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EDUCATION TO EQUALITY?

A POSTMODERN FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF GENDER CONSTRUCTION IN EFL

TEXTBOOKS USED IN AUSTRIAN UPPER SECONDARY- AND VOCATIONAL

SCHOOLS

verfasst von

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Table of Contents

PART I
PRELIMINARIES: TOWARDS A POSTMODERN UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER AND LANGUAGE

PART II

DOING OR UNDOING GENDER? IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING AND THE DESIGN OF EFL TEXTBOOKS

PART III

ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC GENDER CONSTRUCTION AND REPRESENTATION IN AUSTRIAN EFL TEXTBOOKS

List of Abbreviations

AHS	Allgemeine Höhere Schule
BMBF	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Frauen
BMBWK	Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur
BMUKK	Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur
BMWFJ	Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft, Familie und Jugend
BS	Berufsschule
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference
CoP	Community of Practice
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
FCDA	Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis
MYW 5	*Make Your Way 5*
PT 5	*Prime Time 5*
SE	*Salon English. English for Hair and Beauty Professionals.*
TN	*Talking Networks. Issues in Electrical Engineering and Electronics.*

List of Tables

Transcription Conventions

For the transcription of the listening dialogues examined in the third part of this thesis, I used the 'VOICE Mark-up conventions', Version 2.1, June 2007:

Interviewer (f)	The gender of the speaker is marked by f/m in parentheses.
?	rising or question intonation
.	falling intonation
(.)	a brief pause in speech
IMPORTANT	Capitals are used, if a syllable, word or phrase is given particular prominence by a certain speaker.
Anna: **<1>** hello **</1>** Peter: **<1>** hey **</1>**	Overlaps are marked with numbered tags.
Anna: yes= Peter: =really?	a turn is continued or completed by another speaker
Anna: ah**:**	Lengthened sounds are marked with a colon.
@	laughter, laughter-like sounds
<fast> </fast> <whispering> </whispering>	speaking modes
{mobile rings}	contextual events

(**VOICE Project** 2007)

All names of the speakers are taken from the CD scripts of the respective listening dialogues.

1. INTRODUCTION

> Three decades into the study of language, sex and gender, we still find a remarkable discrepancy between public perceptions of how women and men speak (and how they are expected to speak) and the actual character of the language that people use. The persistence of this contradiction underscores the vitality of well-entrenched stereotypes about sex and gender and the weight and influence of societal efforts to maintain the impression of difference between women and men. (Freed 2003: 705)

Stereotypical representations of gender have still not ceased to prevail in people's minds, as this quote by Alice F. Freed points out. Although the notion of gender as a binary, essentialist category is long overcome by feminist theory and gender studies, the public discourse about sex and gender seems to cling to the binary gender categories of 'man' and 'woman', relentlessly perpetuating the 'grand narrative' of gender-specific differences. One strategy of stabilising the 'two gender-system' is the systematic promotion of gender differences in language use and interactional behaviour. By enforcing the notion that 'women talk like this' and 'men talk like that', dominant heteronormative power structures are prevented from falling apart, thereby discriminating against all individuals deviating from the norm and supporting gender inequality (Freed 2003: 714-715).

Still, many voices claim that the 'feminist struggle is over' and that gender equality has already been achieved, particularly in the 'Western world' (Lazar 2007: 154). I am convinced that this backlash against feminist endeavours must be treated with extreme caution. As long as people are judged on the basis of their gender or sexuality, as long as inequalities among male, female, transgender and intersexed persons as well as homo-, bi- or heterosexuals prevail, feminist aims have not been achieved.

Therefore, the thesis at hand sets out to investigate how gender is constructed and represented in a powerful institutional medium, capable of contributing to the transformation or reproduction of predominant discourses on gender: EFL textbooks used at Austrian upper-secondary and vocational schools. In particular, the focus lies on the portrayal of women's and men's interactional style in the listening dialogues to be

found in four different EFL textbooks. Since linguistic gender stereotypes are frequently drawn upon, be it as the subject of jokes, in the media or in magazines, I consider it vital to investigate the situation in officially approbated Austrian textbooks.

The thesis is divided into three main parts: Part I intends to provide the reader with the necessary theoretical background on the developments in feminist theory and the study of gender and language. Chapter Two deals with the 'three waves' of feminism and outlines vital developments in feminist thought and endeavours. Chapter Three introduces important concepts and approaches in the study of language and gender and argues for examining these issues from a postmodern feminist perspective.

The second part of this thesis aims at answering the question why educational institutions, and textbooks in particular, play a crucial role in shaping dominant discourses about gender. Therefore, I will draw on the Foucauldian discourse theory and illustrate its use for feminist endeavours. Furthermore, the implications of a Foucauldian perspective on education and the design of textbooks will be discussed. Part II will be closed by an outline of how gender can be 'undone' in EFL teaching and EFL textbooks, thereby specifically taking the situation in Austria into consideration.

Ultimately, the third part of the thesis at hand contains the empirical analysis of four Austrian EFL textbooks used at upper-secondary and vocational schools. In Chapter Six, the selection of textbooks and examples will be introduced, while Chapter Seven provides details on the methodological framework and operationalization of the study, which will follow a mixed-methods approach. Then, the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses of each textbook will be presented, followed by a brief comparison.

Preliminaries: Towards a postmodern understanding of gender and language

Before starting my investigation of how gender identities are linguistically constructed and reproduced in EFL textbooks, I consider it vital to provide a brief overview of developments in feminist thought, and discuss the way these developments have shaped the study of language and gender. Hence, I dedicate this first part of my paper to an examination of how feminist concepts and theories have progressed since the end of the 19th century, as well as an elaboration on the important role of language for feminist endeavours. In the course of the following sections, I hope to shed some light on the question why a postmodern feminist evaluation of gender construction and representation in textbooks is relevant.

2. From first wave to third wave: A brief outline of feminist thought and concepts

The following sections will provide an overview of what came to be known as the 'three waves' of feminism, referring to the development of feminist thought and (political) agendas from the end of the 19th century until today. However, before examining these three 'peaks' of the feminist movement, it is crucial to point out that "the term feminism is itself problematic, because the theories that inform it are heterogeneous" (Whelehan 1995: 25). Consequently, it is sometimes misunderstood and misused, which might be one of the reasons why there are still so many attempts to discredit the feminist movement, be it in political discourse or through mass media, where feminism is often "portrayed as tyrannical, unrepresentative of the demands of women, or just plain boring" (Whelehan 1995: 222).

In order to prevent any misconceptions about feminist demands and theories, I will draw upon a rather basic explanation of the term, as suggested by Whelehan (1995: 25), which highlights the common core of several feminist strands:

> All feminist positions are founded upon the belief that women suffer from systematic social injustices because of their sex and therefore, 'any feminist is, at the very minimum, committed to some form of reappraisal of the position of women in society' (Evans, in Evans et al. 1986: 2).

As will be shown in the following sections, this point of departure is the same for each of the 'three waves' of feminist endeavour. What distinguishes these three periods in the history of feminism is not their general conviction that the inequality between women and men needs to be overcome, but where they locate and aim at acting upon this inequality (for instance, in the public or private sphere, or in both).

2.1. Striving for civic equality: The agenda of first-wave feminists

Although the roots of feminist thought reach back as far as the 16th century, a true feminist movement was not established until the second half of the 19th century. At this point, women started to organise campaigns in order to address social injustices, such as women's poor education and employment conditions, or their underprivileged legal positions (Walters 2005: 56). These early campaigns paved the way for the first wave of feminism, which strove to achieve formal equality between women and men, primarily by fighting for the enfranchisement of women (Whelehan 1995: 3).

Probably one of the biggest obstacles in the fight for women's right to vote and participate in political decision-making was the widespread claim that "anatomy is destiny" (Butler 1986: 35), which served as a justification for the oppression and exclusion of women on grounds of their biological makeup. Men were not only regarded *physically* superior to women, but also *mentally*, and this belief was exploited to legitimise male domination and patriarchal structures of society. As Walters (2005: 73) points out,

> [o]ne Tory remarked in 1871 that women – who were sensitive and emotional by *nature* – should be protected 'from being forced into the hurly-burly of party politics'. Woman's proper sphere was the home;

her duty – and her deepest pleasure – to be a good wife, or sister, or daughter [my emphasis].

Due to these persistent prejudices about the 'female nature', the struggle for suffrage proved difficult and long-lasting. Nevertheless, suffragists tirelessly continued to fight for the vote, gradually achieving improvements of women's situations – in some countries faster than in others (Walters 2005: 73-74).

Amongst the first countries to enfranchise women were New Zealand and Australia, where women were already granted the right to vote towards the end of the 19th century (Walters 2005: 73-74). However, the resistance suffragists had to face was much stronger in most other countries. As a result, at the beginning of the 20th century, some members of the suffragist movement felt the need to employ more violent tactics to enforce their demands, which paved the way for the militant actions of the suffragette movement. In contrast to the more peaceful suffragists, the suffragettes sought (physical) confrontation, organised large demonstrations and did not shrink from illegal practices, such as vandalism or arson. Despite these drastic measures to fight for the vote, it was not before the end of the First World War that women over the age of 30 were allowed to vote in Great Britain (Walters 2005: 75-85). The situation was similar in Austria and Germany, where women were granted the right to full enfranchisement in 1918 (Demokratiezentrum Wien).

Without doubt, the First World War had a huge impact on feminist endeavours, leading, for example, to the partial enfranchisement of women in Great Britain in 1918. The fact that many women had to work outside the home during the war and, in doing so, contributed enormously to the country's mobilisation of resources, facilitated their fight for formal equality. Among the achievements of British feminists after the First World War were, next to partial enfranchisement, the permission to sit in parliament, the Sex Discrimination (Removal) Act, which opened the professions to women, and the Matrimonial Causes Act, which allowed women to get divorced on equal grounds as men (Walters 2005: 86-88). Nonetheless, it sadly took another ten years after the end of the war to fully establish civic equality in Great Britain by enfranchising all women on equal terms with men (Walters 2005: 85).

2.2. 'The personal is political': Second-wave feminists' challenge of what it means to 'be a woman'

> [F]ormal equality – for whatever sex, race or class – can prove chimerical when civic and political structures which permit such processes of equality already work in favour of the dominant group, and demonstrate that in fact the discourses of power assume relations of inequality at their very roots. (Whelehan 1995: 1)

Although enfranchisement had been achieved in the first half of the 20th century in most Western countries, feminists were soon disillusioned with their newly acquired 'equality'. After the Second World War, in which women, again, had played a major role in the workforce of war industries, they began to realise that the vote alone was not enough to improve their subordinate social status (Whelehan 1995: 4). Due to the two World Wars, women realised that the long-cherished myth of their biologically determined domestic roles was not at all prescribed by *nature*, but rather a male *invention*. Many women had experienced their situations during wartime as liberating, since the necessity of their presence in the workforce had given them the opportunity to leave their rather constricted domestic lives. Consequently, it was not easy for some to take up their roles as housewives again after 1945 (Whelehan 1995: 6-7). These circumstances gave rise to what is known as second-wave feminism, as it became obvious to women that the roots of female subordination could not be found solely in dominant political forces, but had to be sought in the social system itself. Improving the political and legal position of women had not been enough - what was desperately needed was a transformation of their social and economic status. Second-wave feminists agreed that, in order to achieve true equality, it was indispensable to question dominant ideological representations of what it meant to 'be a woman' (Whelehan 1995: 5).

