the er newspapers there was celebs A listers I think it might have been Beyonce who had a scarf on to catch attention or you know

Mariam: was it a joke it could have been

Shahida: no it's like a fashion

This was in contrast to the views of the Preston women who were deeply offended by the magazines' glamorous portrayal of the hijab. For them, the only signification possible was as a religious symbol; by way of support, they cited sections of the Quran relating to covering. The discussion focused on the principle of modesty and lack of ostentation, which caused the women to distinguish between authentic and non authentic Muslims.

However, in the same discussion there were references to times when they had not worn the headscarf, presumably because they had the freedom to do so. In relation to the magazine's presentation of the hijab, the women felt that text producers do not subscribe to their own moral values but instead were extremely permissive. In terms of whether the women felt pressure to conform by wearing the hijab, Khadija alludes to the strict rules of Islam, she recounts her ex-husband forcing her to cover even when indoors but now she is with a less strict partner, she chooses to cover.

Afroza introduces to the discussion the wider societal view that Muslim women are forced to cover:

Afroza: but when I say I've changed when I married the automatic thing is oh she's got married her husband's made her but it's not 'cos my husband doesn't have a thing even now when I say would you like me to take it off he says it's up to you

Although it was said in banter, the Preston group told me that Mubina was the 'rebel' of the group; noticeably, it was during a discussion when the women said they had spotted her out and about with her hair up and not wearing a hijab. However, from the discussions, it seems that the women do not feel coerced into wearing the hijab instead they choose to wear it because religious identification is important to them.

Topic – 133: Style

The term 'style' (without specific reference to language) is one which we use so commonly in our everyday conversation and writing that it seems unproblematic: it occurs so naturally and frequently that we are inclined to take it for granted without enquiring just what we might mean by it. Thus, we regularly use it with reference to the shape or design of something (for example, 'the elegant style of a house'), and when talking about the way in which something is done or presented (for example, 'I don't like his style of management'). Similarly, when describing someone's manner of writing, speaking, or performing, we may say 'She writes in a vigorous style' or 'She started off in fine style'. We also talk about particular styles of architecture, painting, dress, and furniture when describing the distinctive manner of an artist, a school, or a period. And, finally, when we say that people or places have 'style', we are expressing the opinion that they have fashionable elegance, smartness, or a superior manner (for example, 'They live in grand style' or 'Here one can eat in style').

These everyday notions make a good starting point for a more technical discussion of the use of style in language. In one way or another, all of them make reference to a distinctive manner of expression, through whatever medium this expression is given physical shape. Along the same lines, style in language can be defined as distinctive linguistic expression. But, as with other manifestations of style, we need to consider what makes an expression distinctive, why it has been devised, and what effect it has.

Topic – 134: Literariness & Literary Style

Literature has the ability to make us see the world anew- to make that which has become familiar, because we have been overexposed to it, strange again. Instead of merely registering things in an almost subconscious process of recognition because we think we know them, we once again look at them: 'art exists that one may recover the sensation of life The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known' (Shklovsky [1917] 1998: 18). The result of this process of defamiliarization is that it enables us once again to see the world in its full splendour or, as the case may be, true awfulness. But although the Formalists were prepared to recognize this as a not unimportant effect of literature, they initially relegated it to the far background. The social function of literature, either as the repository of the best that had been thought and said, or as one of the great revitalizes (with the other arts) of our perception of the world around us, largely left them cold in the first phase of their explorations. What they wanted to know is how literature works, how it achieves its de-familiarizing effects. For the New Critics the formal aspects of literary works were not unimportant because from their perspective meaning was always bound up with form. Still, they were first of all interested in the form in which a poem presented itself because a close scrutiny of its formal aspects would reveal the complex of oppositions and tensions that constituted the poem's real meaning. But the practical criticism and the New Criticism focused on the individual meaning of individual texts, Formalism wanted to discover general laws - the more general the better.

The secret of 'literariness', the Formalists decided, was that in poetry - the initial focus of their interest – ordinary language becomes 'defamiliarized'. While an article in *Time* is satisfied to use fairly ordinary language, poetry subjects language to a process of defamiliarization. It is this linguistic defamiliarization that then leads to a perceptual defamiliarization on the part of the reader, to a renewed and fresh way of looking at the world. How does poetry defamiliarize what I have just called 'ordinary' language? It employs an impressive range of so-called 'devices'. It uses, for instance, forms of repetition that one does not find in ordinary language such as rhyme, a regular meter, or the subdivision in stanzas that we find in many poems. But poetry also uses 'devices' that one may come across in non- poetic language (although not with the same intensity) like metaphors and symbols. In so doing, it often also exploits the potential for ambiguity that language always has. Whereas a *Time* article tries to avoid ambiguities because it wants to be as transparent as possible, poetry makes use of all the second meanings that its words and phrases have, plus all the associations they evoke. What these devices have in common is that they always draw attention to themselves: they constantly remind us that we are dealing with language and not with the real world because they signal their own difference from the non-literary language that we ordinarily use (and which we take to represent the world). Advertising agencies are well aware of this. At one time the Heinz company tried to boost its baked beans sales with the brilliant slogan 'Beanz Meanz Heinz', a phrase that inevitably draws our attention to its own language. Because its ingenious play with language catches the eye and makes it stand out among other ads it probably also effectively served its purpose: to sell more beans. For the Formalists, then, poetry is not poetry because it employs time-honoured and profound themes to explore the human condition, but rather because in the process of defamiliarizing the language it draws attention to its own artificiality, to the way it says what it has to say.

Topic – 135: Female & Male Sentences

The most prominent modern thinker to discuss the differences between male and female literary styles is Virginia Woolf, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century. In a review of Dorothy Richardson's novel *Revolving Lights* (1923), she describes the female sentence as "of a more elastic fibre than the old, capable of stretching to the extreme, of suspending the frailest particles, of enveloping the vaguest shapes" (Woolf 1990 [1919], 72).

Assuming the traditional literary sentence to be masculine, she argues that it simply does not fit women, who need something less pompous and more elastic which they can bend in different ways to suit their purpose. However, descriptions such as "more elastic," "too loose, too heavy, too pompous" are annoyingly vague and impossible to quantify. Woolf comes closest to giving a more specific evaluation of the female sentence in a review of Dorothy Richardson's *The Tunnel* (1919). Here she quotes a passage of interior monologue as triumphantly escaping "the him and her" and embedding the reader in the consciousness of the character: "It is like dropping everything and walking backward to something you know is there. However far you go out, you come back. I am back now" (Woolf 1990 [1919], 71).

The exact relationship between the pronouns "you" and "I" in this passage is unclear. They seem to refer to the same person, the self, but also to include the reader. Because we do not know who "I" is, we have no referent for the temporal or spatial indicators "now" or "come back" either. This slipperiness of the referent seems to be what Woolf means by "elasticity." It is significant that Woolf chose the writings of Dorothy Richardson to illustrate the female sentence, and specifically a passage of interior monologue. Interior monologue has the property of breaking down the boundaries between character and narrator, so that the angle of focalization (who sees the action) coincides with the narration of that action (who tells about the action).

More traditional methods of storytelling present a narrator who recounts, but is separate from the character whose point of view is related. It was one of the projects of modernism (and both Richardson and Woolf are considered modernist) to render the depths of modern experience in an appropriate form, which meant breaking away from what they considered a smug, self-satisfied Edwardian frame of social realism and an omniscient narrator.

Although we cannot speak of a "modernist sentence" as such, nevertheless, the other authors usually included in the modernist canon, such as T. S. Eliot, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, as well as Woolf and Richardson, have all experimented with sentence fragments, elimination of predicates, meandering syntax with many clauses in apposition. These are the very elements which tend also to typify interior monologue. We would do best, therefore, to take Woolf's description of the female sentence as a literary rather than a linguistic commentary.

Lesson 23

GENDER & LITERARY STYLE**Topic – 136: Is There a Gendered Style?**

In the Third Wave feminism, large scale categories are questioned, so that rather than gender being seen as a stable unified variable, to be considered in addition to race or class, gender is now considered as a variable constrained and constituted by them and in turn defining them in the context of local conditions. (*Mills 2002*) Consequently, Third Wave feminism observes the linguistic practices of both men and women as they assume specific gendered identities, whether these are prototypically masculine or feminine (including all their multifarious variations, that is, lesbian, gay or transgendered).

Thus, professional career women working in male-dominated environment can, and often do, assume linguistic practices which the dominance theorists might have identified as masculine, proving that gender is not the social variable determining linguistic choices in that particular case. Conversely, male counselors might adopt the kind of ‘rapport talk’ which Tannen (1990) associates with the empathetic and cooperative style of women in their professional treatment of patients. Third Wave feminism, in sum, defines gender in terms of the plurality of identities that both men and women can take on in response to situational or societal constraints and/or expectations. Although Third Wave feminism advocates a shift away from deterministic language differences between genders, this might have unfortunately resulted in less immediate ways to underscore the very aim of feminist research which ultimately attempts to draw attention to inequality issues:

Sexism has been a key concern of feminist linguists, but it has become more and more difficult to pin down what sexism consists of and to agree that certain words or phrases are unequivocally sexist (Dunant 1994). While feminist linguists still concern themselves with the type of vocabulary which is used to describe female characters in texts, there is a sense in which they have moved to describe a wider range of features which contribute to certain messages being constructed about women. Furthermore, they have recognized that there are forms of indirect sexism which draw on irony and humor which are more difficult to identify than the direct sexism which was the focus of second-wave feminist analysis. (*Mills 2006, p. 221*). Then comes Post feminism which is about a critical engagement with earlier feminist political and theoretical concepts and strategies as a result of its engagement with other social movements for change. Post feminism [...] represents a dynamic movement capable of challenging modernist, patriarchal and imperialist frameworks. (*Brooks 1997, p. 4*)

Concepts such as “oppression”, “patriarchy”, “sexuality, identity and difference” as used by white middle-class feminists were increasingly challenged” (Brooks 1997, p. 5). Therefore, post-feminism does not imply the end of feminist claims, but points instead at the need for an otherwise healthy re-evaluation of those claims so that their effectiveness can become more inclusive of a plurality of females. To draw out patterns of representation for each of these aspects, I make use of an increasingly popular combination of methods: CDA and corpus linguistics. .

Topic – 137: Linguistic Gender & Literary Style

Livia (2000) says that in her work on the literary uses of linguistic gender, she has examined the role of gender concord in the creation of particular stylistic effects like focalization (or point of view), empathy, and textual cohesion (what makes everything fit together). Insofar as gender concord may be considered a choice in a given language, and not a morphological or syntactic necessity, it can be used as a stylistic device to express some aspect of character or personality.

While Judith Butler's research on the performativity of gender emphasizes the iterative and citational aspects of speech, greatly reducing the role of speaker agency, my own work on the gender performances of characters such as drag queens, transsexuals, and those whose gender is never given, demonstrates that observing (or ignoring) the requirements of gender concord allows authors to express a wide range of positions. In her pioneering work *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler (1990, 145) argues that speakers, or in her words "culturally intelligible subjects" are the results, rather than the creators, "of a rule-bound discourse that inserts itself into the pervasive and mundane signifying acts of linguistic life."

Although her prose is a little dense, what this means in simple terms is that she sees individual speakers as being formed by the discourse they use. This discourse is "performative" because it is by uttering (or performing) it that speakers, obligatorily, gender themselves. They are compelled by the syntactic structure and vocabulary available to position themselves only in certain restricted ways with regard to gender, that is, the traditional roles of "men" and "women." They are not free to take up any gender stance they like, for this would not be "culturally intelligible." Although she does suggest three linguistic strategies by which a speaker can undermine the system (parody, subversion, and fragmentation), on the whole Butler sees agency as severely curtailed, limited merely to "variations on repetition."

For her, it is the gender norms themselves which provide the lynchpins keeping "man" and "woman" in their place. She argues that "the loss of gender norms would have the effect of proliferating gender configurations, destabilizing substantive identity, depriving the naturalizing narratives of compulsory heterosexuality of their cultural protagonists" (Butler 1990, 146). Once these stabilizing norms have been lost, other possibilities become available, moving beyond the hetero-normative lynchpins "man" and "woman." This view of gender as performative has become a key tenet of queer theory, which investigates and analyzes "the naturalizing narratives of compulsory heterosexuality" (Butler 1990: 200) and the various sexually minimal figures that do not fit into this traditional framework.

Topic – 138: Gender & Translation

Translators work both as interpreters of the original text and, often, as guides to the culture which produced the text. If the social expectations of gender in the target culture are very different from those of the source culture, they need to deal with this anomaly. Similarly, if the languages encode gender in very different ways, they need to devise a system to encompass the differences. In their dual role as linguistic interpreters and cultural guides, translators must decide what to naturalize, what to explain, and what to exoticize. Studying the role gender plays in translation, Sherry Simon (1996, 10–11) observes that since as early as the seventeenth century translations themselves have been seen as *belles infidèles* (beautiful but unfaithful) because, like women, they can be either beautiful or faithful, but not both. Many of the metaphors for the act or process of translation are highly sexed, and indeed heterosexual. One dominant model views translation as a power struggle between author and translator (both male) over the text (female). In this model, the translator must wrest the text away from the original author, like a son growing up to rival his father. George Steiner (1975), himself a prominent translator, describes the translator as penetrating and capturing the text in a manner very similar to erotic possession. Lori Chamberlain (1992, 61–62), another translation theorist, quotes Thomas Drant, the sixteenth-century translator of Horace, who claims: "[I have] done as the people of God were commanded to do with their captive women: I have shaved off his hair and pared off his nails." For Drant, the original text must be utterly enslaved and deprived of its foreignness, or, in his own words, "Englished."

In another model, the original author becomes the translator's mistress whose hidden charms must be revealed and whose blemishes must be improved. In yet another view, the translator is a submissive, subjugated female, alienated, absorbed, ravished, and dispossessed, entirely taken over by the author

(Chamberlain 1992, 57–66). Although the imagined relationships that prevail among author, text, and translator vary widely, at the core is the sense that translation is a sexual act.

Topic – 139: Gender in King Lear

William Shakespeare, regarded as the national poet of Great Britain, explores complex themes of gender in *King Lear*, particularly in the relationships between husbands and wives and fathers and daughters. The play revolves around King Lear and his three daughters: Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia, with Cordelia being the youngest. The familial dynamics are further shaped by the husbands of Lear's daughters. Goneril is married to the Duke of Albany, Regan to the Duke of Cornwall, and Cordelia eventually marries the King of France, who first appears as her suitor and later becomes her husband.

Lear, the King of Britain, seeks to free himself from the burdens of rule and decides to divide his kingdom among his three daughters. His plan, however, hinges on an unusual test of affection. In the opening scene, he demands that each daughter declare how much she loves him, promising to award the largest share of the kingdom to the one who professes the greatest love. This moment sets the stage for the unfolding drama, highlighting the intricate interplay of familial loyalty, power, and gendered expectations in the relationships between Lear and his daughters.

Goneril

Sir, I love you more than word can wield the matter,
Dearer than eyesight, space, and liberty,
Beyond what can be valued, rich or rare,
No less than life, with grace, health, beauty, honor;
As much as child e'er loved, or father found;
A love that makes breath poor, and speech unable.
Beyond all manner of so much I love you.

Regan

Sir, I am made
Of the self-same metal that my sister is,
And prize me at her worth. In my true heart
I find she names my very deed of love;

Only she comes too short, that I profess
Myself an enemy to all other joys
Which the most precious square of sense possesses,
And find I am alone felicitate
In your dear Highness' love.

Dialogue with Cordelia**Lear:**

... —Now, our joy,
Although our last and least, to whose young love
The vines of France and milk of Burgundy
Strive to be interested, what can you say to draw
A third more opulent than your sisters'? Speak

Cordelia

Nothing.

Lear

Nothing will come of nothing. Speak again.

Cordelia

Unhappy that I am, I cannot heave
My heart into my mouth. I love your Majesty
According to my bond, no more nor less.

King Lear, in his inability to recognize genuine love, misjudges his youngest daughter, Cordelia, and banishes her when she refuses to exaggerate her affection for him. Despite this rejection, the King of France marries Cordelia, standing by her during this period of hardship. Meanwhile, Lear is equally blind to the greed and deceit of his elder daughters, Goneril and Regan, who manipulate his trust to gain power. After securing their inheritance, the two sisters turn against their father, ultimately banishing him. Lear, stripped of his authority and betrayed

by those he trusted, meets a tragic end, marking a poignant conclusion to the tale of familial betrayal, misguided judgment, and the devastating consequences of failing to perceive true loyalty and love.

Topic – 140: Does King Lear Challenge Gender Stereotypes?

For a concrete example of gendering of literature, we take example of Cordelia from Shakespeare's tragedy "King Lear". When Cordelia confounds her father's desire for flattery in Act I, Scene 1 of King Lear, she her love "according to my bond" (1.1.102) and so defines the parameters of legitimate parent-child relationships for the play. These relationships are not all that Cordelia defines, though. Her response to Lear's test, the momentous answer, "nothing" (1.1.96), affirms the legitimacy of natural law and primogeniture. It also allows her to stress a duty to her future husband, leading to a second test of love that bears out Cordelia's position on the responsibilities of a wife.

The Kings of France and Burgundy must consider whether they will marry Cordelia without the benefit of her dowry, reckoning her value solely on the basis of her character. Indeed, the immediate context of the first love test is the apparently quite aggressive courtship of Cordelia and the prospect of her marriage. If we explore the play for the representation of marriage, it examines marriage as a central if often overlooked element within the broader tragedy, and as a means by which Shakespeare considers the broader legitimacy and illegitimacy of relationships. The courtship of Cordelia by the Kings of France and Burgundy creates a second love test to define the proper basis for marital bonds, contrasting to Lear's false reckoning of the parent-child bond immediately prior. The subsequent marriage of Cordelia to the King of France compares, as well, to the marriages of her sisters, of which Cordelia herself very heavily criticizes following her explanation of her perceived responsibility to her father.

As Janette Dillon comments in her summary of *King Lear*, Cordelia's response to her father's love test is what sets in motion an "extended examination of how bonds are maintained or broken between human beings" (104). The emphasis, however, is predominantly upon personal bonds, not political ones (the political emerges as secondary), with paternal and marital bonds together taking center stage. The most tested bonds within the play are between husband and wife, and father and child. Kent's is really the only "bond of service" (104) other than, perhaps, Oswald's to Goneril, and Edgar's to Lear and then his father in the disguise of Poor Tom. As the parallel to parent-child relationships, marriage represents an important context for understanding gender roles and sexuality within the play. The recognized responsibility of Goneril and Regan, as wives, is to not only love their father but to love their husbands by virtue of the respective bonds. Implying a passive transfer of loyalties, too, though, for women, Cordelia argues that it is the responsibility of her husband, a "lord" (1.1.112) to "carry/ Half my love with him, half my care and duty" (1.1.112-113). Marriage is the means of defining gender roles and personal responsibility alongside the parent-child bond that experience

Topic – 141: Gender & Children Literature

The power of convention, or custom, lies in the fact that we simply learn ways of being and ways of doing things without considering any reasons behind them, and without recognizing the larger structure that they fall into.

- Eckert and McConnell-Ginet

School is an important social institution but even before school the family acts as a potent social institution that constructs gender realities through language use. Gender stereotypes are engraved into children's minds at an early age through nursery rhymes and fairy tales. Mo and Shen (2002: 131)

suggest that, 'If parents are children's first teachers, nursery rhymes should be considered as their first literacy-learning materials.' It is interesting to note that a number of rhymes refer to the image of an 'old woman'. Some rhymes that talk about the old woman include *Dame Trot and Her Cat*, *The Old Woman under a Hill*, *Oh, Dear! Old Mother Goose*, *A Needle and Thread*, *Goosey Goosey Gander*, *Old Mother Hubbard*, *The Old Woman from France*, *A Strange Old Woman*, *The Hobby-Horse*, *Old Woman*, *Old Woman*.

A Strange Old Woman

There was an old woman, and what do you think?

She lived upon nothing but victuals, and drink;

Victuals and drink were the chief of her diet,

And yet this old woman could never be quiet.

Gender, being a social construct, assigns the responsibility of the outside to men and the domestic chores to women. This division of labour can be seen in the following rhyme (Wright, 1992: 76):

My Maid Mary

My maid Mary she minds the dairy,

While I go a-hoeing and mowing each morn;

Gaily run the reel and the little spinning wheel,

While I am singing and mowing my corn.

Here is a similar rhyme (Wright, 1994: 112) that ends on an unhappy note as the beauty of the girl is suppressed by her poverty and the boy changes his mind:

Where Are You Going My Pretty Maid

'Where are you going, my pretty maid?'

'I'm going a-milking, sir,' she said.

'May I go with you, my pretty maid?'

'You're kindly welcome, sir,' she said.

'What is your father, my pretty maid?'

'My father's a farmer, sir,' she said.

'What is your fortune, my pretty maid?'

'My face is my fortune, sir,' she said.

'Then I can't marry you, my pretty maid.'

'Nobody asked you, sir,' she said.

Lesson 24

GENDER IN POPULAR CULTURE—CHILDREN’S LITERATURE**Topic – 142: Popular Culture & Children’s Literature**

Culture denotes all the knowledge, technologies, values, beliefs, customs, and behaviours common to people. While simple societies may have only a single integrated culture that is shared by everyone, complex societies can accommodate many layers and levels of *cultures and *subcultures. One important distinction is between popular culture and what is usually called high culture. The latter includes things like classical music, serious novels, poetry, dance, high art, and other cultural products which are usually appreciated by only a relatively small number of educated people.

Popular culture, sometimes also called mass culture, is far more widespread and accessible to everyone. The main business of popular culture is entertainment and, in Europe and the United States (for example), it is dominated by sports, television, films, and recorded popular music. The distinction between minority and majority cultures may often involve a value judgement in favour of high culture.

Traditionalists from Wordsworth on have lamented the poor quality of popular culture. Liberal and radical critics have been more inclined to support the popular as an authentic expression of public taste, and to dismiss the remote products of high culture as elitist. Sociologists have become involved in the analysis of popular culture because it provides a window into public consciousness, and is an important element of solidarity within social classes and of division between them. *Conflict theorists focus on the production of popular culture by large, capitalist *corporations, and suggest that the product may be not only inauthentic but also an instrument of ideological *domination.

Topic – 143: Maleness in Nursery Rhymes

The following selections show how rhymes project maleness. It reinforces the stereotype that males are powerful and protect women who cannot defend themselves against any physical assault. In “The Tart”, the queen is rescued by the king.

The Tarts

The Queen of Hearts,

She made some tarts,

All on a summer's day;

The Knave of Hearts,

He stole the tarts,

And took them clean away.

The King of Hearts

Called for the tarts,

And beat the Knave full sore;

The Knave of Hearts

Brought back the tarts,

And vowed he'd steal no more.

I had a Little Husband

I had a little husband no bigger than my thumb,

I put him in a pint pot, and there I bid him drum,

I bought a little handkerchief to wipe his little nose,

And a pair of little garters to tie his little hose.

These nursery rhymes depict a certain age and context that were remote from South Asia. However, we see points of similarity. According to D'Souza (2005: 101) . . . there is one thing that is common to these rhymes and to Indian society of today-the stereotypes of patriarchy, which assign rigid gender-based roles to boys and girls right from their childhood.' Nursery rhymes, imported from foreign countries, have been used in a number of schools in South Asia. They perpetuate some serious gendered stereotypes in an apparently playful manner. Children easily memorize these short and simple rhymes. The more the rhymes are repeated, the stronger is the effect of communicated stereotypes.

Topic – 144: Folklores & Gender Stereotyping

Fairy tales perpetuate certain gender stereotypes in an indirect manner. In most fairy tales, the heroine is a beautiful girl who is sweet and innocent, e.g., Little Red Riding Hood, Cinderella, Goldilocks, Rumpelstiltskin, Sleeping Beauty, Snow White, and Rapunzel. The description of the physical features of these women makes them almost unearthly creatures. Here is the description of Snow White, 'skin as white as snow, lips as red as blood, and hair as black as ebony.' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 330). The king's new wife was proud and overbearing. She used to stand in front of her magic glass (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 330), look in it, and say:

'Looking-glass upon the wall, Who is fairest of us all?'

And the looking-glass would answer, 'You are fairest of them all.'

Rapunzel was the most beautiful child in the world' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 94). Her hair, in terms of colour and length, 'shone like gold in the sun and it was so long that it reached from the top of the tower right down to the ground.' In King Thrushbeard, the king's daughter was 'beautiful beyond measure' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 43). In The Skilful Huntsman, . . . the King's daughter was lying sleeping, and she was so beautiful that he [huntsman] stood still and, holding his breath, looked at her' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 72).

Gender is a social construct that is manufactured by various social institutions. It is actually performed in a society on regular basis (Butler, 1990). The society makes up gender by determining roles, expectations, and opportunities for males and females on the basis of sex (Goddard and Patterson, 2000).

The process of manufacturing gender starts even before children go to school. The family plays a vital role in shaping the self-image and identity of boys and girls. Fairy tales also play an important role in the gender construction process. Story telling is a common phenomenon in most societies. Children are exposed to stories at home and in initial classes at school, as a part of educational activities. According to Wallowitz (2004: 28), folk tales serve several important functions in a society that include projecting values and expressing a culture's taboos and anxieties.'

LISTENING AND READING EXPOSURE

Children love to listen to stories and also enjoy reading colourful story books, which take them into the world of fantasy and imagination. Some serious messages become imprinted on their minds in a subtle manner. Rachlin and Vogt, quoted in Tepper and Cassidy (1999: 265), suggest: Books may help provide the basic model by which children form ideas about themselves as well as about other people'. These initial impressions about gender remain with them for a long time.

Topic-145: Butler's Gender Trouble & Folklores

For the philosopher Jacques Derrida, all knowledge must be interpreted as a product of culture. With scholars such as Rubin already making similar points, Derrida found favor among more radical feminists. Debates came down to whether "woman" was a natural or a cultural category. For those who followed in Derrida's footsteps, including the French lesbian theorist Monique Wittig,* the answer had to be that "woman," "gender," and "sex" were products of culture, not of nature. Such a radical idea was controversial, however, as it questioned how feminism could even exist if "woman" was merely a cultural construct. In the 1999 edition of *Gender Trouble*, Butler states that her work "turned out to be one of cultural translation," where "poststructuralist* theory was brought to bear on US theories of gender and the political predicaments of feminism.". For her culture is promoting stereotypes through folklores/tales.

Topic – 146: Feminism in Fairy Tales-I

It is commonly observed that private schools include nursery rhymes and fairy tales selected from English literature in their curricula. This raises the question of whether such literature promotes patriarchy, hierarchy, or male domination by reinforcing gender stereotypes. To explore this, we will examine the findings of a Pakistani writer who studied this subject, focusing on a sample of fairy tales from the classic *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (1812/2000). While this topic might not be new to you, our discussion now centers on the research and insights of a local writer.

The findings reveal recurring themes that highlight women's beauty, which aligns with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. For example, consider this excerpt: "...the youngest of whom was so beautiful that the whole world looked on her as a wonder. She was as white as snow, as rosy as apple blossom, and her hair as radiant as sunbeams..." This description not only emphasizes physical appearance but also links beauty with goodness, creating a dichotomy where beautiful girls are portrayed as virtuous and ugly ones as undesirable. This binary further extends to marriage prospects, with unattractive girls depicted as having fewer chances of finding a husband.

Additionally, women's traits are often associated with their class and profession. For instance, the tailor's wife is shown as industrious and pious, the king's daughter as beautiful but proud, the female cook as a liar and glutton, and the miller's daughter as modest, innocent, and obedient. These portrayals reflect stereotypical attributes assigned to women based on their societal roles. Male characters, on the other hand, are imbued with animalistic qualities such as strength, swiftness, and dominance, while female characters are often depicted as insecure, weak, emotional, and seeking attention. This stark contrast reinforces traditional gender roles, perpetuating the notion of male superiority and female dependence. Through this analysis, the study sheds light on the deeply embedded gender biases in classic fairy tales and their potential influence on shaping societal perceptions of gender roles.

Topic -- 147: Feminism in Fairy Tales-II

In this module, we identify the domestic roles assigned to women in fairy tales, which often reinforce traditional gender stereotypes and a patriarchal worldview. Women are typically portrayed as caretakers of the household, engaging in tasks such as cooking, cleaning, making beds, washing clothes, sewing, knitting, and caring for elders and children. These roles confine women to domestic spaces and emphasize their service-oriented position in the family structure.

Additionally, women often endure suffering at the hands of other women or, in some cases, their husbands. This suffering underscores the systemic oppression women face, not only from men but also from societal expectations perpetuated by other women. Within the home, women are consistently depicted as having a lower status than men. For instance, in one tale, a beautiful girl kneels before her husband and pleads for forgiveness, blaming her actions on her mother's coercion. This submission reflects the ingrained notion of male authority and female subservience. Patriarchal attitudes are further highlighted in a scene where a hedgehog, acting as a husband, silences his wife, saying, "Hold your tongue, woman; that is my affair. Don't begin to discuss things which are matters for men. Be off, dress, and come with me." This dismissive tone exemplifies how women's voices are trivialized and controlled within these narratives. Similarly, women are portrayed as self-sacrificing, enduring immense loss for their families, such as a mother who quietly bears the grief of losing her child.

Women's agency is often limited to what men permit, as they are shown to speak only when allowed by male figures. Marriage brings additional expectations, as women are required to provide dowries, even if they are of royal lineage. For example, in *King Lear*, the aged Queen gathers costly vessels, silver, gold, cups, and jewels to send with her daughters, reinforcing the financial obligations placed on women. Furthermore, bearing male children is presented as a critical duty for women; failing to do so subjects them to social stigma, marital discord, or even divorce. Through these depictions, fairy tales embed and perpetuate a patriarchal worldview, framing women's value around their service to family and adherence to societal expectations.

Topic – 148: Feminism in Fairy Tales-III

GENDER ATTRIBUTES

Thus, fairy tales show a clear division between males and females in terms of attributes. In *Sharing Joy and Sorrow*, the tailor's wife is 'good, industrious, and pious' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 18).

In King Thrushbeard, the king's daughter is beautiful but proud and overbearing' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 43). In Clever Gretel, the female cook is a liar and a glutton, who would eat while cooking. In The Maiden without Hands, 'The miller's daughter was a modest and beautiful maiden, and lived in innocence and obedience to her parents' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 206). The attributes of the princess in The Sleeping Beauty, are summed up in one sentence, 'She was so lovely, modest, sweet, and kind and clever, that no one who saw her could help loving her' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 97).

ANIMAL ASSOCIATIONS

It is important to note that male characters in fairy tales are often associated with animals. We come across animal characters including bears, wolves, frogs, rabbits, donkeys, and lions, etc. This suggests that male characters possess the attributes of animals in terms of strength, swiftness, and domination, etc. Female characters are dubbed as weaklings, insecure, emotional, and at times troublesome creatures. In, The Twelve Brothers, a red flag of warning is associated with the birth of a daughter: If a little son is born I will put out a white flag, and then you may safely venture back again; but if it is a little daughter I will put out a red flag, and then flee away as fast as possible as you can, and the dear God watch over you. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 431)

THE PROFESSIONS

It is interesting to note that a vast range of professions are mentioned in stories. These professions include tailor, cook, farmer, shoemaker, robber, huntsman, locksmith, musician, surgeon, butcher, woodcutter, carpenter, forester, cook, turner, joiner, miller, baker, apprentice, fisherman, and drummer. Importantly, all the professions in tales belong to the male characters in the stories. Women usually do not figure in professions. However, there are some indoor professions that have been associated with women. There are references to spinning wheels and broom making (The Elves), and basket making (King Thrushbeard). There is also mention of female characters who are sorceresses and enchantresses. We come across a woman who by profession is a cook, but her character is painted in a negative light. Similarly, another woman can be seen as a beggar by profession.

In the tale, Fair Katringle and Pif-Paf-Poltrie, there is an interesting paragraph that not only mentions some of the professions of that time but also their relative significance. 'Pif-paf-poltrie, what is thy trade? Art thou a tailor?' 'Something better.' 'A shoemaker?' 'Something better.' 'A joiner?' 'Something better. A smith?' 'Something better.' 'A miller?' 'Something better.' 'Perhaps a broom-maker?' 'Yes, that's what I am, is it not a fine trade?' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 38)

ASSIGNED ROLES

As a part of the process of socialization, roles are assigned and naturalized by the society. Women are usually confined to domestic chores. Men, on the other hand, move in the public domain, where they are in possession of economic resources to fund domestic expenses. It is interesting to note that, in Hansel and Gretel, the witch treats the brother and sister according to their gender. Then she grasped Hansel with her withered hand, and led him into a little stable, and shut him up behind a grating; and call and scream as he might, it was no good. Then she went back to Gretel and shook her, crying, 'Get up, lazy bones; fetch water, and cook something nice your brother....' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 105). In Old Rinkrank, the princess ends up in a house where her role is automatically decided.

