

Notes

1 Discourse, Discourse Analysis and Gender

1. The programme of the 2000 International Gender and Language Association (IGALA 2) Conference (Lancaster University, UK, April 2002) included presentations of studies taking data from a wide range of sites, including proverbs, televised sports programmes, fantasy role-play games, dictionaries, women's prayer-hymns, courtrooms, business settings, *Fanny Hill* and the BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme.
2. The large 'family' of discourse terms and collocations includes *discursive resources*, *discursive contradictions*, *discursive resistance* and *new discursive possibilities* (e.g. Francis, 1999) and *discourse practices*, *strategies* and *space* (e.g. Thornborrow, 2002).
3. As early as 1967, Harold Garfinkel wrote that gender for women was socially accomplished in part *through the process of talking like a woman*. A post-structuralist approach would say that gender for both women and men is socially accomplished in the process not only of talking 'like' women/men (whatever that may mean), but also of talking *about* women and men.
4. It also undermined the idea that women were thus more status conscious than men – the explanation offered by both Labov and Trudgill when women were found to produce more standard speech, but a far from satisfactory one (Cameron, 1992).
5. *Identity* has taken the place of the theoretically outdated *role*, which came to sound not only institutional but also fixed. (Weatherall, 2002, discusses how *positioning* has also replaced *role*.)
6. It has been said (jocularly) that white Englishmen from a broadly Anglican background (WASPs) have *no* sense of identity because (in the UK as a whole) they are the 'norm' – they are not Irish or women or Jewish or black, for example – and 'normally' have no other group to compare themselves against. In most spaces, they will see others like themselves. However, when male WASPs are a minority group, their identity is likely to become newly paramount.
7. In semiotic theory, indexes (the resources) are referred to as *signifiers*. In *Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design*, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 7) identify a 'logic of inference' between signifier and signified.
8. In another sphere, I recall a Ruth Rendell novel in which one academic says to another, apparently non-ironically, 'Publish or perish', as an explanation of his efforts at output – presumably because this is the sort of spoken discourse the author thought her reading public would associate with academics. Similarly, a UK TV series 'The Women's Room', which focused on the social and sexual lives of sociologists, represented as their public (common room) talk academic discourse on the various forms of cohabitation.

2 Discourses, Discourse Identification and Discourse Naming

1. This was to check for recognizability. With one exception, and myself, the language education professionals were all American.
2. See *Discourse in Late Modernity* (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999).
3. In the British National Corpus, there are no cases of *just first class*, but of the six cases of *just the best*, *just* is consistently intensifying. It is also worth noting that newspaper headlines are not normally written by the journalist who writes the text (Bell, 1999).
4. The BNC indicates a range of 'medical' collocates of *suffering* (*hypothermia*, *after-effects*, *pangs*), and 'extreme' collocates of *subjected* (e.g. *rigorous*, *brutal*, *unprecedented*).
5. I suggest that it is normally the most appropriate when invoking a new *phrase* for the first time to name a discourse (the indefinite article a 'Biggest day in a woman's life' discourse). This rightly suggests *several* such discourses can be co-constructed. The definite article may be more appropriate when the phrase is familiar (the 'Compulsory heterosexuality discourse'). I also suggest the use of scare quotes to distinguish between descriptive and interpretive discourse (for use with the latter), and a capitalized 'Discourse' for interpretive discourses of substance. I have used lower case for descriptive discourses, and for interpretive discourses which indicate relationships and function.
6. The '*Horse race*' discourse is something of an oddity. It *could* refer to literal horseracing, corresponding to the descriptive use of 'legal discourse', 'classroom discourse', and so on. Here, it is in italics since it is used *metaphorically*.
7. The discourses in the index of Litosseliti and Sunderland (2002) are organized into three different groups. The grouping here represents a development of that.