Their endeavour to challenge discriminatory common-sense notions of femininity assumes that second-wavers thought of women as a more or less homogeneous category of people sharing common experiences within a patriarchal society. Although later feminists criticised this universalist claim (as will be discussed in later sections of this thesis), it cannot be denied that the second wave achieved substantial success in making women aware of less overt forms of oppression and patriarchal structures (Snyder 2008: 184). The aim of the feminist movement during the 1960s and 1970s was to reveal that these experiences were not at all merely personal or private, but a political issue that

needed to be addressed in public. One powerful tool to convince women that "the personal is political" (Whelehan 1995: 13) was the establishment of consciousness-raising groups, in which women could explore and share their experiences in order to understand the roots of their secondary social position (Whelehan 1995: 13). By encouraging women to meet and exchange their thoughts on putatively private issues, second-wave feminists enabled women to recognise their personal situations as products of social and political structures (Snyder 2008: 184).

2.2.1. Becoming a woman: Simone de Beauvoir's contribution to second-wave feminism

One landmark feminist writer playing an influential role for modern feminism was the French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir. In her famous work *The second sex*, which was published in 1949, she explores several aspects of woman's condition, thereby stressing the fact that "woman […] is always and archetypally Other. She is seen by and for men, always the object and never the subject" (Walters 2005: 98). According to Beauvoir, 'woman' is not defined as an autonomous subject, but only as a deviation from male norms. Thus, she is turned into the Other and described through what she lacks or represents rather than what she actually *is*. A prominent example for such a male-oriented discourse can be found in Freud's psychoanalytical work, which stresses the principal position of the phallus in Western culture and, therefore, presents woman's lack of the penis as her defining feature (Whelehan 1995: 9-10).

However, in contrast to Freud, Beauvoir does not identify woman's 'lack' as an anatomical one, but rather as culturally and ideologically generated (Whelehan 1995: 9-10). Thus, she argues that "[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes, woman" (Beauvoir 2011 [1949]: 293) – a famous formulation which shattered the longstanding conviction that "anatomy is destiny" (Butler 1986: 35) and encouraged women to actively participate in shaping their condition. By pointing out that one *becomes* a woman – through processes of education and socialisation – Beauvoir paved the way for a conceptual distinction of substantial relevance to feminist discourse: the distinction of 'sex' from 'gender' (Butler 1986: 35), which will be briefly discussed in the following.

2.2.2. The sex/gender distinction

As already mentioned above, the long-cherished argument that women's domestic roles are a biological necessity has been seriously threatened by Beauvoir's claim that "[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes, woman" (Beauvoir 2011 [1949]: 293). This revolutionary statement had a substantial impact on second-wave feminism, as it suggested a clear distinction of the two terms 'sex' and 'gender' (Butler 1986: 35). This distinction is described as follows: Whereas 'sex' refers to biological, pre-given differences between women and men, the term 'gender' is used to point out culturally and socially acquired characteristics, which are usually considered typical masculine or feminine attributes. Hence, 'gender', in contrast to 'sex', is not a binary concept, but rather dynamic: Some men can be perceived as being more masculine or feminine than others and the same holds true for women (Talbot 2010: 7-8).

As Beauvoir illustrates in *The second sex*, gender is socially constructed, learned behaviour that is developed during processes of socialisation and education. To underpin her claim that one *becomes* a woman, rather than being born as such, Beauvoir draws on several examples of how boys and girls are treated differently by their surroundings (Beauvoir 2011 [1949]: 293-429). In doing so, she emphasises that boys are usually encouraged to strive for self-fulfilment and autonomy, while girls are taught to define themselves in terms of others and live up to the expectations of their parents, husbands and families:

> Whether ambitious, scatterbrained or shy, the young boy leaps towards an open future; he will be a sailor or an engineer, he will stay in the fields or will leave for the city, he will see the world, he will become rich; he feels free faced with a future where unexpected opportunities await him. The girl will be wife, mother, grandmother; she will take care of her house exactly as her mother does, she will take care of her children as she was taken care of; she is twelve years old and her story is already written in the heavens […]. (Beauvoir 2011 [1949]: 323)

The sex/gender distinction was a conceptual milestone for second-wave feminism, as it challenged 'taken for granted'-assumptions about putative differences and social positions of women and men. It facilitated promoting the notion that the anatomical and biological differences between women and men do not justify inferences on mental or rational differences, often used to attest women *innate* irrationality or limited

intelligence (Whelehan 1995: 30). Contrary to popular misconceptions about feminism, this distinction has nothing to do with stubbornly denying any (biological) differences between the sexes and insisting on their sameness (McElhinny 2005: 23). However, distinguishing between the two terms is the foundation for establishing true gender equality, since it sheds light on the political dimensions of equating sex with gender. As Talbot (2010: 9-10) points out, ignoring or even contesting the distinction of sex and gender is a popular means for propagating conservative values, such as maintaining traditional family roles, particularly in times of social change. Revealing these strategies to justify the subordination of women was a main concern of second-wave feminists, but is still important for feminists today.

2.3. Third-wave feminism: Gender as the solution?

During the 1980s and 1990s the feminist movement in many Western countries experienced what some feminist writers refer to as a 'crisis'. This crisis, precipitated by young women's reluctance to identify (completely) with the agenda and notions of second-wave feminists, became evident both in academic feminism and feminist political activities. Whereas second-wavers were convinced that women shared a common identity, as they shared similar experiences of oppression, the new generation could not relate to this universalist point of view anymore. Many young women felt that second-wave feminist practice was too rigid and failed to address the diversity of the social and economic circumstances women found themselves in (Snyder 2008: 176-178). Furthermore, they did not believe in inflexible, binary categories anymore, such as 'male' against 'female' or 'black' against 'white', but "embrace[d] a multiplicity of identities, accept[ed] the messiness of lived contradiction, and eschew[ed] a unifying agenda" (Snyder 2008: 177). The most important concepts and thoughts of third-wave feminism will be outlined in the following sections.

2.3.1. Abandoning binary frameworks

A crucial stage in feminist thought was the demystification of binary categories, such as 'women' and 'men', on which second-wave feminism so desperately relied. This shift in feminist theory and practice was heralded by works of black feminists, who pointed

to the fact that feminism so far had been primarily occupied with experiences of white, middle-class women, thereby ignoring that the situation of black women differs enormously from white experience (Whelehan 1995: 135-136). Consequently, they stimulated the inclusion of racial and cultural issues in feminist thought, which started to acknowledge differences between female experiences based on race.

As the notion that all women share a common identity and suffer from common forms of oppression could not be upheld, it became imperative for feminists to take all kinds of aspects contributing to the multiplicity of identities among women into account. Next to race and culture, third-wave feminists have focused on questions of sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion or class, acknowledging that one person can claim more than just one identity (Heywood 2006a: xx). Although this inclusive approach might prove more complicated for feminist analysis, there is no doubt that the abandonment of 'women' as a unified category is a crucial development which enables feminism to live up to the rather diverse realities of women's experiences (Snyder 2008: 180).

As pointed out above, it is one of the hallmarks of the third wave to reject binary oppositions, and this also applies to fixed gender categories. Like black feminists, arguing that their experiences do not match those of whites, individuals that cannot identify with the prototypical gender categories of 'male' and 'female' (such as intersexuals, transsexuals or transgendered persons) demanded to be acknowledged within feminist discourse. Many third-wavers have argued that there are indeed more than just two sexes or sexualities and that, as a consequence, sex must be regarded as socially constructed, just like gender (Bing & Bergvall 1996: 2-3). One defendant of this view on sex and gender is the feminist philosopher Judith Butler, whose influence on third-wave feminism will be discussed briefly in the following section.

2.3.2. *Gender Trouble:* Judith Butler's influence on the third wave

Butler's thoughts and writings on sex, gender and sexuality relate to and, as will be shown, expand Simone de Beauvoir's notion of the sex/gender distinction discussed earlier in this thesis. In her famous book *Gender Trouble* (1990) Butler challenges static binary concepts like 'male' and 'female' or 'femininity' and 'masculinity' by adopting

Foucault's discourse theory[1] as a foundation for her notion of a discursively constituted subject. According to her, the subject is not pre-existing, but always a "subject-in-process that is constructed in discourse by the acts it performs" (Salih 2002: 44). This premise has several troubling implications for conventional gender- and sex categories, as it asserts that there are multiple ways of 'performing', or 'doing', one's identity – including, of course, one's gender identity. However, it is important to note that Butler does not think of the subject as a pre-existing actor 'performing' its gender identity, but understands gender identity as a sequence of acts that are unavoidable. Since one cannot exist outside its terms, gender must be seen as necessarily, permanently occurring (Salih 2002: 45-47).

The question arises how gender identities are constructed and *performed*, if there is no pre-existing *performer*. To answer this question, one must understand the distinction Butler draws between *performance* and *performativity*. Whereas *performance* requires a pre-existing subject doing the performance, *performativity* means that there is "no doer behind the deed" (Salih 2002: 45). According to Butler's theory, the subject does not precede the performance, but rather follows it (Salih 2002: 117). This concept of performativity is closely connected to linguistic theories, such as Austin's speech act theory (1955) and its deconstruction by Derrida (1972). Hence, Butler describes gender identities as performative in the sense that they are constructed by language and discourse. Language and discourse 'do' gender – but there is no pre-existing subject 'doing' language, since all subjects are themselves effects of language and discourses (Salih 2002: 63-64). Perhaps the following analogy by Salih (2002: 64) explains the performative nature of gender best:

> [O]ne's gender is performatively constituted in the same way that one's choice of clothes is curtailed, perhaps even predetermined, by the society, context, economy, etc. within which one is situated. […] [I]dentities, far from being chosen by an individual agent, precede and constitute those 'agents' or subjects […].

After elaborating on Butler's claim that gender identities are discursively constructed, one might get the impression that she takes a rather deterministic view on the individual. This leaves us with the question, whether there is room for personal choice

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[1] The Foucauldian discourse theory will be dealt with in more detail in the second part of my thesis.

and agency in Butler's theory, which I hope to answer in the following. Drawing on Beauvoir's (2011 [1949]: 293) claim that "[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes, woman," Butler (1990: 33) argues that

> woman itself is a term in process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end. As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification.

In other words, gender is not an ontological state of being, something we *are,* but an ongoing *process*. As Butler (1986: 36-37) notes, Beauvoir's formulation does not reveal whether gender is to be seen as a received cultural *construction*, imposed upon individuals by the patriarchal system, or rather as a *project* of self-construction, an active choice that individuals make. In claiming that gender identities are actually both constructed and chosen, Butler (1986: 40-41) argues that, although the subject is not a 'free agent' existing outside its gender, it is possible to re-interpret conventional gender norms and thereby participate in (re-)constructing them. Thus, it becomes evident that "oppressive gender norms persist only to the extent that human beings take them up and give them life again and again" (Butler 1986: 41). By discussing Beauvoir's work in such detail, Butler stresses its emancipatory potential, suggesting that individuals are not completely culturally determined, but have the possibility to transform existing norms (Butler 1986: 41).