The princess had to cook his dinner, make his bed, and do all his work, and when he came home again he always brought with him a heap of gold and silver. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 99)

The arrangements are immediately sorted out, as the old man suggests, 'Here you shall have shelter and food; go to the fire, and cook us our supper.'

Similarly in *Snow White*, one of the dwarves shares with Snow White, the tasks that are expected of her.

If you will keep our house for us, and cook, and wash, and make the beds, and sew and knit, and keep everything tidy and clean, you may stay with us, and you shall lack nothing. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 332)

In *Mother Hulda*, a little girl is granted the permission to live in the house, provided she does the assigned chores. She is told this in clear terms. 'Come and live with me, and if you do the house-work well and orderly, things shall go well with you' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 216). Zipes, quoted in Baker-Sperry and Grauerholz (2003: 714), suggests that:

Fairy tales written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were intended to teach girls and young women how to become domesticated, respectable, and attractive to a marriage partner and to teach boys and girls appropriate gendered values and attitudes.

FEMALE TORMENTORS

In most of the fairy tales, the tormentors happen to be females, e.g., *Goose Girl*, *The Foundling Bird*, and *One Eye, Two Eyes, and Three Eyes*, we see a number of stepmothers who are presented as evil characters (*Cinderella*, *Brother and Sister*, *Mother Hulda*, *The True Bride*, *The Lambkin and the Little Fish*, *The Juniper Tree*, *The Three Little Men in the Wood*, and *Hansel and Gretel*, etc.). We also see witches who are architects of evil designs (*Rapunzel*, *Mother Hulda*). In *The Twelve Brothers*, and *Donkey Cabbages*, we come across a wicked mother-in-law. Fairy tales present some female characters as evil and disloyal, e.g., in *The Little Farmer*, *Old Hildebrand*, and

The Three-Snake Leaves. Therefore, at an early age students get the message that women are the greatest enemies of other women. Another representation of women is in the form of witches, who are odious in looks and evil in character, e.g., *Hansel and Gretel*. Similarly, wives in fairy tales, in general, are boring, vacuous and timid, e.g., the wife of the giant in *Jack and the Beanstalk*, is frightened of her husband who is the giant.

UNEQUAL RELATIONSHIP

The gender relationship shown in fairy tales is unequal. Male characters appear to be strong, dominant, generous, and helpful whereas female characters are portrayed as weak, meek, and helpless. The following lines from *Donkey Cabbages*, reflect the unequal relationship:

The beautiful girl fell on her knees before him, and said, 'Ah, my beloved, forgive me for the evil I have done you; my mother drove me to it; it was done against my will, for I love you dearly'. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 256)

WOMAN: AS AN OBJECT

In some cases it is declared by the male characters as a challenge to identify and marry a certain girl, as in *The Gifts of Little Folk*, the tailor claims that, 'I shall be master, and marry my dear object (for so he

called his sweetheart)' (Grimm & Grimm, 2000: 155). It is important to note the use of the word 'object' for a living being.

Here is an excerpt from the conversation between a hedgehog husband and his wife. The husband wants to run a race with a hare. When his wife asks, 'What can make you want to run a race with the hare?' The husband becomes furious: 'Hold your tongue woman,' said the hedgehog, 'that is my affair. Don't begin to discuss things which are matters for men. Be off, dress, and come with me.' What could the hedgehog's wife do? She was forced to obey him, whether she liked it or not. (Grimm and Grimm, 200: 112). The husband believes that he has the right to do whatever he likes and is not supposed to 'discuss' matters with his wife. This shows a typical mindset encouraged and conditioned by the patriarchal society.

SACRIFICES OF MOTHERS AND SISTERS

The female character and the notion of sacrifice go together. We see mothers and sisters sacrificing their desires and needs for their kin. In *The Goose Girl*, we see such a mother, whose daughter is about to leave on a journey. So, when the hour of parting had come, the aged mother went into her bed-room, took a small knife and cut her finger with it until it bled, then she held a white handkerchief to it into which she let three drops of blood fall, gave it to her daughter and said, 'Dear child, preserve this carefully; it will be of service to you on your way'. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 66)

In *The Shroud*, we see a typical lonely mother struggling in life patiently.

Then the mother gave her sorrow into God's keeping, and bore it quietly and patiently, and the child came no more, but slept in its little bed beneath the earth. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 373)

VOICELESS FEMALES

In some fairy tales, the female characters lose their voice or are forbidden to speak for a certain period of time. This voicelessness of female characters has a symbolic significance, suggesting their lack of voice in patriarchal societies. A similar girl is found in *Our Lady's Child*, 'Although she could not speak, she was so beautiful and charming...' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 387)

In *The Six Swans*, the sister wishes to rescue her brothers. She can do that on one condition, by losing her voice.

For six whole years you would be obliged never to speak or laugh, and make during that time six little shirts out of aster flowers. If you were to let fall a single word before the work was ended, all would be of no good. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 426)

A similar condition is applied to the sister in *The Twelve Brothers*, who is striving to get her brothers released.

...thou canst not release them but by being dumb for seven years: thou must neither speak nor laugh; and wert thou to speak one single word, and it wanted but one hour of the seven years, all would be in vain, and thy brothers would perish because of that one word. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 434).

The condition for female characters to become 'voiceless' in order to survive could be the wishful thinking of a patriarchal society.

DOWRY

When we read fairy tales, we are constantly reminded of the problems faced by women in real life. One of these problems is the curse of dowry. Dowry is a popular practice in South Asia when, at the time of marriage, girls are given gifts by her parents for the new home. The parents make all efforts to make their daughter live comfortably after the marriage. The worst part of it is that the wish list of dowry items is frequently given by the in-laws of the girl. They often become so demanding that marriage cannot take place. In *Fair Katrinelje and Pif-Paf-Poltrie*, a central question is, 'Fair Katrinelje, how much dowry hast thou?' (p. 38). In *The Goose Girl*: the aged Queen packed up for her many costly vessels and silver and gold, and trinkets also of gold and silver, and cups and jewels; in short, everything which appertained to a royal dowry, for she loved her child with all her heart. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 65-66)

DESIRE FOR A CHILD

A recurring theme in some fairy tales is that a king or prominent person has apparently got everything but does not have a child. A number of fairy tales begin thus. *Hans the Hedgehog*, begins with a similar situation:

There once was a country man who had money and land in plenty, but no matter how rich he was, one thing was still wanting to complete his happiness—he had no children. Often when he went into the town with the other peasants they mocked him and asked why he had no children. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 484)

One can realize the social pressure but the ultimate stress comes on the wife, who is considered responsible for not having a child, preferably male. In another tale, *The Donkey*, we can feel the agony of a childless wife:

Once upon a time, there lived a King and a Queen, who were rich, and had everything they wanted except one thing: they had no children. The Queen lamented over this day and night, and said, 'I am like a field in which nothing grows.' (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 481)

CONCEPT OF THE HEROINE

Most of the beautiful good girls in fairy tales suffer from poverty or magic spells or some other predicament, e.g., *Cinderella*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Rapunzel*, *Snow White*. An early impression about a normal female character children find in the fairy tales is that of helplessness. At times, this weakness is associated with fragile physical structure, as Grandma in *Little Red Riding Hood*, but at other times the weakness is associated with simplicity and naivety, e.g., the character of Little Red Riding Hood.

There are certain gender stereotypes which are perpetuated in fairy tales, e.g., in Goldilocks and the Three Bears, the daddy bear's chair and bed are too high, and mummy bear's chair and bed are too soft. Similarly daddy bear's voice is gruff and mummy bear's voice is sweet. These stereotypes are based on the taken-for-granted knowledge categorizing human beings on the basis of sex.

MALE SAVIOURS

The saviours in most fairy tales are male characters who are physically strong, good natured, helpful and clever. In *Sleeping Beauty*, a prince comes and breaks the magic. In *The Golden Goose*, a boy named Billy helps the princess who forgot to smile. In *Cinderella*, a prince rescues Cinderella from the maltreatment of her stepmother and marries her. In *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, the saviour is also a prince. In *Jack and the Beanstalk*, the male character Jack kills the giant and emerges as a saviour. In *Red Riding Hood*, the male woodcutter comes and saves the girl and her grandmother. In *Old Hildebrand*, the frog prince comes as a saviour. In *The Foundling Bird*, the saviour is a young prince. Similarly, in *Jorinda and Joringel*, the saviour is a male.

In most of these cases, the saviour takes the girl as a trophy and marries her. This happens in a number of fairy tales, including *The Skilful Huntsman*, *Cinderella*, *The Glass Coffin*, *Rapunzel*, and *Sleeping Beauty*.

WAITING FOR DELIVERANCE

The females are presented as naïve characters, whose only objective in life is to wait for a deliverer and marry him. In *The Three Little Men in the Wood*, the little men with magical powers try to reward a good girl by granting her three things:

...the first one said, 'She shall grow prettier every day.' The second said, 'Each time she speaks a piece of gold shall fall from her mouth.' The third said, 'A king shall come and take her for his wife'. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 287)

Look at the short speech of the female character in the *Glass Coffin*, who catches sight of the prince and spontaneously utters the following words: My long-desired deliverer, kind heaven has guided you to me, and put an end to my sorrows. On the self-same day when they end, shall your happiness begin. You are the husband chosen for me by Heaven, and you shall pass your life in unbroken joy, loved by me, and rich to the overflowing in every earthly possession. (Grimm and Grimm, 200: 91)

A similar situation can be seen in *The Water of Life*, where the arrival of the male deliverer is painted like this:

So his horse rode onwards up the middle of it, and when he came to the door, it was opened and the Princess received him with joy, and said he was her deliverer, and lord of the kingdom, and their wedding was celebrated with great rejoicing. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 166)

WOMEN WITH MATERIAL NEEDS

Female characters are viewed as creatures with material needs only. In *One-Eye, Two-Eyes, and Three Eyes*, we can see how eating, drinking, and clothing are considered as the ultimate objectives of young girl's life:

So the knight lifted Two-eyes on to his horse, and took her home with him to his father's castle, and there he gave her beautiful clothes, and meat and drink to her heart's content, and as he loved her so much he married her, and the wedding was solemnized with great rejoicing. (Grimm and Grimm, 2000: 182)

IMPOSED MARRIAGES

The female characters are painted as weaklings whose marriages are usually forced by their fathers who often happen to be kings. Examples are *The Frog Prince*, *King Thrushbeard*, *The Robber Bridegroom*, *The Skilful Huntsman*. In a number of cases, the king throws a challenge and offers his daughter as a prize. In *Old Rinkrank*, the king . . . caused a glass mountain to be made, and said that whosoever could cross the other side of it without falling should have his daughter to wife' (Grimm & Grimm, 2000: 99). In *The Golden Goose*, there was a king who had a daughter who was so serious that no one could make her laugh. Therefore, 'the King had given out that whoever should make her laugh should have her in marriage' (Grimm & Grimm, 2000: 243). In *The Donkey*, the king becomes concerned about the ailment of his donkey and says:

'If I did but know what would make thee content. Wilt thou have my pretty daughter to wife?' 'Ah, yes,' said the ass, 'I should indeed like her,' and all at once he became quite merry and full of happiness, for that was exactly what he was wishing for.' (Grimm & Grimm, 2000: 483)

RARE RESISTANCE

In most cases, the daughters passively follow the orders. But sometimes unjust decrees are challenged. Challenging the king's order is a crime and like any other crime it does not go unpunished. In *The Skilful Huntsman*, an unjust decision is challenged, followed by the pronounced punishment.

Lesson 25

GENDER IN POPULAR CULTURE: TV PLAYS/FILMS**Topic – 149: TV Plays & Gender**

Television, as a form of mass media, serves as a powerful technology for communicating with the public. In Pakistan, the introduction of television in the 1960s brought about a significant cultural shift, with TV plays being used primarily for education and family entertainment. These dramas were deeply rooted in the moral and cultural norms of the time, with PTV productions promoting a "conservative image of women" and emphasizing male superiority and power. Women were often depicted in secondary roles within androcentric plots, where the narrative revolved around male characters and their perspectives. A plot, in this context, refers to the selection and reorganization of events within a story to create a cohesive narrative.

However, it is essential to distinguish between Islamic values and the regressive cultural norms that these dramas often reflected. While Pakistan's culture is not entirely Islamic, Indian cultural influences heavily dominate many aspects of everyday life. This blend of cultural elements was evident in the content and themes of early Pakistani TV dramas. Some playwrights, such as Ashfaq Ahmad and Bano Qudsia, focused on incorporating Islamic values into their work, particularly regarding gender roles. Others, including Amjad Islam Amjad, Fatima Bajia, and Haseena Moin, leaned more towards portraying popular culture, emphasizing traditional local values alongside contemporary societal trends.

During this era, popular media like television became a key tool for reinforcing the gender norms prevalent in 1960s Pakistani society. These productions often mirrored societal expectations, depicting women as submissive and confined to domestic roles while showcasing men as dominant figures, thus perpetuating traditional power dynamics through mass entertainment.

Topic – 150: Liberal Turn in TV Plays

Liberalism, in its essence, allows for the free exercise of speech on any topic or issue, challenging societal taboos and addressing controversial subjects. Noor-ul-Huda Shah's works, such as *Jungle*, *Marvi*, and *Tapish*, embody this liberal spirit by tackling issues that are often avoided in public discourse. Her plays confront the "hush-hush" attitude prevalent in society regarding sensitive topics like rape, the malpractice of spiritual healers and fortune tellers, and harassment, bringing these hidden realities to light.

One of the most pressing issues highlighted in Shah's works, and a significant concern for working women and female students, is harassment. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of English*, harassment is defined as "the act of annoying or worrying someone by putting pressure on them or saying or doing unpleasant things to them." This definition underscores the invasive and harmful nature of harassment, which often manifests in workplaces, educational institutions, and public spaces.

To better understand the gravity of this issue in Pakistan, one might explore online sources and research studies that delve into its prevalence and societal impact. While Shah's plays portray harassment as a critical problem, reflecting the struggles of many women in Pakistan, further examination of contemporary statistics and reports could reveal whether the severity depicted in her dramas aligns with real-life scenarios. The enduring relevance of her work lies in its ability to initiate conversations about systemic challenges and the cultural attitudes that perpetuate harassment in Pakistani society. Asghar Nadeem Sayed's dramas *Piyaas* and *Ghulam Gardish* provide a nuanced exploration of women's status across various social classes in Pakistan, including pirs, khans, and lower-class families. These plays, which belong to the PTV era of the 1980s, highlight the interplay between gender and class, showcasing how societal expectations and power dynamics shape women's roles and their access to agency.

To better understand these representations, watching an episode from each drama (*Piyaas* and *Ghulam Gardish*) on YouTube offers valuable insights into the portrayal of women in different social strata. It discusses how gender cannot be studied in isolation and must be analyzed in conjunction with intersecting factors such as class, ethnicity, and color, as well as concepts of masculinities and Femininities. During this phase of PTV's productions, gender stereotypes were commonly presented within the framework of social classes. For example, women from the upper class were often depicted as privileged but bound by patriarchal traditions, while women from lower-class families were portrayed as hardworking but subjugated by societal and economic pressures. This comparative approach highlights the varying degrees of agency and oppression experienced by women in different societal roles. By examining these themes, one gains a deeper understanding of how gender roles are intricately tied to class structures and cultural narratives in Pakistani society.

Topic – 151: Gender & Contemporary TV Plays (1990 onwards)

In the late 1990s, private television channels were introduced in Pakistan, marking a significant shift in the portrayal of societal norms through dramas. These productions, often resembling mini-films, brought new dimensions to the representation of women. Many dramas from this era depicted elderly women engaged in family politics within joint family systems, often causing suffering to other women. The persistent conflicts between mothers-in-law (saas) and daughters-in-law (bahus) became a recurring theme, resonating with viewers, particularly women. While these narratives were immensely popular, they also reinforced existing gender stereotypes in Pakistani society.

Another prominent trend in these dramas was the depiction of women with authority and wealth. Such characters were often shown living in grand havalis, adorned in gold jewelry, and surrounded by servants. While this portrayal reflected an aspirational lifestyle, it also pushed middle-class women to dream of unrealistic living standards, creating a disconnect between fiction and the realities of everyday life. A prime example of such storytelling is Geo's *Ladon Mein Pali*, which aired from 2014 to 2015. This romantic drama revolved around a boy, Wahaj, and two girls, Laraib and Bishma, while exploring familial and societal dynamics.

Interestingly, *Ladon Mein Pali* challenged some traditional gender stereotypes. The play showcased a family where the daughter, Laraib, was cherished equally, if not more, than a son—an anti-stereotype in a culture where sons are often prioritized. Additionally, Laraib was allowed to choose her own romantic partner, offering another break from traditional gender norms. These elements highlight that while many TV dramas perpetuated stereotypes, others reflected shifts in societal attitudes toward gender roles.

Thus, it is not entirely accurate to claim that television dramas solely promote gender stereotypes. A more nuanced view reveals that these plays capture the evolving gender dynamics within Pakistani society, simultaneously mirroring traditional norms and presenting changes in the gender order. By blending stereotypical and progressive elements, these dramas serve as both a reflection of societal values and a medium for exploring potential shifts in cultural paradigms.

Topic – 152: Gender in Films

SIGNIFICANCE OF TELEVISION

The popularity of television was due to a number of socio-economic factors. People found a mini-cinema at home, which they could watch at their leisure time. Initially, television programmes were more family driven and all the member of a family could sit, watch and enjoy these programmes. In India, the state owned channel Door Darshan was available to all the viewers. The apparent objectives set by the television programmes were education and entertainment. In Pakistan, television broadcasting started in 1964 with the single state owned channel PTV (Pakistan Television).

TELEVISION PLAYS

The first play that was aired on PTV was *Nazrana*. In 1984, PTV started colour transmissions which made the television programmes more attractive. The first colour TV drama aired on PTV was *Phool Walon Ki Sair*. It was the sole channel and people would wait for the next episode of a play on TV. There were famous playwrights like Shaukat Siddiqui, Ashfaq Ahmed, Amjad Islam Amjad and on the other hand some very popular serials written by female playwrights such as Bano Qudsia, Fatima Surraiya Bajia, Haseena Moin, and Noor-ul-Huda Shah. The popularity of these plays could be attributed to a political factor as well. During General Mohammad Ziaul Haq's military dictatorship, cinema was systematically discouraged and as an alternative television plays were encouraged to provide curtailed entertainment to people confined within their homes. Consequently, many of the most famous television plays were aired on PTV during Zia's regime. The whole emphasis of Zia's policy was a didactic media which could pass on moral values to the viewers.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER

Ashfaq Ahmed's series of plays *Aik Mohabbat Sau Afsane*, *Tota Kahani*, *Aur Drame*, etc. portrayed a stereotypical image of women, where male characters occupied the central place and female characters were mere objects of love. These plays were interspersed with long dialogues which at times would appear as moral sermons. Interestingly, these plays tried to challenge some stereotypes but, at the same time, perpetuated some other stereotypes, including a conservative image of women.

Amjad Islam Amjad was another writer whose TV serials set new standards of popularity. *Waris* proved to be a trendsetter for TV dramas. It was a popular Pakistani drama that revolved around the

corrupt feudal system of the country, depicting landowners as greedy and arrogant, while the peasants were suppressed and victimized. This influence was not only restricted to the rural domain but was extended to the city of Lahore as well. This drama brought social injustice to the forefront and revealed the hidden face of feudalism. All the powerful characters in the play, however, were male.

Amjad's other serials *Sumandar*, *Dehleez*, and *Raat* were very popular. In all these serials, men played dominant roles and women were presented as docile and submissive. In some cases, where women were portrayed as independent, they were set in a negative light. For example, Mrs Maryam Bari, who works for the rights of women, is at times ridiculed and presented as a hypocrite, odds with her husband and daughter. The overall atmosphere of Amjad's serials is androcentric, where women play a secondary role. Commenting on the plays written during the years of General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, Hussain (1996: 25–26) claims that:

The entire focus is on her reproductive or potentially reproductive and nurturing capacities, and no space is allowed where her economic dimension might be acknowledged. Thus she is denied a separate identity as well as the power to control her own life.

THE FEMALE PLAYWRIGHTS

Besides male playwrights, we see some important female writers as well. Bano Qudsia was prominent playwright but most of her plays took their inspiration from the idea of positional superiority of men. Her perspective on life coincides with that of Ashfaq Ahmed, her husband, who believed in the perpetuation of traditional values. Fatima Surraiya Bajia wrote a number of famous plays, which focused on small issues at family level in an entertaining manner Bajia was also interested in communicating certain morals through her plays, mostly in line with the status quo. Haseena Moin wrote: number of plays for TV, including *Ankahi*, in which the protagonist is an ambitious girl Sana Murad who belongs to a lower middle class family and yearns for a wealthy life. The drama foreground Sana's development as a character from a juvenile girl to a mature individual. What is noteworthy in the drama is the way Haseena Moin instils her leading female character with impetuosity and a vivacious charm that enlivens the lives of those who come in contact with her.

Another of Haseena Moin's serials that gained popularity was *Tanhaiyan*. This is a Pakistani drama that deals with the story of two sisters who lose their parents in a car accident. What seems contentious in this drama is the portrayal of a successful businesswoman as a failure in terms of her relationships. Therefore, here the trope of a woman who has escaped from the premises of home attaches negative connotations with itself. Yet, from another perspective the drama also suggests that in a patriarchal society a woman has to sacrifice her affective sensibility to be at par with men.

DRAMAS WITH A DIFFERENCE

Noor-ul-Huda Shah made a real contribution by writing plays which were radical in their content, as they tried to challenge some taboo themes by locating women in the cruel patriarchal system of feudalism. Her plays like *Deewar*, *Jungle*, and *Asman Tak Deewar* were a great source of education and awareness of women's identity in a strong patriarchal system and brought forth issues of gender in an upfront manner. Asghar Nadeem Syed's, *Pyaas* was another important play that dealt with a tabooed theme. Shahid Nadeem who worked in PTV as a producer and later on as general manager wrote some memorable plays that focused on women's issues with

bold treatment. Thus, a number of hitherto taboo themes related to women were brought to light through the genre of drama.

DRAMA TURNS COMMERCIAL

During the last decade, TV drama has undergone a tremendous change. This change can be seen both in India and Pakistan. One major reason in both the cases is the introduction of private channels that mainly started as business ventures. In India, during the early 1990s, private channels started their programmes. In Pakistan a number of private TV channels were given licenses in the late 1990s. These private channels were essentially linked with commercialism and started showing dramas which were quite different from the ones aired previously. A major change was that drama was brought closer to film and thus became more glamorous and louder. Large budgets were allocated for the production of dramas which would also attract commercials. Since the number of channels increased, the frequency of TV plays also increased. A direct consequence of enhanced frequency was new scriptwriters, new directors, and new actors and actresses. The increased demand of dramas by a number of channels resulted in the lowering of quality. A number of serials of Indian TV channels are watched in other countries including Pakistan. Some of these serials include *Kyonki Saas Bhi Kabhi Bahu Thi*, *Biddai*, *Kahani Ghar Ghar Ki*, and *Kasauti Zindagi Ki*.

Kyonki Saas Bhi Kabhi Bahu Thi is a drama that shows the evolution of three generations in one household. It revolves around the powerful industrialist Virani family and reveals the strife that weakens it from within. The conspiratorial figures are the elder daughters-in-law of the family and their victim is Tulsi, daughter of a poor family and wife to Mihir the eldest grandson. The intrigue to dismantle Tulsi's marriage is the driving force behind this soap. The drama, while presenting Tulsi as a strong woman with the ability to weather all storms, at the same time perpetuates the stereotype of women as tricksters playing family politics.

Bidaai is an Indian drama, a story of two cousins, Sadhna and Ragini. Sadhna is the orphaned cousin, and is pretty looking. Ragini, the elder, lacks beauty. While, on one hand, Sadhna finds her position in the family a little precarious due to her beauty, Ragini has to suffer the censure of society for being unpresentable as a prospective daughter-in-law. The drama plays with the binaries of ugly/pretty and fair/dark yet fails to dismantle the split, because it again seeks salvation for the unpresentable Ragini in the image of a handsome man. As a result, beauty still stands high in the hierarchy of appearances.

Kahani Ghar Ghar Ki, is an Indian soap that tells the story of a family, involving a manipulating mother-in-law, devious sister-in-law and several daughters-in-law, who struggle to claim a place in the hierarchy of a family unit. The drama constructs a good/evil divide through the conflict the self-sacrificing Parvati, the eldest daughter-in-law of the Agarwal family, and malevolent Pallavi the younger daughter-in-law of the family. Jealousy, hatred, suspense, and family politics are central themes of this drama. This depiction of women fails to capture their dynamism and instead constructs them in shades of black and white which affects the perception of the society at large.

Kasauti Zindagi Ki, was another Indian soap that revolved around the classic love story of Anurag and Purna, two star-crossed lovers who suffer through numerous trials and tribulations yet are destined to remain apart. The class conflict here appears to be in direct relation to the gender conflict. Men belonging to the wealthier classes make decisions of love and strife while women either use devious means to hinder their plans or sacrifice themselves to support them.

PRESENTATION OF AN UNREALISTIC WORLD

These serials are very popular among women. They are essentially melodramatic in nature and far removed from the realities of life. The mansions and bungalows shown in the dramas are unreal. Women are always clad in glamorous dresses and made up for display. A typical theme in these dramas is unending conflict between Saas (mother-in-law) and Bahu (daughter-in-law). The representation of women in these dramas is biased. Women are shown as conspiratorial, back-biting and hypocritical. These television dramas are watched by millions of people in South Asian countries on a daily basis. A large part of the audience is women. They project stereotypical gendered views that become part of the audience through the process of internalization. Films and theatre are supposed to recreate real life situations and simulate social life on screen and stage. A popular tradition of theatre was strengthened by the Urdu Parsee theatre. According to famous script writer and lyricist Javed Akhtar, quoted in Kabir (2003: 50) 'The early Urdu Parsee theatre first produced adaptations of Shakespearean and Victorian plays, and these plays were presented in a certain style: they had drama, comedy and included many songs.'

PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN

The popularity of film and theatre in the subcontinent suggests the vital role they play in the construction of social realities, such as gender. One reason of this popularity could be our oracy-based society. According to Javed Akhtar, the famous Indian lyricist (Kabir, 2003: 57), 'Our cinema is still heavily influenced by traditional theatre, and so cinema heavily relies on the spoken word.' A number of gender-related stereotypes are constructed, popularized, advocated, legitimized and perpetuated by films and theatre and, since they are very popular media, their impact is rapid and wide. In the movies of the 1960s in the subcontinent, we see a submissive prototype of women whose docility is her virtue. On the other hand, men are presented as strong, brave, and patronizing. Women are shown as weak, helpless, and thus dependent on men. According to Lee (2008: 11) '... female protagonists are generally portrayed as weak, passive, and victimized, so they are incapable of independent action or of living an authentic life. ...'

ACTIVE ROLE OF WOMEN

The so called active role for women can be found in 'dances' where women are portrayed as sex symbols. Sher (1996: 43) explores the rationale of such provocative scenes in films, '... because patriarchal cultures designate the woman as 'object of desire', the eroticism of such cinema projects the woman as the legitimate object of male desire and fantasy.' Indian films are distinguishable from Western films in terms of the numbers of dances and songs. The dances, in most cases, have nothing to do with the story line or situation. They are there as a commercial need as it is believed that the main attraction for the masses is provocative dances, executed by women in scant clothing. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 34) suggest: "The gender order is a system of allocation, based on sex-class assignment, of rights and obligations, freedoms and constraints, limits and possibilities, power and subordination. It is supported by—and supports—structures of convention, ideology, emotion, and desire.'

Topic – 153: Gender Stereotyping in European Movies

In her thirties when this notion first struck me), my imaginary casting of Angelica Huston versus Oliver Stone's real one of Angelina Jolie suggests something basic about my understanding of Olympias and her role in Alexander's life, as compared to Stone's, as realized by Jolie. Nuance, subtlety, and

intelligence generally describe the first actress's characterizations, whereas the second has often allowed her beauty and powerful physical presence to substitute for acting.

Creating a believable, compelling, and yet roughly accurate image of Olympias on screen could never be an easy task. Controversy and hostility surrounded her in her own day (ca. 375–316 B.C.E.).³ Our extant ancient sources preserve many traces of this contemporary animosity against an atypical, political woman. They must, therefore, be read with caution and care. The problem with characterizations of Alexander is the essential mystery, the unknowableness of his character—what John Keegan has termed his "Mask of Command." The difficulty with Olympias, on the other hand, is that the heavily anecdotal sources can easily trick us into believing that they (and we) know more about her than they really do. Scholars have often treated personal judgments of her by individuals as unquestionable facts. More than anything else, what the hostile tradition about Olympias really allows us to "know" is how appealing sexual stereotypes about women, particularly political women, not to mention older women, continue to be.

Olympias's actions and goals need to be understood in the context of the intensely competitive nature of Hellenic culture in general, and more specifically in terms of the realities of royal marriage in a place where the king practiced polygamy and no consistent method of selection existed for choosing a royal successor. Virtually any male member of the royal Argead dynasty could attempt to reach the throne. Royal mothers therefore often served as advocates for their sons' succession. Kings' sons could trust their mothers in ways they could not trust their fathers, who might always prefer another son. Olympias was the daughter of the king of Molossia (today northwestern Greece and parts of southern Albania), and she became the fifth, or possibly fourth, wife of Philip II, king of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, and conqueror of the Greek peninsula. In the northern kingdoms of Molossia and Macedon, competition often took the form of blood feuds and assassination attempts. Although these activities had been, up until her lifetime, largely male pursuits (so far as we know), Olympias, determined to safeguard the succession for her son (and later grandson), was an enthusiastic participant in both.

A judicious reading of the ancient sources suggests the following character sketch. Olympias was a woman of intelligence, proud of her heroic lineage, indomitable, and physically brave. Like her husband and son, Olympias could be and often was ruthless and literally murderous. Certainly she was responsible for the death of Philip Arrhidaeus (Alexander's mentally limited half-brother, who was, along with her infant grandson Alexander IV, recognized as king after the death of Alexander the Great), as well as the death of his wife, Adea Eurydice. During the same period, she ordered the deaths of a number of adherents of a hostile political faction. Years earlier she had probably arranged the murder of Cleopatra, her husband's last wife, along with Cleopatra's newborn child. It is not by any means certain that Olympias and her famous son had a role in the assassination of her husband and Alexander's father, Philip II, but it is a real possibility. Succession politics became particularly bloody after the death of Alexander, and Olympias played them like a man.

On the other hand, in keeping with the Greek maxim, Olympias not only did harm to her enemies but also helped her friends. She was loyal and seems to have inspired considerable loyalty in others.⁴ According to our sources, she was a loving, even doting mother to her son. We know less about her dealings with her daughter, but they remained close and acted together long after her daughter reached adulthood. Olympias was proud of the lineage of the dynasty of her birth, the Aeacids, and apparently maintained close ties with her kin throughout her long career. To some considerable degree, despite the patrilineal nature of the Greek world, she passed her Aeacid identity on to her children—even, and most surprisingly, to her son. Alexander's identification of himself as an Aeacid (and the tendency of our sources to so identify him) is striking. Arrian (*Anab.* 1.11.8), for instance, has Alexander

say that he was descended from the *genos* (clan, family) of Neoptolemus. Olympias played a prominent role in female Dionysiac cult in Macedonia, as well as in the dynastic cult of her husband's family (Plut. Alex. 2.5-6; Ath. 14.659f-660a). Her predilection for keeping snakes around the house probably related to her known use of them in cult. Ancient sources disagree as to whether she was the source of her son's belief that he was the son of a god, Zeus-Ammon. Plutarch (Alex. 3.2) preserves opinions on both sides. He cites Eratosthenes for the story that as Alexander departed for Asia, Olympias told him alone something secret concerning his birth and urged him to do nothing unworthy of his origins, obviously implying that she had confided that his birth was divine. Others, as Plutarch observes, insist that she denied any part in the idea and wittily urged her son to cease slandering her to Hera. Plutarch, implicitly and explicitly (Alex. 2.4, 3.1), connects Philip, but not Olympias, to acceptance of the idea that a god, not Philip, had fathered Alexander. Arrian (Anab. 4.10.2), however, claimed that Callisthenes, Alexander's official historian, referred contemptuously to Olympias's lies about her son's birth. Many scholars have concluded that Alexander's divine paternity was indeed originally her idea. I do not concur, primarily because many of them base their conclusions on their stereotypical reading of her character. Doubtless Olympias went along with her son's assertions once he made them, and she may have found them attractive, but no woman in the Hellenic world would voluntarily have suggested that she was less than faithful to her husband, and least of all Olympias, in the period just before and just after Philip's murder.

