The Gender of Power
Luisa Martín Rob & Concepción Gómez Esteban


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

Ruth Wodak

Introduction: some are more equal than others?

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

Example of a letter of recommendation for a male applicant

Feb. 30, 1994
Dear Dr. Koop:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example of a letter of recommendation for a female applicant

February 30, 1994
Dear Alfred:

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

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

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

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

Sincerely yours,

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

Without going into linguistic details, it is obvious that both letters are written in very different styles and contain appraisals of different qualities, although the qualifications asked for in the advertised position are certainly equivalent. Both researchers have published extensively, are original and innovative, well connected, and have teaching experience. Figure 4.1 gives a good impression of these trends.

Figures:

Training
Teaching
Application
Research
Skills and Career

Figure 4.1: Semantic realms following possessives in equalized numbers of letters 'her training'; 'his research';


Consider the contrastive images that come forth from 'her training', 'her teaching', and 'her application' (for the position), as opposed to 'his research', 'his skills and abilities', and 'his career'. By this measure, the women are portrayed more as students and teachers, while the men are portrayed more as researchers and professors. When dissonance discriminates against women, it is often through subtle and implicit procedures of gate-keeping. Of course, reference letters are written for qualified women as well. Also, of course, it is mostly male colleagues in positions of power who write these letters. The reality is that scholarly authorities are mostly male, especially in the natural sciences. However, there is a great difference in terms of how arguments are structured and of the characteristics attributed to male and female scholars. Consequently, the question of how evidence is perceived in scientific contexts still is a matter of debate, and the criteria for positions of power are different.

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

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

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

The claims for this chapter are as set out below:

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

2 Even in leading positions, women are confronted with ‘double discourses’ (Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban 2003): they have to justify their presence and their achievements constantly and are still measured with different norms. Equal qualifications are not evaluated the same way.

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

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

Gender mainstreaming in the European Union

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

1 The “spouse problem”: if one partner gets a job with an international organization, this usually means that the partner/family has to move. The Commission does not help to find jobs for spouses. Quite
Anumber of Nordic female colleagues are faced with the following problem: their husbands agree to follow them to Brussels/Luxembourg and look after the children. If they are not able to find an adequate job within a couple of years, the husbands go back to their home countries and usually their wives give up their jobs at the Commission as well and return.

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

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

In my unit I never had the feeling that my opinions/performance/achievements/ideas were less valued than those of my male colleagues. Neither did I feel that women had to work hard to be accepted as equals. At least for the first year of my job I enjoyed being treated as a woman and I worked hard to make sure that my achievements were less gender-specific than those of my male colleagues.

In a multicultural environment like the Commission, you get to see all shades of machismo. This can be funny, charming or painful, depending on the situation and one's cultural background/socialization.' She concluded her remarks in the interview, by stating: 'At the Translation Service (STT) the overall number of women is approximately 65%.

A male head of unit preferably recruited a man to his unit to improve the overall gender balance.

The legal norm on 'gender anti-discrimination guidelines' are still at a developmental stage (cf. Engstrom 2000), and the experiences in the USA of 'affirmative action' are clearly ambivalent (see the study on references quoted above and cf. Appelt and Jarosch 2000). Finally, let me add that with the rise of women's studies in academia, the gender gap in representation continues to narrow.

Moreover, the commission wants gender equality in all areas. The promotion of legal and policy initiatives and the willingness to establish a notion of a gender and role identity that will influence the gender mainstreaming approach is one of the main factors in ensuring equal treatment.

It can be observed that the establishment of a gender mainstreaming approach is not only in the interest of women, but it also affects the interests of men. The promotion of equality requires an ambitious approach, the recognition of male and female identities and the willingness to establish a balanced distribution of responsibilities between men and women. The provision of education and training, and the willingness to establish a notion of a gender and role identity that will influence the gender mainstreaming approach is one of the main factors in ensuring equal treatment.

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

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

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

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

Of course, these numbers tell us nothing about the quality of the attendance of these MEPs, of their initiatives and their positioning.
In addition, we do not know which political parties advocate for gender equality or whose positions reflect gender mainstreaming. Further research is needed to understand the role of political parties and their positions on gender equality in the European Union.