3 Some Gendered Discourses Identified to Date

1. See also Kitetu and Sunderland (2000) on 'Gender differences' discourses in relation to education: those they identify include '*Vive la différence!*', 'Gender fixedness' and 'What's all the fuss about?'
2. Genevieve Lloyd and Moira Gatens (and also Nancy Jay) all address the issue of hierarchization of such Cartesian dichotomies.
3. It has to be said, of course, that in *explicitly* distancing themselves ourselves from the 'Gender differences' discourse in research reports, it being 'a strict rule of academic discourse that one *must* refer to (and so recirculate) the discourse of one's predecessors in the same field of enquiry' (Cameron, 2003: 465), current gender and language scholars are also inadvertently recirculating this discourse. And, as Cameron also observes, 'every word we say on the subject of difference just underlines the salience and the importance of a division we are ultimately striving to end' (1992: 40).
4. As indicated, it is possible to see *ideology* as the cultural materialist antecedent of the post-structuralist term *discourse* (Judith Baxter, personal communication).

However, *discourse* does not carry the same negative connotations as ideology, and lends itself better to an *emancipatory* function (see also Mills, 1997).

5. The other topics were 'respondents' theories of individual nature, their analyses of how social change might occur, and their representations of past, present and future for women' (Wetherell et al., 1987: 61).

Introduction to Part II: The 'Fruitful Epistemological Site' for Gender and Discourse Study

1. However, a text which has been identified as of possible interest to the study of gendered discourses does not have to make frequent or explicit reference to social *actors* – a written text on prostitution, or caring, for example, could be written in such a way as to be (on the surface) gender-blind, though it must presumably make reference to *social* practices. If women and/or men are 'backgrounded' here, this is interesting in itself (van Leeuwen, 1995, 1996). It is also possible to use a text about animals, if it has relevance to human social practices. I have already referred to the anthropomorphically gendered behaviour of the dogs in Hollywood's *101 Dalmations*, and anthropomorphically gendered discourse has similarly been identified in the rhetoric of television wildlife programmes (Crowther and Leith, 1995).
2. It is not only the epistemological site but also the chosen data for which a rationale is needed. For each study, relating the chosen data to the topical epistemological site entails 'theorizing [] the relationship between the general topic, the definition of discourse, and the data to be analysed' (Taylor, 2001: 29; see also her examples).
3. See Taylor (2001: 27) for a discussion of 'naturally occurring' talk.
4. By 'post-feminism' I am not implying that we are beyond the need for feminism, rather that much interaction can now be seen as being constructed, or at least informed by, the experiences, insights and practices of feminism.

4 Gendered Discourses in the Classroom

1. This makes sense if lessons are seen as co-constructions by all classroom participants (e.g. Allwright, 1984, 2001).
2. Some might refer to it as a 'Sex difference' discourse, since here 'gender' was (as it sometimes still is) simply 'mapped onto' groups of biological males and biological females. However, I refer to *gender* here since the assumption was very much that differences were *socially constructed* rather than *biologically determined*.
3. 'Male dominance' cannot logically be applied to differential *teacher* treatment, since this is more about a gendered *asymmetry* in one classroom participant's (the teacher's) calling on of students (Sunderland, 1996). The '(cultural) difference' approach of the late 1980s and early 1990s (see Chapter 3) was never to my knowledge used as an explanation here, either of differential teacher treatment by gender or of gendered asymmetries in classroom talk.
4. Such policies are obviously politically and intertextually linked with governmental legislation: in the UK, for example, the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts came into being in 1975.

5. This double standard operates in classrooms elsewhere too. Sadker and Sadker (1985), for example, found that girls tended to be told off more often than boys for calling out.
6. This was saliently evidenced in the UK many years ago by the Jimmy Young Show on Radio 2, aired mid-morning and aimed at women who were at home during the day. The show featured the song lyrics 'Keep young and beautiful / If you want to be loved'. These traces of the 'Privileging of appearance – in women' discourse were contested and the song removed. However, the song has recently been featured in a UK TV ad for Kellogg's Special K breakfast cereal (targeted at slimmers) – using a simulated old gramophone record style.
7. See also Cammack and Kalmbach Phillips (2002) on gendered discourses about teachers.
8. Cameron suggests that the ideology of female superiority here has less to do with successful feminist intervention than with changing ideas about skilled use of language – a use associated with femininity rather than masculinity (2003: 458).
9. Baxter also raises Francis' (1998) criticism that writers often fail to explain how they categorize discourses. Baxter's own account can be found in her PhD thesis (2000; see also 2003).
10. We can add to this the possibility that dominant classroom behaviour on the part of some boys can also be 'read' through Baxter's *gender differentiation* discourse as disadvantageous to boys themselves (Swann, 1998: 158), through their own negative *self-positioning*.