Olympias became the first woman in the Greek world to exercise political influence on a grand scale, primarily because she served as succession advocate for her son, Alexander III (the Great), and later for her grandson, Alexander IV. Philip II's last marriage precipitated a quarrel between him and his son Alexander that led to the self-imposed exile of both Olympias and Alexander. Plutarch (Alex. 9.3-10.3) claims that in the period leading up to the quarrel, Olympias exacerbated tensions between Philip and Alexander and that, even after the public reconciliation of the two, she and some of her son's other intimates encouraged behavior that once more put him at odds with Philip. Soon after, as we have seen, she was suspected of complicity (with or without her son's knowledge) in her husband's murder. Although Olympias did not accompany Alexander on campaign (such was not the Macedonian tradition, or at least not Philip's practice), during Alexander's reign she played a public role in the Greek peninsula whose nature is now difficult to define. She received plunder from her son and made splendid offerings at Delphi. She and her daughter both received grain to distribute in a time of shortage. The inscription that commemorates this role (SEG IX 2) treats them like heads of state. Olympias also played politics in Athens, where some Athenian politicians seem to have assumed that she had a part in Macedonian public policy and perhaps Molossian as well (Hyp. For *Euxenippus* 19-20, 25). Her actions and her understanding of her position put her in conflict with Antipater, the man Alexander had left in general charge of affairs when he departed for the Asian campaign. At some point, presumably because of this conflict, she left Macedonia for Molossia. Throughout his absence, tradition says she sent.

Topic – 154: A Biased View of Popular Culture

This topic is based on the personal comments of the Resource person on the research findings discussed in Lecture 24.

Pakistani writers often shy away from addressing gender-related topics, but when they do, their perspectives tend to align with feminist ideologies. These writers frequently critique male actions as expressions of power, hegemony, misogyny, and dominance, framing popular literature as a vehicle for reinforcing stereotypes. A primary reason cited for this bias is that popular literature—such as film songs, folk tales, and folk poetry—has historically been created and produced predominantly by men. However, critics of this feminist viewpoint argue that such authors overlook the moral and cultural functions of oral literature, which serves to preserve values and traditions across cultures.

One-sided feminist interpretations of popular culture are particularly evident in analyses of Indian movies, songs, and dramas. These analyses highlight a focus on women's bodies and dances, often criticizing their portrayal as exploitative. However, such arguments tend to ignore the broader context: women, by nature, may enjoy showcasing their beauty and receiving compliments. Moreover, modern Indian and Pakistani films increasingly feature men dancing, displaying their physiques, and being celebrated in songs, reflecting a shift in cultural narratives.

The overarching conclusion is that society has entered a post-feminist era. While traditional gender stereotyping still exists, there is now a growing focus on examining the effects of these stereotypes through the lens of popular culture. This shift moves beyond merely identifying stereotypes to understanding their impact and evolving roles in contemporary society. By embracing this nuanced approach, discussions on gender and popular culture can transcend simplistic critiques and better reflect the complexities of changing societal norms.

Topic – 155: Positive Role of Popular Culture/Films

Ghostbusters is a movie that shows women as “saviors” instead of being weak and dependent. This is a counter stereotype movie. This movie was not welcomed and the authors were issued life threats for such an unexpected projection of the “weaker sex”. You can realize it by reading comments of one of the writers of this movie. She says that seeing that image of four women, fully dressed in baggy work suits, as the stars of a film that would paint them as heroes, felt so significant against the backdrop of over three decades of watching films in which women were trivialized and objectified, if they were even included at all.

As it turns out, she was not alone in feeling that way, and more so, this experience was not limited to *Ghostbusters*. Each time we presented versions of this work—formally at academic conferences or informally in our everyday conversations—we heard similar stories about people (mostly women) finding an immense cinematic pleasure at seeing representations of strong, dynamic women characters on screen, but hearing over and over in overt and subtle ways that their experiences were invalid or wrong. Those dismissals ranged from the mild (tepid critical reviews) to the outrageous (rape and murder threats leveled at the women starring in these films or at anyone claiming to enjoy them or daring to defend publicly).

Undoubtedly, if you are reading this, you are familiar with many of them: *Ghostbusters* trolled online relentlessly before it had even been released, including particularly vicious and racist abuse of Leslie Jones; outrage that *Mad Max: Fury Road* would dare to privilege a woman's positionality in a fictional post-apocalyptic realm; the “shame on you, you can do so much better” dashing of Melissa McCarthy's *The Boss* and Aubrey Plaza/Maggie Carey's *The To-Do List*; the fury over casting of a woman as a central character in the new *Star Wars* films; and so many more. It was, frankly, disconcerting to experience these films in such radically different ways than the mainstream arbiters of taste deemed appropriate.

When we watched these films, we laughed, we cheered, we took pleasure in seeing versions of ourselves (and fantasies of ourselves) *doing really cool things*, and our allies rejoiced with us. It was, ultimately, that disconnect between our lived experience of women-strong films and the widespread maligning of that same work that opened the space for our shared critical analysis of the misogynistic backlash and patriarchal norms that can have devastating effects on women in the creative cultural realm and simultaneously devalue their contributions to such a degree that promotion and distribution of even major studio films is hampered.

Lesson 26

GENDER IN POPULAR CULTURE: PROVERBS/JOKES**Topic – 156: Gender in Social/New Media**

These days, videos are part of a popular trend whereby social media serve as a popular ‘stage’ for lay and celebrity performances as well as ‘a virtual lounge’ for audience reactions to and evaluations of these performances (Marwick and boyd 2011). On video-sharing platforms, such as YouTube, performances are disseminated for appreciative audiences who, in turn, take up what is being performed in discussions and debates, but also in replications and recontextualisations of different kinds and degrees of appreciation and criticality (Häkkinen and Leppänen 2014).

Platforms like YouTube are thus not simply media in which people watch videos, listen to music, broadcast their own videos, but they also serve as a forum for participatory cultures, cultural niches, and memes. Multi-sited ethnographic observations have shown that for migrants, video-sharing social media have become means of reaching audiences beyond their locality and immediate social circles. The varied language choices of the videos show, in fact, that they are not aimed at particular migrant groups, but at more mixed audiences, including ethnic. As multimodal productions, the videos call for detailed and multifaceted analysis that can describe the ways in which the modes drawn on in them – varied language resources, embodied performances, cinematic representation, music, for example – are coordinated and integrated to create coherent narrative performances. As highlighted in interviews with creators of these videos, for both themselves and their audiences the crafted multi-modal narratives serve as entertainment and critical commentary: through humour and disparagement, they depict ways in which migrants are treated by the host society, as well as how migrants themselves strive to make sense of the host society. A very typical strategy that the video performances apply to achieve these effects is double voicing (Bakhtin 1984). As both intersectionality research in sociolinguistics and discourse studies and research on multi-modal gendered and sexualized identity practices on social media are fairly recent fields of study, more research is called for in the future.

Topic – 157 Women in Proverbs

As the proverbs are based on oral traditions of a particular culture, the following selection is taken from Urdu spoken in Pakistan.

GENDERED PROVERBS

Proverbs act as a tool to homogenize the marginalized groups, especially women, in South Asian society. According to Hussein (2004: 129), 'Proverbs are used to ignore, trivialize and distort the image of women.' Let us examine some of the proverbs which represent women.

Proverb	Literal Meaning	Connotative Meaning
Jis mein chamak nahin who heeranahin, jis mein damak nahin who aurat nahi	A diamond without glitter is no diamond, a woman without a sparkle is	The proverb refers to an unrealistic expectation of society from women, i.e. if a woman is not beautiful, she cannot be considered as a woman.

	no woman	
Aoont ki pakaraur aurat ke makar se Allah bachae	One cannot escape from a camel's grip and a woman's snare	The proverb on the one hand dehumanizes woman and on the other hand paints her as a treacherous character.
Beese Kheese, Satha Patha	A woman becomes weak at the age of twenty, whereas a man remains strong even at sixty	The proverb suggests the fast-aging process of women due to malnutrition, stress, and physical labor.
Taryamat mein jo nar aawe-who to apni lag gunwawe	A man who falls victim to a woman's advice loses his respect	The proverb implies that a man's social standing is measured by his disregard for a woman's counsel.
Yaar ko karoon piyar; khasum ko karon bhasum, lurkay ko karon chutni	Be in love with the lover, burn the husband, and crush the son	This proverb is used to describe a woman with a loose character, focusing only on her lover without regard for her husband or children.
Proverb	Literal Meaning	Connotative Meaning
Jaghre ki hein batein teen—zan, zar, aur zameen	Three things are likely to lead to quarrel: a woman, money, and land	The proverb brackets a woman with property items like money and land.
Teesra beta raj rajae-teesri beti bheek mungwae	The third son helps you rule, and the third daughter leads you to begging	The proverb suggests that a daughter is unwelcome compared to a son. Having a third daughter is seen as an economic burden, especially due to dowry.
Aa parosun larein	Let us fight my neighbor	Woman is shown as a quarrelsome creature who likes to pick fights, and if she can't find anyone within her house,

		she invites her female neighbor to quarrel.
Aaj kal bara bars ki bitya bar mangay	Nowadays, even a twelve-year-old girl demands a husband/ people have lost all decency	The proverb reflects modern times' decadence, suggesting that women, once associated with silence, have become demanding, symbolizing a loss of decorum in the new generation.
Aag lainay aiee ghar wali ban baithi	She came to borrow fire, became a consort instead	The proverb shows a woman as an intruder who pries into someone else's house and eventually takes control, portraying craftiness and guile as feminine traits.
Aankh mein thee sharam, dil ki thee naram	Shy and kind/A woman who modestly accepts even unreasonable demands	The conventional image of a woman as modest and gentle is highlighted. She is portrayed as someone who sacrifices herself to please others.
Aayee bee aqila, sab kaamon mein dakhla	Entered the intelligent woman, and interference began/an ignorant, prying woman	Implies pretense, ignorance, and intrusion of women into various affairs.
Ugalti talwar aur baiswa lagai khasam ko maar rakhti hai	An unsheathed sword and an evil wife are ever-present threats to a man	The proverb equates warfare and marital relationships, implying that a woman, like an unsheathed sword, symbolizes the paranoia associated with the emancipated woman.

Budhi ghorī laal lagām	An old mare wearing a red bridle. An old woman donned as a young girl	Youth is seen as a societal measure of a woman's acceptability. As a woman ages, her interests are expected to change; otherwise, she becomes an object of gossip.
Bigra baita aur khota paisa bhi kabhi na kabhi kaam aa jata hai	Even a spoiled son and a false coin can work sometimes	Sons are given significant value in the family, even if they are unworthy. This proverb suggests that even the worst son is considered a blessing, eventually proving useful.
Bahoo rani kunwari, saas rahi	Before marriage, the daughter-	This refers to the stereotypical

wari, Bahoo aai biyahi par gai khawari	in-law is the apple of the mother-in-law's eye, but after marriage, squabbles begin	feud between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, highlighting the quarrelsome nature attributed to women in such relationships.
Biyahi baiti ka rakhna haathi ka bandhna hai	Keeping a married daughter at home is equivalent to tending an elephant (both result in increased expenses)	This proverb suggests that a married daughter is a financial burden on her parents, raising interesting economic questions related to gender.
Biyahi larki parosi dakhil	A married daughter is like a neighbor to her parents	It highlights the sense of non-belonging that married women experience. A married woman's parents' house is portrayed as a foreign space where she is no longer welcome.
Aurat ki aqal guddi peechay	In the nape rest a woman's wit/A woman is dim-witted.	Reason and intellect are another attribute generally related to men. This proverb builds on this reductive classification and relegates women to the other side of the scale as dim and senseless creatures.
Murghi ki bang kon sunta hai	Whoever listens to a hen's chuckling? /Whoever can rely on a woman's opinion?	This proverb displays an important societal bias against women. Unlike a cock who crows to declare his territory, a woman's judgement is deemed undependable. A woman as a result remains as a phantom voice in the background.
Jis ka dar wohhi nhi ghar	A woman crosses all lines in the absence of husband/without the fear of her husband.	This proverb defines the societal expectations and gender roles attributed to both husband and wife where the responsibility of a man appears to be that of domesticating his wife.

Topic – 158: Gender in Jokes**JOKES AND STEREOTYPES**

It is common knowledge that society impacts language but it is also important to understand how language impacts society by playing its role in constructing social reality by promoting certain stereotypes and perpetuating them. Stereotypes, in a subtle manner, make certain notions and beliefs a part of social wisdom and can be quoted as convincing arguments. These stereotypes are perpetuated in almost all forms of expression. One very powerful means of constructing and perpetuating stereotypes is humour and, more specifically, jokes. Jokes not only reflect the social norms, beliefs and trends of a society but they are also involved in constructing social realities and perpetuating them to the different spans of time. Jokes, being a popular form of humour, usually ridicule certain groups of society.

HEALTHFUL VS. HURTFUL HUMOUR

Like many stereotypes, jokes are usually targeted against the marginalized groups. Most such jokes lead to laughter at the cost of hurting the marginalized groups. Stereotypes, in the form of jokes, gain their strength through their repeated use by the masses and by the legitimizing effect of social institutions in general and media in particular. One such marginalized group that becomes the focus of jokes is women. A woman is turned into an object of laughter, as she is judged by the standards and norms set by men. Beauvoir (1997: 16) disapproves of this approach and considers it unfair. She suggests that a woman is 'defined and differentiated with reference to a man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute; she is the Other.'

Topic – 159 Stereotyping through Jokes**INFLATED DIFFERENCES**

The difference between women and men is magnified and highlighted through certain stereotypes. It has been claimed that male superiority is backed by superior anatomy. Brizendine (2006: 23), a practicing medical doctor, however, claims that, 'More than 99 per cent of male and female genetic coding is exactly the same.' This chapter analyses the politics of jokes about women. Before we look at some examples let us briefly examine the main effects of humour. Sultanoff (1995: Section 5) categorizes humour into healthful and hurtful humour. According to him:

In general, healthful humour stimulates wit, mirth, or laughter. It creates closeness and intimacy. Hurtful humour creates pain and distance. Often healthful humour pokes fun at oneself and situations while harmful humour pokes fun at other individuals or groups. Sarcasm, put-downs, ethnic jokes, and anti jokes (anti-men, women, religious groups, nationalities, ethnicity, etc) are all considered hurtful, as opposed to therapeutic.

The majority of the jokes about women fall in the second category, i.e. harmful humour that leads to humiliation.

GENDERED STEREOTYPES

If we analyse jokes about women, we see certain underlying stereo types at work. Some of the stereotypes about women include:

- Women are more talkative.

Women are less intelligent.

Women are capricious. Women are inquisitive. Women are cowardly. Women (as wives) are boring. Women are confused.

JOKES AND GENDER STEREOTYPES

Jokes, in an apparently playful manner, perpetuate some serious stereotypes about women. The repeated use of these jokes turns the underlying stereotypes into folk wisdom. Let us look at the following jokes that make use of gendered stereotypes:

WIFE JOKES

Among women jokes, there is a subcategory of wife jokes. These jokes are based on stereotypical notions that a wife is a boring, dull, and troublesome creature. Let us see the underlying assumption (wives are troublesome) in the following joke:

Dr: Your husband needs complete rest. Take these sleeping pills. Wife: When should I give these to him?

Dr: These are not for him but for you.

Let us look at another joke:

Wife: I wonder what will happen to you if I die.

Husband: And I wonder what will become of me if you don't die.

Yet another strain in jokes brings marriage and a graveyard together:

In a graveyard, a man sitting on his knees and holding on to a tombstone was crying bitterly: 'Why did you pass away? Alas! I had a bad fate that you died! Why did you leave, my God what should I do? To where should I go? What could have gone amiss if you had stayed on?'

A passerby on observing his agonizing outcry stopped by and said: 'Have patience. He appears to have been a very dear relative of yours.'

'No he wasn't. He was my wife's first husband', answered the first

man through his tears

MARRIAGE AS A POINT OF RIDICULE

In jokes, marriage is treated as an institution deserving of ridicule. Laughter is generated through a disruption of a supposed hierarchy. The acceptable status of a man being superior as compared to his wife is turned topsy-turvy and what is left is a man whimpering for relief from a domineering wife. The first husband dead and the other raising the dead are symbolic of a disrupted relationship and the burden of responsibility is borne by the woman.

Wife: You love our dog more than you love me. Husband: That's right. He does not bark as much.

is that of a daughter who questions what will become of the mother figure and the unconcerned reply, intended for amusement, is a reflection of the choice and decision that resides with a father figure.

WOMEN ARE TALKATIVE

A stone on the grave read: 'Here lies my wife. On 31st May 1982 her tongue was silent for the first time.'

The aforementioned grim humour exploits the most common stereotype about women, and especially wives, as talkative beings who do not give their husbands a chance to express their opinion.

If a lady happens to put the receiver down after only fifteen minutes, then what else can be inferred but that it was a wrong number?

Since jokes draw their humour from a repertoire of clichés, this joke is based on the stereotype of women as talkative figures. In this instance, gossip and useless chatter is a trope that comes to the feminine lot, and intends to generate amusement. The language of the statement presents this behaviour as a universal truth. Hence, it raises significant questions on the representation of the female figure. Humour in these statements depends on portraying women as indulging in useless activities and therefore it further weakens the position of women in society.

WOMEN ARE IRRATIONAL

A conversation was taking place between two women: 'This time we have seen the whole world. We will somewhere else next time.' The conversation of women in anecdotes is usually ridiculed for being snobbish and irrational. Here, a similar idea is endorsed where two women are projected through their unanimous conceit and absurd exaggeration in conversation. Their discontent also becomes a laughable matter, since it suggests that nothing on earth could satisfy their demands.

WOMEN AND TIME

Husband: I am asking you for the last time, are you ready to come with me?

Wife: I have been telling you for the past two hours that I'll be ready
in a minute.

The punctual and awaiting husband depicts a committed man, who takes his work seriously, while the lazy and logically unsound woman coupled with him affirms a common misrepresentation of woman's indolent disregard for the value of time and commitment.

WOMEN ARE NOT INTELLIGENT

A discussion was going on between girls and boys about lack of sense of humour in women. Girls were disagreeing with it. Suddenly, a boy stood up and announced in a decisive manner that girls lack a sense of humour. Explaining his view, he said that women laugh at every joke three times. First whenever someone cracks a joke. Second when the joke is explained and third when they understand it. A common stereotype, popularized through different means of communication, is that women are slow or less clever and do not have a sense of humour. This stereotype has become the basis of a number of jokes.

An alien came from another planet and inquired about the prices of different kinds of brains.

Merchant: This is a monkey's brain, costs only 10 rupees.

Merchant: This is a man's brain, costs 100 rupees.

Merchant: This third one is of a woman.

Alien: How much does this cost?

Merchant: 500 rupees.

Alien: Why is it so expensive?

Merchant: It was hardly used.

The question of beauty and brains has always been associated with women. While, on the one hand, their beauty is projected as a criterion for acceptance in society, their brains remain as a butt of jokes. The aforementioned joke marginalizes woman by placing her intellectual capacity as inferior to that of both a man and an ape.

WOMEN AND AGE

During a case hearing in court, the judge questioned an accused woman about her age. The woman was reluctant to answer and was consequently warned by the judge: 'Take care; you are in a court of Law. You should clearly tell your real age while abiding by the oath of truth you have taken. What's your age?'

Woman: '32 years and a few months!'

Judge: 'What's "a few" months? Clearly specify the number of months!' Woman: '60 months.'

The mother-in-law is the oft repeated figure of an old woman projected as a precursor to quarrels and squabbles in family life. The very first man is therefore presumably the happiest, since there are no mothers to provoke family discord. Resultantly, woman is constructed as figure who aggravates friction in family relationships.

MOTHER-IN-LAW JOKES

Jokes about mothers-in-law are not very common in South Asia as compared with the West. It appears that western literature draws more from this typecast. The reason may be attributed to the respect that is ascribed to woman as a mother in South Asian societies. Yet, the gradual perpetuation of this image

cannot be denied, suggesting that the mother-in-law construct is an extortion of a prototypical westernized idea that gained roots with time in the Indo-Pak humour:

One hunter shouted after his fellow hunter: 'Look! A lion is attacking your mother-in-law.'

'What an unlucky animal! She'll wreak havoc in his guts with her jabbering,' replied the second man.

The mother-in-law becomes a stereotypical woman figure in jokes, who is feared and detested by the son-in-law. She is rendered as an interfering and bossy presence in the household, who is always dissatisfied with her daughter's husband. The paradigm of the hunter and the hunted is extended in this joke to affirm the societal prejudice against women. The humour resides in constructing a woman as a hunter, rather than as a victim who is being preyed on. Interpreting the joke further, it alludes to another stereotypical role associated with mothers-in-law, i.e. match-making.

Adam and Eve were the happiest couple of the world.

Because they did not have a mother-in-law.

WOMAN AND STEREOTYPED WORK DOMAIN

'Did you get rid of your old dish washer?'

'Yes, I divorced her.'

The separation of domains, where a woman is supposed to deal with domestic chores while a man is the bread earner, is referred to in this joke. As a result, a woman becomes one of the many kitchen accoutrements that can conveniently be replaced when obsolete. The decision resides with the man, who is placed higher in the gender hierarchy by society.

WOMEN'S DESIRE FOR ADMIRATION

Women are constructed and presented in jokes in such a way as if their only interest and concern in life is adornment of their physical bodies in order to look good and get appreciation from others. This joke strengthens this stereotype in an apparently playful manner:

You tell any woman that she is looking beautiful and she will all other lies happily.

Let us look at another joke exploiting the same stereotype:

You accept

Once somebody asked the devil, 'You put people into different sorts of troubles. By this time, whom do think in you put greatest troubles of all? The devil smiled and said, 'I gave one woman fifty pairs of shoes, fifty dresses, countless makeup items and got her married into a house

where there were no mirrors.'

Lesson 27

EXPECTATIONS ABOUT MARRIAGE**Topic – 160: Social Expectations about Marriage****EXPECTATIONS AND REALITY**

One of the sources of humour is incongruity. A number of jokes about women are based on the difference between expectations and reality. The dominant groups have a certain set of expectations for themselves and another set of expectations for others. Just like George Orwell's, *Animal Farm* (1987: 90), where 'all animals are equal but some are more equal than others', men in our society are more equal, as some really difficult attributes are expected from women. Some of the expectations from a woman in our society is that she should be beautiful, young, slim, and tall, with a fair complexion. These expectations are totally unrealistic and exert tremendous psychological pressure on women.

TECHNOLOGY AND ACCELERATED PERPETUATION

The process of perpetuation of gendered stereotypes has been accelerated in the modern technological era. In the past, the range of jokes was confined to a small number of people and stereotypes travelled at a slow pace. Now, with the advent of the Internet, one can access a number of sites dedicated to jokes. Besides the Internet, the ever-increasing number of mobile phones has accelerated the spread of jokes. The increase in circulation of jokes has made it possible for gendered stereotypes to reach a larger number of people in far less time.

NON-SEXIST JOKES

One may also come across jokes that target men. These jokes fall into another category, where marginalized groups give vent to their frustration through jokes. For instance, certain jokes become popular during the dictatorial rules. The jokes about men target their follies. Sexist jokes, whether they are against women or men, need to be discouraged. Students in schools and colleges should be exposed to the socio-cultural aspects of language as well. This awareness on the part of the learner and reader/listener may lead them to challenge and resist some of the gender-biased stereotypes created and propagated in the form of jokes.

Topic – 161: Social Expectations & Matrimonial Ads**ADVERTISEMENTS IN PAKISTANI NEWSPAPERS**

To understand the trends in the matrimonial ads, a sample of 431 adverts was collected during the periods of March, April, and May 2009. Among them 217 advertisements were for males seeking females and 214 advertisements were females seeking males. These ads were collected from four Pakistani newspapers including Dawn, The News (English newspapers), Nawa-i-Waqt, and Jang (Urdu newspapers). The distribution of advertisements can be seen in the following table.

Table 10.2: Sample Distribution

Variable	Percentage	Variable	Percentage
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Age	96	Looks/Color	28
Qualification	75	Marital Status/Second Marriage	24
Profession	63	Nationality	24
Family/Caste	48	Family Background	23
Height	44	Religion/Sect	22
Workplace/Sector	36	Other	18
Residential Area	34	Income	11
Social Status	33	Children	5

Let us examine the attributes mentioned in the advertisements by male candidates. The top attribute in the aggregated score of four newspapers is 'age', which emerges as the top attribute (96 per cent), followed by 'qualifications' (75 per cent), 'profession' (63 per cent), 'family/caste' (48 per cent), and 'height' (44 per cent). It is interesting to note that age has always been an important attribute in the marriage. 'Qualifications' emerged as a powerful attribute showing its significance in contemporary times. Qualifications may reveal about the socio-economic status of a person with likelihood of greater economic prospects. The third attribute, 'profession', could be an indicator of economic status and social prestige attached to it. 'Family/caste', though at number four, is still a strong attribute in marriage. The 'family/caste' attribute is more specific to those South Asian countries where in certain families marriage outside the 'caste' is discouraged. The attribute of 'height' came at number 5 in male advertisements.

FEMALES SEEKING SUITORS IN PAKISTAN

In the case of female candidates, 214 advertisements from four newspapers were studied. The attributes found can be seen in the following table:

Table 10.4: Attributes in female ads

Variable	Percentage	Variable	Percentage
Age	99	Religion/Sect	26
Qualification	84	Residential Area	23
Height	59	Other	21
Looks/Colour	57	Marital Status/Second Marriage	21
Family/Caste	50	Nationality	14
Family Background	39	Workplace/Sector	8
Social Status	37	Children	7

Profession	32	Income	0
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Age Factor

The age' attribute figured as number one (99 per cent). It is significant that 'age' also emerged as the top attribute in the advertisements of male candidates (96 per cent). The percentage though is higher in the case of female candidates, suggesting that age is more important in the case of women in South Asian societies and the 'youth' factor seems to be more applicable to women rather than men. The attribute of 'qualifications' (84 per cent) is at number 2, as in the case of male ads (75 per cent). It is important to notice that there is a growing realization on the part of women that education is an empowering tool that opens up job prospects and ultimately could lead to economic stability. The attribute of 'height' (59 per cent) is at number three, whereas in case of ads for male candidates this attribute was down at number five (44 per cent).

Looks

The attribute of 'looks/colour' is at number 4, with a score of 57 per cent which is close to the number three attribute 'height' (59 per cent). This attribute, which is at number four in the ads of female candidates drops down to the number 9 (28 per cent) in the ads for male candidates, clearly indicating that the attribute of 'looks' is a stereotypical socially desirable attribute expected from women.

Family

The family/caste factor in ads for female candidates came at number five (50 per cent), whereas in case of ads for male candidates this attribute was at number four (44 per cent), suggesting that this attribute is considered important in both the cases.

Table 10.5: Top Five Attributes in Matrimonial Ads

	Male	Female
1	Age	Age
2	Qualification	Qualification
3	Profession	Height
4	Family/Caste	Looks
5	Height	Family/Caste

In the above table is a summary of the top five attributes in the ads of male and female candidates. The 'age' is a number one attribute in both male and female ads. Similarly, qualification is at number two. This is important in case of female candidates as educational opportunities were far less available for females in past years. It suggests the rising trend in female education. This finding can be corroborated by the increasing number of ratio of women in higher education. Family/caste is at number four in case of male.

Topic – 162: Women in Commercial Ads

The topic is based on personal views of the resource person on “women in commercial ads”. Please see material given in Lecture 27.

Marketing of all types of products and services is done through print and electronic ads. The most prominent feature of many of these ads is WOMAN. Whether the product is related to food, clothing, cosmetics, household items, or services, advertisements are strategically designed to appeal to a wide audience. A striking feature of many of these advertisements is the central role given to women. In most cases, women are shown either as the primary users of products or as symbols of beauty and attraction, regardless of whether the product is directly connected to them.

These ads are often scheduled during peak viewing hours on television or shared widely through social media platforms, ensuring that families, including children, men, and women, are exposed to them. The repeated visibility of such content not only reinforces consumer demand but also shapes public perceptions of gender roles. For example, a woman may frequently be portrayed as the homemaker responsible for cleaning, cooking, or childcare, while men may be shown as decision-makers or professionals. Such portrayals reflect and perpetuate traditional stereotypes.

At the same time, advertisements have the potential to challenge these very stereotypes. When women are presented as empowered professionals, leaders, or independent decision-makers, they break away from restrictive roles and offer new models for social expectations. Similarly, men shown in caregiving or domestic roles can normalize shared responsibilities in families. In this way, advertisements function as both a mirror of existing social norms and a tool to reshape them.

Topic – 163: Commercial Ads as Change Agent

This topic is based on the personal views of the resource person. He believes that, these days, ads are also promoting anti-stereotypes about gender. Please see reading for lecture 27.

In Pakistan, television channels are filled with advertisements that go beyond merely promoting products and services. While the primary aim of advertising is to attract customers and expand business, many of these ads also carry a deeper social function. They subtly influence the way people think about gender roles, responsibilities, and expectations in society. Since television has a wide reach and advertisements are shown during programs watched by diverse audiences, they serve as an important medium for reshaping public opinion.

A key factor in the advertising industry is the role of women. Women are often placed at the center of commercial ads, whether the product directly relates to them or not. This is because their presence not only captures viewers' attention but also adds emotional or aspirational appeal. For instance, women may be shown endorsing household items, beauty products, or family services, creating an image of trust and familiarity. The advertising business therefore prospers with the inclusion of women, as their presence directly boosts consumer interest and product visibility.

However, the impact of women's portrayal is not limited to business gains. These commercial ads also influence collective thinking about gender ideology. By repeatedly presenting certain roles, they can reinforce traditional stereotypes, such as women being confined to household duties. At the same time, progressive ads can challenge such stereotypes by showing women as professionals, decision-makers, or independent individuals. This educates viewers and helps in shifting mindsets towards more balanced gender values.

Thus, advertisements in Pakistan work on two levels: they promote consumer products while also acting as agents of social change. They are powerful tools in shaping how the masses view gender roles, either by maintaining existing norms or by encouraging more equitable perspectives. This dual role makes advertising both a business strategy and a medium of social influence.

Lesson 28

REPRESENTATION OF GENDER POWER-I**Topic – 164: Women as Public Speaker**

Feminist views on discourse analysis highlight how language functions as a form of social practice, reflecting and shaping gender roles in society. By applying approaches such as interactional sociolinguistics, pragmatics, conversation analysis, and stylistic analysis, gender discourse can be studied in detail. A key theme that has emerged from such studies is the difference between male and female communication styles. Traditionally, men have been associated with power and dominance, while women were considered powerless and excluded from the public domain. Women were often viewed as voiceless in political and social matters.

However, social changes over time have altered this perception. Women now actively participate in politics, speak publicly, and engage in debates. Still, challenges remain because gender norms and leadership expectations are often contradictory. Political leaders are generally expected to display authority by speaking aggressively, raising their voices, and directly attacking opponents. Women politicians, however, tend to adopt more polite and supportive strategies in their speech, avoiding shouting and confrontational tones.

This creates a dilemma. If women's speech is too distant from the male style, they are seen as meek and ineffective leaders. Conversely, if they mirror the male style too closely, they are criticized for being unfeminine. This double bind shows how women in leadership navigate conflicting expectations. Interestingly, an alternative style has emerged: being firm, assertive, and combative in content without relying on loudness or verbal aggression. Such a style allows women to be recognized as both effective leaders and respectable women.

In conclusion, the relationship between language, gender, and politics is complex. Female political leaders demonstrate that while gender influences speaking styles, there is no fixed or direct connection between gender and political speech. Instead, effective communication in politics involves balancing social expectations with leadership demands.

Topic – 165: Women & Power

In comments on the leaders' styles of speaking, we find evidence both of the gendered language ideologies which inflect the judgments made on women speakers. Commentary on the debates contains numerous references to what we have called the 'different voice' ideology of gender and political speech.