However, according to Butler, there is even more to Beauvoir's theory. Drawing on works of Monique Wittig (1981, 1982) and Michel Foucault (1979, 1980) Butler questions the relation of sex and gender, arguing that one's gender is not at all dependent on one's sex, which implies that there are not only two opposing genders ('male', 'female'), but that gender must be seen as a continuum (Butler 1986: 46-47). In other words, if one's anatomical makeup does not determine one's gender, and gender is radically independent from sex, it is highly questionable whether there is a distinction between sex and gender at all. As Butler concludes, sex is as culturally constructed as gender, and therefore, a distinction between these terms is obsolete (Salih 2002: 49).

Butler's rejection of the sex/gender-distinction leads to the question how her theory applies to the actual body. Does she deny biological differences between men and women by arguing that sex *is* gender? To understand her notion of sex and the body, it is crucial to take into account that Butler views the body, just like one's gender identity,

as linguistically and discursively constructed. Since it can only exist within (gendered) discourse, it goes without saying that there "is no body that is not always already gendered" (Salih 2002: 74). Butler draws on Althusser's concept of interpellation (1969) to describe how this 'gendering' of the body takes place. Interpellation in the Althusserian sense refers to the act of 'hailing' someone into a social, ideological position. By addressing an individual and, at the same time, allocating him or her a certain (social) role, one constitutes this person as a subject (Salih 2002: 78). Hence, Butler argues that by proclaiming a newborn as either male or female by announcing 'It's a boy/girl!' the baby is "'hailed' into sex rather than simply born a 'woman'" (Salih 2002: 80). In other words, "[a] girl is not born a girl, but she is 'girled' […] at or before birth on the basis of whether she possesses a penis or a vagina" (Salih 2002: 80).

As the body is both *described* and *constituted* through language, it cannot exist outside this interpellative, performative discourse. Thus, Butler's theory does not refute physical differences between men and women, but emphasises that these differences gain significance only within the dominant discourse – which she identifies as a heterosexual one (Salih 2002: 80-81). For Butler, the declaration that a newborn is a girl/boy means that its body is assigned a certain sex and gender, based on physical differences that are 'naturalised effects' of the hegemonic discourse (but far from actually 'natural') (Salih 2002: 89). If this hegemonic discourse was not a heterosexual one, reinforcing the binary gender system to secure reproduction, it would be imaginable to differentiate children on the basis of other discursively constituted attributes or to stop differentiating them on the basis of their anatomical makeup at all (Butler 1986: 47).

2.3.3. The postmodern orientation of third-wave feminism

In this section, I intend to argue that it is legitimate to refer to third-wave feminism as 'postmodern', since postmodern and feminist theory reveal many similarities that will be addressed in the following. However, I am aware that some feminist scholars question the value of postmodern thought, particularly with regard to feminist politics. Since postmodern theory aims at overcoming generalisations, including unifying, binary categories, some scholars fear that a postmodern turn in feminism would prove highly problematic concerning political endeavours, as the abandonment of the

masculine/feminine binary inevitably complicates the fight against women's oppression (Whelehan 1995: 199). Thus, some feminists argue that postmodernism might lead to individualist politics, lacking a common vision and movement. Others argue that, due to its critique of 'taken-for-granted knowledge', a postmodern stance will result both in relativism and the abandonment of theory (Nicholson 1990: 9).

Nevertheless, I would suggest that postmodern theory can indeed prove valuable for feminism and especially, as already stated above, since the third wave in particular shows postmodern characteristics. In arguing so, I adopt Fraser's and Nicholson's stance that

> postmodernism need not demand the elimination of all big theory, much less theory *per se*, to avoid totalization and essentialism. The key is to identify types of theorizing which are inimical to essentialism. Thus, theorizing which is explicitly historical, that is, which situates its categories within historical frameworks, less easily invites the dangers of false generalizations than does theorizing which does not [original emphasis]. (Nicholson 1990: 9)

According to Fraser and Nicholson, it is neither necessary nor helpful for feminism to completely reject theory, but it is certainly useful to show an awareness of the cultural and historical context of the concepts and categories employed in order to avoid problematic generalisations (Nicholson 1990: 9). Moreover, they argue that postmodern and feminist theory have the potential to complement each other: Whereas a postmodernist approach to feminism proves useful in uncovering underlying essentialism, feminist theory might free postmodernism from androcentrism (Fraser & Nicholson 1990: 20).

As regards the developments in feminist theory related to the third wave, there is no doubt that they display postmodern tendencies and characteristics. Indeed, I would argue that third-wave feminism has many points of overlap with postmodern theory – in contrast to the second wave, which has been criticised for strengthening the 'grand narrative' of gender binarism and, thus, "having trapped feminists in ethno/heterocentric truth claims […]" (Whelehan 1995: 195).

One of the most important characteristics of postmodern theory is the rejection of "overarching philosophical givens" (Whelehan 1995: 199) and totalising discourses, in favour of acknowledging the specific historical contexts and locations of certain

14

premises. While modern scholarship, influenced by Enlightenment ideals, aimed at objectivity and the transcendence of individual perspectives, the postmodern turn initiated criticism of this putative neutrality (Nicholson 1990: 5). As Nicholson (1990: 5) points out, "postmodernism would appear to be a natural ally of feminism", since feminist theorists, too, have been at pains to demystify the 'grand narratives' as reflecting first and foremost masculine values. For instance, they pointed to the fact that allegedly 'neutral', 'objective' and 'universal' scientific concepts did not apply to women at all, but were reflective of male experience only (Nicholson 1990: 5).

Another trace of postmodern thought can be found in third-wave feminists' critique of universalist claims and generalisations frequently made by second-wavers. As already mentioned, a postmodern stance enables feminists to reflect critically on the universalising, essentialist tendencies within feminist theory itself – an endeavour that constitutes, as pointed out above, one of the main aims of third-wavers (Snyder 2008: 184-186). By acknowledging the need to include a multiplicity of identities, instead of simply assuming that all women share a common identity, third-wave feminists clearly take on a postmodern perspective (Nicholson 1990: 5-6). Therefore, it is legitimate to claim that the third wave is postmodern in orientation, since it obviously responds "to a postmodern, post-Marxist world in which all foundations and grand narratives have been called into question" (Snyder 2008: 187).

3. Developments in the study of language and gender

After having elaborated on crucial developments within feminist theory, the following sections will provide an outline of how these feminist concepts have affected the study of language and gender. However, before discussing several issues in this field of research, it seems vital to outline the relationship between feminism and language studies and answer the question why language plays such an essential role in the exploration of gender.

3.1. Why language matters: The relationship between feminism and language studies

As the aim of this paper is to explore how the language used in Austrian EFL textbooks serves as a means to represent and construct gender identities, it is necessary to discuss the relationship between gender and language, and, even more importantly, why the study of gender and language is of value to feminist endeavours.

As Talbot (2010: 15) points out, there are two different views on the connection between language and gender. Supporters of the first one, which is also referred to as the 'weak' view, take the stance that language functions as a mirror of society. Thus, it is argued that people's social statuses and positions are reflected in the way they speak as well as in the language used to address or speak *about* them. Equally, this holds true for social divisions on ethnic- or gender grounds, which can be reflected in racist, sexist or other forms of discriminatory language. Talbot (2010: 15) provides several examples to illustrate how social structures and cultural values are reflected in language patterns:

> Women in work settings are frequently subordinate in status to men, and this is reflected in their greater use of politeness strategies. Also, the existence of two traditional honorific titles for women (**Miss**, **Mrs**), in contrast with the single honorific **Mr** for men, reflects the importance society puts on women's marital status [original emphasis].

The second, 'stronger' view on language and gender stresses the fact that language does not merely mirror social divisions, but actually plays an important role in *creating* and *sustaining* them (Talbot 2010: 15). This view of "language-as-reproductive" (Talbot 2010: 15) implies that how we perceive reality is shaped to a large extent by the language we use – an idea that was already formulated in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis[2] (Talbot 2010: 16). For instance, Spender (1981: 152) argues that the use of generic nouns and pronouns, such as 'chairman' or 'his' to refer to both males and females, is frequently associated only with men, especially by children. As a result, generic nouns

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[2] The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, formulated by the anthropologists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf, refers to the "general idea that differences in language structure cause people to view the world differently" (Yule 2006: 249). Based on their studies of the languages of native Americans, Sapir and Whorf argued that languages influence the way we perceive the world. Hence, they claimed that native Americans, like the Hopi, have a fairly different view of the world than, for example, speakers of European languages (Yule 2006: 218).

and pronouns contribute largely to "the general invisibility of females within the language and within society as a whole" (Mills 2008: 47).

However, neither the 'weak' nor the 'strong' view alone can account for the relationship between gender and language. As Talbot (2010: 16) notes, if language is considered as a mere reflection of social inequalities, we might miss the opportunity to raise people's awareness of existing deficiencies via language reforms. On the other hand, if we regard language as completely determining our identities and realities, trying to bring about changes would seem rather hopeless. Hence, Talbot (2010: 16) suggests that we acknowledge the crucial role language plays in awareness raising, without over-emphasising its impact on the construction of our lives. Eventually, "it isn't enough to eliminate racist language and still behave in the same old racist ways" (Talbot 2010: 16).

The great potential of language reforms for initiating consciousness-raising processes is also stressed by Mills (2008: 155), who argues that

> [b]y drawing attention to the way language is used to represent women, we also draw attention to the general and specific discrimination against women. By analysing language, and describing the possibilities of changes in usage, we can signal to women and men that there are other ways of thinking and behaving; these sexist forms of representation can be changed.

As we can see, changing one's language and, therefore, one's consciousness can be the first step to achieve changes in behaviour and social structures. Hence, feminist and linguistic scholars interested in language and gender and/or the elimination of sexist language are not simply concerned with altering language as such, but seek to stimulate "change at the level of material practice" (Mills 2008: 161).

Considering all of the above, the relationship between feminism and language studies becomes rather self-explanatory. Since feminists aim to eliminate inequalities between men, women and – more recently – people claiming other gender identities, their interest in the connection between language and gender comes as no surprise, given the essential role language plays in "reflecting, creating and sustaining gender divisions in society" (Talbot 2010: 16). Thus, discriminatory language use and patterns have been discussed since the 1960s by feminist scholars, intending to alter the derogatory representation of women in the media or the various sexist forms of addressing or

referring to women (Mills 2008: 1). Furthermore, McConnell-Ginet (2011: 64) notes that linguistics and feminist theory can benefit immensely from collaborating: While linguistics can answer questions about "the place of gender in human thought and social structures" (McConnell-Ginet 2011: 64), feminism reveals potential research gaps in the study of language by providing insight into women's lived experiences (McConnell-Ginet 2011: 64).

3.2. Studying differences, strengthening dichotomies

> Just as we rarely question our ability to breathe, so we rarely question the habit of dividing human beings into two categories: females and males. (Bing & Bergvall 1996: 1)

Most of the sociolinguistic research undertaken in the field of language and gender has focused on studying alleged differences between women's and men's speech, implicitly suggesting that all human beings can be neatly divided into these two categories. However, as already demonstrated above, this distinction is far from unproblematic: Feminist scholars like Judith Butler have enforced the notion that sex must be seen as a dynamic continuum, thereby eliminating the 'taken-for-granted' assumption of two binary gender categories. A binary division cannot account for the variety of behaviours, sexual orientations or even physical characteristics human beings display (Bing & Bergvall 1996: 2-3). As Bing and Bergvall (1996: 8-9) point out "the distinction between female and male is an issue that is not only linguistic and cultural, but is also medical". They hereby refer to the fact that some individuals are born intersexed and are then assigned a certain sex, depending on the rather subjective assessment of a physician.