Some results from our interviews

In the following section, I would like to provide a few examples from our interviews. We interviewed MEPs and European Commission officials and asked them to reflect on their experiences with gender mainstreaming in the European Union and to provide insights into the challenges and successes of implementing gender equality policies. These interviews offer valuable insights into the dynamics of gender mainstreaming and provide a glimpse into the ongoing process of advancing gender equality in the European Union.

Example 1

 MEP 2 talks about her first experience as rapporteur (see Appendix for an explanation of the transcription conventions).

EXAMPLE 1

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

The transformation of experience and identity: the role of narratives and discursive practices

NARRATIVES AND DISCOURSE"
So—I went to the commissioner Complicating Actions (lines 4–14) with a very good int / int / interpreter and I talked more than an hour with him. because we talked the same about it and at the end he said—

‘well: I have here the advice of my: civil servants but I—agree with you:

and this and this and this all goes through. —'

so you have to be— eh:

I don’t know h / how do we call it in English in / I in the Netherlands we say (brutaal)

so you have to: ((laughs)) be polite Evaluation (lines 16–20) but you have to— you:/you mustn’t be / you mustn’t sit behind your —/your desk. —

because that doesn’t help. ((laughs))

but then then you have the worse system that I tried several times Coda (22–31)

then you have the Council. —

and— it’s very difficult eh:

to negotiate with the Council is my: / eh is my experience:

it’s possible to do: —

but—now they have their own strategy:

and their own— reasons:

eh: and they don’t like the power of the parliament

so: the: /the / that’s — / that’s the most difficult part.

In Example 1, which has been marked for basic narrative structure according to Labov (1972) and Labov and Waletzky’s (1967) model, we see that the MEP’s story is objectively about having a successful meeting with a Commissioner while acting as a rapporteur on a report about Leonardo. In lines 4–6, the complicating actions, she shows how she went to the Commissioner with an interpreter, and because she and the Commissioner had the same understanding of the issues involved (‘because we talked the same about it’), he was willing to support her, despite contrary advice by his ‘civil servants’ on the matters involved. The main point of the story, or evaluation, from MEP2’s perspective, is to show that as an MEP, to get things done, you must be active and assertive, ‘not sit behind your desk’. While MEP2 might have felt hindered by her (and the Commissioner’s) limited language skills in French, she found help through an interpreter and argued her points before the Commissioner, with success. Thus, in this narrative, MEP2 positions herself as an MEP who is proactive and who will do what it takes, including arguing directly with Commissioners, to see that her voice is heard. She also orients herself to being a rapporteur (line 2), which carries some responsibility in a committee, and to being from the Netherlands (line 17), although this last identity is evoked only to characterize her style of work (‘brutaal’ in Dutch, or ‘assertive’).

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

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

Example 2

I figure herethemost common—eh civil— job.—for an MEP

iseen to be a lawyer.

memyself I'm from that

the job I had doesn't even exist outside Scandinavia.

so:— it's a sort of a social teacher—so

I'm very in I'm a very special bird in this:

If mh mm mm sons you don't feel you fit into sort of a

MEP eh MEP

no no no: I'm not. I'm left. I'm a woman. I'm Swedish and I'm also

everything—everything's wrong. (laughs)

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

Atother points in the same interview, MEP3 emphasizes that not only is she an atypical MEP, but also that she is not atypical politician either. This is illustrated in Example 3 below. Thus, she does not follow 'the rules of the game and of the organization'; she is not

mean I know that—even on a national level

I mean there are very many politicians of all sorts in all parties—

that I prefer to meet the people—

I mean you can't just go there. It's more interesting...

...and it's different with me. It's different with me. You say how disgusting and—instead I /

I mean I will not be that sort of person that I always despised!

I mean that if you go to a meeting

you just don't go there.

and you just don't talk for forty-five minutes

and then you leave off—mostly with the plane, first a limo and then a plane and

that's not a boring life.