The verbal behavior of the political speakers is a symbol of the difference, contrasting men's arguing and shouting with women's supportiveness, men's bullying with women's fairness, and men's posturing with women's straightforwardness. The image of interchangeable men shouting was one that had recurred during the campaign, both in media commentary and in the utterances of politicians. Labour's Deputy Leader Harriet Harman was quoted as saying, 'Too often, women feel politics is just a group of men shouting at each other'

The *Times*'s Ann Treneman expressed a more sceptical view of women's 'different voice'. She noted that before the first debate, there had been 'speculation about whether the fact that three of the leaders were women would change the tone of the debate and make it less aggressive, less shouty', but

went on to observe that in the event, the women had not shied away from argument and conflict. Nevertheless, the way the *Mirror* reported it suggests a gendered double standard. Bennett's deviance from the accepted norms is not criticized in the way the *Yorkshire Post* writer criticizes the men arguing loudly on TV, as boorish and tiresome; rather she is figured as over-emotional and out of control, losing her temper and 'showing her claws'.

The coexistence of conflicting ideologies of gender and political speech (one proposing that women are and should be different from men, the other proposing that their effectiveness as politicians depends on being able to 'land punches' in competition with men) is a problem for women in positions of political leadership. It sets up contradictory expectations which women can fail to meet if they are perceived as either too far from the male norm (like the 'meek' Leanne Wood) or too close to it, given that they are not actually male ('angry').

Topic-166: Metaphors of Female Authority

Rosabeth Kanter proposed that one way in which female authority is made culturally intelligible is through a set of categories based on historically established archetypes of female power. The four main archetypes Kanter identified were the 'Mother' (whose authority is associated with nurturance and self-sacrifice), the 'Seductress' (who uses her sexuality to gain influence over men), the 'Pet' (whose unthreatening femininity appeals to men's desire to protect her) and the 'Iron Maiden' (who exercises power directly, and is often regarded as 'masculine' and intimidating).

Kanter refers to these as 'role traps': while on the one hand they help to legitimate the exercise of power by a woman, on the other, they restrict her scope for action and ensure that her behaviour will be interpreted in terms of her gender rather than her individual qualities. This insight can be applied to mass media representations of powerful women, including or perhaps especially female political leaders. In press coverage, there are numerous representations which appear to draw on Kanter's archetypes, particularly the 'Iron Maiden' and the 'Seductress'.

For instance, in business writing, one common conceptual metaphor is BUSINESS IS WAR : within that frame, business leaders may be figured as warriors and military commanders (e.g. 'Fiorina rallied her troops'). In this case Koller found that the same metaphor was used frequently to represent both men and women—though to the extent that war is culturally coded as a male activity, this is a gendered metaphor which tends to masculinize female subjects.

Figurative comparisons involving politicians (taking the form of either metaphor or simile) were common in our sample of press coverage, and a particular set of comparisons recurred in descriptions of women exercising authority. Some examples are:

- (1) Our **Julie** was also in a white jacket that gave her the air of an imperious **dental nurse**.
- (2) Looking like **a bizarre cross** between Nurse Ratched from *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* and a Theresa May tribute act, **she** appeared on our screens.
- (3) **This headmistress** was not taking any nonsense from the naughty boys and girls at the back of the class.
- (4) But the Aussie (i.e. Natalie Bennett) backed **the head girl** Nicola when she took on the Prime Minister, saying: 'I agree with Nicola.'
- (5) She was very much **like a primary school teacher**, bobbing her head up and down, using her hands a lot.
- (6) She ticked off Nigel Farage like **a hospital matron** who has found something nasty in the ward.

Each of these examples likens its subject to the occupant of a traditionally female role which confers some kind of authority on the holder (nurse, matron, head girl, primary school teacher, headmistress). Most of these are lower-status roles than the males actually occupy, and the authority they confer is generally of a rather limited and petty kind: head girls, teachers, and headmistresses have authority mainly over children, and rarely over adult males, while nurses have authority over adults in situations where they are temporarily dis-empowered by illness.

Topic – 167: Post-Feminism and Sexism in Media Writing

On the basic question of women's media presence, we have suggested that the figures produced by quantitative analysis should not be taken automatically as evidence of a direct gender bias. The predominance of men was rather the by-product of a 'presidential' bias which favoured leaders over non-leaders, and leaders who might become prime minister over other leaders. This produced female winners as well as losers. The rise of 'the women' was itself a theme in the press coverage, with most commentators hailing it as a positive development, and some going so far as to suggest it was the most significant feature of the entire campaign. Beneath this overt enthusiasm, though, the rhetoric of the press often covertly re-inscribed stereotypical, sexist, and on occasion misogynistic propositions about women.

Arguably what has shifted is rather the form in which sexist media representations are most commonly packaged. As we noted in our discussion of the use of the 'battleaxe' figure, many instances of sexism in our sample come from genres of newspaper writing which are either explicitly flagged as satirical/humorous (like sketches and cartoons) or else foreground the writer's personal viewpoint (like columns and opinion pieces).

These kinds of writing occupy more space in newspapers—especially the upmarket or 'quality' titles—than they did in the past, and they give writers a license to practise what has been called 'sexism with an alibi' (Williamson 2003). In advertising, the main focus of Williamson's analysis, the alibi is often what she labels 'retro sexism', the location of a sexist scenario in a 'period' frame, so that criticism can be deflected by saying, in effect, 'but everyone knows women are equal now'.

Retro sexism is a variant of the larger phenomenon of 'post-feminism', in which the alibi for sexism is irony or 'citationality': you are not actually doing sexism, you are citing it ironically, making fun of it in a cool, postmodern way. Many of the sexist comments we have quoted from opinion pieces would fall into this 'ironic' category. 'Matron' and the other battleaxes are 'retro' stereotypes; even the *Sun*'s crude efforts might be defended as a visual analogue of 'banter'—sexism and sexual harassment passed off as 'just a bit of fun'. And this packaging makes sexism difficult to challenge, because the challenger will come across as humourless and uncool.

Topic – 168: Paradox of Female Leadership

Academic researchers who believe it is legitimate to talk about male and female speech styles have tended to adopt (at least overtly) the position that these styles are 'different but equal'. What produces gender inequality is not difference in and of itself, but the fact that male and female ways of speaking are not accorded equal value, so that women in public settings are forced to accommodate to male norms in order to be (or be judged as) effective.

The idea, stated or implied, that women are actually *better* communicators than men is an important element in the variant of the 'different voice' ideology that Deborah Cameron (2007) labels 'the myth of Mars and Venus'. And while the prototypical subject of 'Mars and Venus' discourse is intimate relationships between men and women, there are also examples of it being used in political

contexts. Cameron (2003 : 463) argues that the main beneficiaries of the shift towards a more ‘Venusian’ ideal of leadership have not been the prototypical Venusians, women, but rather men like Tony Blair, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama, whose communication styles encompass *both* traditionally ‘masculine’ qualities (such as the ability to project authority and score points in adversarial exchanges) *and* the ‘feminine’ capacity to forge connections with others and express emotion in a way that feels ‘sincere’ and ‘authentic’.

Partly this may be because men are given extra credit for showing any interpersonal skills at all, whereas women’s interpersonal skills are considered ‘natural’. But it may also be because women leaders have a problem which is harder to solve, and which takes us back to the points made earlier about the perception of authority as normatively male. On the one hand, that perception will tend to prompt doubts about whether a woman who aspires to leadership possesses the necessary authority; on the other, a woman who displays authority will often be judged as both unfeminine and unlikeable, which undermines her perceived ability to connect with people on a personal level. The demand for leaders who are both authoritative and likeable is particularly difficult for women to meet: however they behave, they are obliged to walk, as Janet Holmes (2006 : 35) puts it, ‘a tightrope of impression management’.

Topic – 169: Possible Models for Women Leaders at Workplace

Recent research in the management area confirms this view of leadership as a performance in which an effective leader successfully integrates the achievement of transactional objectives with more transformational and relational aspects of workplace interaction. A *transactional* style of leadership tends to focus on getting things done by following established routines, rewards people according to their level of performance, and motivates them by appealing to self-interest. The focus is on meeting objectives, and avoiding or correcting mistakes.

A *transformational* style of leadership, on the other hand, focuses on a positive vision of what can be achieved, is characterized by enthusiasm and optimism, and encourages innovation, creativity, and the questioning of old assumptions. Adopting this style involves orienting to each individual’s specific needs, listening effectively, and using a personalized approach. Transactional behaviours ‘focus on the task to be achieved, the problem to be solved, or the purpose of the meeting. None the less, the increasingly widespread recognition that effective leadership entails aspects of both styles has been associated with a more positive attitude to the skills that women bring to the workplace. Indeed, some researchers go further. Berryman-Fink for instance, reports a range of organizational communication research which claims to show that a woman’s leadership style is transformational and interpersonal while a man’s style is based on command and control.

Women managers promote positive interactions with subordinates, encourage participation, and share power and information more than men do. . . . women leaders use collaborative, participate communication that enables and empowers others while men use more unilateral, directive communication in their leadership. The ‘gendering’ of the leadership role means that a number of unexamined cultural assumptions present barriers to women with leadership ambitions. Thus, it is suggested, women in leadership positions are typically confined to a rather narrow range of stereotypical roles and, even as leaders, women are expected to conform to society’s expectations of the ways in which (in this case powerful) women should behave.

Topic – 170: Leadership Styles & Communication Strategies

Leadership is a gendered concept. Although an increasing number of workplace leaders and managers are female, until relatively recently, the prevailing stereotype of a leader, chief executive officer, and even senior manager has been decidedly male. In New Zealand, in particular, despite the fact that in recent years the positions of Prime Minister, Governor-General, Chief Justice, Chief Executive of Telecom, and CEO of a number of government Ministries have been held by women, many people continue to ‘think leader, think male’.

It is not only popular conceptions of leadership which have a decidedly male bias. A good deal of research in the area of leadership also indicates a remarkably masculine conception of what makes an effective leader, especially among male respondents, and the standard measures seem embedded in an authoritarian and masculine perspective on the way it is accomplished. Leaders are typically characterized as authoritative, strong-minded, decisive, aggressive, competitive, confident, single-minded, goal-oriented, courageous, hardnosed, and adversarial. Leadership qualities within this framework include willingness to challenge, ability to inspire, problem-solving in approach, toughness, and willingness to take risks. In terms of norms and stereotypes, these undoubtedly favour the masculine end of the scale. Indeed, Deborah Tannen claims that ‘the very notion of authority is associated with maleness’, and consequently normatively masculine ways of talking are associated with authority and leadership. As a result, women are less likely to be perceived as potential leaders, and those who do move into leadership positions face a double bind ‘regarding professionalism and femininity’. Deborah Jones summarizes: If she talks like a manager she is transgressing the boundaries of femininity: if she talks like a woman she no longer represents herself as a manager. The discussion of masculine and feminine interactional styles indicated that more direct ways of speaking typically index masculinity, while more indirect styles tend to be culturally coded as feminine. Hence, linguistic forms such as imperatives and *need* statements, as exemplified in the following instances from our workplace corpus, index a normatively masculine style of giving instructions or getting someone to do something.

- *check that out*
- *ring the applicants and say . . .*
- *go right through this*
- *send them back to us*

By contrast, as the language and gender literature has extensively demonstrated, normatively feminine ways of getting people to do something involve the use of less direct discourse strategies. These typically include such features as interrogative rather than imperative forms; modal verbs such as *may*, *might*, *could*, *would*; hedges, such as *probably*, *perhaps*, and *sort of*; and paralinguistic features such as hesitations and pauses – all linguistic forms which soften and attenuate the directive. The following provides instances from our database where a hedged directive was addressed to a subordinate. The hedging devices are italicized.

- *perhaps* you *could* bring me that file now
- *I wonder if* you *could* find that number for me
- *we might* need some more help

- *what we might need to do is* send down a confirmation note

Furthermore, it is equally apparent that there is no simple way of equating the preponderance of particular forms with particular interactional styles. All leaders use a wide range of linguistic forms to give directives, negotiating their choices according to contextual factors.

Lesson 29

REPRESENTATION OF GENDER POWER IN LANGUAGE-II

Topic – 171: Is a Balanced Communication Style Possible?

People construct their identity at work in response to a wide range of contextual factors. Gender identity is just one aspect of an individual's social identity, and in the workplace context, it is often not the most salient dimension. Nevertheless, I have argued that gendered norms are always covertly relevant influences on how people behave, and on how their behaviour is interpreted, and these norms are available as resources for effective leaders to draw on. In many organizations, women with aspirations to leadership are faced with a dilemma – unless they learn to operate in the masculine gendered styles which dominate in so many workplaces, they will not be taken seriously. On the other hand, more feminine ways of interacting at work, although often paid lip-service, and apparently valued when men adopt them as aspects of their management style, are often regarded negatively when used by women in many organizations.

The data from a research suggests some alternative avenues for women faced with this dilemma. Some of the effective leaders opted to work in women-friendly communities of practice, where feminine styles of interaction were non-deviant and unmarked. The contextual factors which influenced their ways of giving directives and running meetings, for instance, included membership of a community of practice where less authoritarian and more other-oriented ways of doing things were regarded as normal and standard. Feminine styles of discourse were acceptable and unremarkable in such contexts, so that, for example, pre-existing talk topics included personal and family topics without attracting comment, humour, tended to be collaborative and non-abrasive, and it was acceptable to instantiate leadership in more negotiation and less authoritarian ways. Clearly, these women could do leadership using more forceful, conventionally masculine strategies when appropriate. In many of their interactions, however, the norms of gendered discourse which prevailed in their CofP meant that they could frequently choose to operate in more normatively feminine ways, ways which gave weight to relational as well as transactional considerations.

The leadership research identifies women who appear to conform to a greater or lesser extent to the expectation that leaders should use predominantly masculine and authoritarian styles of behaviour in the workplace. These women often dress in ways that indicate they wish to be identified with the corporate, male-dominated business world. Moreover, it is claimed, their ways of talking are often largely indistinguishable from those of the men they work with. Effective leadership thus involves communicative behaviours conventionally associated with both male and female styles of interaction.

Topic – 172: Women, Politics & Power

There has been a fair amount of writing exploring the links among language, gender, and power: for instance the contributors to Thorne and Henley (1975), who see the triangulation through the prism of "dominance" theory; and, from the other, or "difference" perspective, Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990). But there is much less on the role of gender in politics, from a linguistic perspective. In

their writings about the connection between gender and power, several usually insightful commentators have made surprising statements. Conley, O'Barr, and Lind (1979) and Brown and Levinson (1986) argue that an observed discrepancy between male and female behavior is due not to gender but to "power" - as though one were independent of the other. Perhaps these statements must be interpreted as evidence that the collocation "women and power" still has the capacity to confuse us all.

Language reflects and contributes to the survival of the stereotype. To cite just a few examples, there are lexical differences in the way we talk about men with power, versus women with power. For example, we use different words to describe similar or identical behavior by men and by women. English (like other languages) has many words describing women who are interested in power, presupposing the inappropriateness of that attitude. *Shrew* and *bitch* are among the more polite. There are no equivalents for men. There are words presupposing negative connotations for men who do not dominate "their" women, *henpecked* and *pussywhipped* among them. There is no female equivalent.

We have different expectations about the way men and women should (or do) conduct themselves linguistically. Men are expected to be direct, women indirect. While that distinction in itself does not necessarily create a disadvantage to women, it is the basis of a familiar double-bind. If a woman is indirect (i.e. a proper woman), she is variously *manipulative* or *fuzzy-minded*. If she is direct she is apt to be called a *shrew* or a *bitch*. Denying expressive power to women is a political act.

Topic – 173: Distribution of Power in Conversation

While both women and men are subject to constraint in the emotions that they may express, the constraint on both seems designed to intensify the preexisting power imbalance between the sexes. Until very recently, men were not supposed to cry or express sadness; women were not permitted to express anger, including the use of swear words. But the expression of sorrow is an expression of powerlessness and helplessness; anger, of potency. So although these rules may seem to equalize the sexes, in fact they intensify male power and female powerlessness. When women do express anger, its power is denied ("You're cute when you're mad").

As women (and others formerly excluded, such as children) have asserted their right to use "bad" language, there has been increasing concern on the part of both right and left about the "coarsening" or growing "incivility" of the public discourse. While these words refer to different kinds of behavior, one very common use is to critique the increasing prevalence of formerly forbidden words. And while some objects of this critique are adult White males, I strongly suspect that one motivating force behind the complaints of "coarsening" is that the privilege of swearing - of expressing anger in undisguised form - has been extended to women, and with it the right to powerful speech more generally.

Topic – 174: Women & Power in Academia

By "academic politics," we normally refer to power struggles in university governance: the games we (or rather, anonymous colleagues) play on university committees or in department meetings. But similar games can be played for higher stakes within disciplines in the competition for status and definitional rights within disciplines. It is in this sense that Emanuel Schegloff's paper "Whose Text? Whose Context?" (1997) is a highly political document; and it is no surprise that it has given rise to at least two responses, the first of which has, in turn, received a response from Schegloff (1998). As the doyen of conversation analysis, Schegloff takes issue with one way in which conversational strategies (interruption and topic control) have been used to demonstrate inequalities among participants in conversations. Schegloff's detailed and serious critique of such analyses merits close inspection. He has two major complaints.

First, these critiques start from a macro-analysis of political inequality, and only sometimes, if at all, move down to the micro-level of close observation and analysis of actual conversational behavior. Schegloff argues that the reverse should be the case: start from the micro and work up to the macro, justifying the latter, if it is invoked at all, via the former. He attacks a discipline he labels as "critical discourse analysis" for not doing as he posits. He seems to assume that all CA done from a political (e.g. feminist) perspective is a form of "critical discourse analysis" - a field he does not define in any detail.

This criticism seems related to a larger complaint often leveled by conservative critics against "engaged" analysis in any academic discipline: that it necessarily loses the "objectivity" that otherwise is the norm in academic research, and that this loss is altogether negative. The assumption is that Schegloffian CA is neutral, objective, and apolitical; and that that is the only kind that is academically worthy. As both Wetherell (1998) and Weatherall (2000) note, Schegloff's assumption that one must do *either* close micro-analysis *or* broader political analysis is flawed. A complete analysis requires both, and each level will inform and deepen the other. There is no reason (other than proprietary pride) to insist on purity without proof that the mixing of levels necessarily vitiates the analysis. Only, says Schegloff, if a conversation explicitly mentions gender issues can it be used as grist for a gender-based interpretation. This of course radically cuts down the amount of conversational and other behavioral data available to feminist (or other politically based) analysis. If Schegloff's arguments seem neutral, it is because they depend upon presupposed beliefs supporting traditional assignments of status, authority, and power.

Topic – 175: Women & Power in Art

A few months after its premiere in Cambridge, Massachusetts, *Oleanna* [play] was brought to New York, and thereafter to many other cities. Over the next few years it was a genuine phenomenon: a work of high culture that *everyone* knew about, talked about, fought over. *Oleanna* is about the intersection of gender and politics at two levels. The play itself is a discourse on power games between a male and a female; on the man's part, these games are more or less covert and essentially (in the playwright's view) benign; on the woman's, overt, shocking, and evil. At the second level the audience is invited - indeed, compelled - to weigh in, to decide not only which of the play's two characters is "right" and "good," but what the playwright intended, and whether his intentions were artistic and valid, or political and reprehensible. From opening night, opinions split drastically among both critics and audience members. The latter regularly left the theater in heated debate.

In the play, John is a professor at a prestigious research university. He is up for tenure, which at the outset he seems pretty sure of getting. He is about to buy a house; he has a wife and child. Carol is an undergraduate student in his class, from a lower social class, who has come to the university expecting it to enable her to move upward. But she has encountered trouble in the class, and goes to John's office to get some help understanding what he's been talking about.

In the first act, John does most of the talking, and Carol's contributions are mostly fragmentary and interrogative. John genuinely seems to mean well: he *wants* to help Carol, seeing in her a kindred spirit who like him comes from the working class. He wants to teach, to explain, to clarify. But he cannot get beyond his academic vocabulary and style of self-presentation: often pompous, heavily figurative, indirect. Carol's problem is that this is precisely her problem: she has not been entrusted with the decoder that would enable her to make sense of this "discourse," much less the encoder that would let her speak this way herself. Carol wants interpretations, but John won't, and probably can't, supply them: as a now middle-class White male, he is too much a part of the institution to penetrate its mysteries. John makes a few statements about how he "likes" Carol, suggests that if she will come to his office again he'll give her an A, and tells her what she's about: she's angry, she's like him, etc. Toward the end of the colloquy

he embraces her - platonically, of course. None of this is what Carol bargained for, and at the end of Act I she leaves, still bewildered - in fact, doubly bewildered now.

The most important scene in the play, to my mind, is not shown: how Carol moves from the inarticulate and uncomprehending child of Act I to the articulate and politically astute woman of the remainder of the play. By Act II it is Carol who is making the long, uninterrupted speeches and John who is questioning and expostulating in fragments. Some commentators see this as a flaw of character development: how does Carol achieve this command of language? (It is less often asked how John loses it.) The assumption of many analysts is that she is spouting the dialogue given her by the feminist "group" we never see, rather than that such notions might have been inchoate in her. Carol has been provided with explanations and with a way to get power, articulateness might follow automatically. Similarly, deprived of his unquestioned power, John might lose his ability to speak.

By Act III it is Carol who is interpreting John, instructing him, telling him what he means and what he should or shouldn't do - just as he was doing to her in Act I. (Many commentators who don't notice John's behavior are upset by Carol's.) Finally, unable to take the reversal of fortune, he beats her up, onstage and brutally. Audiences, at least their male members, frequently applauded at this point, some yelling, "Serves the bitch right!"

Topic – 176: Women & Realpolitik

We turn now to more typical "politics": how women are talked about, by the pundits and politicians, as voters; how women in prominent positions are discussed. On the one hand, this is encouraging: those who matter are finally realizing that women do have power and cannot be ignored. But the way in which women apparently must be noticed is often distressing.

Once a group has been identified as having power and needs, intelligent politicians might be expected to address themselves to those needs. Occasionally this happens for women. The Democrats regularly pay obeisance to "a woman's right to choose" (then avoid the topic when campaigning). Education, especially at the primary and secondary levels, has traditionally been considered a "women's issue" in United States politics. Recently, though, male candidates for high office have begun to identify themselves as prioritizing education. Both candidates in 2000 wanted to be "the education president." More often, appealing to the women is done by outright, and insulting, pandering: Al Gore's decision to dress in earth tones; George W. Bush's banter; the long kiss between Gore and his wife before his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention, riposted by George W. Bush's peck on Oprah Winfrey's cheek. On that show Bush, asked by Oprah for his "favorite sandwich," replied, "peanut butter and jelly on white bread." Think about it: this is the favorite sandwich only of the preschool set. Bush's people have decided that infantilization is what women want. Other groups are stereotyped and appealed to as blocs. But women alone are appealed to as children and airheads, interested not in issues but in clothes, sex, and childish things.

Then it should be unsurprising that the public perception of powerful women is ambivalent. Powerful women are variously sexualized, objectified, or ridiculed. During the prolonged electoral debacle of November and December, 2000, Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris got her fifteen minutes of fame. A great deal of the discussion centered around her looks, dress, and make-up, with New York/Washington media sophisticates sneering at the taste of Florida hicks. After a few days the media turned on themselves (Salter 2000; Scott 2000; Talbot 2000): was it *right* to spend so much energy on a woman's looks? During Clinton's first ladyship she received an extraordinary amount of media attention, immensely varied, from effusively positive to virulently negative, as was true of no modern first lady other than Eleanor Roosevelt, who was damned and praised on similar grounds. In deciding to run for the Senate from one of America's biggest and most culturally important states, Clinton created some of her own current problems. The first ladyship, while having no official duties, functions as a symbol of ideal

contemporary American womanhood (cf. Lakoff 2000). The traditional first lady mostly stays out of the limelight except for photo opportunities and virtuous deeds. She stands beside her husband and defends him when necessary, but does not speak for herself.

Lesson 30

GENDER IN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS

Topic – 177: Gender & Classroom Interaction-I

Below we look at classroom interaction in terms of two dyads, i.e., teacher–student and student–student. One of the most significant characteristics of classroom interaction is, however, that even student–student talk is often mediated (if not directly controlled) by the teacher (Swann, 2011: 162; see also Gardner, 2013). Of course, much teacher–student talk is actually teacher–students, i.e. whole-class talk.

But what does this (not) consist of? In our conversations with EFL teachers (both male and female) who participated in the research, we often heard comments such as ‘Oh, I only teach English, there is nothing related to gender in my classes’. This view aligns with Gabriele Linke’s (2007) claim that a great deal of the neglect of gendered features of the target language can be attributed to teachers’ preoccupation with the ‘language issue’ itself:

*... the constant struggle by language learners and
language teachers to find the right words and the
appropriate grammatical forms to satisfy even basic
communicative needs leaves little scope to take
account of non-sexist language (2007: 137).*

Comments such as ‘I only teach English’ aptly summarise EFL teachers’ lack of awareness of the various ways in which gender (and other social categories) *is* often unconsciously drawn on in the acts of teaching and learning. EFL teachers, whether they like it or not, are constantly teaching about society, which to a great extent entails teaching about gender and may involve reinforcing, for instance, the often subordinate role of girls and women and the often dominant role of boys and men (Freeman and McElhinny, 1996: 261). Classroom interaction research details potential gender differences in student talk to other students or teachers, as well as differential tendencies in the way teachers talk to female and male students. At the same time, and rather differently, it also explores multiple teacher and student identities (Menard- Warwick et al., 2014: 473).

Topic – 178: Gender & Classroom Interaction-II

Early studies of the gendered nature of *student talk* to the teacher typically found that male students tended to talk more to the teacher than do female students . In a meta-analysis of 81 such studies, Alison Kelly (1988: 20) concluded that:

It is now beyond dispute that girls receive

less of the teacher's attention in class ... It applies

in all age groups ... in several countries, in various

socioeconomic groupings, across all subjects

in the curriculum, and with both male and

female teachers...

Such findings were often interpreted as evidence for and a manifestation of male dominance, or for male students receiving preferential treatment. Yet as Sunderland (2000b) observes, more attention being given to male students involves a collaborative process between teacher and students rather than intentional behaviour (see also Swann and Graddol, 1988; Swann, 2011). Consequently, such behaviour should be referred to as 'differential teacher treatment by gender' rather than 'discrimination' or 'favouritism'. This is, however, not always the case, and studies with a feminist agenda (e.g. to reveal classroom domination by male students) were evident in the 1980s (see Spender, 1980, 1982).

Sunderland (2000a) underlines that 'neither differential teacher treatment by gender nor male students' verbosity should ... be seen as automatic or universal classroom phenomena'. Community of practice' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Lave and Wenger, 1991) is a useful concept which is highly applicable to studying gender in educational settings. Kelleen Toohey (2000) showed how a single classroom can be regarded as a community of practice by the participants engaging in similar activities (linguistic and otherwise), aiming towards the same goal and making sense of their identity performances. Yet the same group of children attending their various classes with different teachers may also (re-)enact different identities. Gender dynamics may also take on different forms and trajectories in each of the different curricular classes.

Topic – 179: Gender & Classroom Materials/Content

An obvious case of representation in the language classroom is materials: textbooks, and their online equivalents, and also teacher's books, workbooks, grammars, dictionaries and teacher-produced worksheets. These are full of represented human characters, fictional and actual, who carry out a range of social actions (van Leeuwen, 2008). And while textbooks are pedagogically motivated, students may learn from them beyond documented curricular intentions.

Findings of early, pioneer work on language textbooks consistently found relative invisibility of women and girls – as speakers in dialogues, as referred to in texts, and as shown in visuals. In Karen Porreca's (1984) study of 15 ESL textbooks in the USA, the male-female ratio was 1.97:1. Relatedly, in English language textbooks used in German schools, Marlis Hellinger (1980) found greater anonymity of women, in expressions such as *John's wife*. A second general finding was that of greater subordination and distortion/degradation of women and girls: women and men in gender-stereotypical occupations with predictable differences in prestige, gender stereotyping more broadly (e.g. the 'nagging wife'), women and girls being described in terms of physical appearance (Carroll and Kowitz, 1994) and emotion (e.g. being over-emotional), and, linguistically, in Hellinger's (1980) study, women being represented by 'speaking' rather than 'material' verbs (e.g. *tell, admit, say*). Porreca (1984) also found ten times more occurrences of *mother-in-law* than *father-in-law*, usually with negative connotations.

In Yang's study, in the *Step Up* series, non-human females were noticeably frequently portrayed with accessories such as handbags and/or with bows in their hair. The distinction between different types

of visuals (e.g. photographs and line drawings) is interesting in that a modern photograph (unless it is digitally altered) must show what is happening at the time it is taken. Many years ago, commenting on the 1970s series *English for Today*, Pat Hartman and Eliot Judd (1978) observed that the photographs showed women ‘in a variety of occupational roles not reflected by the text itself’ and were far less gender-stereotypical than the drawings. Yang (2014) found significantly more gender imbalance in terms of tokens of male characters in the reading passages in both textbook series than in the dialogues. And dialogues are of particular interest, given their implications for classroom practice – if, say, the teacher asks male students to play the male roles, female students the female roles. A study of an early textbook, *Functions of English* (1977), found that the 15 dialogues all included at least one male character, but seven included no female characters and all were initiated by a male character (Jones et al., 1997).

Topic-180: Class Discussion Around the Text

The distinction between textbook texts and *uses* of those texts in the classroom clearly concerns the teacher. Teacher behaviour is unpredictable from the text itself: the teacher may be in a hurry, they may misinterpret or re-interpret the textbook writer’s intention, they may not feel confident about the particular teaching point, they may like or dislike the particular content, they may feel they can deal with it in a way better than that proposed in the textbook itself.

As an example, a teacher in Portugal was planning to use a textbook text about a wedding. The researcher (Julie Shattuck) thought it would be interesting to see what he said about this: it is impossible to teach a text without talking about it. In the event, the teacher decided to tell his students about weddings in the UK, or at least as he saw them. He said (and ‘(.)’ represents a pause):

*And the bride (.) usually (.) if it’s for the church
wedding will wear white (.) and (.) the bridesmaids (.)
she will often choose the (.) the outfit for them (.)
usually she chooses something horrible so they (.)
don’t look as good as her (Shattuck, 1996: 27).*

While this utterance represents women as vain and as jealous of other women (it may have been intended as a joke; it may or may not have been received as such), the utterance itself was completely unpredictable from the text itself. Of more interest than the text was what was said about it. Conversely, a sexist text can also be critiqued (rehabilitated?) by the teacher. Angela, a French teacher, referring to gender-stereotypical portrayals in her textbook, said in an interview:

*... we used to laugh at this – Madame Lafayette ...
we used to ask them ‘look at this, ‘where is she?
in the kitchen’ – and where else would she be? She
couldn’t possibly be anywhere else’ so we used to
make fun and make jokes of it (Abdul Rahim, 1997).*

The point is that texts which go beyond a traditional representation of gender can be ignored, endorsed or subverted; ones which maintain a traditional representation of gender, similarly (see Sunderland et al., 2002). Even inherently sexist texts can thus be put to good use by experienced teachers. Students are also important in how a text will be used: we cannot predict from a given text what the students will think or say about it. In particular, sexist representations do not have to be passively accepted; they can be recognized and resisted/ critiqued. This may also impact on student–teacher interaction and how the text is treated by the teacher, or collaboratively by the class as a whole.

Topic – 181: Language & Power

This topic is based on an interview with American philosopher-linguist, Noam Chomsky. Orelus, the interviewer asks questions about language and power.

ORELUS: I want to change the subject a little bit. I am going to move from what we have been talking about for the last twenty minutes to language issues. Do you see any link between language and Western imperialism?

CHOMSKY: Anything we do involves language. Of course, the terminology and the rhetoric is in language. It does reflect the ideology, power, and so on. For example, the last interview I had, about an hour ago, was a long interview on what are the right measures to use in responding and protecting the country from terrorism and combating terrorism. I spent probably the whole interview trying to explain that's just the wrong question.

If you want to stop terrorism, the first step is to stop participating in it. That's a simple way to reduce terrorism. Secondly, if it's the terrorism of others that you're worried about, then find out what the reasons for it are and deal with them. But if you just ask how to stop terrorism, it's as if the doctor said, "I'm going to inoculate you with poisons. Now how should I treat you after that?" That's not the right question. As the language is used, the word "terror" refers to what they do to us, not what we do to them, which is often much worse. And they don't ask about the sources of their terror; they just combat it with force, either domestically or internationally. That's a way of saying we don't care about the problem. And it's the same for everything else, like democracy. It's nothing profound. Language is used in ways that reflect power interests.

ORELUS: Where does culture fit in? You were referring to how language has been used to lie to or oppress people. What role does culture play in that?

CHOMSKY: Generally, there are aspects of the dominant culture that are largely sustained on the base of power interests, although there are other factors that shape the way people think, the way they respond, the way they react, the way policies are made, and so on. How could it fail to be true? We could say more about it, but there is nothing profound to say about these topics. Intellectuals do produce complicated texts and polysyllabic words and so on, but basically what we understand is pretty straightforward. It can be said simply in ways that should be clear to everyone.