If there is growing evidence (both scientific and from our own experiences) that sex is not a fixed dichotomy, why do most people, including linguists, still have difficulties acknowledging its dynamic nature? The problem lies, as Bing and Bergvall (1996: 1-2) argue, within language itself:

> Because language is discrete and biased towards dichotomy and clear boundaries, the scalar values and unclear boundaries of reality are sometimes difficult to recognize and to accept; we must continually remind ourselves that reality and language can conflict.

Due to bipolar terms in our language, which fail to sufficiently categorise reality, binary distinctions become 'naturalised' and are falsely taken for granted. Scholars studying language and gender must therefore reflect upon their own preconceptions of sex and gender in order to avoid "put[ting] essentialism out through the front door, only to let it in again at the back" (Talbot 2010: 13). Approaching issues of language and gender by asking how the language use of men and women differs inadvertently strengthens the view that men and women *are* essentially different, thereby running the risk of implicitly justifying prevailing inequalities and power structures (Talbot 2010: 13-14).

In the following sections, I will provide a brief outline of developments in the study of language and gender, which will illustrate that traditional approaches have enforced rather than weakened existing stereotypes and misconceptions about sex and gender.

3.2.1. Early works on linguistic sex variation

The earliest works concerned with the language use of women and men focused on sex differentiation. More precisely, these first studies, conducted primarily by anthropologists, investigated sex-exclusive words and structures, which can rarely be found in Germanic or Romance languages, but are common, for example, in Japanese or traditional, tribal societies (Talbot 2010: 4-5). These sex-exclusive patterns frequently consist of "different pronouns or affixes specific to men and women, whether as speakers, spoken to or spoken about" (Talbot 2010: 4). In Japanese, for instance, there are multiple words for the first person pronoun 'I' – some of which can be used by females and males (*watashi*, *watakushi*), while others are exclusively used by either women or men (*atashi* for women, *boku* for men) (Talbot 2010: 5). Due to the discovery of these differences in the speech of women and men, early anthropologists created the conceptual notions of 'women's language' and 'men's language'. These dichotomous concepts, stressing the alleged difference between women's and men's speech, have shaped studies of language and gender ever since (Hall 2005: 355).

As Hall (2005: 360) points out, most of the early studies on sex-exclusive differences treated the language used by females as psychologically deviant, whereas patterns and structures employed by men were considered to be the norm. Even though women's

language forms were in some cases found to be fundamental and older than men's, most scholars regarded them as somehow inferior:

> There is no way for women to win in these early texts: when their language forms are discussed as fundamental or older, they are theorized as conservative and archaic before their more innovative and youthful male counterparts; when their language forms are discussed as derived or newer, they are theorized as psychologically deviant or otherwise abnormal. (Hall 2005: 360)

While *sex-exclusive* differences are very rare in languages of European origin, linguists found that these languages tend to feature what has been called *sex-preferential* differences instead. Unlike sex-exclusive words, sound-patterns or structures, sex-preferential differentiation refers to a way of using language that is not absolute, but rather describes the tendencies of women and men to employ different speech styles (Talbot 2010: 6-7). For instance, women were believed to speak more conservatively, regarding their employment of prestige 'Standard', than men (Eckert 1998: 66). This generalising claim was supported by rather dubious explanations arguing that "women are status-conscious or polite, men are rough and down-to-earth" (Eckert 1998: 66). Furthermore, women's conversational style was often said to be cooperative, while men's was considered to be based on competitiveness (Talbot 2010: 6).

As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1998: 487-488) illustrate, these findings of scholars concerned with linguistic sex-variation are highly problematic and even contradictory. For instance, they uncover inconsistencies in popular explanations of the variationists' claim that women tend to use 'Standard' language, whereas men employ vernacular variants more often. According to variation studies, the use of vernacular variants is connected to emotionality and the aim to establish solidarity between speakers – characteristics that are traditionally closely connected with 'female' behaviour and speech styles. However, when it comes to clarifying why women's language is typically associated with 'Standard' language and men's with the vernacular, variationists are far from attributing men's speech styles to their greater emotionality or increased efforts to establish solidarity. Instead, they argue that women aspire prestige forms, while men emphasise their masculinity by using 'tough' and 'macho' vernacular variants (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1998: 487). Drawing on these tensions and contradictions within language studies, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1998: 487-488) conclude that

> [o]nce we take seriously the connections among gender characterizations and the various aspects of language that we study and try to develop a coherent picture, it quickly becomes apparent that the generalizations to be found cannot be integrated with one another as they now stand. This suggests serious difficulties in adopting as our primary goal the search for generalizations about 'women' and 'men' as groups with some kind of global sociolinguistic unity that transcends social practices in local communities.

Obviously (and unsurprisingly from today's point of view), the generalising, essentialist tendencies to be found in the early studies on linguistic sex-variation made it impossible for variationist scholars to account for the variability of lived experience (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1998: 488).

3.2.2. Stereotypes and prejudices: Otto Jespersen's speculations about women and language

An (in)famous example of a study on linguistic sex differentiation that deserves further examination is Jespersen's chapter on 'The woman' in his book *Language: Its nature, development and origin* (1922). His investigation of various kinds of sex differentiation does not only position women as the linguistic Other, but displays evolutionary prejudices. Jespersen portrays foreign societies, in which sex-exclusive language patterns can be found, as rigidly restricting the speech of its members, whereas the English language (and culture) with its sex-preferential differences is depicted as allowing its speakers to freely choose linguistic variables and, therefore, being generally more sophisticated (Hall 2005: 355).

By dedicating a whole chapter of his book to 'the woman', Jespersen clearly establishes 'men's language' as the norm and 'women's language' as deviant. As a result, the way women speak is portrayed as something exotic, positioning women as the linguistic Other, whereas men's use of language is presented as socially accepted and dominant (Hall 2005: 359-360). Before I provide some examples of what Jespersen considered to be characteristic of 'female speech', it is important to note that Jespersen's claims about 'women's language' are not based on any relevant evidence. Most of his assertions are based on his own opinion and observations, as well as those of other (male) authors, or on proverbs referring to women's behaviour (Talbot 2005: 469). Thus, the conclusions

he draws about the way women speak belong to the broad area of 'folklinguistic' beliefs, informed by stereotypes and prejudices (Talbot 2010: 35).

One prominent characteristic of women's speech, according to Jespersen (1947: 242), is their tendency to speak more conservatively, as "they do nothing more than keep to the traditional language which they have learnt from their parents […], while innovations are due to the initiative of men" (Jespersen 1947: 242). Furthermore, Jespersen claims that women shy away from using vulgar expressions (such as, for instance, naming certain parts of the body), thereby contributing to the maintenance of language's 'purity' (Jespersen 1947: 245-246). Although he admits that this is a clearly positive effect, Jespersen (1947: 245) insists that women's need to "invent innocent and euphemistic words and paraphrases" usually leads to rather "plain" and "blunt" expressions, which, even worse, are considered exaggerated and ridiculous from a male viewpoint. Thus, Jespersen (1947: 253) asserts that women's vocabulary is smaller and more central than men's – an alleged 'fact' that he also uses to explain women's greater volubility. Men, on the other hand, are presented as creative innovators who foster the vividness of language by employing new expressions, as they are not satisfied with using the ever same words as others (Jespersen 1947: 247-248). Jespersen (1947: 248) even goes so far as to suggest that learners of a foreign language should train their reading skills with the help of "ladies' novels" in the beginning, since books written by male authors contain too many difficult words.

Other characteristics of 'women's language' identified by Jespersen include, for example, the frequent use of hyperboles, which feature all kinds of adjectives and adverbs of intensity (e.g. *awfully pretty* or *terribly nice*). Moreover, he claims that women tend to leave sentences unfinished (e.g. *Did you ever -?*, *No, I never -!*) and use more coordinated sentences than men, stressing the importance of different ideas not grammatically, but emotionally (e.g. *We were on the way to the theatre and we met the Smiths and then they told us about their son and then Paul said …*) (Jespersen 1947: 249-252).

As we can see, Jespersen's account of 'women's language' is a highly stereotypical and generalising representation of female speaking behaviour, which, sadly, is still relevant today (Talbot 2005: 469). As Talbot (2005: 469) observes

> [s]tereotypical representations of women as language users are never far away. Women's verbal excess is treated as a legitimate source of laughter in television situation comedies, newspaper cartoons, and so on.

In the following sections, I will outline how some of the stereotypes occurring in pre-feminist studies, such as Jespersen's, are (unintentionally) reproduced by influential feminist scholars studying the field of language and gender.

3.2.3. 'Women's language' versus 'Man made language': The deficit- and dominance frameworks

The deficit model

In her highly influential book *Language and woman's place* (1975), Robin Lakoff explored how women's use of language and the language used about women contribute to female subordination. Her work was entirely based on introspection, her own experiences, and the media (Lakoff 2004: 40). She came to the conclusion that women are disadvantaged language users, since they are taught to speak in a way that makes them appear insecure, weak and overly polite (Talbot 2005: 474):

> It will be found that the overall effect of 'women's language' – meaning both language restricted in use to women and language descriptive of women alone - is this: it submerges a woman's personal identity, by denying her the means of expressing herself strongly, on the one hand, and encouraging expressions that suggest triviality in subject matter and uncertainty about it; and, when a woman is being discussed, by treating her as an object – sexual or otherwise – but never a serious person with individual views. (Lakoff 2004: 42)

Evidently, Lakoff (2004: 43) argues that a distinct 'women's language' exists, which is characterised by many linguistic features in all levels of English grammar.

What might come as a surprise is that Lakoff's characterisation of 'women's language' curiously resembles Jespersen's discussion of the female speech style outlined above. For instance, she equally claims that women refrain from using swear words and tend to employ 'empty' adjectives or particles, such as *oh dear* and *my goodness* (Lakoff 2004: 43-44). Another aspect Lakoff identifies as 'typically' female is women's allegedly missing sense of humour, regarding both their inability to tell jokes and their inability to understand them (Talbot 2010: 38). Given these problematic accounts of 'women's

language', it becomes evident that Lakoff, just like Jespersen, presents female speech as inferior and deviant from the norm – 'men's language' (Talbot 2010: 38).