5 Fatherhood Discourses in Parenting Magazines

1. See also Talbot (1998) on discourses of maternity in relation to antenatal care.
2. And In Britain, *M and M: the magazine for mothers-to-be and new mothers* is no longer in circulation.
3. Another American magazine ostensibly aimed at both parents is *Parents Expecting*, which focuses on the period before the birth. I found very little 'childcare advice' in this however, and therefore deselected this magazine from the sample. Other gender-neutrally named parenting magazines include the American *Child*, and, in the UK, *Junior*; this is apparently read mainly by women and is not widely available. A new magazine, *Dad* – edited by Jack O'Sullivan, a founder of Fathers Direct, the national information centre on fatherhood – was launched in April 2003. The parenting magazine most likely to include fathers may however be the more recent *And Baby – Refining Modern Parenting*, published in the US and targeted at gay families.
4. This excluded advice about children's names, care of house and garden, travel, exercise, shopping, education, fashion and beauty, managing the family finances and sex after a baby's birth (a favourite topic).
5. *He* and *she* are of interest too, as 'indirect interpellation'. Now that the genericity of *he* has been thoroughly contested (see e.g. Sunderland, 1991), thereby arguably making it even less generic than it ever was, we would not expect to find 'generic *he*' in parenting magazines as a referent for a parent. As potential pronominals of *parent*, 'generics' *he* and *she* pull in different ways. *He* has a distinctly masculine bias since *he* is also, and usually, used of an individual man. *She* has a distinctly feminine bias since *she* is much less familiar as a generic,

and, in the context of parenting when the dominant discourse is 'Mother as main parent/Part-time father' discourse, is likely to be read as specifically (non-generically) *she*. Neither thus works as a generic.

6. Such slippage is more widely true of English 'common' nouns like *neighbour* and *people* (Cameron, 1992), and a similar phenomenon has been observed in German (Hellinger, 2002).
7. With the references to breastfeeding, it would require a male reader to do so quite considerably – whether or not the reader is interpellated directly with *you*. And any occurrences of *you* which occur near such references, are, I suggest, likely also to be read (cataphorically or anaphorically) as female.

6 Celebrity Fatherhood: The 'Blair Baby'

1. Blair has been an epistemological site for linguists before, as the subject of Norman Fairclough's (2000) *New Labour, New Language?*, but in terms of his political speeches and written texts.
2. I am very grateful to Juliane Schwarz for her painstaking identification and scanning of the 'Blair baby' texts.
3. I say 'was considered a little left of centre' advisedly. As I write, the 2003 war with Iraq has recently ended, and Blair's political credentials have been considerably weakened in many quarters.

7 Gendered Discourses in Children's Literature

1. For a short bibliography of studies, see <http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/groups/clsl/home.htm>.
2. More widely, content analyses may show 'how sex categories can be made to matter in the most mundane descriptions of social doings' (West et al., 1997: 127).
3. Another example of a critical discourse analysis of a fictional text is Sara Mills' (1992) 'Marxist feminist stylistic' analysis of John Fuller's poem 'Valentine' (see Chapter 5).
4. Bakhtin (1981) refers to the importance of both *heteroglossia* ('differentiated speech' and in particular how this plays out in literary texts) and *polyphony*, i.e. *autonomous* characters' voices (see also Vice, 1997).
5. Of *Cinderella*, Stephens writes: 'the main character ... is always defined by her appearance and roles, deprived of individual subjectivity, and subjected to the wills and actions of others (step-family, godmother, prince). Ideologically, she represents a model of perfect wifehood – she is beautiful but abject, available but submissive, in that the slipper symbolizes her sexual aptness and her passivity, 'fitting' but waiting to be found' (1992: 140).
6. These books and their reception by pre-school children are the topic of Bronwyn Davies, *Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales* (1989).
7. Gilbert and Gubar (1976) carry out this reinterpretation as a metaphor for the plight of the nineteenth-century woman writer. In relation to this, Cosslett continues: 'Her murderous hatred of her stepdaughter is excused by interpreting

Snow White as the ideal of the passive, good, angel-in-the-house woman, who would kill the Queen's chance of being an artist' (1996: 84).