ORELUS: Let me ask you a question about the dominant aspect of the English language. As you know, there are some languages that are more valued than others. For example, American and British English have been perceived as Standard English, whereas other Englishes spoken in other countries are seen as inferior. So, as a linguist, where do you stand on this issue?

CHOMSKY: First of all, that's true now; it wasn't true a century ago. A century ago, British English was the standard, and American English was regarded as a kind of dialect. Well, what changed? Who was the most powerful country in the world a century ago? Who's the most powerful country in the world today? Then it was Britain; now it's the U.S. Like I said, there's nothing profound about these things. They're on the surface. English is the most dominant language because the United States is the richest and by far the most powerful country in the world. So, sure, English is the dominant language, not Swahili.

ORELUS: So, clearly there is a link between language and power. So whichever country has more power tends to use its language to dominate others.

CHOMSKY: Well, that's the way national languages are formed. Today people in Italy speak

something like what was once a dialect of Florence, not the dozens of other Italian languages that are around. It's because of the process of state formation and the formation of the dominant culture and so on. You hear people talk a lot about endangered languages. Languages are dying all over the world, which is a serious problem. They talk mostly about indigenous languages dying, which is true; they are dying off very fast. But the same is true for languages in Europe.

They are dying off very quickly just because of the establishment of a more powerful central state.

Topic – 182: Manipulating Language

This topic is based on an interview in which American linguist talks about the ways language is manipulated for one's hidden motives.

ORELUS: You were the one who coined the phrase “universal grammar,” which I found fascinating. Would you add anything to that concept? Or do you think there is no need to add anything to it?

CHOMSKY: Well, frankly, if I were starting over fifty years ago, I never would have used the phrase. I had assumed that people would be rational enough to use the phrase as it was defined and to pay attention to the fact that it does not have the same meaning as the traditional phrase, although it's related to it. So it's like when a physicist uses the word “work” in a physics text, but they don't expect people to look up the employment statistics. They assume people are rational enough to know that this is an invented term, which has a loose relationship to the informal term “work” but has a technical meaning. The same with “energy,” “force,” and everything else. So when you talk about force in a physics class, you are not talking about the number of military bases you have. You can easily get people to understand that in physics, but it's hard for them to grasp that in the human sciences.

The term “universal grammar” is radically misunderstood. I was just looking at the current issue of the journal *Language*, the journal of the Linguistic Society, where there are a lot of tantrums about universal grammar based on a failure to comprehend these simple points. So I wouldn't have used the term “universal grammar” if I had recognized the irrationality of the likely reaction. The term “universal grammar,” in the modern sense, my sense at least, is used to refer to whatever the genetic component of the language faculty is. That's universal grammar

ORELUS: You said that if you were to write about this today, you would have chosen a different word. What word would that be, then?

CHOMSKY: I would have picked some more technical term, which is less likely to be misunderstood. But there is no overcoming human irrationality. That's happened with other things too. I used to talk about “knowledge” of language, but then I realized that, after years of commentary, philosophers are going to misunderstand it. They have a specific theory of knowledge, which has to do with *true belief* and so on. So yes, they interpret it in terms of warranted true belief and doctrines of philosophy. But it has to do with what we internally have represented in our minds—which actually accords better with informal usage. So I made up a new word and said, “Okay, let's call it ‘competence,’ not ‘knowledge.’” Then that got misinterpreted because some people are more competent than others. It's very hard in an irrational culture to do things that aren't going to be misinterpreted.

Topic 183: Knowledge as Power

This a conversation between Orelus and Chomsky in which Chomsky tells us that every knowledge is not power. Knowledge holds power if the knower is powerful.

ORELUS: The French philosopher Michel Foucault talked about power and knowledge. How do you see the link between those two concepts?

CHOMSKY: If you have knowledge, it increases your power. The United States is now in a huge financial crisis. Who does the government turn to in order to fix it up? The people who have what's called "knowledge of economics." It happens to be the very people who created the crisis. It doesn't matter if they have knowledge and know technical things about economics; they are the ones who are called upon to fix it. Again, knowledge is power. I don't really much appreciate his work to tell you the truth. He used fairly simple observations and restated them in complicated ways.

ORELUS: There are different types of knowledge. Why is it that some knowledge is valued while other types are not? For example, if I were to say something, people might not take it into consideration because I am not a powerful person; my words are not important. However, if it were someone serving under President Obama right now, people would most likely listen to that person just because that person is in a powerful position.

CHOMSKY: Is that controversial or surprising? We understand it already. People who are powerful are in a position to influence and control what others do. That's power. Let's take this financial crisis that we've been through over the last twenty or thirty years, due in no small part to extreme arrogance and confidence on the part of professional economists. Most of them, if not all, are still talking about the wonders of the markets, how markets are efficient, and the government shouldn't tamper with them. This led to a total disaster. It didn't mean that they knew what they were talking about. They didn't. But their ideas were very influential because they happened to be in the short-term interest of people with real power, like Goldman Sachs. Therefore, they were adopted. If someone came along and said, "Look, this is going to lead to disaster. So you guys had better cut back your risky loans and your bonuses to executives," would anybody pay attention? In fact, some did say that to economists, but they ignored it. It did not contribute to the interest of the powerful. I don't frankly think you're going to find anything in this domain that isn't fairly obvious on the face of it.

Lesson 31**Language & Cross-Cultural Gender Identity-I****Topic – 184: Cross-Cultural Identity**

The interrelationship between language and identity has received enormous attention right across the social sciences in recent years. In most of this work social constructionist approaches that often are also indebted to concepts from the political economy of language have become the standard framework within which identity is approached.

Conversations, including couple conversations, help people to make sense of their world. It is through ongoing conversations with each other that partners in a couple relationship “construct a shared reality and subsequently define their identities” (Fitzpatrick 1988: 232). Fitz Patrick (1988) points out that such a “couple identity” is accomplished at the level of conversational topics and themes. In addition, it may also be achieved through the use of conversational strategies and conversational style. As Cameron (2001: 172) argues, talk about identity is not simply data, but also discourse: “When people talk about aspects of identity, they are not just operating on the ‘meta’ level; they may be reflecting on identity, but they are also *doing* identity at the same time”.

Topic – 185 National identities & Cross-Cultural Marriages

Identity is crucially about similarity and difference (Jenkins 1996; Morley & Robins 1995). When we talk about who we are we talk about the groups we belong to and we negotiate the boundaries between “us” and “them,” or the Self and the Other. Because group membership is at stake – rather than, say, some personal characteristics – discourses about identity are heavily contested sites of cultural production (Jenkins 1996). That means that many different groups in society vie for the right to define who is “in” and who is “out” and individuals draw on and align themselves with different discourses at different times. Appealing to diverse discourses produces multiple identities. This multiplicity of identity is compounded in couple talk where two different types of identity constructions are pursued simultaneously: that of the individual members of the unit, as well as that of the unit.

For cross-cultural couples identity talk is quite a challenge: they are part of discourse communities in which national belonging plays a central role in the construction of in- and out-groups. At the same time, these same communities herald the family as the primordial locus of belonging. How is this conflict between affiliation with two mutually exclusive groups resolved? Difference based on national identity derives from the simple fact that the partners “belong to” different national groups, which are mutually exclusive. National belonging – as well as its inverse, national difference – is “imagined.” Anderson (1991) famously argued that, with the advent of “print capitalism,” people came to imagine themselves as members of a particular group who could all read the same texts. He sees nations as systems of cultural representation whereby people come to imagine a shared experience of identification with an extended community. That means that “people are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the *idea* of the nation as represented in its national culture. A nation is a symbolic community [. . .]” (Hall 1996: 612).

Being a member of one national community precludes imagining oneself as part of another national community, i.e., there are no discursive provisions for imagined dual citizenship. If “nationality is a narration, a story which people tell about themselves in order to lend meaning to their social world” (Ram 1994: 153; quoted from Wodak, de Cilia, Reisigl, & Liebhart 1999: 23), then the stories of bi-national couples are crucially about imagining themselves as being different from each other.

Furthermore, difference based on national identity is not value-free, but oftentimes negatively stereotyped. Stereotypes are cognitive categorization devices with “a central feature, [the] – often negative – judgmental factor” (Scott, P. & Spencer 1998: 469). Not only is national difference per se often negatively evaluated, but cross-cultural marriage is widely portrayed as problematic, too. It is perceived as a deviation from some imaginary norm of “intra-cultural marriage” and this deviation is seen as problematic (see, for instance, the articles in Breger & Hill 1998a). This ideology of the cross-cultural marriage as a problem is evident in much sociological research (see Breger & Hill 1998b, and Johnson).

It can be found in psychoanalytic literature where titles such as “I can’t love you in your language” (Prado de Oliveira 1988) and interpretations of cross-cultural marriage as de-sexualized and at the same time incestuous relationships (Heenen-Wolff & Knauss 1997) abound. It is apparent in linguistic research where “intermarriage” often collocates with words such as “threat” and “risk”. Furthermore, media representations of intermarriage also portray it as a problem with their focus on international child custody cases and child abduction.

Topic – 186: Strategies to Develop Cultural Similarity

This discourse consists of two sub-strategies. The first one simply claims that there are some cultural differences between Americans, Britons, or Germans, but that they are comparatively small, and that they are offset by many more similarities. The second sub-strategy contrasts the proximity between these groups with the cultural distance of groups who are “really” different. These references to (relative) cultural distance create (relative) cultural proximity. Usually these two strategies co-occur: first, cultural proximity is asserted, and then it is enhanced comparatively.

This is apparent in the following extract where Anita first asserts the similarities between Pennsylvania and Germany – in terms of ancestry, heritage, language, and cooking – before she goes on to compare her background with a hypothetical Japanese background. The latter would entail a “radical (culture) shock” (l. 13), while the former does not.

Extract “Let’s say I’d been from Japan or something”

Anita [. . .] actually the part of the US where my parents live is erm in Pennsylvania, it’s the Pennsylvanian Dutch Country. and my ancestors- so you know there’s my father comes from Germany here. but erm my mother’s side of the family was Pennsylvanian Dutch so they actually 7 immigrated from around Karlsruhe. About seventeen-hundred, and so there’s a lot of erm-German influence there in that part of Pennsylvania. you see it in the Pennsylvanian Dutch language, and the cooking and such. and-....

A similar pattern can be observed in the following talk where Astrid first asserts the cultural proximity of the Irish and the German1 cultures: she describes them as “close” and “close enough”. In a next step, the similarity is enhanced by contrasting it with “real” difference.

Extract : “It’s not like you are Arabian or anything”

Astrid [. . .] I think Irish and @Swabian1 cultures are close@ that they- I mean they're close enough [to not really influence it at all. I mean=

Jill [yeah.

Astrid =not our relationship, maybe I learned a few things about Ireland that I wouldn't know about.

Jill yeah but-

Astrid but I don't really- don't think it- it influences our relationship.

Jill I don't think so. I think-=

Astrid =I mean it's not like you're Arabian or anything.

Jill yeah.

While these examples give national identities that are assumed to be more distant than American-German or German-Irish, different religious identities may also be presented as more distant than different national identities. All the couples who create similarity through invoking cultural proximity and contrasting it with cultural distance, refer to the cultural distance of non-European or non-Western Others – Africans, of cultural proximity and distance is.

Topic – 187: Cultural Similarity Via Non-National Identities

In addition to contrasting cultural proximity with cultural distance, the couples also create similarity through appealing to non-national identities. While the partners do not share the same national background, they do share various other identities, e.g., age, class, education, or profession. Focusing on those shared non-national identities allows the couples to create similarity and reconcile the conflicting ideologies of national differences and familial similarities in this way.

The non-national identities that are most often invoked include ancestry, shared values, personality, and bilingualism. Furthermore, there are a number of identities that are only invoked once or twice such as shared hobbies (describe themselves as art lovers), shared profession (mention that they are both language professionals, and point to their shared medical profession), a shared lack of religious convictions, or shared political identities.

To begin with, the appeal to a shared ancestry was already apparent in **the Extract** below:

Virginia [. . .] and I came to Germany also because my mother's erm ancestors, her great-grandparents were German erm immigrants, there is a lot o German influence in- in my family, and my father's great-grandparents came from Denmark, and I really have learned to appreciate European thinking and impact that this had o the United States even though the Americans erm don't really relate to the impact that is has had on them, they live in the present and in the future more than they live with their past history. [. . .]

Secondly, the participants frequently invoke shared values to express their similarity.

Extract: “We grew up really similarly”

Amy [. . .] I'd say we both grew up- up quite similarly. although- like from similar families and so on. thus cultural differences aren't that- that big with us. [because we both grew up in the country, small family. erm erm . always attended church, and- yeah. really we grew up really similarly. that there are no enormous differences in- in basic- bas- how do you say? basic values or so. family life and such was roughly the same with us. [. . .]

The third type of non-national identity that is frequently invoked in the claims for similarity is personality or individual identities.

Extract: “It was just two people”

Maren but then I mean- I don't think that we saw each other as an Englishman and German woman. it was just two people. I mean, it was Dennis and Maren.

Dennis yeah. that's right.

Finally, their linguistic identities as bilinguals are also used by a number of couples to construct similarity.

Extract: “If we could only communicate in one language”

Jill [. . .] I think definitely culture-wise it makes no difference at all. I think for us language-wise, I mean you speak enough English, I speak enough German that that doesn't affect it. maybe if we could only communicate in on language. say we always talk English. say I [couldn't speak German at all. that would=

Astrid [uhmhu.

Jill =be more difficult. but it doesn't affect us.

Similarly, the following talk explains that being in a cross-cultural, but not in a bilingual partnership would be a problem for him.

Extract : “That would be a problem”

Steven [. . .] I feel most comfortable with the English and I feel very fortunate to have ermt- to be able to always speak it. really. no I mea it's like if- if I erm I don't know if I would still, I- wou- I wouldn't be probably nearly as happy erm here in Germany if I erm if I only, well if I really never had a chance to speak English any more. that would be, that would be a problem. actually. [. . .]

Topic-188: Cross-Cultural Identities & Globalization

These third identities of similarity are post-national identities deriving from discourses of globalization. Late modernity has seen “the restructuring of information and image spaces and the production of a new communications geography, characterized by global networks and an international space of information flows; by an increasing crisis of the national sphere” (Morley & Robins 1995:

1). While the phenomena of globalization and post-nationalism are well-recognized and well-documented in media studies, and social theory more general, (e.g., Barker 1999; Dahlgren 1995).

Under the circumstances of globalization and post-nationalism a few couples actually consider cross-cultural couples as “*almost the norm*” in contrast to intranet-cultural couple-hood.

Extract): “*Almost the norm*”

Ben [. . .] so viele also ((*so many well*)) bilingual and binational couples=

Vera =ja [hier ist das schon= =yes [*here it has become*=

Ben [dasses nicht auffaellt, ja? [*that it doesn't attract attention, right?*

Vera =fast die Regel! fast alle unsere Freunde sind gemischte Paare, [. . .] =*almost the norm!*
almost all our friends are mixed couples, [. . .]

The two post-national identities that are most frequently used to construct similarity are those of an “European Union identity” and those of a “cosmopolitan identity.”

Extract): “*I’ve become a European*”

Shane and in general, in general I’ve erm become a sort of European rather than a Brit. I- but I sti- I mean I keep a sort of British identity deep down somewhere. I’ll- I will never lose 5 that. but I’ve also got a confused identity of being European or German or Dutch. all mixed up together. [. . .]

The global identity goes beyond European national identity.

Extract): “*An international partnership*”

Virginia [. . .] we actually live a very international partnership I think.

Jochen ermja((yes)) but for example we have erm, about two hundred addresses worldwide where we keep erm contact with them.

Virginia and we have contact with other people that are not erm have- don’t have German and English as their main language but also have it as their second or third language.

Jochen ja, ((yes,)) because that’s ermthat’s the language erm, which combines erm all educated people in the world.

Virginia the English language you mean.

Jochen ja. ((yes.)) [. . .]

Jochen I have no problem with erm feelings of other- I don’t know, from my side with cultures and languages. I spent times from erm, from hours to erm to many years ja? ((*right?*)) in about- erm exactly hundred and fourteen countries, so I’m multicultural I would say.

Lesson 32

LANGUAGE & CROSESSOS-CULTURAL GENDER IDENTITY-II**Topic – 189: Does Similarity End Differences Totally?**

Identity construction is crucially about group membership, and that much “identity work” goes into the maintenance of boundaries between in-groups and out-groups. Cross-cultural couples live at the cross-roads of two strong discourses of identity that are mutually exclusive. Ideologies of national identity are strong discourses which are continually reinforced in everyday life (Billig 1995). These discourses construct partners in a cross-cultural relationship as “different” from each other.

At the same time, equally strong and pervasive discourses of couple-hood and the family propagate an ideology of similar identities for partners in marriage and the family. I focused upon one way to deal with this contradiction, namely the discursive construction of similarity. I will now concentrate on the other side of the same coin, namely the discursive deconstruction of difference. While all couples describe themselves as similar in one way or another, there is, at the same time, not a single couple completely reject their positioning as “cross-cultural”. It is therefore important to remember that discourses of similarity and difference co-occur in each conversation. Like the construction of similarity, the construction of difference takes a number of different forms. It is a shared characteristic of all of them that they consist of (often lengthy) enumerations of national differences, along the lines “Americans are/do so and so,” “Germans are/do so and so,” etc. That wording deliberately pitched national cultures against each other in order to generate as much discussion among the partners as possible.

Extract): “How can you answer that?”

Michael “how do you feel about English, German or other languages?” these- these questions are too- too big. how can you answer that?

Erika well, we have already said most. I mean I- er I can say what I feel about the- the French or the Russians. but I don’t think w- whether that puts anything in perspective. but Russian just embroadens your view.

Michael yeah, you have the choice between s- speaking er superficial level and producing a lot of clichés. or you have- or you just have to g into lots of detail and start to analyze, and- th- then you need to write a book, not to talk for five minutes into a microphone.

Erika I must say I don’t also- don’t quite know how to answer to that question.

The fact that all the participants had complete control over their conversation and that a large majority rejected the questions at one point or another in their conversations, indicates that enumerations of national differences are not simply an artifact of the research context.

Topic – 190 National Identities in Metropolitan Cities

I described differences as attractive. As such they are based upon stereotypes which are conventionally positively evaluated. However, the overwhelming majority of national stereotypes are negatively evaluated. However, I should point out that all stereotyping –whether conventionally

positively or negatively evaluated – is hurtful to individuals who are confronted with it. A number of participants express their resentment against being asked their national background by strangers, because it puts them in a box.

Extract: “Being put in a box”

Anton [well I- I think- /????/ international there, in South Africa. I- you know I- I never liked to be a German. because forme a German was so- being put in a box, right?

Patricia uhmhu.

Anton you know you have the German- you have to be punctual, you have to be correct.

Patricia uhmhu.

Anton er you know you- you- you- you have like a- you know you are a hard worker.

Patricia uhmhu.

Anton I mean this is like the typical what you hear abroad as a German.

Patricia uhmhu.

Anton and I like that, and that was what I also like in America. I liked living in New York and er you know you have- . you went through the streets and you heard er people talking and you heard like er ten, twenty, thirty diffe accents=

Patricia =yeah.=

Anton =and you never knew, you know, who is who. and in- in New York nobody ever as you where you came from.

Patricia yes.

One way of dealing with stereotypes, and the attendant differences between the partners, is to claim **exceptionality** for one or both partners. The extract below provides a typical example of this strategy “*The fact that we ARE together*” at a metropolitan place, that is an exception. In sum, claims to difference on the basis of national identity cannot but be based on national stereotypes. Whether conventionally positive (e.g., “well organized”) or conventionally negative (e.g., “inflexible”), they are hurtful because they reduce a person to a type rather than an individual.

Topic – 191: Third Space & Cultural Difference

Another way of dealing with the challenge that difference based on national background poses to the face of the couple is provided by a discourse of com promise and change. This discourse is heavily indebted to the discourse of “personal growth,” a highly profitable genre in contemporary media (Cameron 1995), as is evidenced by the frequent occurrence of phrases such as “becoming more open(-minded)”

Extract): “It’s making me more open”

Susan [. . .] it’s definitely making me more open, and a more open-minded person. erm, you definitely COMPARE a lot more when you live here, coz you see so much more, I mean, you see a whole other way of life.

Extract: “It broadens your horizons”

William well I think it inevitably changes you. . hh. you see a different country’s approach to things, it certainly broadens your horizons.

Extract): “It’s an enrichment”

Melanie at times. I think it’s also an enrisch- an enri- an- AN enrichment.

Jerry uhmhu.

Melanie I mean it’s you know, we have- we not only have- have the experience of one culture, we have it of bo- of two.

Jerry uhmhu.

On the couple level the management of different backgrounds through a discourse of change and compromise often involves the description of a “third space.” I take the term “third space” from Homi Bhaba (1990), who uses it to describe identities of the diaspora. These hybrid cultural, ethnic and national identities have received increasing attention in recent years. Theorists such as Brah (1996), Gilroy (1993, 1997), and Hall (1997), among many others, are fascinated by the third space because it is considered to have a counter-hegemonic quality which undermines essentialist notions of a unitary national and cultural identity (post-national identities).

Extract): “That’s compromise”

Brendan [. . .] I’m gonna possibly settle down in England. in the South of England. which has more open country. erm I don’t like the big cities. I’ve never been a city person. coming from a small village in Ireland. erm yes! I do like Ireland! I think Ireland is great. but it’s not what Christine wants. and I’ll have- I’ll have to make a change, like she’s gonna have to make a change. coming from Germany. erm so we’ll settle for England. but the South of England where it’s nice.

Christine that’s compromise, isn’t it?

Brendan yeah. and, you know, you can jump on a ferry and come across to- to visit Christine’s parents.

Christine it’s not too far from Ireland, either. halfway. Meeting each other halfway, as Christine says is most often described with regard to holiday celebrations. Thus, some couples describe having a Thanksgiving Celebration in Germany as their compromise, while others provide detailed descriptions of the ways in which they combine American/British and German Christmas traditions.

Topic – 192: National Histories as Discourse of Difference

The fourth and last strategy to overcome the threat to couple identity that is inherent in discourses of national difference, and the attendant stereotypes, is to challenge those discourses. This involves either questioning the very existence of differences or questioning their relevance. Challenges only occur in relation to difference discourses and stereotypes that the partners do not subscribe to themselves, but which they attribute to third parties.

The strategies discussed are applied to a wide variety of differences based upon national background. These range from different approaches to planning, via linguistic preferences, to different holiday customs. However, the difference most often challenged is the fact – or rather the relevance of the fact – that the nations from which the partners come used to be military enemies. Although the vast majority of the participants were born well after World War II, references to the war, and particularly Germany's role in the war, are frequent. National history is clearly a major discourse that produces national identity (Wodak, de Cilia, Reisigl, & Liebhart 1999). Age and personal experience are irrelevant to the construction of different national identities as based upon national history. Different national histories form different “we”-groups.

Extract: “We actually fought against each other”

[. . .] that we spoke about the second world war. o- or not directly about the war but som- somehow something that was related to the war.

hh and then erm well there I had suddenly completely forgotten that we were not even on the same side. and that we actually fought against each other. erm because I- okay we always talk about here and about US and so on and then suddenly “oh no we weren't the same /power/ then.” that's it.

Extract): “I am anti-war generally”

Cynthia [. . .] I hold little sympathy for the an- anti-

German press and public in England, and the prevalence of war films on British TV. as both Franz and I have lost our fathers as a result of war, Franz' father in Russia somewhere, mine on the death's railway or Burma /Sayan/ railway in Thailand I am anti-war generally. [. . .]. In sum, challenges to discourses of difference based on national identity usually engage with the nationalist dilation of time, which, in the context of this study with its focus on English and German speaking couples, typically relates to the Second World War. They question the relevance of national history and the national identities it creates to the individual identities of the participants

Topic – 193: Building Shared Identity through Conversations

I have shown that the couples go to great conversational lengths to mediate the conflict between their differing national identities and their common couple identity. The construction of a couple identity based on similarity overrides the construction of national identities based on difference. The valorization of the common couple identity can be achieved in numerous ways, as I have shown, both in discourses of similarity and discourses of difference.

However, despite the frequency and range of the discourses of couple identity, there are simultaneously also instances of different national identities overriding a joint couple identity in most conversations.

Extract: “We ARE superior”

Andrew [. . .] another thing that gets on my nerves is the German sense of superiority. . a lot of 3 them always tend to think they’re better than everybody else. that really gets on your nerves as well.

Helga WE ARE! [@@@

Andrew [@@@[. . .]

Lesson 33

GENDER IDENTITY & INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE**Topic – 194: Agency & Gender**

Central to an investigation of language as it is embodied within institutional settings is both an understanding of the relationship between linguistic practices and speakers' social identities and an exploration of the institutional and cultural backdrop against which speakers adopt such practices.

I bring together what have traditionally been two separate (but related) strands of research within feminist language studies: (1) the study of language use: how individuals draw upon linguistic resources to produce themselves as gendered, and (2) the study of linguistic representations: how culturally dominant notions of gender are encoded (and potentially contested) in linguistic representations. Encoded in third-person forms, talk by lawyers and adjudicators *about* the accused, the complainants, and violence against women more generally represents male sexual aggression in particular ways: specifically, "his" sexual prerogatives are privileged and protected at the expense of "her" sexual autonomy. Such representations transmit **androcentric values** and attitudes; yet, they also have a strongly constitutive function: they shape and structure witnesses' *own* accounts of the events and concomitantly the way that gender is enacted in the first person.

Topic – 195: Micro & Macro Levels of Gender Performance

Debates over the nature of gender identity and its social construction, originating in feminist work of the 1990s, have in recent years informed research in sociolinguistics generally and feminist linguistics more specifically. In particular, conceptions of gender as categorical, fixed, and static have increasingly been abandoned in favor of more constructivist and dynamic ones. Rather, more recent formulations of the relationship between language and gender, following Butler (1990), emphasize the performative aspect of gender: linguistic practices, among other kinds of practices, continually bring into being individuals' social identities. Under this account, language is one important means by which gender - an ongoing social process is enacted or constituted; gender is something individuals *do* - in part through linguistic choices - as opposed to something individuals *are* or *have* (West and Zimmerman 1987).

While the theorizing of gender as "performative" has succeeded in problematizing mechanistic and essentialist notions of gender that underlie much variationist work in sociolinguistics, for some feminist linguists (e.g. Wodak 1997) Butler's formulation ignores the power relations that impregnate most situations in which gender is "performed" and in so doing affords subjects unbounded agency. For Cameron (1997), Butler's (1990) discussion of performativity does, arguably, acknowledge these power relations, that is, by alluding to the "rigid regulatory frame" within which gendered identities are produced. Yet, as Cameron (1997: 31) also points out, often philosophical treatments of this "frame" remain very abstract: "for social researchers interested in applying the performativity thesis to concrete instances of behavior, the specifics of this 'frame' and its operation in a particular context will be far more significant considerations than they seem to be in many philosophical discussions." The routine enactment of gender is often, perhaps always, subject to what Cameron calls the "institutional coerciveness" of social situations; in other words, dominant gender ideologies often mold and/or inhibit the kinds of gendered identities that women (and men) produce.

Indeed, Gal (1991) suggests that because women and men interact primarily in institutions such as workplaces, families, schools, and political forums, the investigation of language and gender in

informal conversations, outside of these institutions, has severe limitations. It "creates the illusion that gendered talk is mainly a personal characteristic" (p. 185), whereas, as much feminist research has revealed, gender is also a structuring principle of institutions.

Topic – 196: Regulatory Frame of Institutional Discourse

Embedded within legal structures, as feminist legal theorists (e.g. MacKinnon 1987,1989; Bartlett and Kennedy 1991; Lacey 1998) have argued, are androcentric and sexist assumptions that typically masquerade as "objective" truths. The crime of rape, in particular, has received attention from feminists critical of the law, because in Smart's (1989: 50) words, "the legal treatment of rape epitomizes the core of the problem of law for feminism." Not only are dominant notions about male and female sexuality and violence against women implicated in legal statutes and judicial decisions surrounding sexual assault, I argue they also penetrate the discursive arena of the trial.

Moreover, the material force with which the law legitimates a certain vision of the social order, through, for example, fines, imprisonment, or execution, means that the discursive imposition of ideologies in legal settings will have a particular potency. Hence, by locating my analysis of gendered linguistic practices in the context of sexual assault adjudication processes, I propose to explore the "institutional coerciveness" of these particular institutional settings or, put differently, the way that these settings shape and constrain performances of gender.

Topic – 197: Ideological Work in Trials of Violence

Previous scholarship on the language of institutional settings has investigated the *interactional* (i.e. inter-sentential) mechanisms by which certain ideological or interpretive "**frames**" dominate institutional interactions, while others are suppressed (Philips 1992). Todd (1989) and Fisher (1991), for example, document how doctors' medical and technical concerns prevail in interactions with patients, even when patients articulate their problems in social and/or biographical terms.

In her comparison of a doctor-patient interaction and a nurse-practitioner-patient interaction, Fisher (1991: 162) isolates aspects of interactional structure related to such discursive control. The doctor, much more than the nurse-practitioner, asked questions that "both allow a very limited exchange of information and leave the way open for his [the doctor's] own assumptions to structure subsequent exchanges." By contrast, the nurse practitioner used open-ended, probing questions which maximized the patient's own "voice" and interpretation of medical problems. In Fisher's (1991: 162) terms, in these kinds of interactions "both the questions and the silences - the questions not asked - do ideological work."

While others have documented the way that judges' decisions in sexual assault cases can be informed by rape mythologies (Coates 1997; Coates et al. 1994), this chapter focuses on discriminatory views of violence against women as they (re)circulate within adjudication processes themselves. Indeed, embedded within the questions asked of complainants, rape mythologies become much more insidious, I argue, because of the structuring potential of language. Not only do questions, with their implicit and explicit propositions, frame and structure the complainants' "talk" about their experiences of sexual assault, they also produce the complainants as particular kinds of subjects - as subjects who are "passive" in their responses.

In the terms of this investigation, one manifestation of Fairclough's "institutional frame" are the questions asked of complainants; that is, the questions' presuppositions embody ideological perspectives which have consequences for the way in which the complainants are "qualified to act" linguistically.

Lesson 34

THE DEBATE OF CONSENT & AGENCY**Topic – 198: The Notion of Consent in Marriage**

Islamic law sees marriage as a contract between a man and woman, where the man has licit access to legitimate sex in return for dowry and financial support of his wife. What becomes clear in this contract is that the consent of the woman to enter into the union of marriage was not a primary consideration. This, of course, is difficult to comprehend in the twenty-first century United States, where the expressed consent between two adults is the main factor when considering the legality and appropriateness of sex.

In her second book *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam*, Ali [a Muslim feminist] develops the idea of consent in relation to marriage. In discussing the woman's role in choosing to get married, she states that "marriage was necessarily consensual. It required an agreement, expressed in terms of offer and acceptance, by two contracting parties. But these were not necessarily the bride and groom. Guardians and proxies abound in the legal sources, especially for brides". The bride's opinion as to whether or not she wanted to get married was not a consideration in the Classical Islamic jurists' understanding of the legality of marriage. Instead, the norm was that a male guardian

At the end of her discussion of consent in *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam*, Ali clarifies that in "contemporary conventional wisdom about Islamic law holds that female consent is always necessary for marriage". Nevertheless, as Ali describes the issue of consent here, it does not develop out of renewed thought in the legal tradition, but instead "reflects a broader tendency". In this quote, Ali has shifted from the specific consent of a woman to get married to consent as a concept in general. As the concept of consent is dependent upon the liberal ethic of self autonomy, which is key to the authentic self, Ali's statement that consent is "structurally impossible" within the limits of licit sexuality in Classical Islamic law, makes a broader statement about agency. Feminists or liberals do not understand Quran and Sunnah where even the Holy Prophet's (SAAW) daughter Sayeda Fatima (AS) was free to give her consent for marriage with Saydna Ali (AS).

Topic – 199: Authentic Self & Agency

Liberals suggest that Islamic laws favor men, so we should listen to our SELF and DESIRE, that are the sources of truth. Culture and laws are external, so they are not real. To be able to act on these desires, and to be autonomous, the individual must understand her inner desires so that her actions correspond with what she finds inside, not with an external force. To be an authentic self, the individual's actions must be consistent with internally felt truths and desires.

Ali [a feminist] uses inner reflection as a way to resolve the dissonance between contemporary norms in North America and Western Europe, which hold the individuals' consent to a sexual relationship as its highest value, and Classical Islamic norms that do not see consent firstly, in marriage, and by extension, in sexual relationships as necessary for determining the legality of sex.