In particular, Lakoff identifies the following lexical items as typical for women's speech, which are summarised in Talbot (2010: 36):

- precise colour terms (e.g. *beige, aquamarine, mauve*)
- affective adjectives (e.g. *divine, adorable, charming*)
- superpolite forms: including the avoidance of vulgarity or swear words and substituting them by euphemisms (e.g. *passed away* instead of *died*)

Furthermore, Talbot (2010: 37-38) lists the following discourse particles and intonation patterns that, according to Lakoff, distinguish 'women's language' from men's:

- hedges (e.g. *you know, well, kind of*),
- frequent use of the intensifier *so,*
- tag questions (e.g. *don't you?, haven't they?*),
- rising intonation,
- emphatic stress to emphasise certain words or phrases (e.g. What a *beautiful* dress!) and
- 'hypercorrect' grammar (use of Standard forms rather than vernacular)

The problems with this kind of characterisation of 'women's language', known as the 'deficit approach', are obvious: Besides treating 'men's language' as the norm and 'women's language' as deviant, it also presents the way women speak as deficient. Moreover, by identifying certain linguistic features as exemplary for the speaking style of 'women', Lakoff ignores the multiplicity of different situations and contexts women find themselves in. As a consequence, she falls into the trap of oversimplification and universalist notions, which invites essentialist claims about women and men (Talbot 2010: 41-42).

Although Lakoff's work on 'women's language' is accompanied by the very negative side effect of a reinforcement of gender stereotypes and prejudices, it is nevertheless an important milestone in the study of language and gender. As Talbot (2010: 41) observes,

> [t]he value of her [Lakoff's] early exploration of issues in gender and language lies not so much in the identification of particular speech characteristics as in the political argument that she was making.

Indeed, Lakoff's contribution to the study of language and gender was highly successful in raising awareness to the fact

> that women are systematically denied access to power, on the grounds that they are not capable of holding it as demonstrated by their linguistic behavior along with other aspects of their behavior; and the irony here is that women are made to feel that they deserve such treatment, because of inadequacies in their own intelligence and/or education. (Lakoff 2004: 42)

The dominance model

Whereas Lakoff worked within a deficit framework, stressing gender differences by examining the deficiencies of 'women's language', an influential example for a study working within the dominance framework is Dale Spender's book *Man made language*, first published in 1980. This approach views language as an expression of hegemonic patriarchal power structures, implying that linguistic gender differences are due to men's privileged position in society (Talbot 2010: 98-99).

As Talbot (2010: 42) notes, Spender ([1980] 1981) draws on a slightly modified version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, arguing that language shapes people's consciousness and the way we perceive the world:

> Language is our means of classifying and ordering the world: our means of manipulating reality. In its structure and in its use we bring our world into realization, and if it is inherently inaccurate, then we are misled. If the rules which underlie our language system, our symbolic order, are invalid, then we are daily deceived. (Spender 1981: 2-3)

She further claims that women are forced to rely upon expressions that were man-made, as they are entirely produced and controlled by men (at least in English-speaking countries) (Spender 1981: 12). As a result, the world (English-speaking) women live in is defined through male language, exclusively representing the interests of men (Talbot 2010: 42-43).

A typical feature of 'man-made language', as Spender sees it, is the great variety of words that reflect a male bias. For instance, the term for an unmarried woman – *spinster*

– has rather negative connotations, while an unmarried man who is labelled a *bachelor* is often looked upon with admiration and potential envy by other men. Another example is the word *work*, which, in a male dominated society, is usually not associated with unpaid work often carried out by women, such as childcare or housework (Talbot 2010: 43).

A second essential characteristic of 'man-made language' identified by Spender is the systematic suppression of women's meanings by attempting to silence them (Talbot 2010: 43). As Talbot (2010: 43) points out, "[w]omen's contributions to talk are measured against silence; any talk is too much". However, whenever women dare to contribute in conversations and discussions, they are expected to express themselves along the male norm, meaning that they run the risk of being ridiculed or not taken seriously if they do not assimilate to male ways of speaking (Spender 1981: 84-85).

Spender's account of 'man-made language' has proven enormously valuable for feminist issues, as it marked the starting point for a denaturalisation of sexist expressions in the English language (Talbot 2010: 44). However, like studies working within a deficit framework, the dominance framework employed by Spender also entails various problematic aspects of which I will briefly point out two: First, it presents language as almost entirely fixed and constrained, thereby completely determining its users. This determinist notion is probably too simplistic, since language inevitably changes and, thus, steadily reshapes the way we perceive the world (Talbot 2010: 44). Second, the dominance approach, too, employs dichotomous, unified categories of 'women' and 'men', as it suggests that "*all* men are in a position to dominate *all* women [my emphasis]" (Talbot 2010: 45). As already discussed above, arguing along these lines entails the danger of strengthening essentialist notions of gender differences (Talbot 2010: 45-46).

3.2.4. Different, but equal? The difference approach to language and gender

Whereas the dominance approach outlined in the previous section can be said to originate from the historical "moment of feminist outrage, of bearing witness to oppression in all aspects of women's lives" (Cameron 1996: 41), another model of language and gender, called 'difference approach', is ascribed to "the moment of

feminist celebration, reclaiming and revaluing women's distinctive cultural traditions" (Cameron 1996: 41). Scholars working within a difference framework associate gender with other social categories, especially ethnicity (Cameron 1996: 40). Hence, they focus on gender differences in language use, arguing that girls and boys are socialised primarily in sex-separate peer groups and, thus, grow up in what can be described as two distinct, gender-specific 'cultures' (Tannen 1993: 5). In other words, proponents of the difference model equal communication between the sexes to cross-cultural communication (Crawford 1995: 86). Cameron (1996: 41) emphasises that the difference model is, in some respects, similar to the deficit framework, since both take the stance that the individuals' speaking styles result from the socialisation processes they went through. Nevertheless it is important to note that, whereas the deficit approach identifies 'women's language' as deficient, the difference approach carefully points to the fact that although it is different, it is not automatically inferior (Cameron 1996: 40-41).

A rather famous example for studies within the difference framework is the work by linguist Deborah Tannen, who has reached a mass audience with her popularised 'self-help' books on female/male speech differences (see, for example, Tannen 1986, 1990, 1994). Tannen remains neutral in her analyses of female/male language, arguing in line with sociolinguistic relativism that all varieties are equal. Hence, although she studies and aims at explaining linguistic gender differences, she considers male and female interactional patterns as equal (Tannen 2007: 15).

The most prominent difference Tannen (2007: 77) identifies in the interactional styles of women and men is women's tendency to focus on *rapport* in conversations, whereas men place greater importance on *report*. According to this approach, distinct speech styles of women and men evolve from different priorities in conversations: It is argued that women aim at establishing intimacy by focussing on similarities and employing politeness strategies, while men's priority is to demonstrate their independence and status (Crawford 1995: 92). As a result, female interaction is (allegedly) based on equality and solidarity, without displaying hierarchical structures. In contrast, men's interactional style is assumed to serve as a means to negotiate status (Talbot 2010: 92-93).

Another compelling characteristic differing among women and men, according to Tannen (2007: 75-77), concerns engagement in private and public talk. Tannen observes that men are rather uncommunicative in private settings, but tend to engage in lively discussions and conversations in public. Women, on the other hand, show the contrasting behaviour: They enjoy talking privately more than speaking in public (Tannen 2007: 76-77). An explanation for this difference provided by Tannen is that "[f]or men, conversational talk is a forum for self-display. They are operating in a competitive framework, either winning or losing. Home is a haven where the pressure is off […]" (Talbot 2010: 93). On the contrary, women, primarily seeking to establish intimate relationships rather than negotiating statuses, are simply not as interested in demonstrating their skills or knowledge and receiving public attention (Talbot 2010: 93).

The difference model, and especially Tannen's work, is highly contested among recent researchers, first and foremost by feminist linguists following a third wave stance. Scholars such as Deborah Cameron criticise the approach for strengthening the notion that men and women are fundamentally different by *nature*, not *nurture*. As Cameron (2007: 3) points out

> [t]he idea that men and women 'speak different languages' has itself
> become a dogma, treated not as a hypothesis to be investigated or as a
> claim to be adjudicated, but as an unquestioned article of faith.

Another point of criticism is that the difference model neglects to investigate implications of (male) dominance and power, since it suggests that men and women employ different speaking styles that are nevertheless *equal*. As Aki Uchida (1992: 548-549) emphasises, "[i]t is not only wrong […] to underestimate the effects of power structure and dominance; it is harmful". By treating all problems between men and women as being rooted in a form of 'cultural miscommunication', the difference approach does not challenge social inequalities at all (Uchida 1992: 553). Ultimately, it seems that depicting the communicative behaviour of women and men as *different, but equal* is rather naïve, given that the predominant patriarchal social structures in many cultures do not allow for women and men to interact as equals, regardless of individual intentions (Uchida 1992: 558).

3.3. Towards a dynamic approach in language and gender research

> In a gender difference framework, the fundamental question is, 'how are women different from men?' In a diversity framework, that question will immediately be met with another question: 'which women and which men do you mean?' (Cameron 2005: 487)

Having discussed the three main frameworks in the study of language and gender since the 1970s – the deficit, dominance and difference approaches -, the following sections will provide insights into a more dynamic approach adopted by many feminist linguists during the last two decades.

3.3.1. Gender as the solution?

As addressed in the sections above, the study of language and gender has largely focused on gender differences, thereby neglecting to point at similarities in the speaking styles of women and men. Alice F. Freed (2003: 700) addresses the problem of a "mismatch between research findings and public discussions of language and gender," which stems partly from a focus on differences between male and female speech. As recent studies show, a dichotomous identification of certain linguistic features as either typically male or female can no longer be maintained from a sociolinguistic point of view (Freed 2003: 705). However, all approaches to language and gender concentrating on difference inadvertently support stereotypes and dichotomies, which in return are taken on by the lay public (Freed 2003: 700). It is therefore indispensable that feminist linguistics engages in altering the public perception of gender and language by pointing out the heterogeneity and similarities that have been found in women's and men's speaking behaviour (Freed 2003: 699-701).

Evidently, social linguists' preoccupation with examining differences and, in the case of the difference approach, aiming at offering simple solutions to avoid miscommunication between the sexes has serious implications for feminist endeavours. The most problematic aspect of research stressing gender differences is its tendency to treat gender as a solution. It suggests that, if only we understood and accepted the way women and men communicate differently, inequalities and linguistic discrimination among the sexes could be overcome. However, as Cameron (1995: 42) emphasises, "gender is a *problem*, not a solution [my emphasis]". Consequently, it is of utmost

importance to weaken gender polarisation and stereotyping, instead of reinforcing it by studying differences in female/male language use over and over again.

Since the 1990s there has been a shift towards what some scholars refer to as 'dynamic approach' (or 'diversity approach') in the study of language and gender. This approach is informed by third wave feminist theories and highly influenced by poststructuralism. Feminist linguists working within this framework acknowledge that both gender *and* sex are not entirely stable, fixed dichotomies, but socially constructed. Thus, they acknowledge the complexity of gendered language use and abandon approaches that take masculine/feminine differences for granted (Cameron 2005: 482-484). In the following, the dynamic approach to language and gender will be discussed in more detail.

3.3.2. Following a dynamic approach: The 'postmodern' turn

As already mentioned above, the shift towards a more dynamic approach in language and gender studies has begun during the first half of the 1990s, although it is important to note that developments in feminist theory and the study of language and gender should not be mistaken for a linear process (Cameron 2005: 483). Similarly to the three 'waves' of feminism outlined in the first sections of this thesis, the different approaches to the study of language and gender have coexisted at some points in history (and sometimes still do). Hence, Cameron (2005: 483) suggests that they should be "better seen as representing tendencies in feminist thought".