8. See http://www.ala.org/alsc/newbery_terms.html, and http://www.ala.org/alsc/caldecott_terms.html. In the UK the two main awards are the Carnegie and the Greenaway. The US does not constitute a special epistemological site; I selected it since this chapter was written there and I had access to excellent public libraries.
9. Some would pounce on the fact that the majority of these authors (and illustrators) are male, and that this 'discursive practice' may be relevant in terms of authorial success. J.K. Rowling, author of the *Harry Potter* series, was apparently dissuaded by her publisher from using her first name, 'Joanna'. This is however a separate issue from gender representation and gendered discourses. Women writers will not necessarily create more positive and progressive representations of female characters, or of gender relations, than will male writers, nor will they necessarily draw on feminist or egalitarian discourses more, or even on different discourses.
10. This is also true of Crispin, in the 2003 Newbery winner *Crispin the Cross of Lead*.
11. See also Stephens (1992: Chapter 6) for an interesting discussion of historical fiction written for children.
12. This may not be true of these award-winners more widely. For example, in the previous year (1998) the Caldecott winner was Paul O. Zelinsky's *Rapunzel*, and the Newbery winner Karen Hesse's *Out of the Dust*, about a girl growing up in poverty in Oklahoma during the Depression. However, the 2003 Newbery winner, *Crispin the Cross of Lead*, is about a 13-year-old boy in fourteenth-century England, and in the 2003 Caldecott winner, Eric Rohmann's *My Friend Rabbit*, the rabbit is male.

8 The Discoursal Construction of Gender

1. A study investigating how claims are underpinned theoretically might study research papers for the various uses of such terms, or a corpus of academic English (e.g. Hyland, 2000). It would be necessary to distinguish between 'joint/co-construction' (e.g. of classroom talk), 'linguistic construction' (e.g. 'the construction *can I help who's next*') and linguistic/discoursal construction (our concern here).
2. Butler claims that 'gender is an identity constituted in time ... through a stylized repetition of acts' and is created 'through sustained social performances' (1999: 179, 180).
3. This discourse was evident in the 'Mere Male' column of a UK women's magazine of a bygone era, in which readers sent in their favourite, and always affectionate, anecdotes of their husbands' little domestic incompetences.
4. Potter (1996: 121) refers to the 'rhetorical organisation of fact construction', which includes fact construction (*reification*), fact destruction (*ironization*) and *defensive* and *offensive* rhetoric.
5. Fairclough's own major contribution to the social sciences has been the role of actual *language* in discourse analysis, and, for the analyst, the importance of close reading of spoken and written texts as part of an analysis of wider social and discursive practices (see e.g. Fairclough, 1995).

9 'Damaging Discourses' and Intervention in Discourse

1. This theme has been taken up again recently by Hines (1999) in a paper entitled 'Rebaking the Pie: The *Woman as Dessert Metaphor*'.
2. The origin of the phrase for me may have come out of long-running discussions in the 'Gender and Language Research Group' at Lancaster University.
3. See also Candace West's (2002) 'Critical comment' on Baxter's paper, and Baxter's dignified reply (both also in *Discourse and Society* 13/6), in particular in relation to the category *gender* in Baxter's study, the use of CA and the value of PDA.
4. A recent survey of 5000 British women working full-time found that 36 per cent earned more than their husbands or boyfriends (*Sunday Times*, 11 May 2003).
5. Importantly, these questions are still of practical and theoretical interest, as Anne Pauwels' *Women Changing Language* (1998) and Marlis Hellinger and Hadumod Bußmann's *Gender across Languages: the Linguistic Representation of Women and Men* (2001) show; see also Livia (1999).

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