If cultural norms go against an individual's perceived notions of inner truth, to act in accordance with those norms is ethically reprehensible and carries the weight of missing the true importance of life. Ali and Moosa become caught between two ethical systems, where the ethics of authenticity, on the one hand, require that one follow inner desires, while on the other hand; Islamic law offers its own regulations and permissions on action. In Ali and Moosa's [he is Ali's mentor] scholarship, it appears

that they slip into the ethics of authenticity through their calls for “personal and inner reflection.” But we cannot hand over important decision of life to desire alone.

Topic – 200: The Clash between Cultural Norms & Agency Solution

In contrast to uncontrolled desire, a model of agency and cultural norms emerges where the. Within this framework of agency, individuals are acting intentionally to shape desires and to internalize norms, as well as acting to shape norms through practice. Mahmood’s project, an Egyptian researcher, develops from her ethnographic work in Egypt, where she specifically explores the women’s mosque movement: a movement where women meet at local mosques to learn about the steps they must take to become a pious Muslim woman.

Mahmood’s example of praying five times a day is helpful here. She explains that “mosque participants considered the desire to pray five times a day (with its minimal conditions of performance) an object of pedagogy”. The desire to perform this action had to be learned and was assumed to be unnatural by the participants. In her discussions of a Muslim woman named Mona, Mahmood explains that “Mona does not assume that the desire to pray is natural, but that it *must be created* through a set of disciplinary acts. That is to say, the desire in this model is not the antecedent to, or cause of, moral action, but its *product*”. In this model, the desire is not an independent thing that stands on its own, where the individual’s free will acts on or against the desire. Instead, desires are created through repeated action: the desire to pray is a cultivated desire. Mahmood links this idea of cultivation to Michel Foucault’s work on ethics, and in particular his notion of technologies of the self, or care of the self.

How does the embodying and inhabiting of norms develop over time, and what effect does this embodiment have on the norms themselves? It is clear that the norms affect behavior as in the case of the Islamic legal tradition, which prescribes certain actions and furthermore, that through repeated practice, the subject shapes her internal desires. The later philosophy of Wittgenstein provides insights in examining the process of how practicing norms not only can shape the individual’s subjectivity, but also the norms themselves.

Topic – 201: Wittgenstein’s Theory of Language

Wittgenstein’s theory of language has clear parallels to how practices operates and shapes norms. In order to situate the later philosophy of Wittgenstein and to see how it relates to the embodiment in norms, it is important to understand that his later work is a direct break with his earlier philosophy of language.

In his first and only publication the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, Wittgenstein derives a theory of language wherein he attempts to discover the limits of language. He suggests that only three types of sentences exist, and the most important type of sentences is declarative statements, which have their truth-value determined by the actual state of reality. For example, to say “it is snowing” has its truth-value depending solely on whether or not it is snowing at the moment the proposition is uttered. To claim that it is snowing outside is essentially to draw a picture in the purely logical realm and then to take that picture and see if it synchronizes with reality.

Language is always changing and encompasses much more than declarative sentences, which correspond with reality. He develops the idea of the language game to explain this complexity. Grayling’s straightforward account of language games serves as a helpful starting point when approaching the topic. Grayling explains that humans use language to convey an enormous scope of

ideas, descriptions, stories, jokes, worship and emotion (and the list goes on) and Wittgenstein calls all these activities as language games.

Grayling's employment of the word "activities" is crucial here because language games do not simply explain language, but also practice. The use of the word "game" is instrumental because games gain structure and coherence through rules. Language games, like any other game, need rules to give them structure and purpose. To exemplify a rule, one can imagine saying "Good morning" in the middle of a conversation and being completely misunderstood, or even ostracized, as using one's hands in a soccer game breaks the rules. Grayling further clarifies the notion of rule following - it "is not a mysterious activity at all; it shows itself in our practice, it is *manifest*."

Topic – 202: Language Games & Cultural Norms

From the above discussion of agency and authenticity, the normative way in which people speak about norms is that they stand outside of the individual and determine action. Because norms seem to bear down on the individual, the subject needs to find ways to ensure that her actions are her own, either by acting out internally felt desires, or by subverting norms. However, if cultural norms are understood as functioning similarly to Wittgenstein's idea of grammar rules, norms create a multiplicity of appropriate or logical actions.

To explore the norm of modesty in terms of Wittgenstein's theory of the language game, the first thing to note is that because a consensus exists around the virtue, if a woman were to dress or act in an immodest way, it would be apparent to those around her that she had violated the rules of appropriate behavior. She would have broken a grammar rule in the language game. However, *how* the woman chooses to participate in the language game, or rather, embody the norm, depends on the individual woman. The norm directs action, but does not stand outside of the individual demanding that she act in a certain way.

The reason that grammar rules do not determine action is because they exist as a result of group activity. Grammar rules are only supported by the fact that people obey them: playing the language game keeps the rules in place. For example, Wittgenstein insists that when someone takes instruction from a signpost, the person can understand it "only insofar as there exists a regular use of signposts, a custom" (PI 198). The signpost has its meaning because as a community, everyone, or at least a large enough majority, agrees that the signpost does say what we believe it to say and that this community does in fact *do* what the signpost says. Knowing what to do and what not to do in a language game essentially rests on the customary usage of the game in the community.

Grammar rules exist because humans continue to enact them. These rules inform action, but at the same time, are shaped by how people perform them. The philosophy of Wittgenstein demonstrates that the agent is not only affecting her own subjectivity, but the rules or norms themselves. How a group chooses to obey a grammar rule shapes the rule itself and ultimately the form of life in which they live.

Topic – 203: Consent in Non-Western Cultures

In opposition to liberal feminism's formulation of equality of the sexes within existing institutional structures as its mission, radical and socialist feminism emerged to challenge this vision in both structure and scope. Radical feminism, also a movement arising within the second wave, turned the reality of sexual inequality on its head by arguing for the essential *superiority* of women's nature, identifying their generally less violent behavior, historic lack of support for war, and oft-noted greater selflessness, compassion, and concern for the welfare of others.

This initiated a debate among feminist theorists and activists about the very notion of a gendered “essential” nature. And while contemporary feminist scholars and activists have mostly argued for a more fluid, changeable notion of gender and away from a rigid binary of a two-gender system, the debate has reemerged in often surprising ways. Connected to the notion of women’s “essential” nature is the tradition of feminist scholarship about women’s unique “standpoint” (Hartsock 1983). Standpoint theory challenged the idea that most scholarship prior to the feminist era was “objective” by identifying the ways in which women, as both object and subject of this scholarship, were often omitted by mainstream Western scholarship both as research subjects and as researchers with a particular set of experiences that gave rise to specific framing questions and interests. This highlighted the importance of women’s perspectives or standpoints and opened the way for research from a number of other standpoints in the US context.

Radical feminism’s standpoint theory, for one, particularly influenced scholars working in the disciplines of political theory and philosophy, who often turned inwards to dismantle formative male-centered perspectives within scientific and humanistic academic disciplines. In the areas of so-called hard scientific research, work by Evelyn Fox Keller (1984) interrogated the development of scientific concepts in biology with standpoint theory to identify reigning “masculinist” concepts in biology.

Lesson 35

NON-BINARY APPROACHES TO GENDER-I

Topic – 204: Breakaway Groups & Collective Feminism

In the course of the 1970s, various groups within the feminist movement began to express their dissatisfaction with a collective feminism that they increasingly saw as shaped by the interests of the dominant group within the movement: white, middle-class, college-educated, heterosexual women. As a result, the groups that did not or could not identify with this mainstream image gradually broke away to formulate their own feminisms.

These **breakaway communities** included groups of black feminists, Chicana feminists, and, most important for this chapter, lesbian feminists. For a good many lesbian feminists, the subversiveness of mainstream feminism did not extend to sexuality. While mainstream feminists questioned traditional views of gender, they failed to question similarly traditional views of same-sex relations. As a result, lesbian feminism turned away from mainstream feminism to pursue its own, separate path.

For many radical lesbians of the early 1970s, lesbianism was a matter of choice – a political anti-patriarchal choice. Or is lesbianism a matter of socialization – of the individual experiences that some of us go through and that turn us into lesbians? The same questions may be raised with regard to homosexuality. Gender and race are visible and recognizable categories. There are exceptions, of course: men who choose to dress like women; and every racial minority has members who can ‘pass’, that is successfully pose as members of the majority. But on the whole gender and race are obvious. Sexual orientation, however, is not visible.

Topic – 205: Queer Theory

Queer theory’s point of departure is that there is no ‘natural’ sexuality – a status traditionally accorded to heterosexuality – and that there is no stable relationship between biological sex (male or female, to mention the most frequent categories), gender, and sexual desire. Casting its net wider than gay or lesbian criticism, it has a strong interest in everything that contributes to the destabilization of accepted sexual categories, even categories such as ‘gay’ and ‘lesbian’. Its topics therefore include forms of sexual self expression such as cross-dressing.

Queer theory, then, insists on the constructed nature of all classifications in terms of (biological) sex, sexuality, and gender. More recently, it has even expanded its not inconsiderable territory, in what others may well see as an unwarranted act of usurpation, to take in all potentially unstable and fractured identities. For British queer theorists like Dollimore and Sinfield, the power that is at work in the field of sexuality can be contested. Queer theory questions traditional constructions of sexuality and sees non-heterosexual forms of sexuality as sites where hegemonic power can be undermined.

The queer theory that develops out of cultural materialism draws on Foucault and has strong affinities with British cultural studies. In the United States, however, queer theory has followed a different path. We will focus here on the queer theory that develops out of lesbian feminism and draws on Derrida. In the course of the 1990s a number of influential lesbian critics began to reject that essentialism and to suggest that sexual identities – not just lesbianism or homosexuality – were social constructions that needed to be deconstructed, just as gender and race had been deconstructed to expose the binary oppositions at work within them. Like gender categories,

traditional sexual categories were now assumed to be ‘regulatory fictions’ – instruments of a repressive discourse about sexuality.

Topic-206: Butler on Sexual Identity

Judith Butler published her own attack on the centrality and ‘naturalness’ accorded to heterosexuality. Her *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990) still stands as the most influential book within the field of queer theory. Butler denies the pretensions to ‘naturalness’ of heterosexuality even more radically than Sedgwick does.

In Butler’s work, a heterosexual identity is ‘acquired’ through the repudiation of homosexual attachments, and the abjected same-sex of desire is installed in the ego as a melancholic identification, so that I can only be a woman to the extent that I have desired a woman, and I can only be a man to the extent that I have desired a man. Heterosexuality, then, is not the ‘natural’ state of affairs that it usually claims to be. (Nor is homosexuality, which no longer is the primary desire that we once experienced.) But if heterosexuality is not ‘natural’ behaviour, then how should we see it? Like all forms of sexuality, heterosexuality is performative. In fact, what I consider to be my identity is performative.

My ‘I’, as Butler puts it in an article published the following year, is ‘the effect of a certain repetition, one which produces the semblance of a continuity or coherence’ (Butler 1991: 18). My sexual orientation is likewise the effect of repetition, of the fact that I repeatedly perform certain sexual acts. In other words, a string of identical or similar performances takes the place of sexual identity (and of identity as such).

As Butler herself tells us in *Gender Trouble*: ‘There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its results’ (Butler 1990: 25). Gender ‘is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to pre-exist the deed’ (25). As these quotations make clear, Butler also reverses our commonsense assumptions about our ‘I’: instead of an ‘I’ that exists prior to our actions – sexual or otherwise – we have an ‘I’ that is the result of repetition. It is the continuous repetition of a certain set of acts – which of course will differ from person to person – that creates what might be called an identity effect.

Topic-207: Derrida’s Deconstruction of Language & Gender Reality

The obvious privileging of the heterosexual orientation of the majority at the expense of all other sexual orientations was the work of a centre [dominant ideology] that defined itself through that which it excluded. In other words, sexuality was added to the axes [margins of social order] that for the theorists we have discussed have traditionally organized Western society. For Sedgwick, the power structure working within the **hetero/homo axis** is even central to the organization of Western culture. Same is the case in majority of the countries in the world.

Epistemology of the Closet (1990) [Sedgwick’s book on her critique of heterosexuality] begins with a classic **Derridean deconstruction** of the heterosexuality/homosexuality opposition (which in Western culture usually takes the form of **contrasting** naturalness, health, fertility, and other terms that stand for ‘life’ with artificiality, sickness, sterility, and death).

Not just morally but theoretically, then, the privileging of heterosexuality turns out to be indefensible. In *Epistemology of the Closet*, Sedgwick tries to back it up with detailed analyses of a number of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century literary texts. However, since most of these texts invite homosexual readings anyway because of what we know of their authors (Oscar Wilde, Marcel

Proust, and others), their support for Sedgwick's overarching claim is less convincing than one might hope.

Topic-208 Cultural Effects of Queer Theory

Because of its political potential, queer theory has come to focus on the actual practice of sexuality. Here, too, it is interested in boundaries and, in particular, on the (for queer theorists) significant circumstance that seemingly clearly visible boundaries turn out to be blurred upon closer inspection. Not surprisingly, queer theory has taken a special interest in cross-dressing, and in particular cross dressing by males (in which Butler has also repeatedly shown an interest). Cross-dressing is perfect for destabilizing generally accepted views of gender and sexuality: a man in a long evening dress or a pleated skirt will in most places draw a good deal of attention. Men in drag are so interesting to queer theorists because they simultaneously position themselves on the 'wrong' end of two axes: on the gender axis they identify with the feminine pole, in spite of their maleness; and on the axis of sexual orientation (with its hetero/homo opposition) they often take up the homosexual position. In so doing they first of all blur the boundary between gender and sexuality (which the feminists had fought so hard to establish with the argument that while sexuality is a biological given, gender is nothing but is a social construct).

Clearly the act of cross-dressing – the appropriation of gender characteristics normally associated with the other sex – has significance beyond gender and is simultaneously a sexual act. In drag, gender and sexuality have become inseparable. From the perspective of queer theory, cross dressers effectively illustrate the constructed character of gender and sexuality, while they also draw attention to the enormous difference between sexuality and acts of mere procreation. Human sexuality clearly involves much more than procreation. Drag exposes femininity as a role, as a performance. Cross-dressing undermines the claim to naturalness of standard heterosexual identities and emphasizes a theatrical, performance-like dimension of gender and sexual orientation that our discourses seek to suppress. For queer theory, drag and other unusual intersections of gender and sexuality are sites where the constructedness of sexuality becomes visible.

We follow gender categories defined by our Creator in the Holy Quran. We do not in any case believe all this nonsense called queer theory and its ideology. We have discussed it just for our awareness and because it has become part of language and gender studies.

Topic-209 Intersectional Approach to Sexuality

A term originally coined by legal theorists and Black feminists, intersectionality refers to the idea that lived experience cannot be defined in terms of membership in a single identity category (e.g. 'woman', 'black'). Rather, both our own, inner understandings of self and the kinds of access, opportunity, and treatment we receive are the product of multiple and intersecting systems of social classification. In other words, the idea of mutual constitution suggests that constructs such as class, race, and gender do not exist as entities unto themselves. Rather, they crucially depend for their meaning on their relationship to the other categories with which they intersect. Thus, there is no 'gender effect' to be discovered and analyzed in a dataset; there is only the effect of gender in relation to class, race, etc. This is a strong claim, and there is debate in the literature as to whether such a strong position is necessary.

In her well-known discussion of methods for doing intersectionality research, McCall (2005) defined what she terms 'intra-categorical' intersectionality, or intersectionality research that focuses on the diversity of more specific articulations of identity that exist within a given category. For example, an intra-categorical approach would critique a category such as 'lesbian', arguing that we need to examine

the different ways in which the label 'lesbian' can be experienced and lived (e.g. 'black lesbian', 'butch lesbian', 'middle-class lesbian', etc).

As the gay/lesbian movement and community gained visibility and political clout, the focus began to shift from what its "members" had in common to what they did not. Gathered together under the political/cultural umbrella of a gay movement were people who identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered. Their sexual practices, sexual values, relationship styles, multiple identities, and political affiliations were not only diverse but in some cases conflicting. Meanwhile, critical theorists and linguists were theorizing identities not as socially constructed facts but as cultural and discursive acts.

Lesson 36

NON-BINARY APPROACHES TO GENDER-II

Topic – 210: Emojis, Emoticons & Social Media

Emoji is often known as a noun, but I propose it as a verb too. *Text* or *texting* is a letter-driven or character-driven term. Nowadays, we don't text; we *emoji*. Think of all the online communication you have sent today. How many emojis have you used? To our on-screen lives, emojis are essential. Our youngsters grow up as emoji natives. *To emoji*, thus, becomes a quintessential aspect of human communication. Emojis help us to understand others with different linguistic backgrounds and build solidarity between us. When facing difficulties, one simple emoji can speak a thousand words and seems far more sincere.

Emoji imagery is powerful. For many social movements across the world, emojis are without equal. Emoji speak shows how letter words and emoji words are living together in a symbiotic manner. Every time we communicate online, we deliberate as to whether a letter word or emoji would be best to express and connect on screen. On the smartphone screen, letter words and punctuation markers take on another life loaded with emoji meanings. The borders between letters and emojis are often broken.

One might say that understanding emoji is intuitive, but grasping the whole meaning and subtext may not be so easy. There is no dictionary that can include all the meanings of emoji in a context-sensitive and register-sensitive manner. The forms and meanings of emoji are constantly changing, as online communicators navigate and negotiate on-screen talks. Emoji meanings have to be carefully considered in accordance with the context. A red heart may mean nothing to some, but to others in, say, a strictly conservative Arabic culture, it could have serious consequences. In black-and-white print, there would be no possibility of using a red heart, but on screen, the colour of emojis brings out different meanings. For example, a red heart could seem more romantic than a blue one.

This brings us to the plethora of questions with which this book engages, ranging from matters of pragmatics, ethics and legality [including sexual identities].

Topic – 211: Spread & Use of Emojis

After all, language is the tissue that connects us with others: it reflects our social reality, which it also has a hand in creating – we use language to get married, to quarrel, to make up afterwards, and (should that fail) to get divorced. And indeed, the great English word is, for many, the most sacred cornerstone of our 'proudly barbaric yet deeply civilized tongue, and for others the 'shameless whore' (according to Stephen Fry).⁶³ English is the prism through which the genius of our literary giants – Chaucer, Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Dickens, D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce, T.S. Eliot, Bob Dylan and many others – is able to shine.

But we live in a digital age, and the media we use to connect and communicate with our nearest and dearest, as well as a virtual world of friends and followers, surely requires an evolution if not revolution in our systems of communication. And a communicative system, such as Emoji, is an adaptation to this most recent arena of human interaction. Emoji gets the job done when the tried and tested interpersonal cues that oil spoken interaction are impossible or absent. An emoji isn't a word, at least in the conventional sense as understood by journalists and the educated public. To the layperson, a word is a single, meaningful unit of speech or written text. In written text, we know whether something is a word by the white spaces around it. And in spoken language, the prototypical word is marked by

intonation strategies, including stress, syllable structure and tempo, by which we can distinguish when one word begins and another ends.

Topic – 212 Emojis & Cultural Norms

Most of the emojis studied in the linguistics field are ones that are less sensitive to different cultures, what I call ‘safe emojis’. Studying emojis in linguistics is relatively new. To this day, the field has focused mainly on emojis used in English and Western European contexts. It is important to reconsider the lens through which we study emojis. We must improve our approach to the topic in future research, in order to bring fuller justice to our emoji use in an ever-growing multicultural world.

The liberal use of emojis can be seen as rude. Emojis are often perceived as superfluous and demonstrate a lack of sincerity when sent by a younger person to an older recipient. This can cause a serious problem as one may end up being scolded for being cold and disrespectful to the elders. Therefore, younger generations are particularly careful when using emojis when talking to their seniors. The emojis I use when talking to seniors are almost fixed. *I avoid funny emojis with seniors. These are fine between friends but with older people, they are not.* Emojis that look too dynamic and active, such as bears dancing or bears eating, are rarely used in my formal conversations.

Gender

Past studies have found that women tend to use emojis to create humour, while men tend to use emojis to express teasing/sarcasm. In Korea, women use more emojis on the KakaoTalk platform than men. Wolf suggests that this is due to women having a greater ability to infer other people’s emotions and consider the perspectives of others. She finds that female students are more likely to use emoticons to express emotions or intimacy and manage message meaning than male students. The most frequently used emoji in Korea is the face with tears of joy.

The second most frequently used emoji for women in Korea is the loudly crying face, and the second most frequently used emoji for Korean men is the folded hands. I seek to add to this understanding of emoji use from a different perspective: how do people change their emoji use when speaking to the opposite gender? Marília et al. examined whether gender differences are consistent regardless of age. It was found that women reported using emoji more frequently and a more positive attitude towards their use, and that these ‘gender differences for emoji frequency of use and attitudes were particularly evident for younger women’. Asian cultures affect emojiing habits. I do not aim to establish what exactly are the different emojiing habits of men and women; there are previous studies dedicated to that cause. We, instead, look at how emojiing habits change when one is talking to the opposite gender. Whether in a conservative or liberal culture, no one wants their messages to be misconstrued as having romantic connotations. This is especially true of the case studies that I will look at in Jordan and South Korea. However, age, intimacy and status all affect emoji use across genders, so various styles are employed. Of course, personal taste will always have an influence, too. When talking with professors, bosses or other people of a higher social status, concerns about misconstrued romantic interests seem to give way to other social norms: one’s behaviour should change to conform to the identity one possesses, as well as to the relative social distance and the power dynamics of the relationship.

‘When talking about the Arab world, we have so many countries and different cultures. The Palestinian culture tends to be conservative. Jordanians are also conservative. Lebanese are liberal and open-minded, so I know some of my Lebanese friends that shake hands with men and text each other using heart .

With a blend of different languages and cultures, however, one can hardly expect communication to always go smoothly. Language is only part of the equation; culture also plays a big role in influencing what we say and how we say it, as well as how we interpret what others say. We don't always literally mean what we say, and in such cases some interpretation is necessary. This is especially the case with emojis. For example, sending a smiling emoji could potentially transmit a wide range of conflicting, and often unintended, meanings – smiles connote joy in American culture, while it has an added nuanced meaning of hiding 'embarrassment', 'displeasure' and 'anger' in Japanese culture.

Topic – 213: Queer Theory & Identity Performance

As a result of practical and theoretical challenges to identity-based social movements, in the mid-1980s queer theory and activism were developed. Whereas sexual identity formed the very basis of the lesbian/gay movement and community, queer theory makes sexual identity the subject of critique. The paradoxical tension between the two meanings of queer – on the one hand including all “minority” sexual identities and on the other protesting the very notion of sexual identity – is central to queer theory.

According to queer theory, gay identity is not discovered and then expressed, but is actually produced through repeated discursive acts. In other words, sexual identities are not descriptive but performative – not what people are but what they do (Butler, 1990, drawing on Austin's [1962] notion of linguistic performativity). In this view, sexual identities are not personal attributes or individual constructions but culturally readable acts that are being created or “performed” during social interactions.

Topic – 214: Sexual Identity & Language Learning

From a teaching or training perspective, there are several advantages to theorizing sexual identities as culturally readable acts rather than inner, universal essences. For one, this situates sexual identities within the realm of the ordinary – negotiating day-to-day interactions routinely involves “performing” and interpreting sexual identities. Secondly, it keeps the focus on observable behavior – what people say and do rather than who they feel they are. This is useful in those teaching contexts (such as ESL) where a major objective is to demystify social interactions unfamiliar to those who are new to, or outside of, a particular culture or subculture.

With queer theory, it becomes possible to examine the linguistic and cultural patterns through which sexual identities are communicated, even constituted. Finally, the notion of “performativity” makes it clear that sexual identities are not universally accomplished but may be produced or “read” in different ways in different cultural contexts (see Livia & Hall, 1997). Acknowledging this diversity, and being able to examine it, are crucial to achieving intercultural understanding.

Topic – 215: Problematizing Social Identities & Language Teaching

Lesbian/gay activism has sought to ensure that people who do not identify as heterosexual are not denied the same rights and privileges that are automatically accorded to those who do identify as heterosexual. Implicit to such efforts is the notion that it is possible, even desirable, to categorize people according to sexual identities. But queer theorists caution that sexual identities can be limiting as well as liberating, for they rely on exclusion as well as inclusion (Butler, 1991; Fuss, 1991; see also Foucault, 1990).

In this view, affirming subordinate sexual identities has the (unintended) effect of reinforcing a hierarchical system, one that insists on solidifying sexualities into sexual identities, which can then be divided into those that are considered socially “acceptable” and those that are not. Rather than affirming

sexual identity categories, queer theory questions the need for them. Rather than legitimizing minority sexual identities, queer theory problematizes all sexual identities. In terms of teaching and learning, Problematizing sexual identities does not mean presenting them in negative ways. On the contrary, it makes it possible to explore how acts of identity are not necessarily straightforward or transparent but can be complex, changing, and contested. It also acknowledges that, for a myriad of reasons, not everyone relates to a clear-cut identity category.

To put it another way, acknowledging that identities are not truths, facts or things, but theoretical constructs that “arise at specific times, in specific places, to do specific work” (Poynton, 1997, p. 17) does not dismiss the need for identities nor their limitations. Instead, this approach makes it possible to ask what purpose identities serve, how they work, and also what constraints, dilemmas, or contradictions may be associated with them. In the end, Problematizing all sexual identities may actually be more “inclusive” than simply validating subordinate sexual identities, because it allows for a wider range of experiences and perspectives to be considered. It may also be more practicable, since teachers or trainers are not expected to transmit knowledge (which they may or may not have) but to frame tasks that encourage investigation and inquiry.

Topic – 216: Are Sexual & Gender Identities Essential?

Queer theorists discuss a “heterosexual/homosexual binary” by which sexual identities are defined. The argument is that questions of definition are meaningful not just to “a small, distinct, relatively fixed homosexual minority” (“a minoritizing view”) but to “people across the spectrum of sexualize” (“a universalizing view”) (Sedgwick, 1990, p. 1). One reason for this is that the hetero/homosexual binary shapes the production of all sexual identities – not just gay ones. That is, “heterosexuality” has meaning only in relation to “homosexuality,” and vice versa, since the two terms are necessarily relational and interdependent (Fuss, 1991; Sedgwick, 1990; see also Weedon, 1987, p. 23 on Saussure’s “sign theory”).

In other words, straightness does not exist separately from gayness but is in fact defined by it (and vice versa). Furthermore, sexual identity is experienced or accomplished “in a particular class-, race-, or gender mediated way, and only so” (Seidman, 1993, pp. 136–137); likewise, cultural identity is “done” differently depending on one’s sexual identity (see Mac An Ghaill, 1994). When identities are understood to be not just multiple but mutually inflecting (see Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1996; Phelan, 1994), it becomes clear that to understand the workings of any domain of identity (e.g., gender) it is necessary to consider that domain as part of, or in relation to, the domain of sexual identity.

Lesson 37

FEMINISM IN PAKISTAN-I**Topic – 217: Islamic Feminism**

More recently, there has emerged a proposal that is popularly referred to as “Islamic feminism”. Islamic feminism can be described as essentially a postmodernist, diasporic scholarly project that does not recognise any single (male) interpretation or dominant narrative of Islam (Moghissi 1999; Mojab 2001; Badran 2011; Mir-Hosseini 2011). Instead, Islamic feminist epistemology claims an interest in research that includes multiple voices and historical debates in its endeavour to locate women’s rights within an Islamic discourse.

Mojab recalls how “a group of feminists, mostly secular academics living in the West, has in recent years used the term ‘Islamic feminism’ to refer to Islamic alternatives to Western feminisms [who] treat Islam as the only authentic, indigenous road to gender equality and justice” (Mojab 2001, 130). To the extent that feminism has always been a contested term and politics, even in the pre-9/11 or “WoT” era, one is not sure of the accuracy of the observation that the scale of suspicion regarding feminism in Muslim contexts has significantly worsened in recent times. Certainly, liberal and secular feminisms in Muslim contexts have come under considerable more scrutiny and criticism by post secularists, as well as those feminists who support some Sharia compliant alternative to Western feminisms or human rights discourses.

In any case, in so far as both Islamism and feminism are political perspectives, Islamic feminism at an international level seems to be attempting to redefine both. It is my observation that in the process, the feminist agenda is getting diluted while the Islamic factor in this hybridised identity is increasingly accommodating patriarchal possibilities. Conservative Muslim commentators often take advantage of the Islamic feminism agenda to reference all the rights that Muslim women are granted in Islam – however, they stop short on agreeing that these are unconditionally equal.

Topic – 218: Secular Feminism

All feminists in Muslim societies do not share an “Enlightenment” or progressive interpretive view of Islam. Instead, many have pointed out and challenged the contiguous and more specific connections between religious and cultural patriarchies. They have commented on how Islam has often worked as a sealant of the overall patriarchal discourses in their contextual experiences. Such insights led several feminist activists in Muslim contexts to adopt a variety of stances and strategies in relation to patriarchal practices and in relation to religion.

In some research literature, secular feminism in Muslim contexts is contrasted to Islamic feminism’s positive approach to religion and is described therefore, as the “negative or Westoxified camp” (Offenhauer 2005, 15). Secular scholar-activists are more unqualified in their condemnation of misogyny in the name of Islam, arguing that defensiveness about women’s conditions under Islam lapses into dangerous apologetics. From the point of view of this “negative camp”, women’s interests are best pursued in secular terms and in the name of combating universal human rights violations.

Secular feminists in Muslim contexts advocate secular activism and look at the interplay of structural and legal factors in order to explain women’s status. These may range from advocacy for the reform of Islamic laws and faith-based policies towards secular principles and equality of all – particularly, women and minorities – to the total repeal of such laws and an adherence to international

human rights tenets instead. It may also include the demand for a dismantling of clerical structures, authorities and institutions to be replaced by democratic ones in place. The state is often called upon by secular feminists to observe neutrality with regard to all religions and creeds and to guarantee freedom of worship and (non) practice of faith in public and private spheres under the given constitutional framework as it may be.

Topic – 219: Feminism in Pakistan

Currently, there is no identifiable Islamic feminist movement in Pakistan, although there are individuals within collectives who may be politically drawn to the concept. This is true of some feminists too, who may identify with or participate in secular activism and would resist any willful or political Islamisation of state and society but do not advocate for voiding a faith-based approach to women's personal empowerment. The self-proclaimed secular women's movement in Pakistan does not resist Islam, just an Islamic state. If anything, one of the critiques of the Women's Action Forum has been that despite taking such a radical political stand as demanding a secular state, many members diluted this by accommodating Islamic feminist approaches in their professional work (A.S. Zia 2009a).

Non-democratic theocratic institutions such as the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII), as well as the introduction of Islamic laws (*Hudood Ordinances* 1979) and the empowerment of a handpicked state clergy were consistently challenged. The same is true of the Federal Shariat Court (FSC) (although this remains simply an appellate body) and practically all Islamic laws passed have been enshrined as part of the Constitution.

The recent challenges to the liberal/secular women's movement in the form of accusations of complicity with imperialism and "anti-Muslim politics", depends on an erasure of the historical contributions of this movement. Secondly, such criticism ignores the material dimensions or indeed, interdependent relationship between imperialism, nationalism and local patriarchies.

Topic – 220: Identity of Women in Post-Modern World

Their political opposition to Western lifestyles and values does not prevent Islamists from sponsoring global or Western economics or capitalism. The key method of legitimising this engagement is by converting the temporal identity of the market (into something called "market Islam") through the operative term, "compliance". This enables "market Islam" activity to be read as evidence of Islamists' willingness to adapt or survive in a redefined modernity and which qualifies them as actors seeking an "international political imaginary" (Iqtidar 2011b, 562–563).

In many ways, this emphasis on a post-Islamist reformulation is an attempt to distinguish. The adoption of liberal values (by liberals, but not by Islamists or conservatives) in non-Western contexts are described as neo-colonial, neo-imperial, rationalist enterprises and adventures. The projects of Western wars, education, media, culture and ideas are read by conservatives in Pakistan, as well as the postsecularists cited herein, as secular assaults on the faith-based, post-9/11 Third World – not as rational, capitalist (even Weberian) exploitations (often with the complicity of the Muslim clergy) by globalised nation-states.