Following the development of third-wave (or 'postmodern') feminism, the dynamic approach in the study of language and gender is equally informed and influenced by postmodern theory. Table 1 below is adapted from Cameron (2005: 484) and illustrates the most important distinctions between approaches to language and gender informed by second-wave ('modern') and third-wave ('postmodern') feminism:

Table 1: Comparison of a 'modern' and 'postmodern' approach in the study of language and gender (source: Cameron 2005: 484)

	'MODERN' FEMINIST APPROACH	'POSTMODERN' FEMINIST APPROACH
Gender…	is socially constructed. is something one *has*.	is socially constructed. is something one *does*.
Sex…	is biologically based.	is socially constructed.
		→ sex/gender distinction collapses
Gender identities …	are acquired through socialisation and stable.	are constantly produced and reproduced (performed).
	can be divided into two homogeneous categories ('men' and 'women').	come in multiple varieties. are connected to other aspects of identity (age, ethnicity, class etc.).
Linguistic gender differences are explained through …	'grand narratives' (e.g. male dominance, 'two cultures')	local approach (e.g. 'communities of practice', specific contexts)
Theoretical frameworks	deficit dominance difference	dynamic, diversity

As can be seen, scholars studying the relationship of language and gender from a modern feminist point of view usually regarded sex – a 'biological given' – as the basis for gender. Thus, "the issue was to show how language-using was implicated in the process of becoming a woman, or a man" (Cameron 2005:485). However, linguists adopting a postmodern feminist perspective question this ontological status of sex. In line with Judith Butler's theory, they consider sex as culturally constructed. As a result, scholars working within the deficit, dominance or difference frameworks assume two homogeneous categories of 'women' and 'men', while researchers following a postmodern, dynamic approach aim at deconstructing these binary oppositions by acknowledging the existence of a multiplicity of gender identities. Moreover, the latter reject the idea that gendered language styles are acquired through socialisation in early childhood, and, from then on, are fixed and stable once and for all. Instead, they draw upon Judith Butler's theory that gendered behaviour is constantly performed and therefore subject to change (Cameron 2005: 485-486).

Regarding questions of methodology, the postmodern feminist strand places greater importance on a local approach that avoids generalisations about what it means to 'be a woman/man'. Instead of proclaiming 'universal truths' about female/male speaking behaviour, postmodern feminist researchers take the specific contexts of individuals

into account and study the relation of these contexts to the individual's linguistic style (Cameron 2005: 488). One particularly influential concept for analysing the relationship of language and gender in these terms is the concept of 'community of practice' (CoP) (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1998), which will be introduced briefly in the following.

3.3.3. 'Think practically, look locally': Analysing communities of practice (CoP)

The term 'community of practice' was coined by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991), who originally used this concept in learning theory (Wenger 2011: 3). They define communities of practice as "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (Wenger 2011: 1). The concept was soon adopted by scholars from several academic areas, including the sociolinguists Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet, who introduced it as a useful tool to study the linguistic construction of gender identities on a local level (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1998: 492). In doing so, they promote the view that the relationship between language and gender develops from "everyday social practices of particular local communities" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1998: 486) and must thus be studied by taking the specific situations and contexts of women and men into account.

According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1998: 490),

> [t]he 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.

They argue that several aspects of people's identities (class, age, ethnicity, sex, etc.) are closely related to their (non-)participation in certain CoPs. Likewise, individuals perform their gender through their engagement and membership in different CoPs (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1998: 490-491). This bears implications for the way language is used, as people's speaking behaviour is connected to the different endeavours they are engaged in, i.e. to the different CoPs they are members of. In other words, individuals participating in different CoPs are likely to employ different discourse strategies, shaped by the discourse style dominant within the respective CoP.

As a consequence, gender differences in language use can be explained as emerging from women's and men's tendencies to join different CoPs, or, at least, from their different positions within the same CoP (Cameron 2005: 489).

However, it is vital to note that generalisations and oversimplifications must be avoided. The existence of gender differences in discourse strategies within a particular CoP does not legitimate the assumption of general linguistic differences between men and women as such. Also, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1998: 491) emphasise, individuals' positions in single-sex communities can differ, depending on their age, class, social status, etc., which again results in different language use. It is therefore imperative to acknowledge that

> [a]bstracting gender and language from the social practices that produce their particular forms in given communities often obscures and sometimes distorts the ways they connect and how those connections are implicated in power relations, in social conflict, in the production and reproduction of values and plans. (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1998: 484)

Applying the concept of CoP in the study of language and gender can help feminist linguistics overcome stereotypical, oversimplified notions of men's and women's speaking behaviour.

Another methodological approach suiting the objectives of postmodern feminist linguists is critical discourse analysis (CDA). Its main methods and principles will be presented in the following.

3.3.4. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis, abbreviated 'CDA' in the following, is a multidisciplinary approach providing a methodological frame for the study of discourse. Although CDA is closely connected to and often associated with linguistics, it draws on many other disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, ethnography, or social psychology. Nevertheless, sociolinguistic theory and methods have played a major part in the development of CDA (Bloor & Bloor 2007: 1-2). This section provides a brief introduction to basic terms, objectives and methods of CDA, and highlights its usefulness for exploring issues of language and gender.

As Bloor and Bloor (2007: 6) note, the word '*discourse*' has several senses, of which the broadest refers to "phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language". Furthermore, it often describes communicative practices within institutions. For instance, people might engage in the 'academic discourse', 'legal discourse', 'medical discourse' and so forth. To be able to participate in a specific discourse a person needs to be familiar with the *social practices* of the respective '*discourse domain*', the context in which the discourse takes place[3]. *Social practices* mean social actions and behaviour following the social rules and conventions of the discourse domain[4]. A group of people contributing and participating in specific discourses belong to the same '*discourse community*' (Bloor & Bloor 2007: 6-9).

Next to a linguistic sense of discourse, CDA also draws on a poststructuralist notion of discourse developed by Michel Foucault[5]. Foucault defines discourses as "structures of possibility and constraint" (Talbot 2010: 119), thereby pointing out that dominant members or institutions in a society use language to exert control. Power, according to Foucault, is enacted through discourse by defining what is considered 'true', who has access to what kind of knowledge and who is in charge of the defining itself (Talbot 2010: 119-120). Likewise, Fairclough (2015: 51), drawing on Foucault, views discourse as "language as social practice determined by social structures". This definition implies that language is internally and dialectically interconnected with society (Fairclough 2015: 56): Not only is discourse constrained and shaped by social structures, but it also has substantial impact on these very structures and power relations (Fairclough 2015: 68).

In the Foucauldian sense, discourse functions not only as a means to establish social conventions and practices, but also social identities. Through discourse individuals are positioned in different ways as social subjects – some in positions of power, while others are denied that power. As social subjects, we take on a variety of social roles,

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[3] In the case of scientific discourse, the discourse domain is 'science'; if we talk about discourse in the media, the broad domain is 'media', or, more specifically, the BBC, the New York Times, etc. (Bloor & Bloor 2007: 8).

[4] For example, social practices in the domain of science include undertaking research, writing papers, giving presentations, taking part in a symposium or conference, etc.

[5] I will provide a more detailed account of the Foucauldian Discourse Theory in the second part of this thesis.

34

such as, for example, mothers, fathers, teachers, members of certain clubs or unions, etc. Our subject positions and social roles are frequently dynamic and even contradictory (Talbot 2010: 123-124). For instance, a woman holding a position as the CEO of a successful company might be expected to be rational, focused and determined in terms of business. However, concerning her social roles as a wife and mother, the same woman might be expected to be loving and caring, arranging a harmonious life for her family.

Building upon these notions of discourse, CDA is primarily concerned with

> the way in which language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and in the part this use plays in social maintenance and change. (Bloor & Bloor 2007: 2)

One of the main aims of critical discourse analysts is awareness raising: By analysing and pointing out how dominant discourses have been established through power relations and –struggles, it is possible to become aware of and question 'common sense' conventions (Talbot 2010: 117).

As becomes evident, CDA views discourse as produced by society on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a rather dynamic force capable of shaping social beliefs, values and practices. In their study of social groups and the discourses they produce, critical discourse analysts attempt to uncover the ideological basis of these discourses. Ideological beliefs can be communicated through the way language is used, for instance by employing specific words in specific contexts, or even through single words that refer to an ideological belief shared by a social group[6]. By making the ideology, which underpins social interaction, visible, CDA is a valuable approach to provide a critique of social practices that often have become normalised and taken for granted in the respective social group (Bloor & Bloor 2007: 10-12).

Given the emancipatory aim of CDA, its value for feminist endeavours becomes self-explanatory. Many feminist linguists use this approach as an effective means to analyse how gender identities are constructed within dominant discourses. Furthermore, it is also helpful to examine how individuals use language and discourse to perform their

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[6] Bloor and Bloor (2007: 11) use the term 'democracy' as an example for such a shared belief.

gender identities, both consciously and unconsciously. Michelle Lazar (2007: 143) even proposes the explicit label of 'feminist critical discourse analysis' to distinguish feminist studies applying CDA from other research dealing with discourse and gender. She emphasises that "[t]he marriage of feminism with CDA […] can produce a rich and powerful political critique for action" (Lazar 2007: 144). The approach of an explicitly feminist CDA will serve as the methodological background to my analysis of EFL textbooks at hand. Therefore, it will be discussed in greater detail below.

3.3.5. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA)

According to Mills and Mullany (2011: 80), "feminist CDA is concerned with the analysis of inequality and the way that discursive means are used to maintain the status quo". Through a detailed examination of texts, feminist CDA theorists are able to describe how conventional beliefs about gender are reproduced, enforced and maintained by language use. At the same time, a feminist CDA, in the following abbreviated 'FCDA', reveals possibilities for resistance and change, as it contests ideological discursive constructions of gender (Mills & Mullany 2011: 78-79).

The need for an explicitly *feminist* CDA is emphasised by Michelle Lazar, who argues that

> a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining (hierarchically) gendered social arrangements […] is all the more pertinent in present times, when issues of gender, power, and ideology have become increasingly more complex and subtle. (Lazar 2007: 141)

Therefore, Lazar (2007: 143) suggests that, although "feminist linguists have been working quite happily under the rubric of CDA without needing to flag a feminist perspective […]," an explicit feminist label accounts for the fact that not all studies on discourse and gender have a feminist background. In addition, since the dominant figures in CDA were mostly male and neglected to acknowledge feminist contributions for a long time, Lazar stresses the necessity of establishing feminist principles in CDA as well as acknowledging "gender as an omni-relevant category in many social practices" (Lazar 2007: 143). Above all, she notes that promoting an explicit feminist

labelling facilitates the formation of a common forum for feminist CDA theorists, and makes feminism visible in CDA scholarship (Lazar 2007: 143-144).

Lazar (2007: 145-155) identifies five key principles of an explicitly *feminist* CDA, which will be introduced in the following:

- Feminist analytical activism

Rather than remaining entirely theoretical, FCDA aims at changing the status quo through 'analytical activism'. Theory is therefore closely related to practice, insofar as it ignites critical awareness and provides the theoretical background for resistance and change (Lazar 2007: 145). Consequently, the long-cherished opposition between academic feminists and feminist activists is overcome by FCDA, which entails "critical praxis-oriented research" (Lazar 2007: 146).