Just before this excerpt begins, MEP3 and the interviewer have been talking about the kind of contact MEPs have with their constituencies. In this context, MEP3 contrasts her own behavior with that of what she considers to be typical of (male) politicians. In lines 1—3 she casts the typical politician as preferring to meet citizens indirectly, through the media. Alternatively, this typical politician 'drops in' on his constituency only briefly, in a condescending, patronizing ('telling everybody how the situation really is') and elitist ('then you leave off—mostly with a plane, first a limo and then a plane') manner. In lines 10—14 she elaborates on her point of view and emotional reaction to this sort of politician, emphasizing that her opinion of what is 'typical' has been supported by observation over many years and that this is her 'professional' position. This is consistent with what she perceives as being the norm for MEPs. In this context, MEP3 contrasts her professional experience with that of others and just before this excerpt begins, MEP3 has been discussing her experiences as a MEP, and the interviews have been led to a discussion of how her identity as a MEP has been influenced by her experiences in the field of European politics. She is a member of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and has been a member of the European Parliament since 1994. MEP3 is also a member of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs and has been a member of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality since 1999. MEP3 has been a vocal advocate for gender equality and has been involved in numerous initiatives to promote women's rights in the EU. She has also been a strong supporter of the Single Market and has been involved in the negotiations leading to the establishment of the euro. In this context, MEP3 contrasts her own experiences with those of other MEPs, emphasizing her uniqueness and difference from others (much in line with 'idem' and 'ipse' as described by Ricoeur 1992). In both lines 4 and 15, she explicitly dissociates herself from being 'that sort of person'.

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

Conclusions

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

The EP, as described above, through its complexity is much more open and less organized, and thus more flexible. This allows for a wider range of identity constructions: the self-definition are not monitored as closely as in other organizations. More research into these organizational aspects will have to provide more detailed answers. However, if we come back to the beginning of this chapter, we have not answered our basic questions yet: what kind of feminist linguistics and gender studies might have an impact on such social practices? Should we endorse gender-mainstreaming, or should we call for totally different structures of organizations? How can the ‘no-win’ situation for successful women be changed?

Perspectives

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

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

This means that communicative actions, social and symbolic practices are not something that happens within wider frames of reference and contexts (for example, in social systems) in a way that micro contexts would take place within macro contexts or be embedded in them.
Hence it is not a box system, in which one box contains another. Therefore it is misleading to state that players engage in their actions within structures and systems, and it is equally inappropriate to claim that the individual is a part of society. Symbolic practices do not take place within social systems; instead, they reproduce the latter simply by taking place; the systems reproduced in this way then retroact on the conditions of action. This means that engaging in an action equals system reproduction, or in our concrete case, text production equals system reproduction.

This argument and approach mean that by only changing the organizational systems, no changes in gender roles would be achieved, and vice versa: by changing gender roles, no significant change of the structures would be achieved. The processes would have to be seen in a dialectical way: both would change each other and would have to be changed themselves (attitudes toward women and men, as well as organizational structures). The gender-mainstreaming project is a first attempt to change some structural characteristics but, in my view, only in a quantitative and not significant way. It might also serve as a bulwark: once more women are just there, one does not have to change anything else.

Thus, more (much more) would be necessary to achieve different surroundings for women and men and qualitatively different behaviors and evaluations as well. In text production, the players reproduce the conditions that make text possible. Hence, also Bourdieu (1990) refers to 'structured and structuring structures'.
Appendix: transcription conventions

A colon indicates an extension of the sound it follows. Longer extensions are shown by more colons.

A dash stands for a short pause.

Emphasized syllables, words or phrases are underlined.

When words are in single parentheses, it means that the speech was very difficult to understand and could not be transcribed with complete certainty.

Double parentheses contain descriptions of non- and paralinguistic utterances by the speakers, and noises (such as telephone rings or the clink of glasses).

An oblique slash stands for hesitation, a break.

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Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

References


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The language of love and guilt: communication patterns, discourse and context. Language patterns emerge in response to social interaction, discourse and context. The importance of gender in shaping communication patterns.

The language of love and guilt: communication patterns, discourse and context. Language patterns emerge in response to social interaction, discourse and context. The importance of gender in shaping communication patterns.
Negotiating the Classroom Floor: Negotiating Ideologies of Gender and Sexuality

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Introduction: language, gender, and Critical Discourse Analysis

A brief history of language and gender in the classroom

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

What's sexuality got to do with it?

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

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