Islamists and secularists may consume and produce different products but this does not challenge or change *the means of production*. Mimicking does not mean that the act of consumer transaction or the motivation of the consumer has any socio-political impact on the management of capital or its structures in a given society. In other words, Islamic products and consumerism neither Islamise nor secularise economic or social relations nor the means of production – despite any lofty

claims by postsecularists. Further, capitalism is an equal opportunity offender in the commodification of women regardless of their pious motivations. In the case of the Islamic industry, the opportunity to promote Islamist conservatism is much wider. It also opens up the “marketization processes [which] tend to produce universal essentialist tendencies to create a “Muslim woman” in the singular who stands for global Muslim society” (Gokarikel and McLaren 2010, 5). Muslim women’s *difference* becomes a “marketable product, a logic of profitability”

Topic – 221: Socio-cultural Linguistics

LGS (language, gender & sexuality) scholars have developed extensive and rich analyses of the multi-faceted relationships between language, gender, sexuality, and society, and of the effects of language use within societies and vice versa. Excluding work in formal linguistics focusing exclusively on parts and features of language such as grammatical gender or pronouns (and not on the *use* of grammatical gender and pronouns), the vast majority of LGS work could be broadly described under the umbrella term of sociocultural or socially oriented linguistic scholarship, in being concerned with the above-mentioned social contexts, relationships, and effects.

Sociolinguistics is an apt example of a substantial body of work within sociocultural linguistics that reflects the influence of other disciplines (linguistic anthropology, sociology, psychology, communications, literary theory) and shows how linguistic, cognitive, ideological, stylistic, cultural, and social dimensions are inextricably intertwined – for example in studies of the prestige of languages and language varieties. However, the increasingly narrow association of the term sociolinguistics with quantitative studies of linguistic features and their correlation to sociological variables, has led to a distinction between the body of work in ‘sociolinguistics’ and the umbrella term of ‘sociocultural linguistics’ – the latter denoting ‘the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture, and society’ (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 5).

Lesson 38

FEMINISM IN PAKISTAN-II**Topic – 222: Globalization & LGS**

In this module, the abbreviated form LGS (Language, Gender, and Sexuality) will be used instead of the full expression. The focus of this module is on how globalization has affected the study of our field.

Capitalism is an economic system in which every individual has the right to own private property. Under capitalism, both knowledge and human beings have been commodified. This has led to the emergence of the knowledge economy, where knowledge is treated as capital, and human resources are also considered capital. These commodities are exchanged in the global market, and language plays a crucial role by adding value to knowledge and human resources.

We have previously studied the effect of globalization on gender through various research examples. For instance, in studies conducted in China, women with foreign language skills were preferred by multinational companies that established their businesses there. Local women who were fluent in communication were often preferred over men. We also examined the leadership styles of women in male-dominated workplaces and in the domestic sphere. In Piller's research, we discussed how bilingual couples constructed their joint international identities, often preferring transnational identities over national identities. This reflects how globalization influences personal and cultural identities.

Furthermore, the impact of globalization was evident in women's participation in Islamic banking and the trade of Islamic symbols, such as veils, in Muslim countries. Their entry into these business areas highlights the global influence on traditionally local or religious practices.

In conclusion, this module demonstrates that LGS continues to evolve alongside global changes. Globalization is visible across different dimensions of our field of study, shaping language use, gender roles, and sexual identities in diverse ways.

Topic – 223: Neo-liberalism & LGS

As discussed, LGS scholarship in the proliferation of feminisms and in particular post feminism vis-à-vis neoliberalism has been emerging (Glapka 2018; Lazar 2014; Litosseliti et al. 2019), and linguistic analyses of the ways in which feminism is appropriated to serve and legitimate neoliberalism are much needed. Examples of LGS studies addressing neoliberalism have included Inoue (2007) on the linguistic governmentality of neoliberalism and analyses of gender and language in the neoliberal university (e.g. Goncalves 2019), among others. LGS scholars are well placed to examine how neoliberalism, austerity, and the various processes of de-democratization (Prügl 2015; Verloo 2011) construct and affect women, men, LGBT+, and trans communities.

They can also contribute further to discussions of the recent resurgence of interest in feminism, particularly through the use of new forms of activism, such as social-media technologies (Banyard 2010); and of current issues such as sexualised culture, domestic and sexual violence, and the anti-gender populist movements currently becoming more vocal and mainstream (Borba et al. 2020). Gender and politics scholars have been calling for more robust analyses of the role gender and sexuality language/discourses play in constituting political actors and structures (e.g. Celis et al. 2013); they also

point to the need to integrate accounts of regimes, institutions, and other structural dimensions of gender and politics with issues such as identity, self-understanding, and other subjective, micro-level phenomena (ibid.).

Topic – 224: Muslim Women in Neo-Imperial Frames

Imperialism or colonialism refers to a situation in which a powerful country usurps and occupies another country, turning it into a colony. From the word “colony,” we derive the terms colonialism and imperialism.

The concept of a frame has been discussed in earlier modules. To recap, a frame refers to the background assumptions people hold about certain individuals or events. These frames influence one’s point of view, understanding, and beliefs about the subjects being discussed. When we look at women at the global level, they may appear similar. However, at the local level, differences emerge because every country has its own cultural and national context. For example, when we discussed neoliberal Muslim feminism in Pakistan, we noted that there is no strict division between global and local feminism within Muslim contexts. Similarly, there is no rigid division between Islamic and secular feminism.

Islam, in fact, does not have separate categories of “Islamic” and “secular” feminism. Islam gives equal importance to both this world and the hereafter, maintaining a balanced view. At the local level, Muslim women are often portrayed by imperialists as conservative. This perception is based on the belief that Muslim women will never abandon their Muslim identity and will remain committed to it.

New imperialists view this Muslim identity as a threat to their systems and values. The term “new imperialism” refers to the economic and cultural domination of former colonies, even after they have gained political independence. Pakistan is a living example of this phenomenon. Although no longer a colony, it still experiences economic and cultural influence from former imperial powers. Neoliberalism, on the other hand, refers to total personal freedom, while imperialism is primarily concerned with economic domination. When new imperialist countries frame Muslim women, they tend to ignore their double identities. They focus only on how Muslim women fit (or do not fit) within the imperial cultural frame, portraying them as subjects of foreign values, without agency or the ability to act according to their own will and beliefs.

However, within the same cultural structures, countries, and institutions, Muslim women also resist these systems—this is their agency, which is often ignored by new imperialists. Their framing of Muslim women is thus biased and prejudiced, as it represents only one side of the story and excludes the complexities of Muslim women’s identities and actions.

Topic – 225: Countering Misrepresentation of Muslim Women in Western Media

Muslim women are misappropriated and exploited in Western media following 11 September 2001. Expanding on these earlier discussions, this chapter critically analyses three ‘cover girls’ from Afghanistan and Pakistan, whose images have been used politically and polemically within the contexts of the ‘War on Terror’.

The first two ‘cover girls’ examined in this chapter represent distinct examples of photographed Afghan women, whose portraits are entrenched within the discourse of the ‘Afghan Alibi’ (Schwartz-

DuPre 2010). The first photographed subject under consideration is Sharbat Gula (most famously known as the Afghan Girl). Photographed by Steve McCurry, she initially appeared on the cover of the *National Geographic* in June 1985, and was later photographed as an adult in 2002 following the events of 11 September 2001.

The second ‘cover girl’ under consideration is Aisha Mohammadzai, who was photographed and featured on the front of *TIME* magazine in August 2010, alongside the heading ‘What Happens if We Leave Afghanistan’. Analysing the various ideological and material frames within which both women are represented, I consider the extent to which resistant subjectivities are mediated by, and at the same time *mediate*, the structures of power from which they emerge.

The third ‘cover girl’ discussed within this chapter is Malala Yousafzai, from Swat Valley in Pakistan, who was shot by the Taliban on 9 October 2012 when she was 15 years old. Her portrait features proudly on the cover of her memoir, *I am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban* (2013), co-written with British journalist and foreign correspondent, Christina Lamb, *I am Malala*.

The representation of Sharbat Gula, as the Afghan Girl, is no exception. Photographed by Steve McCurry in 1984, Sharbat Gula appeared on the cover of the *National Geographic* in June 1985. At the time, her name was not known and both she and the photograph came to be dubbed the ‘Afghan Girl’. The iconic image of the young Afghan girl in a red *hijab* and with searing sea-green eyes resurfaced following the events of 11 September 2001 when McCurry and a crew from *National Geographic* set out in search for her—to discover who she was.

The ‘rescue’ narrative that is ascribed to the ‘Afghan Alibi’—and the *Afghan Girl*—is played out once more when the famous photograph was revisited in 2002. The 2002 documentary *Search for the Afghan Girl* opens with scenes from the attacks on the US on 11 September 2001, firmly situating its titular search within the discursive frame of the post-9/11 geopolitical, neo-imperial landscape. The iconic 1985 image—and the discourse of the ‘Afghan Alibi’—is therefore reiterated in the new but related context of the ‘War on Terror’.

Sharbat Gula’s eyes are photographed, uploaded onto computer servers, and run through digital programmes, it is, perhaps, not a coincidence that those shown to be analysing Sharbat’s eyes are all white men—a striking re-enactment of Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak’s imperial paradigm, in which ‘[w]hite men are saving brown women from brown men’ While the documentary pitches its search as a ‘missing persons’ case, Sharbat Gula is not, in fact, missing. Schwartz-DuPre suggests that the use of biometric security technologies in the search for the Afghan Girl ‘assigns identity to truth—you either *are* or *are not* whom you claim to be. Identity *is*, or *is not*, authentic’ (2007: 443; emphasis in original).

Lesson 39

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN LANGUAGE, GENDER & SEXUALITY
(LGS)****Topic – 226: The Search of Efficient Research Methodology**

Corpus approaches are increasingly being adopted in a number of fields concerned with the study of language, gender, and sexuality. Tools and methods from corpus linguistics are praised for decreasing analysis time, reducing subjectivity, heightening generalisability, and providing potential for triangulation when combined with methods from a wide range of (interdisciplinary) fields (Baker 2006).

Topic – 227: Some Aspects of Corpus Approach to LGS Research

Some scholars believe that corpus approaches will not be appropriate or even fully functional with their data, due to restricted size. Many of these scholars are working with ‘opportunistic corpora’, which ‘represent nothing more nor less than the data that it was possible to gather for a specific task’ (McEnery and Hardie 2012: 11). Some datasets are extraordinarily difficult to scale up: for instance, corpora of dead or dying languages. Others are very time consuming to collect and/or process, meaning that any gain in size is accompanied by an extreme expenditure of labour, as is the case with spoken corpora. Finally, some corpora are simply restricted or entirely closed: the works of Shakespeare or Dickens, for example, are no longer growing; whereas certain texts (e.g. US presidential inaugural addresses) are released at set intervals, and while it is possible to collect all of these at a given point, the resulting corpus will not number in the millions of words anytime soon.

Topic – 228: Some Main Problems in Corpus Analysis

Corpus approaches have been criticized for ‘counting what is easy to count’ (Stubbs and Gerbig 1993: 8) and divorcing data from context critical to interpretation (Baker 2010). Most problematically for new adopters, there are no instruction booklets or proscribed steps for ‘good’ corpus linguistics (and many warnings that it is easy to do ‘bad’ corpus linguistics). Indeed, there are very few agreed guidelines about exactly what a corpus *is*, except that it must be a machine-readable text of some description. Students often ask, ‘How big is a corpus? Do you measure: in words, utterances, authors, or texts?’ This is slightly easier to answer than, ‘How long is a piece of string?’ but only just.

Topic – 229: Step-by-Step Procedure of Corpus Analysis-I

We hope to demonstrate how corpus linguistic techniques – including frequency, collocation, and concordance analysis, but specifically XML mark-up (a way of inserting searchable data about discursive features into the corpus) – might be used to assist in the analysis of social actor representation (van Leeuwen 2008). By exploring nomination and agency in particular, we show how corpus linguistics tools might be used to highlight interesting findings, even in quite small data sets. As critical discourse analysts, we are interested in the ways that social actors are represented in powerful texts, such as legal discourse.

Topic – 230: Step-by-Step Procedure of Corpus Analysis-II.

To allow for the use of corpus techniques such as frequency, concordance, and collocation, we have incorporated XML mark-up, a set of symbols for tagging. Tagging is done to store extra information about lexical items by wrapping them in tags. For instance, if we are interested in analyzing

social actors in texts, we can begin to ‘tag’ references to them. As *Ms Symonds* [a person in some example corpus] is one such reference, we can add the following tag around the name:

- <actor>Ms Symonds</actor> was sitting in the corner of the sofa

Now the computer will know where actor begins (marked with open angle brackets) and ends (signalled with closing angle brackets, indicated by a forward slash). However, *Ms Symonds* carries more information to the human reader than merely the fact that this is a social actor. For instance:

- a) *Ms* indicates that this social actor is likely a woman;
- b) In this clause, the social actor is in the nominative position, as the agent or ‘doer’;
- c) The term of reference here is a given name, rather than a pronoun or a common noun.

Topic – 231: Step-by-Step Procedure of Corpus Analysis-III

‘Elements are the main building blocks of XML’ and the ‘structure is tripartite consisting of **element, attribute, and attribute value**’ (Rühlemann, Bagoutdinov, and O’Donnell 2015: 9). In our example taken from a corpus that was made up with sentencing remarks of American judges in cases of violence against women, the element is an actor. Attributes of interest include gender (a, above), grammatical case (b, above), and name type (c, above). The values for these attributes are ‘woman’, ‘nominative’, and ‘given’. This translates into the following tag:

- <actor gender=“f” case=“nom” name=“given”>Ms Symonds</actor> was sitting in the corner of the sofa

Adding such tags to all items of interest means that the computer will be able to see (and search for) all actors at once. It will also be able to search for more fine distinctions (e.g. all actors whose names are given) or combinations (e.g. all female actors in the nominative position). Notice that these tags seem perfectly suited to our research interest. XML does not have predefined tags and it is extensible, which means that users can define new elements, attributes, or values at any time, and the computer will interpret them without issue.

This is not to say that racing into a corpus and assigning *ad hoc*, snowballing collections of tags will be helpful for research. Like all methods, a measured, scientific approach to this one is the most beneficial. As we are taking a corpus linguistic approach, working with computerized texts, the first and foremost principle is that of computer tractability. For us, ‘the single most important design principle is that *similar instances be encoded in predictably similar ways*’ (Edwards 2001: 324, emphasis in original).

Human readers can tell, for instance, that *tho* and *though* are variant encoding of the same word; likewise, once social actors have been introduced in a text, practised readers will follow cohesion strategies and recognise that variants (i.e. *Georgina* and *Ms Symonds*) refer to the same person. However, unless special provisions are made, computers will treat *tho*, *though*, *Georgina*, and *Ms Symonds* as entirely unrelated entities. Why not just search for these separately?

First, compiling all possibilities may be difficult or even impossible. Perhaps more importantly, searching for – and considering – one variant may lead to unrepresentative and misleading results. Adding tags which link all variants is one way of allowing the computer to read a text like a human

would ... only much more quickly. Put simply: in order for resulting discussions to be meaningful, we must have a research question which necessitates one or more distinctions between categories and we must create enough categories that each instance has a good, clear fit (and no more than that). It is important to be very systematic in design, as categories 'within a contrast set usually cannot be interpreted without knowledge of the number and type of other categories in that set' (Edwards 2001: 323).

When doing discourse analysis, being exhaustive in category design also comes with a built-in reward: very rare or particularly interesting cases will have attributes and values of their own, and will be identified and detailed in any discussion. Therefore, low frequency is no longer a 'hiding place' of noteworthy results, and we are no longer guilty of counting what is easy to count (Stubbs and Gerbig 1993: 78).

Topic – 232: Topics for Corpus Studies in LGS

You may ask any question or set of questions on any of these topics of this course. Define your objectives. Make a plan for corpus building. Collect data according to a decided size of sample. The sample should cover all aspects of your questions. Select a software and transfer your data into it through files of a specific pattern. Use the software to get your desired results. Display results according to your research questions. Discuss your results and draw conclusions.

You can conduct research following this methodology on any topic of language and gender. Some suggestions for corpus based studies are:

- Semiotic representation of women criminals (in context of court trials).
- Determining the effect of gender stereotyping on patient feedback (in hospital context).
- Investigating gendered language through collocation (regularly co-occurring patterns). (In educational context, for example). ...and so on.

Lesson 40

LANGUAGE SEXISM-I**Topic – 233: Language Reform: Introduction**

Since the 1960s, the issue of sexist language has been keenly debated within feminist circles. The concern to change language which discriminated against women and which seemed to belittle and trivialize those activities associated with women was a key concern for feminist theorists and activists, trying to change the way that women were represented in advertisements, newspapers and magazines, and also the way that they were named and addressed in texts and in interaction. The debate has widened within recent years, so that 'sexism' and the more problematic 'political correctness' are no longer terms which only have currency within feminist theory but which are used by people outside the university context. However, both these terms 'sexism' and 'political correctness' are now used in ways which are often very different from their original feminist usage.

Whilst there are many definitions of sexism, one which is often cited is 'the practices whereby someone foregrounds gender when it is not the most salient feature' (Vetterling-Braggin, 1981). We may interrogate the definition as a liberal-feminist notion that sexism is based on an error made by the speaker or writer which can be rectified when brought to their notice. It assumes a position of objectivity from which statements can be judged as sexist and from which gender can be seen to be not in fact 'the most salient feature'. We may challenge this view that sexism is simply an individual mistake or slip caused by thoughtlessness or lack of awareness (although it is, of course, sometimes the result of these factors) which can be rectified by simply pointing out the error and suggesting alternative usages.

Various writers have argued that when theoretical arguments and paradigms are divorced from their actual contexts, then a discussion of feminist principles has the potential to become apolitical. Once the discussion shifts from the particular into the abstract, it becomes difficult to ask vital feminist questions, such as to whom the differences of gender matter and what might be done about them.

Topic – 234: Type of Sexism

People use lexical choice, where there are alternatives available, as a way of signaling their views about the position of women in society. We need therefore to ask ourselves what motivates sexism and what discursive purposes it serves, as it clearly has effects on those who use sexist language, as well as on those to whom it is directed.

I will be distinguishing between institutionalized sexism and the more 'creative' forms of sexism which individuals use. Sexist language has often been institutionalized in dictionaries and grammar books, in policy documents and government reports, through the use of generic pronouns (see 3.1.3) and particular terms to refer to women.

Topic – 235: Institutionalized & Creative Sexism

Institutionalized sexism is one where, as Butler (1997: 25) puts it, the institution speaks through the individual, and she comments:

The ritual dimension of convention implies that the moment of utterance is informed by the prior and indeed the future moments that are occluded by the moment itself. Who speaks when convention speaks? In what time does convention speak? In some sense it is an inherited set of voices, an echo of

others who speak as the 'I'. This conventional speech seems familiar and known because it is based on stereotypical and commonsense beliefs about women. Because of their conventional and authorized nature, because the individual who utters them has not invented these ideas, in a sense s/he also does not have to take responsibility for them as they emanate from elsewhere, from the society or at least a part of the society. What is missing from Butler's account of the way sexism and racism work is that these utterances are challenged by other discourses within society.

However, institutional sexism is not all that sexism is; in some ways, people interact with these institutionalized forms and create new forms of sexist usage in a similar pattern or model of the institutionalised form. Sexism may be seen as a form of language which is institutionalized and which is available to people to use. However, if people do use it, because it has begun to develop negative connotations amongst large sections of the society, and because it seems to be anachronistic, they might be considered to be conservative as well as being discriminatory. Thus, rather than seeing sexism as something which is imposed. Since sexism seems to be invoked most often when women are considered to be encroaching on masculine territory, many of the campaigns about language use have taken place within the sphere of the workplace. Pauwels (2003: 561) argues that to date non-sexist language policies are in place in most public sector and in many large private sector organizations in English-language countries. They are also increasingly found in European countries and in supranational organizations such as UNESCO.

Cameron (1995) suggests that issuing guidelines for language usage is based on a simplistic model of language and language change. Simply replacing an offensive word with a neutral word does not for her mean that you eliminate sexist language. She uses the term 'verbal hygiene' (with all of the derogatory connotations of an excessive fondness for cleaning with which that phrase is associated) to refer to those campaigns against discriminatory language.

Topic – 236: Sexism in Dictionaries

Hellinger and Pauwels (2007: 667) argue that 'dictionaries like grammars, are sites of codification and normative language'. Because of this they play an important role in the way that the language changes and they can act as 'gate-keepers' of authoritative usage. In the 1980s and 1990s, many feminists criticized dictionaries for featuring sexist terms without labeling them as offensive. Hellinger and Pauwels (2007: 667) argue that dictionaries 'have institutionalised sexist language in their choice of definitions and examples (use of androcentric generics, asymmetrical gender-marking, the communication of stereotypical gender roles)'. Kramarae and Treichler (1985: 119) comment on the process whereby dictionaries define terms and cite literary examples of their usage; they argue that:

A dictionary is a word-book which collects somebody's words into somebody's book. Whose words are collected, how they are collected, and who collects them all influence what kind of book a given dictionary turns out to be and in turn whose purpose it can best serve. Drawing attention in this way to the specificity of the perspective of the sources which are drawn upon and the purposes the definitions serve challenges the portrayal of dictionaries as simply descriptive tools, objective collections of current usage. In response to this institutionalization of sexist terms, several feminists constructed dictionaries themselves which did not function in the same way as other dictionaries, that is to standardize usage; instead they acted as a form of critique of conventional dictionaries and as a source-book of feminist knowledge and neologisms (Mills, 1989; Kramarae and Treichler, 1985).

In this way they foregrounded the way in which all definitions are to an extent subjective. For example, in Kramarae and Treichler's *Feminist Dictionary*, the sources which they quote from as exemplary usages are often feminist writings rather than mainstream literature. Thus 'cosmetics' is

defined as ‘a mask used primarily by women which can be an aid for performances of various kinds even for appearing a conventional woman’ and ‘man-made chemicals that clog your pores and make your eyelashes fall out’.

Topic – 237: Sexist Use of Personal Pronouns

Feminist campaigns to use pronouns which are truly generic have led to a radical change in the usage of generic pronouns, so that it is rare now to encounter ‘he’ used generically, since publishers advise authors not to use them and generally edit out such usage. Institutions such as trades unions and universities have produced guidelines for usage.⁸ Cooper (1984) documented a decline of the use of generic ‘he’ and ‘man’ in a study of US newspapers. Pronoun use in English has perhaps changed more than any other area of language usage and it is the area where feminists have been most inventive, for example using ‘she/he’, ‘s/he’ and ‘they’ instead of ‘he’. The difficulty in using these forms is when one wishes to use a singular generic reference, for example ‘the reader needs to pay attention to [. . .] language use’, or ‘when the baby asserts [. . .] will’. In these examples, ‘his or her’ can seem rather clumsy, especially when used extensively over a paragraph rather than just in one sentence, and ‘their’ seems, to some, to be ungrammatical.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet argue that ‘they’ used for a singular referent is perfectly acceptable, as for example in ‘Someone called but they didn’t leave their name’ (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003: 256). They stress that this only works, however, if the original referent is indefinite (i.e. someone, a friend of mine), for example ‘Someone said that they would pick that up for me’; whereas when the referent is definite, ‘they’ does seem odd, for example ‘My teacher promised they would write a letter of recommendation.’

However, there are a range of different strategies for dealing with pronoun reference. Writers such as Coates (1996) use ‘she’ and ‘her’ throughout their work for generic reference, and Sperber and Wilson (1986), in their work on Relevance theory, use ‘she’ to refer to the speaker and ‘he’ to refer to the hearer, a practice which most Relevance theorists have continued (Christie, 2000). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) have even coined a new reflexive pronoun ‘themselves’ so that they can use a singular term for generic reference, for example ‘it is unnerving to walk in on someone talking to themselves’.⁹ Holmes (2001: 124) notes that use of generics is not consistent; often there is a certain ‘slippage’ ‘where an utterance starts as a generic but slips into masculinity before it ends’.

Other terms where there seems to be no generic equivalent are ‘seaman’, ‘ombudsman’ and ‘craftsman’, although ‘craftsperson’ and ‘ombudsperson’ are occasionally used. In some cases, there is dispute about the generic term and this intersects with other disputes over the term, for example ‘dustman’ is still used, partly because no generic has been developed apart from ‘cleansing operative’.¹¹ However, certain occupational generic terms do seem to have been adopted, such as ‘police officer’ and ‘firefighter’. This may be because certain police forces have taken the issue of language extremely seriously (Greater Manchester Police, 2000; 2001a). In the case of ‘firefighter’, it is noticeable that the change from ‘fireman’ to ‘firefighter’ was largely due to media reporting of the firefighters’ strike in 2004 when ‘fireman’ was rarely used.

LESSON 41

LANGUAGE SEXISM-II

Topic – 238: Inventive Use of Generic Pronouns and Nouns

The so-called generic use of pronouns and nouns is not necessarily built into the grammatical structure of a language. It is generally introduced into a language and subsequently regulated by grammarians, and, as I have shown, it can be changed, even though it feels deeply embedded in the structure of the language. Sunderland (2006), drawing on Spender (1980), examined the introduction of sexist structures into the language and the role of grammarians in regulating the introduction and maintenance of usages. She has shown how, in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, grammarians issued prescriptive statements affecting how gender should be handled in language.

Thus, it is important to examine the history of the introduction and regulation of this particular type of pronoun and generic noun use, so that we recognise that we can bring about change in usages which seem embedded in the structure of the language. Many feminist theorists (Braun, 1999; Braun and Kitzinger, 1999) have noted that the insult terms used for women are sexualised, and, as a case study, I would like to examine the use of ‘bitch’, ‘ho’, ‘pimp’ and ‘faggot’ in gangsta rap music, since many argue that the use of these terms is highly problematic.

Topic-239: Insult Terms for Women

US and British rappers such as So Solid Crew, Jay Z, Snoop Dog and Eminem have been attacked by journalists and politicians for their use of language which is seen to objectify women and glorify violence and gang culture. The rappers are accused of inciting violence towards and abuse of women, particularly because of the use of words such as ‘bitch’, ‘pimp’ and ‘ho’ in their lyrics, which assumes that the relation between men and women is in fact like that between prostitutes and their pimps. Gangsta rap or hip-hop is attacked primarily because of its association with gun culture and the glorification of violence. Hip-hop is a ‘masculinist’ or ‘hypermasculine’ genre of music where the protagonists bolster their own sense of authenticity and ‘realness’ (Stephens, 2005: 23). Particularly for white rappers, it is essential to present themselves as hard, tough and full of rage. This hyper-masculinity is epitomized in the figure of the ‘pimp’ or ‘mack’ who features in much hip-hop.

Furthermore, ‘realness’ is derived from public perceptions that the stories told by rappers are in fact narratives about the real lives of the singers. However, as Stephens has pointed out, there is often a wide gap between the claims of rappers about their involvement in crime and gun culture and their real lives. And Ogbar (2005: 1073) has noted that there is a contrast to be made between the ‘misogynistic lyrics of rappers with their real-life expressions of affection and respect for female family members or women business partners. In a larger music industry of virtually no black women executives, many gangsta rappers proudly noted their preference for black women business managers, agents and professional handlers.’

Thus, Quinn argues that we should not take the use of these misogynistic terms too literally, and must be aware of their complexity and self-reflexiveness. Quinn documents the history of the pimp figure, deriving as it does from the trickster figure of African folklore, and the derivation of rapping from the black oral practice of narrative ‘toasts’ and ‘playing the dozens’ or verbal duelling. We should not assume that these insult terms are used only by male rappers. Some female rappers also affirm hyper-masculinity and use these insult terms to refer to themselves. Quinn (2000) describes the black female group Boss who have released songs such as ‘Diary of a Mad Bitch’ and ‘Recipe of a Hoe’. Quinn (2000:

116) comments: ‘for these female artists in a male driven form, the central features of their hoe personae are materialism, their commodification of sex, and their rejection of romance-based courting rituals’.

Topic – 240: Political Correctness

As a term, ‘political correctness’ or ‘PC’ has been problematic ever since it was developed. Cameron (1995) notes that, even when it was first used in the 1960s amongst those on the left, to denote someone whose political leanings were considered too doctrinaire, it was an ironising term, mocking the Maoist focus on ‘correct thinking’. Berman suggests that it was ‘an ironic phrase among wised-up lefties to denote someone whose line-toeing fervour was too much to bear’ (Berman, cited in Suhr and Johnson, 2003: 9).

Suhr and Johnson (2003) suggest that ‘PC’ is used to refer to those who are seen to over-politicise issues which are considered to be outside the realm of conventional politics; thus, one way of denying the claims of feminists and anti-racist campaigners is to accuse them of bringing politics into contexts where it is not appropriate, for example within educational establishments or local government. The arguments about ‘political correctness’ have therefore not simply been arguments about language.

Fairclough (2003: 17) states ‘we might see the controversy around ‘political correctness’ as a political controversy in which both those who are labeled ‘PC’ and those who label them ‘PC’ are engaged in a politics which is focused upon representations, values and identities – in short, a ‘cultural politics’. The focus on ‘political correctness’ is, in a sense, a way of doing politics by other means, and of the opponents of anti-discrimination campaigns simplifying and polarizing complex political struggles. Suhr and Johnson (2003:15) argue: a media driven umbrella term such as ‘political correctness’ can be drawn upon as a means of discursively suppressing (sub)-cultural contradictions and dilemmas . . . In many cases ‘PC’ not only simplifies and trivializes – but ultimately collapses – complex social political and economic phenomena in the manner of what Bourdieu (1991) refers to as ‘symbolic violence’. The development of the term ‘political correctness’ with its negative connotations has undoubtedly made the process of linguistic reform advocated by many feminists much more complicated and problematic.

Topic – 241: Verbal Hygiene

Because language-using is paradigmatically a social, public act, talking (and writing and signing) must be carried on with reference to norms, which may themselves become the subject of overt ..comment and debate. In our everyone interactions we take this for granted; and necessarily so, for without recourse to such ordinary metalinguistic practices as correcting slips of the tongue, asking what someone meant by something and disputing their usage of particular words, the enterprise of communicating would be even more fraught with difficulty than it already is.

Living in an advanced stratified society at the end of the twentieth century I am surrounded by a complex array of practices regulating language use, many of them highly codified and institutionalized, accompanied by passionate debate and exploited by profitable industries. Verbal hygiene is a going concern in culture. It is also a neglected one in linguistics. This last assertion will puzzle many readers. Surely; when I use the term ‘verbal hygiene’, I am referring to what linguists know as ‘prescriptivism’, a topic extensively commented on and with a growing scholarly literature of its own (e.g. Baron 1980; Crowley 1989). Let me make clear, then, that despite some overlap in meaning, ‘verbal hygiene’ is not intended as a synonym for ‘prescriptivism’.

Topic – 242: Prescriptivism

The belief that *prescriptivism* is dysfunctional is most clearly expressed in *expert* attitudes to language. These commonly conceive of languages as *naturally variable and changing* structures, and of speakers as awkward creatures who violate these *natural* structures by misusing and corrupting 'language'. Linguists and non-linguists each defend what they consider to be the natural order of things. The result is that the folk view of all language change is displaced in linguistics on to one particular sort of change: that which results from prescriptive 'interference'.

For Lakoff there is a difference between 'spontaneous' changes, which should be 'let alone', and 'other forms of language manipulation' which do not arise spontaneously but are engineered deliberately; and are 'far more dangerous'. In other words, language change is healthy only when it comes 'from below, or within' - that is, without the conscious agency of language-users. The idea of language as a natural phenomenon existing apart from its users is associated historically with the nineteenth-century precursor of modern linguistics, comparative philology)T. It has 'expert' rather than 'folk' roots, though by now it is part of folk wisdom as well. James Milroy cites it precisely in order to challenge it: as he says (1992: 23), 'it is not true that language is a living thing (any more than swimming, or birdsong, is a living thing): it is a vehicle for communication *between* living things, namely human beings.' His own approach places emphasis on the activities of speakers and stresses that 'the language' is always an abstraction or idealization.

On the other hand, Milroy does appear to share the expert view of prescription as unnatural interference that sets arbitrary limits on the inherent variability of languages (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1985). While he castigates earlier historians of language for their own unnoticed, pro-standard prejudices, he seems less acutely aware of the value judgement implied by the conventional use of such terms as 'natural' in relation to variation and change.

If 'natural' here means something like 'observed to occur in all speech communities to a greater or lesser extent', then the kind of norm-making and tinkering linguists label 'prescriptive' is 'natural' too: not all languages and varieties undergo the institutional processes of standardization, but all are subject to some normative regulation.

Prescriptivism is also a negative term for linguists in a more technical sense. It is the disfavoured half of a binary opposition, 'descriptive/ prescriptive'; and this binarism sets the parameters of linguistics as a discipline. The very first thing any student of linguistics learns is that 'linguistics is descriptive not prescriptive' - concerned, in the way of all science, with objective facts and not subjective value judgments. Prescriptivism thus represents the threatening. Other, the forbidden; it is a spectre that haunts linguistics and a difference that defines linguistics.