- Gender as ideological structure

Another important principle within FCDA is the notion of

> gender as an ideological structure that divides people into two classes, men and women, based on a hierarchical relation of domination and subordination, respectively. (Lazar 2007: 146)

This postmodern view on gender allows FCDA theorists to investigate signs of male domination in language, which becomes visible, for example, in the generic status of male pronouns and nouns (*he, his, man*, etc.) (Lazar 2007: 146-147).

- Complexity of gender and power relations

Working within FCDA, it is crucial to acknowledge that both gender and power are complex, diverse concepts. From a postmodern feminist perspective, 'women' and 'men' cannot be regarded as homogeneous categories. Instead, differences among individuals have to be taken into account (Lazar 2007: 148). Furthermore, not only overt forms of asymmetrical power relations between men and women need to be considered, but also more subtle ones, which are often "based on an internalization of gendered norms and acted out routinely in the texts and talk of everyday life" (Lazar 2007: 148).

- Discourse in the (de)construction of gender

FCDA theorists consider discourse as a form of social practice, which plays an essential part in the (re)production, but also transformation, of social orders. Discursive constructions of gender can be examined by analysing representations, relationships and identities in spoken or written texts (Lazar 2007: 149-150). Lazar (2007: 150) identifies 'gender relationality' as an underlying principle of critical feminist discourse studies, which entails analyses of discursive gender constructions in mixed communities of practice, as well as studies on different forms of 'masculinity' or 'femininity'. These studies are undertaken through a close empirical approach, drawing on contextualised written or spoken texts. In addition, FCDA provides analytical frameworks for multimodal analyses, focusing on visual images, layout, actions, gestures or facial expressions. Thus, studies employing FCDA might focus on lexis, sentences or utterances, turn-taking in conversations, interactional behaviour, interactions among different discourses or structures of genres (Lazar 2007: 150-152).

- Critical reflexivity as praxis

The last key principle of FCDA mentioned by Lazar (2007: 152-153) concerns the importance of remaining critical with regard to institutional developments and practices as well as one's own theoretical stances and practices. As Lazar (2007: 152) points out,

> [r]eflexivity of institutions is of interest to feminist CDA, both in terms of progressive institutional practices engendered and in terms of strategic uses of feminism to further non-feminist goals.

Institutional practices that (mis)use feminist values can be found, for instance, in the advertising industry or political campaigns, where feminist demands are often addressed in order to display a progressive, liberal attitude, albeit without taking feminist endeavours seriously (Lazar 2007: 152-153).

As can be seen, one of the most important distinctions between FCDA and CDA is the former's notion of gender, which is deeply influenced by third-wave feminism. Hence, FCDA theorists focus "on the representation of multiple possible gendered identities or gendered discourses in texts, and on the multiple possible ways of empowerment" (Lehtonen 2007: 5-6), instead of describing and analysing mere gender differences. Moreover, scholars working within this framework are not only interested in oppressive discursive practices, but also in empowering discourses and discourses of resistance (Lehtonen 2007: 6).

After having elaborated on recent developments in feminist theory and the study of language and gender, I will now turn to the second part of my thesis, a discussion of how education (re)produces dominant discourses on gender, and address several implications for EFL teaching and textbooks.

Doing or undoing gender? Implications for language teaching and the design of EFL textbooks

The first part of the thesis at hand dealt with the theoretical background necessary to gain an understanding of crucial concepts and theories in the study of language and gender. After having established the theoretical preliminaries for a postmodern feminist analysis of EFL textbooks, the second part will provide insight into the vital role of education in maintaining (or changing) hegemonic discursive practices regarding gender. In doing so, the importance of examining how gender identities are linguistically constructed in EFL textbooks will be illustrated. Furthermore, the implications for EFL classes and, in particular, the design of appropriate teaching material will be discussed.

4. Education to (in)equality: The impact of educational institutions on gender polarisation and (in)equality

As already pointed out briefly in the first part of my thesis, social institutions play a major part in the maintenance and change of power structures, since they shape dominant discourses and thereby define what is 'true' (Talbot 2010: 119-120). In order to gain an understanding of how the concepts of discourse and power are connected to educational institutions, I consider it vital to outline a theory that has been influential for postmodern feminism as well as CDA. That is why in the following sections, I will first discuss Foucault's work on discourse in order to explain in more detail how language and discourse impact not only public beliefs about sex and gender, but also gender identities as such. Second, I will briefly point out the interface between (postmodern) feminism and Foucauldian discourse theory, before I turn to an exploration of Foucault's impact on education.

4.1. Foucauldian Discourse Theory

Michel Foucault was one of the leading figures of postmodern thought and, as such, his notion of the interrelatedness of discourse and power have been highly influential also for third wave feminists. Some of his writings provided thought-provoking impulses for feminists questioning the relationship between sex, sexuality and identity, such as Judith Butler (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 1-3). Thus, I consider it crucial to provide an outline of the Foucauldian discourse theory and its value for feminism.

4.1.1. The politics of discourse: The interconnectedness of knowledge, power and truth

Discourses, in the Foucauldian sense, are "practices which form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 1972: 49, quoted in Burr 2003: 64). Obviously, Foucault assumes that discourses do not just passively represent the world as it is, but strongly influence and even produce our knowledge about it. In other words, discourses present reality in specific ways and, thus, shape people's perception and understanding of certain objects, events or people (Burr 2003: 64). If we take a closer look at discourses about traditional, heterosexual gender roles, for example, we can identify in how far they depict this issue differently and produce different 'truths'.

In discourses that represent the maintenance of traditional gender roles (men as breadwinners, women as housewives) as desirable, negative consequences of the collapse of traditional family structures might be foregrounded. Within this discourse, concerns about children's upbringing by 'working mums' might be raised, and a general fear of the loss of conservative values might be provoked. In line with such a discourse, we might come across election posters of political parties promising to fight for more financial support for families to enable mothers to stay at home and care for their children.

On the other hand, discourses viewing traditional gender roles as restricting or even discriminatory will paint a considerably different picture. For instance, they might depict female gender roles as a result of male dominance, denying women the right to strive for education and a career. Alternatively, they might emphasise children's need

for a male attachment figure, thereby pointing at the importance of fathers spending time with their offspring. An election campaign drawing on this kind of discourse about gender roles would focus on the promise to support working mothers, for example by improving child care facilities or by offering fathers appealing opportunities for parental leave.

As we can see, "[d]iscourses make it possible for us to see the world in a certain way" (Burr 2003: 79) and have far reaching consequences for the 'real world' and the individuals inhabiting it. What is important to note is that each discourse presents its object as essentially different from the next (Burr 2003: 79). As a result, different discourses create different kinds of knowledge by providing "the body of rules which define and limit the sorts of statements that we can make" (Phelan 1990: 422). In contrast to essentialist assumptions about 'truth' or 'knowledge', Foucault does not treat these concepts as objective reflections of reality, but argues that knowledge, as well as truth, are inseparable from power relations (Talbot 2010: 119). Hence, Foucault's main mission was to relate different kinds of knowledge or truths to their historical and social contexts[7] (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 6).

This leads us to Foucault's notion of 'power', which, as could be demonstrated, is very closely related to the concepts of knowledge and truth – a triangular constellation that can already be found in the works of the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. One of the cornerstones of Nietzsche's philosophy is the rejection of the belief that certain 'knowledges' or 'truths' receive their authority as a result of their essential, eternal value (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 9-10). Instead, Nietzsche argues that the establishment of 'knowledge' and 'truth' is always a matter of power:

> In fact, any form of knowledge or truth that emerged in a culture did so […] not because it was valuable or eternal, but because one group had managed to impose their will over others. […] Nietzsche would insist that there were many possible stories and developments, but that these alternatives had to be repressed and forgotten so that dominant groups could justify the 'inevitability' of their own rise to power. (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 9-10)

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[7] In doing so, Foucault was inspired first and foremost by structuralist and psychoanalytical theory. His works are informed by Saussure's notion that meaning is relational, which suggests that words or actions only attain meaning in relation to other words or actions. Moreover, structuralists reject the idea of an independent, 'free' subject, since they argue that individuals are always determined by the structures surrounding them (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 7-8).

As becomes obvious, Nietzsche and Foucault do not support the widely shared assumption that power works as a means of oppressing and dominating people, while knowledge has the potential to free people from this oppression (a stance that Foucault calls the 'repressive hypothesis' of power). On the contrary, Foucault takes the view that knowledge and truth work in favour of powerful groups and institutions, as they are produced by dominant discourses and therefore facilitate the authorisation and legitimation of prevailing power structures. In other words, the 'knowledges' and 'truths' promoted by those holding the power, serve as means to maintain their power (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 63-64). Instead of being exerted through prohibition and repression, power must be seen as a productive force – productive, since it "produces our discourses and structures, […] constructs our selves and self-understandings" (Phelan 1990: 424).

Following this notion is the idea that power is not something belonging to an individual or group, but that it must be understood as relations of force (Barker 1998: 27). Power, according to Foucault, is not "a property of powerful groups – men, the upper class, capitalists or whatever – but […] something deployed in discourse" (Talbot 2010: 119). As a consequence, power is not stable, but can change relatively easily, depending on the dynamic power struggles between different groups, institutions or discourses.

Foucault reasons that the shift from 'repressive power' to what he terms 'disciplinary power' and 'biopower' is linked to a reversal of the functions associated with the state and its citizens. He notes that from the 17th century onwards, the state was no longer expected to serve its citizens, but the people were expected to serve the state. Put differently, the centre of attention was not the welfare of the sovereign, 'free' individual, but the flourishing and power of the state (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 64). Hence,

> [i]ts people were now thought of not as ends in themselves (with rights and duties), but as resources which had to be used and taken care of, in their everyday activities, to ensure the development and viability of the state. (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 64)

In order to 'take care of' the people, generating knowledge about the human individual was of utmost importance. Likewise, administrative techniques and institutions were needed to control and regulate a state's citizens (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 65). The old notion of repressive power had to be replaced by the concepts of 'disciplinary

power', focusing on the disciplining of the human bodies and behaviour, and 'biopower', which is concerned with managing populations with regard to reproduction or illnesses (O'Farrell 2007). Foucault argues that the gradual emergence of the social sciences, which focus on the human body and behaviour and established them as objects of knowledge, resulted from these historical developments. The knowledge generated by social sciences initiated the establishment of certain norms regarding human behaviour, serving first and foremost the purpose of the state, which was interested in disposing of obedient human resources. Regarding the administrative apparatus needed, Foucault states that it was realised by the establishment of several institutions, for example medical or educational institutions, drawing upon the knowledge provided by social sciences (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 65). These institutions have been charged with the task to measure, categorise and 'normalise' people in order to optimise their efficiency and productivity as human resources (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 80-81). As Talbot (2010: 119) points out,

> dominant members of institutions maintain control through discourses by creating order; that is, by being the ones who make boundaries and categories.

Hence, institutions monitor and regulate the behaviour, thoughts and actions of people by making 'normative judgements', thereby identifying some as 'normal', others as 'abnormal' (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: xiii). This applies also to educational institutions, such as schools, universities, publishing houses of textbooks or libraries. The important role educational institutions play in the production and maintenance of discourses is stressed by Barker (1998: 7):

> The educational system validates certain discourses insofar as it 'is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the power it carries with it' (Foucault 1972b: 227). It is itself part of the ritualisation of the world, which qualifies certain people to speak about certain subjects in the form of a discourse […].