Topic – 243: Prescriptivism Vs Linguistics

James Milroy (1992) addresses the confusion that exists around the question of normativity when he asserts that 'all language descriptions, no matter how objective they are, must be *normative* ... because to be accurate they have to coincide with the consensus norms of the community concerned' (pp. 8-9).⁴ He goes on to criticize the way linguists often equate 'normative' with 'prescriptive', claiming there is a distinction between observing norms (which is what linguists are doing whether they admit it or not) and enforcing them (as prescriptivists try to do).

Milroy notes that descriptive (norm-observing) statements are often treated by language users as if they were prescriptive (norm-enforcing) for example, people often use a work like the *English*

Pronouncing Dictionary, which records the norms of Received Pronunciation (RP), as a guide to 'correct' pronunciation - but he dismisses this as 'irrelevant', a question of social attitudes to RP.

I do not find it irrelevant for our understanding of language and linguistic change that norm-observing is so often interpreted as, or turned into, norm-enforcement. Indeed, it is striking that among present-day users of English the most revered authorities are those that claim most unequivocally to be 'descriptive', and therefore disinterested (the most obvious example is *The Oxford English Dictionary*, which is usually taken to settle any argument about the existence, meaning and spelling of English words).

However, there is a double standard here: apparently it is other people's 'prescriptivism' that linguists find deplorable; their own expert prescriptions should be accorded a different status. The very fact that 'language planning is distinguished from 'prescriptivism' in the scholarly literature underlines the point made earlier, that 'prescriptivism' is less a neutral description of certain activities than a value judgement on them.

These observations on the instability of the descriptive/prescriptive opposition in theory and practice do not imply that linguists must stop investigating language use, nor even that they should necessarily refrain from engaging in norm-enforcing activities like language planning. But perhaps the arguments put forward above should make linguists think twice about denying the normative character either of what they study or of their own activity in studying it. For what these arguments imply is that the overt anti-prescriptive stance of linguists is in some respects not unlike the prescriptivism they criticize. The point is that *both* prescriptivism *and* anti-prescriptivism invoke certain norms and circulate particular notions about how language ought to work. Verbal hygiene comes into being whenever people reflect on language in a critical (in the sense of 'evaluative').

Lesson 42

LANGUAGE SEXISM-III

Topic – 244: Verbal Hygiene as Threat to Communication

We are back once again to the way verbal hygiene is not just about ordering language itself, but also exploits the powerful symbolism in which language stands for other kinds of order - moral, social and political. The social analogue of a 'breakdown in communication' is a breakdown in cultural and political consensus, the eruption into public discourse of irreconcilable differences and incommensurable values.

Thus the anxiety that gets expressed as 'if we don't obey the rules we won't be able to communicate' might equally be defined as an anxiety about moral relativism or social fragmentation. Just as 'we speak the same language' is a metaphor for sharing interests and values, so the idea that meaning is contested and relative is metaphorically a recognition of the inevitability of difference and conflict. But most forms of verbal hygiene are practised in order to ward off the threat, by making language a fixed and certain reference point. The anxieties that lie behind the rhetoric of 'communication' are not, of course, novel. But in the conditions of the late twentieth-century West, one might argue that the old anxieties are likely to become intensified.

In the nineteenth century verbal hygiene movements on behalf of disempowered groups tended to be about getting access to public discourse. Thus women at the Seneca Falls conference in 1848, a landmark of organized feminism in the US, passed a resolution condemning the taboo on female public speakers; Chartists in England battled for the right to speak and present petitions to parliament; access to literacy was an important issue for enslaved and colonized peoples. In the twentieth century however, radical forms of verbal hygiene practised by citizens of western democracies are more concerned with contesting the terms of discourse in the public sphere.

Topic – 245: Institutionalized Verbal Hygiene

As Simon Jenkins, formerly editor of *The Times* newspaper, reminded his staff in 1992, 'Great writing may break rules, but good writing does well to observe them' (*The Times* 1992: 5). But what are the rules for 'good writing', and who makes them? What is the source of their authority and influence? There is no mystery about the authority of *The Times* style guide for *Times* writers. If Simon Jenkins disliked a particular usage he had the power to ban it outright. Idle or bloody-minded reporters who ignored the instructions in the guide could expect, at least in theology), to have the offending expressions removed from their copy by a vigilant sub-editor.

What is more mysterious, however, is where people like Simon Jenkins come by the particular notions about good and bad writing which their subordinates 'do well to observe'. Although his authority to make rules for *Times* writers is in principle absolute, neither Mr Jenkins nor those in receipt of his prescriptions are likely to regard them as a capricious display of power: few of the rules, if any, are of his own invention, and he is quick to defer to higher authorities himself - to Fowler (of *Modern English Usage* fame), Gowers (*Plain Words*) and *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors* (ODWE).

Consider the text you are reading now. From the moment I began to compose it, it was shaped by all kinds of rules and norms: the rules of standard English grammar and spelling, the norms of

appropriate diction and tone, as well as ideas about style that go beyond correctness or appropriateness to a more aesthetic sphere of 'elegance' (e.g. be brief: be specific, avoid jargon and cliché). I cannot claim I always observe all the relevant prescriptions, and sometimes indeed I deliberately flout them (for instance, as this paragraph shows, I have little time for the traditional rule 'avoid the first person singular').

But when I make this sort of choice I am aware I may be called to account for it. Thus long before an editor ever sees my text, I am influenced by my knowledge of editorial practices and preferences. At a certain stage of composition this book was contracted to a particular publisher, a development that typically brings with it further editorial considerations. Many publishers issue their authors with a booklet setting out key features of the 'house style'.

Eventually; a text like this one goes to the publishing house, where it is passed to a copy editor. The editor checks once again that it conforms to house style, and also to a much larger body of rules contained in the publisher's preferred 'style bible' - a general and comprehensive reference work (in Britain usually the ODWE, in the US commonly The Chicago Manual of Style). The application of these authorities together with the editor's own judgement produce a long list of queries and amendments which must be settled before the book can go to press.

Topic – 246: Verbal Hygiene & Gender-I

In 1990, the University of Strathclyde's Programme of Opportunities for Women Committee (POWC) put in hand the drafting of a leaflet on 'gender-free language,. The finished product, entitled 'Gender free language: guidelines for the use of staff and students' was issued to staff in late 1991, and publicized outside the university through a press release. Overall, the main impact of the document was symbolic - which is not, however, to say it had *no* impact. On the contrary, and despite the lack of enforcement, it provoked a good deal of discussion in the university both at the planning stage and at the time when it was issued to staff. It also attracted a fair amount of outside interest, with many other universities requesting copies. (strangely given the late date, Strathclyde's was one of the first such policies prepared specifically for a university~ and it was also very well publicized.).

Over time, the convener of POWC built up a sizeable file of correspondence about it. What is most interesting about this correspondence is that it provides a clear indication of which arguments for linguistic reform are found persuasive and which are unconvincing or likely to inflame hostility. It also indicates which particular linguistic modifications are most and least contentious. In other words, it offers evidence not only about the process of linguistic change, but also about the *reasons* why verbal hygiene succeeds or fails in this kind of institutional setting.

Topic – 247: Verbal Hygiene & Gender-II

An appeal to accuracy and 'better communication' is invariably persuasive, but once again it is not particularly radical: it depends on the notion of language as a simple 'mirror of nature'. The argument also assumes that when people use generic masculine terms, they *intend* the reference to be generic, and will therefore be receptive to suggestions that they should make that intention explicit. Another principle to which the guidelines appeal is fairness or parity the notion that if you have two groups, they should receive identical or at least parallel treatment. This consideration applies, for instance, to the selection of titles for males and females (why should women but not men have to reveal marital status?); to the use of terms such as *girls* (only acceptable if the equivalent male group would be *boys*) and to the question of feminine suffixes (if two people do the same thing, why call one of them an *author* and the other an *authoress*?).

The overall impression that this leaflet gives me is that the female staff and students are sitting there nursing oversized persecution complexes, imagining slights when none are intended. Such folk exist. I have met some of each gender. One can only be sorry for them and perhaps encourage them to seek psychiatric help, for they are a menace to themselves and everyone else. (Memorandum, 14 November)

Topic – 248: Liberal & Radical Verbal Hygiene

The point that political discourse has more to do with norms and values than with facts is not always recognized by politically motivated verbal hygienists themselves. Those who engage in the form of political discourse known as 'political correctness' are not united in their underlying conception of the verbal hygiene project. Some advocates of linguistic reform share the assumptions of liberals. From this perspective, the object of tampering with linguistic conventions is to make the point that the way of using language which most people consider 'natural' is not natural at all; or, for those who prefer a 'cultural' metaphor, that despite invocations of the common language that serves the common good, some parties to the linguistic contract are actually more equal than others.

An illustration that may make the difference clearer once again concerns the vexed question of gender and English generics. Most feminists reject the traditional generic masculine, as in 'ascertain a client's circumstances before you give him advice'; but on the question of what to replace it with there is a two-way or perhaps even three-way division. One group favour unmarked or *neutral* terms: the sentence above should be recast in the plural ('before you give them advice'), or the passive ('before advice is given'). This solution falls into the first, liberal category of verbal hygiene, stressing accuracy and fairness: 'clients' after all will include both men and women. A slightly more radical variant is to use a disjunct, 'him or her'. Those who prefer this solution usually justify it by arguing that neutral or genderless terms are often covertly interpreted as masculine, so that if your aim is to ensure that women are included you must mention them explicitly)!

The third, radical solution, however, is quite different - to use a feminine generic, e.g. 'ascertain a client's circumstances before you give her advice'. Here it is obvious that the aim is not accuracy or fairness. Noone believes that all clients are women, and furthermore no one believes that feminine pronouns in English can properly be used as generics. Faced with this sentence, readers must engage in more interpretive work than either the original sentence or the 'neutral' recasting would require. They must begin by asking themselves why the writer has chosen this unusual formulation. They may spend a little time considering the possibility that the sentence is about a service whose clients are, in fact, exclusively women. If the context offers no support for this hypothesis, they must go on to interpret the word 'her' as generic in order to make the sentence make sense. In the process they may find themselves reflecting on such questions as: 'what does it mean that we usually say "him" without a second thought? Why does it bother me if someone says "her" instead?'

What makes radical verbal hygiene radical linguistically is its insistence that words do not simply 'have' fixed, shared meanings. They acquire their meanings only in a context, and a crucial element of that context - one which is usually invisible, but which the radical brand of verbal hygiene is specifically designed to *make* visible - is the power relations operating within it.

Lesson 43

IMPACT OF LGS STUDIES-I

Topic – 249: Impact as Advocacy

Today, researchers in many parts of the world are exhorted by government agencies, funding bodies, and the institutions which employ them to maximize the impact of their work beyond their own academic community.

Exactly how ‘**impact**’ is defined and measured varies widely across systems and institutions. What different definitions have in common, however, is the principle that researchers should contribute not only to the advancement of knowledge in their own academic field, but also to the larger economic and social good, by making the knowledge they produce accessible and relevant to non-academic constituencies which have a stake in it, a use for it, or an interest in it. For researchers in the field of language and gender studies this is not a new development: there is a long tradition of engagement with both feminist and more ‘general’ public outside. There are a number of ways in which researchers may pursue impact. . Some research is designed from the outset to have applications outside the academy: it may be commissioned by, or carried out in collaboration with, a non-academic partner (e.g. a government department, a charity, or a commercial company), or it may be undertaken independently, but with the aim of informing policy or practice in a domain such as healthcare or education. Some language and gender research falls into this category.

Research which is not ‘applied’ in the sense just discussed may nevertheless be designed to benefit the research subjects and/or the community they belong to, adopting what Cameron et al. (1992) label an ‘**advocacy**’ approach. This has been a common practice in sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological research, where the best-known examples have involved researchers advocating on behalf of disempowered minority language-users and speakers of stigmatized nonstandard dialects (see e.g. Lawson and Sayers 2016).

Topic – 250: Notable Advocacy Research

As Lakoff (2004: 18) recalls in her introduction to the thirtieth anniversary edition of *Language and Woman’s Place* (a book which was one of the earliest and most influential examples of public engagement by a language and gender scholar): ‘It was recognized early that language was important, that there were consequences when grown women were “girls” and the masculine pronoun was “normal” to refer to everybody’. Language and gender research was gradually becoming more visible, more organised, and more academically ‘respectable’; it was still seen by many practitioners as a ‘feminist’ area of inquiry, but as time went on there was less consensus on what that meant. Feminist perspectives were themselves increasingly diverse, and there were also some researchers who argued that the field’s historical association with feminist politics and feminist theory had become an obstacle to scientific progress (for an example see Preisler 1998; a feminist counter-argument was made by Cameron 1999).

Tannen’s book *You Just Don’t Understand* (1990), which became an international bestseller and made its author a household name. Its impact was indisputable, but it was also highly controversial. There were two main reasons for this controversy. Tannen had used a popular generic formula (that of the self-help or advice book) as the vehicle for her argument that gender differences in language-use arose from the differing experiences of boys and girls in same-sex childhood peer groups, and that in later life these differences led to systematic miscommunication between individuals of different sexes. This ‘difference’ or ‘two cultures’ approach was favoured by some researchers in the 1980s.

The Myth of Mars and Venus (Cameron 2007) harks back to the explicitly political/ polemical writing of the 1970s; but it reflects the mood of its moment by being a more defensive intervention, an attempt to counter the ‘post-feminist’ biological essentialism that seemed to be in the ascendant 30 years later. At the same time, the non- or anti-feminist forms of writing which became popular in the 1990s and early noughties have not faded away. Today, feminist and non-feminist presentations of the subject of language and gender co-exist, and indeed compete, in an increasingly crowded public ‘marketplace of ideas’.

Topic – 251: Impact as Public Engagement

Today there is a much stronger expectation that researchers will take or create opportunities for public engagement, and more pressure on them to develop the necessary skills and habits. Although formal regimes for assessing impact do not necessarily rank the dissemination of expert knowledge to general audiences as highly as, say, applied research or consultancy (in the UK’s Research Excellence Framework public engagement is defined as a ‘path to impact’ rather than a form of impact in itself).

Many universities now offer training sessions on subjects like ‘talking to journalists’, ‘using social media’, or ‘making a podcast’; doctoral students and early career academics are routinely advised to promote themselves and their work by, for instance, maintaining an active Twitter account, starting a personal blog, or contributing regularly to an established group blog. These new practices of professionalization reflect another key development: the proliferation of media platforms which can be used to engage with wider public.

In the pre-digital era only a small and select group of academics could gain access to a mass audience, and to do so they depended on the support of professional gatekeepers (such as the editors who commissioned ‘general interest’ books or opinion pieces in newspapers, and the producers who selected experts to contribute to radio and TV broadcasts). Since the advent of Web 2.0, however, which enables anyone with an internet connection to become a ‘content creator’, it has become possible for academics to bypass the gatekeepers and communicate with non-academic publics directly. Though most academics who blog, vlog, or podcast will be addressing relatively small online audiences, the potential exists for them to attract a large global following – and if they do, there is every chance that the mainstream media gatekeepers will also show an interest. The mainstream itself has expanded to fill the space available online, and academe is among the sources digital media producers have turned to in order to meet their need for a continuous supply of new content.

Topic – 252: Adverse Effects of Maximizing Impact

Some commentators have drawn attention to what they see as the less positive effects. For instance, Roelofs and Gallien (2017) suggest that the use of quantitative measures as evidence of impact has created a perverse incentive for academics to produce ‘clickbait’, seeking to optimize the statistical evidence of impact (number of page views, downloads, citations, comments, shares) by deliberately taking up controversial topics, making provocative arguments, and presenting research findings in sensational terms.

The US sociologist McMillan-Cottom (2015: np) observes that under current conditions academic institutions may well see publicity as one of the benefits of public engagement: ‘attention can be equated with a type of prestige, [and] prestige is a way to shore up institutions when political and cultural attitudes are attacking colleges and universities at every turn’. But what institutions want is positive publicity, and they are often unprepared to deal with the negative variety. If a researcher is attacked or threatened, s/he may not always be able to rely on her institution to protect, defend, or

support her. McMillan-Cottom believes that there is too little institutional awareness of the potential costs of public engagement, especially for women and minority scholars. As she bluntly notes, in most fields – especially those concerned with politically contentious issues such as racism and gender inequality – ‘public scholarship means pissing people off’. Individual researchers are too often expected to bear the costs alone, while conversely, institutions take it for granted that they are entitled to claim a share in any benefits. Language and gender researchers are well-positioned to take advantage of opportunities for wider communication via mass media, because the subject they study does generate both interest and. It is commonly supposed that the main thing that causes problems for academics in dealing with the media is a lack of skills, but arguably an even more significant problem is lack of control: academics do not define, and often have little power to influence, the media’s priorities. That is why it is important to have a sense of what you are *not* prepared to do – and to be willing to say no if those boundaries are not respected.

As I noted earlier, though, in the age of digital media it is possible to bypass the gatekeepers and become not only the creator but also the editor and publisher of your own online content (among academics the main kinds of self-published content are blogs and podcasts, for which there are numerous free and easy-to-use hosting platforms). The obvious benefit this offers is control: you decide what to present to an audience and how. The disadvantage is that, compared to any site with a large preexisting subscriber base, most academic blogs/ podcasts will only ever attract a small audience.

Topic – 253: Gaining Impact through Online Publications

Some of these points, discussed before, can be illustrated by looking at the way language and gender research has been covered in *The Conversation*, an online publication, launched in 2011 to showcase the work of academic researchers and scholars in a form accessible to non-specialists.

Staffed by professional editors and run on a not-for-profit basis, it publishes short, topical pieces under a Creative Commons licence which allows its content to be republished by other media outlets. Not only are contributors to *The Conversation* not paid, universities must pay a subscription fee to make their employees eligible to write for it. This could be compared to the funding model for open-access scholarly publishing where the cost of publication is paid by authors, typically using money from either a research grant or the institution they work for, and its successful adoption by a publication whose purpose is to facilitate wider communication shows how important the impact agenda has become.

What *The Conversation* offers is access to a sizeable global audience, not only via its own site, but also through other sites which republish content from it, and this is now a commodity for which institutions are willing to pay.

Lesson 44

IMPACT OF LGS STUDIES-II

Topic – 254: Impact as a Source of Diverse Views on Language & Gender

A search of the articles published on the site over a 12-month period (October 2016 to September 2017) identified eight items which presented or discussed some kind of language and gender research. Their titles – presumably composed by staff editors rather than academic authors – are listed below in chronological order of publication:

1. ‘He’ versus ‘she’ in Australian media coverage: what the language of news tells us about gender imbalance;
2. Improving gender equality is the key to tackling Britain’s male teacher shortage;
3. Hidden figures: how Black women preachers spoke truth to power;
4. Do men and women really find different words funny? Here’s what the research says;
5. You can tell if someone is attracted to you by their voice;
6. Female doctors show more empathy than male doctors;
7. AI (Artificial Intelligence) can predict whether your relationship will last based on how you speak to each other.

The items listed above represent a range of academic approaches to, and perspectives on, language and gender. Three of them were written by linguists, while the authors of the other five are specialists in business, theology, speech processing, philosophy, engineering and psychology. Overall, it might be concluded, *The Conversation*’s ‘marketplace of ideas’ operates as a free market, fettered only by the requirement that contributors must have reputable academic credentials. Different kinds of expertise and conflicting perspectives on the same subject simply sit alongside one another, leaving it up to individual readers to judge what is valid, useful, enlightening, or interesting.

Topic – 255: Conflict of Academic & Media Interests

The online publications like *The Conversation*’s eclecticism reflects the relatively large role academic contributors themselves play in shaping the site’s content: while access to it does depend on gatekeepers (some contributors are approached by editors, others pitch ideas to them – and some may be identified as potential contributors by the press and PR offices of their own institutions), there is no particular editorial line. By contrast, gatekeepers in the traditional media tend to be more directive. While it is possible for academics to pitch their own ideas to editors and producers, it is more typical for them to be approached by media professionals, who will often be looking not for an open-ended conversation about the subject of a planned story or programme, but for someone with ‘expert’ credentials to endorse the argument they are already committed to.

I (Cameron) know this from personal experience: despite being the author of a book entitled *The Myth of Mars and Venus*, I am regularly contacted by media producers asking me to contribute to a story or feature which presupposes the truth of some well-worn Mars-and-Venus generalisation (e.g. ‘men can’t express their feelings’ or ‘women apologize too much’). If I question this, what most often happens is that the producer decides she has picked the ‘wrong’ expert; after thanking me for my input she will proceed to look for a different one who does not reject the basic premise. This is a point which might merit more attention in the media training offered to academics. Such training tends to presuppose that access to media audiences is desirable in and of itself, and therefore to focus on ‘how to’ questions: how to present or pitch your work so that gatekeepers will be convinced of its relevance and interest, and how to communicate it effectively to an audience once the gatekeepers have given you that opportunity.

My own practice, which has evolved over time and in the light of experience (both good and bad), is to decline to participate in media discussions if the answers to my questions about the format, participants, and angle suggest that the discussion will simply reproduce myths and stereotypes which I consider harmful; I also decline requests to contribute to features which trivialize the subject by treating it as light entertainment (a writer or producer’s use of the word ‘light’, or ‘light-hearted’, is always a red flag). These ‘red lines’ reflect my own personal commitments, and I am not suggesting they should be adopted by every language and gender researcher. What I am suggesting, though, is that all researchers need to think about their own red lines. It is commonly supposed that the main thing that causes problems for academics in dealing with the media is a lack of skills, but arguably an even more significant problem is lack of control: academics do not define, and often have little power to influence, the media’s priorities.

Topic – 256: Engagement through Blogging

As I noted earlier, though, in the age of digital media it is possible to bypass the gatekeepers and become not only the creator but also the editor and publisher of your own online content (among academics the main kinds of self-published content are blogs and podcasts, for which there are numerous free and easy-to-use hosting platforms). The obvious benefit this offers is control: you decide what to present to an audience and how. The disadvantage is that, compared to any site with a large pre-existing subscriber base, most academic blogs/ podcasts will only ever attract a small audience.

My own decision to start a blog (Cameron 2015b) reflected my desire to communicate about language and gender to a particular non-academic audience, namely the new generation of active feminists I mentioned earlier. Considering their age and social location, I believed I was more likely to reach these readers through a blog than through the mass media (I also started a Twitter account so that I could advertise what I published to my target audience, which is well represented on Twitter). In the event, my blog also attracted readers who were not in my target group (e.g. other researchers, teachers, and, through them, students, of language and gender). Of course I am happy to have these readers, but I would not be unhappy if I did not have them, and I continue to design the blog’s content around the concerns of its intended, feminist audience.

In one respect, having a larger and more varied audience than I initially expected has been a problem rather than a bonus. My original aims included facilitating discussion among feminists via the comments section of the blog, but as traffic increased I found myself dealing with a growing number of hostile and abusive comments from readers who obviously were not feminists. The targeting of feminists (and more generally, women) online is, of course, a well-known phenomenon (for a comprehensive discussion see Jane 2017), but I had assumed it would not be a serious problem for an academic blogger seeking to engage a small feminist public in discussion of a ‘niche’ subject.

On a personal blog you can screen comments and decline to publish those you deem inappropriate, but if the volume of comments is high this becomes a very time-consuming task. Eventually I stopped allowing comments. I also refuse the requests I occasionally receive to republish content from my blog in mainstream media sources, because their threshold for deeming comments unpublishable is too low for me.

Topic – 257: Access to Public Debate through Commentaries

One of the roles academics play in the contemporary media marketplace is that of commentators on current events and news stories, and in a world of multichannel, multi-platform, 24-hour news the demand for this kind of commentary has increased, along with the ratio of comment to news reporting. In addition to being asked to do it, academics who self-publish and/or are active on social media often choose to respond to news events or to the public debate they provoke. It might be thought that rather few news stories have any connection with the concerns of language and gender researchers, but in fact a surprising number do.

My own answer would be that academic experts can offer three interrelated things, which I will call **correction, contextualization, and complication**. *Correction* (as in Labov's (1982) 'principle of error correction', formulated in his classic discussion of the ethical responsibilities of sociolinguists to the communities they study) means trying to counter biases, misconceptions, and dubious claims. During the presidential election campaign, it was suggested, on the basis of statistical analysis of word frequencies, that Trump talked 'like a woman'.

The logical and technical problems with this argument were pointed out by the linguist and data analyst Schnoebelen (2016). *Contextualisation* involves drawing attention to the larger patterns which are exemplified by a currently newsworthy case. *Complication* means using expert knowledge to tell a more complex or nuanced story (for example Trump's stories being discussed on media in 2023).

Blogging, maintaining a social media presence, and talking to journalists who contact you (particularly if this becomes a regular occurrence) are all activities that demand time and effort, and since they do not usually involve any formal partnership with a non-academic stakeholder, they may not be counted by academic institutions as part of a researcher's 'official' workload. In these conditions it is reasonable to wonder whether the time they take up is time well spent: are you actually making a difference through your contributions to public debate, or are you being recruited to serve the needs of an industry whose real interest is in entertainment rather than public understanding?

Topic – 258: Impact & Verbal Hygiene

The field of language and gender is the emergence during the last few years of a relatively sustained public counter-discourse critiquing the kind of 'verbal hygiene for women' which, while it has existed for decades (see Cameron 1994), has become a significantly larger and more visible enterprise in the age of digital media. Women, especially young ones, are endlessly castigated for a series of old and new 'verbal tics' which are allegedly undermining their authority and their career prospects: these include using uptalk or vocal fry (Wolf 2015), hedging requests with 'just' (Leanse 2015), 'over-apologizing'.

(Lerner 2015), saying 'I feel like' instead of 'I think' (Worthen 2016), and decorating emails with girly emoji (Best 2017). But the same conditions which have enabled other self-identified 'communication experts' to flood the web with this deficit discourse also make it possible for language

and gender researchers to correct, contextualize, complicate, and criticize it, and many have taken opportunities to do so.

One fairly recent and striking example of, impact through verbal hygiene, occurred in 2015, when a spate of popular media articles criticising women's speech – in particular, their use of up talk and vocal fry – prompted a number of experts to make public interventions (e.g. Cameron 2015a). Their arguments were also picked up and recycled by some non-academic commentators (e.g. Friedman 2015; Marcotte 2015). The expert critique of deficit approaches to women's language-use may not have achieved the status of received wisdom, but it does now have a place in the conversation.

Lesson 45

CHALLENGES & FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN LGS**Topic – 259: The Problem of Generalization**

The theoretical approaches to gender that dominated the twentieth century viewed gender as residing in the minds of individuals, a result of biological sex differences and the internalization of social norms associated with being female or male. Research sought to establish how gender influence cognitive processes and patterns of behaviour.

Many research studies have been conducted with the general aim of establishing stable and universal truths about the nature of women and men. One problem with seeking generalisation about gender is the heterogeneity of people who are categorized as women or men. For example, no single physical characteristic or social experience is common to all women or all men. So any generalisation about gender downplay the variety within gender categories and emphasis differences between them.

Thus one requirement of future work on language use is to attend to the diversity of speech styles amongst women and amongst men and to consider the similarities in the talk of the two groups. Towards the end of the twentieth century there was an increasing (postmodern) scepticism that the scientific study of gender (amongst other things) could reveal truths about what women and men are really like and the kinds of speech styles they use. In psychology this scepticism has been fueled by repeated documentation of the language of science being used to justify women's low status in society.

Topic – 260: Influence of Feminist Psychology-I

Feminist psychologists have described how the 'fantasy life of the male psychologist' (Weisstein, 1968) and 'the mismeasure of woman' (Tavris, 1993) have resulted in a body of knowledge that distorts and exaggerates the characteristics of women and men (e.g. Grady, 1981; Unger, 1992). The development of feminist psychology has been one consequence of the dissatisfaction with 'male-stream' psychology.

Feminist psychology is not a unified sub-discipline. Some forms support the use of scientific principles for understanding women, while others reject the possibility of neutral and value-free knowledge. Nevertheless all styles of feminist psychology share a recognition of women's social, political and economic disadvantage, and work towards challenging the cultural beliefs and social practices that limit the kinds of lives women can lead. A relatively new insight that has emerged from feminist poststructuralist theory is that knowledge about how women and men are is part and parcel of cultural beliefs about how they should be (Butler, 1990a, 1993; Weedon, 1987). Thus the social categories of women and men can be understood as a product of beliefs about, and ways of referring to, gender.

The idea of gender as a product rather than a cause of language challenges the assumptions upon which the vast majority of psychological work on gender and language rests. Furthermore it strikes at the very heart of everyday, common-sense notions of what it means to identify as a woman or a man. Feminist discursive research has begun to demonstrate the productivity of applying post-structural theoretical ideas to the study of gender. For example, Edley and Wetherell (1999) showed how competing ideas of men and masculinity (e.g. as breadwinner or as new man) were used in young men's conversations about fatherhood, in ways that reworked and recuperated beliefs about women's and men's traditional roles in domestic life. Discursive work on issues of concern to feminists (e.g. domestic

violence, sexual abuse, reproductive rights and childcare) is still in its infancy and provides huge potential for future work.

Topic – 261: Influence of Feminist Psychology-II

Another comparatively recent idea for feminist psychology is that dominant beliefs about sex and gender are part and parcel of notions about sexuality. In a study of inter-sexuality, Kessler (1998) illustrated how beliefs in two and only **two gender categories** informed norms of sexuality. Research on gender and language has largely failed to draw links between gender and issues of sexuality. Livia and Hall's (1997) edited collection *Queerly* phrased is an exception. An examination of how ways of talking about gender produce and support heterosexual norms ought to be part of the agenda for feminist language research in the twenty-first century. The general goal of feminist psychology ± to understand and challenge the social practices that endorse and perpetuate the current patriarchal social order ± straddles past, present and future work.

Topic – 262: Discursive Work on LGS

The study of language and discourse is key to achieving that goal. However, one challenge for feminist language researchers is to critically engage with the increasing array of theoretical perspectives and analytic tools available to understand the social world. The innovative use of theory and method is a characteristic of feminist psychology, which means that it has the potential to make a valuable contribution to gender and language research.

An aspect of discursive approaches in psychology is that language and discourse, not cognition, are considered the primary site for the study of psychological concepts such as gender identity. This discursive shift has profound implications for the study of gender and language. Instead of viewing gender as a relatively stable aspect of individuals which is recreated in language use, it is considered to be discursively constituted, worked up, contested and negotiated during interaction, depending on the business at hand. Therefore everyday talk becomes important in discursive approaches, because mundane interaction produces, and is a product of, patterns of social organization.

Topic – 263: Strengthening Cross-Disciplinary Approach

Another challenge for the field of Language and Gender is to continue to develop cross-disciplinary dialogue so that different perspectives are applied to the same issues. For example, discursive psychological approaches have not yet addressed the issue of phonological variation, which is at the heart of much feminist sociolinguistic research using a community of practice framework. An aspect of discursive approaches in psychology is that language and discourse, not cognition, are considered the primary site for the study of psychological concepts such as gender identity.

Topic – 264: Women's Language: A Matrix of all Major Developments

An unfortunate consequence of research that has assumed the notion of '**women's language**' (by Robin Lakoff) as an empirical reality is that it has tended to endorse and perpetuate sex stereotypes. Thus the way women speak has been characterised as, at worst, powerless and, at best, relationship oriented. An ethnomethodological principle followed in the analytic mentality of conversation analysis may provide one way of escaping the historical tendency of gender and language research to endorse and perpetuate stereotyped beliefs about the ways women and men speak.

There has been some theoretical debate about the practical utility, political effectiveness and scholarly completeness of language research that limits its analysis to what a conversation demonstrably means to the participants (e.g. Kitzinger, 2000a; Schegloff, 1997). I have not been an impartial observer of this debate. Rather I have argued that the pervasive nature of gender as a social category means that it is always relevant in the interpretation of social behaviour (Weatherall, 2000a).

Nevertheless, as a strategy to avoid reifying cultural beliefs about gender, the productiveness of using a conversation analytic mentality has yet to be systematically explored (but see Kitzinger, 2000a). The idea that taken-for-granted notions of sex, gender and sexuality are not natural and inevitable consequences of biology or society but are constructed through language and discourse will, I think, be a general theme in **future feminist research** on gender and language. The pervasiveness and taken-for-grantedness of gender are a product of the linguistic and discursive resources available for its construction.

However, the social practices that function to produce and maintain dominant notions of sex, gender and sexuality are yet to be fully understood. **One task for feminist language researchers** is to make the processes of doing gender visible ± to demonstrate that sex/gender are not natural facts but products of the social practices that we engage in. Of course, many everyday rituals as well as social institutions are heavily vested in sex/gender as a fact. So uncovering the constructedness of sex/gender is very much a political as well as a scholarly exercise.