What can be inferred from all of the above is that Foucault discards the idea of an independent, autonomous subject. Against the belief of most people in Western societies, Foucault argues that our social identities are constituted and defined through institutional discourses, constructing individuals as patients or physicians, students or

teachers, hetero- or homosexuals, 'normal' or 'deviant' and so forth[8] (Talbot 2010: 119-120). Thus, our sense of being self-governed, self-determined individuals is nothing but an illusion, resulting from our unawareness of the processes constructing us (Talbot 2010: 125).

By being educated to take the limits, categorisations and norms imposed on us through various discourses for granted, by (unconsciously) believing that they are the 'natural order of things', we unknowingly participate in disciplining ourselves and others (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 62). In other words, we are not only controlled by institutions from the outside, but we gradually internalise the 'normative judgements' through education and therefore monitor our own behaviour and attitudes (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: xii). This mechanism can be illustrated by the following example: If dominant institutions and discourses establish heterosexuality as the norm in a society, and other forms of sexuality as deviances resulting from psychological disorders, non-heterosexual individuals believing in the 'truth' of these normative judgements might be ashamed to adhere to their sexuality. Consequently, people are likely to regulate and discipline themselves; heterosexuals by stressing their heterosexuality through their behaviour, thoughts and sayings, and non-heterosexuals by repressing and hiding their sexuality.

After considering Foucault's notion of the subject the question arises whether there are possibilities of changing dominant discourses and institutional practices. Given Foucault's assumption that our "subjectivity is situated within, and transformed by, discursive flows, institutional practices and games of truth" (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 44), it seems as if he denies any space for individual agency. Although several scholars have criticised Foucault's deterministic view of the subject, it is important to note that Foucault does not completely preclude the individual's ability to gain control over their destinies. He suggests that we can free ourselves through the concepts of thought and criticism: Thought enables people to recognise discourses and discursive practices that affect them, and gives them the opportunity to reflect on the reasons for their own (re-)actions and behaviour. Criticism allows us to critically examine the conditions and events that brought about the way our identities were constructed and the

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[8] Foucault refers to these strategies of social institutions "to qualify or disqualify people as fit and proper members of the social order" (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 61) as 'dividing practices'.

way we identify ourselves as subjects of certain actions or thoughts. Hence, subjectivity can be problematized and even transformed through thought and criticism (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 44-45).

Furthermore, Foucault emphasises that power is always accompanied by resistance. Due to the dividing practices, producing some people as normal and others as deviant, opposition emerges as a natural by-product of power (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000: 80-81). Thus, it is impossible to exert overall control, as every discourse produces counterdiscourses capable of changing the status quo (Talbot 2010: 121).

4.1.2. The interface between Foucault and feminism

The value of Foucault's discourse theory for feminist endeavours and the study of language and gender is obvious: It provides feminist scholars with a theoretical background that accounts for the interconnectedness of discourse, power, knowledge and the discursive construction of social identities. Thereby, the Foucauldian notion of power overcomes the widespread idea that power flows top down, from a hegemonic force onto the oppressed, but points out that power must be analysed as "something used upon us and as something that we participate in" (Phelan 1990: 429). Furthermore, Foucault suggests possibilities of changing dominant discourses and power relations by critical reflection on the language and discourses we encounter in our daily lives (Talbot 2010: 121).

Nonetheless, various feminists have been critical about Foucault, first and foremost since Foucault himself did not support certain feminist views (Phelan 1990: 421). As Amigot and Pujal (2009: 657) note, Foucault can be accused of androcentrism, as he failed to include a specific investigation of power relations between men and women. Indeed, Foucault's early writings completely neglect analyses of the situation of women – a fact that changed with his famous work *History of sexuality*, in which he started to focus on the female body as controlled mainly by medical and psychological discourses (Amigot & Pujal 2009: 648-649). However, asserting Foucault a certain 'gender blindness' is appropriate, but this does not mean that his theory is of no use for feminists (Amigot & Pujal 2009: 658).

46

Another point of critique is that his theory comes with a "political toothlessness" (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 32), leaving it inappropriate for actual political endeavours. The asserted 'toothlessness' is often said to stem from Foucault's notion of power, which he sees not as something lying in the hands of an individual or group, but as diffuse power relations deployed in discourse. Some feminists argue that this notion undermines their emancipatory aims, since it entails that nobody can be made responsible for the abuse of power and domination of others. Nevertheless, Amigot and Pujal (2009: 661) emphasise that Foucault does not completely reject the consideration of hegemonic forces, such as patriarchy, but "rather notes the heterogeneity and complexity of the technologies of power that operate in them". Acknowledging these complex manifestations of power

> allows the politicization of everyday practices and relations, such as the elements of reproduction in an unequal order for women, and the possibility of political action about them. (Amigot & Pujal 2009: 661)

Despite the scepticism against Foucault's theory, there is no doubt that his thoughts have proved very useful for the feminist domain. According to Amigot and Pujal (2009: 647), a dialogue between feminism and Foucauldian theory can help us to identify the sex/gender dichotomy as produced by and situated in networks of power. Furthermore, drawing upon Foucauldian discourse theory is valuable to understand how power relations between men and women are established, maintained and changed (Amigot & Pujal 2009: 647). In the following, I will present the major points of intersection between third wave feminism and Foucault.

First, Foucault's notion of power as a productive force (rather than a purely repressive one), regulating life and individuals by establishing discursive norms, supports feminists' struggle to overcome essentialist notions of feminine/masculine identities. The Foucauldian discourse theory helps us to uncover and critically examine discourses producing women and men as binary categories connected to an essential truth. Moreover, it fosters the demystification of normalising, disciplining practices employed to control gender (Amigot & Pujal 2009: 650-651).

Second, Foucault and postmodern feminist theories share the assumption that, although the subject is an effect of discourse, it is not totally determined by discursive practices either. In Foucault's theory, power always creates resistance and, as a result, there is a

possibility of freedom, even if only to a certain extent (Amigot & Pujal 2009: 651-652). Likewise, Judith Butler, drawing on Foucault, emphasises that gender identities are both products of discourse and performances, which implies that there is room for personal agency (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 32-33).

A third point illustrating fruitful connections between Foucault and feminism concerns Foucault's distinction between 'relations of power' and 'states of domination'. While Foucault describes relations of power as dynamic, mobile and reversible, and hence always endangered by resistance, he does not deny the possibility of these power relations to become static and fixed. He argues that such a situation is a 'state of domination', in which opposition and resistance are no longer effective (Amigot & Pujal 2009: 654-655). The value of this distinction for feminist analyses of the oppression of gender lies in the potential to "show how relations of power at different social levels have possible global effects of domination such as […] patriarchal power" (Amigot & Pujal 2009: 655).

4.2. Foucault and education

After having established the preliminaries for an understanding of the Foucauldian discourse theory and its value for postmodern feminism, I will now turn to a discussion of the implications of his theory for education in particular. In the first subsection, I intend to explain the general consequences of a Foucauldian perspective on education. In addition, I will investigate the specific role of textbooks in strengthening or weakening dominant discourses on gender.

4.2.1. General considerations

> [Foucault's] philosophy is a bitter pill to swallow for educators, as it shakes most of the grounds on which modern schooling has been built: truth, knowledge, vocation, enlightenment, or salvation. (Dussel 2010: 27)

As this quote illustrates, Foucault's writings have shattered taken-for-granted notions and concepts, also in the field of education. Without doubt, his perspective on the interrelated concepts of power, knowledge and truth is crucial for understanding in how

far educational institutions serve the production and maintenance of power structures, including, of course, gender inequality. Hence, it is not surprising that Foucault's work has not only been taken up by critical pedagogy, but has also reached far beyond (Dussel 2010: 27).

In my brief examination of education from a Foucauldian perspective, I will focus on three different aspects that I consider the most important: power relations within educational institutions, the general role of schools and the educational system in disciplining society, and its impact on the construction of subjects.

When looking at education through a Foucauldian lens, the operation of multiple power relations in educational institutions is perhaps most striking. As Dussel (2010: 30) points out, the pedagogical relationship between teachers and students is characterised by the unequal distribution of power – the teacher being in the position to exert power over the students. This relationship carries the danger of power being misused (and abused), thereby strengthening inequalities and states of domination (Dussel 2010: 30). Furthermore, thinking about the social role of teachers in Foucauldian terms, it is important to note that teachers function as regulators and monitors of their students' behaviour and knowledge, passing on the social norms, 'truths' and discourses they have internalised themselves (Leask 2012: 59).

However, Foucault himself stressed the fact that power, in itself, is not always bad. What is necessary with regard to education and the power relations operating within educational institutions is a critical historical and social analysis of "the discourses that have shaped teaching as a position of power" (Dussel 2010: 30). Such an analysis can then ignite changes, as education can be thought of not only as an institution maintaining dominant power structures, but also as a site that fosters practices of freedom and resistance (Dussel 2010: 30).

Next to power relations operating *within* educational institutions, it is also important to acknowledge and reflect on the role of education in disciplining society. According to Leask (2012: 58) the emergence of modern schooling was linked to the shift from repressive power to productive power (or, as Foucault terms the latter, 'disciplinary-

and biopower')[9]. Since this shift led to the exertion of power through controlling its subjects, instead of oppressing them, educational institutions are "no longer to be taken as fundamentally or intrinsically enlightening and uplifting but, instead, as central within the new technologies of discipline and social control" (Leask 2012: 59). For instance, the establishment of examinations that students have to pass facilitated monitoring the individuals' skills, and, further on, monitoring their usefulness for society. Moreover, implementing examinations allows to set norms concerning the knowledge and abilities students should acquire, which, in return, contributes largely to processes of 'normalisation' and conformity (Leask 2012: 59).

Holding this vital position in society, from a Foucauldian perspective, educational institutions also have an enormous impact on the construction of social identities. Since Foucault rejects all essentialist notions of an independent, free subject, he argues that "[t]he individual subject is a reality fabricated by […] 'discipline'" (Foucault 1979b: 194, quoted in Leask 2012: 60). Hence, it goes without saying that the disciplining, 'normalising' function of schools contributes largely to the development of students' identities.

Nonetheless, it must not be forgotten that Foucault does not deny the possibility of education as a site of opposition, i.e. of resistance against prevailing structures and discourses. As Leask (2012: 67) notes,

> pedagogy can no longer be taken *solely* as the oppressive, vertical, imposition of Power. Instead, the possibility now emerges that it can also be the theatre of subjects' creation of new 'practices of self', new kinds of relations […] [original emphasis].

If educational and pedagogic endeavours aim at cultivating criticism, they will foster autonomy by encouraging teachers, as well as students, to engage in counter-practices and -discourses (Leask 2012: 67-68).

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[9] The concepts of 'disciplinary power' and 'biopower' are explained in section 1.1.1. *The politics of discourse.*

4.2.2. The authority of textbooks

Having elaborated on the crucial role educational institutions play in the (re-)production of unequal power relations, it goes without saying that textbooks, and other kinds of teaching materials, are equally influential in shaping discourses. As Olson (1980: 192, quoted in Luke, Castell & Luke 1983: 112) notes, educational texts embody the "authorized version of society's valid knowledge". What is implicitly suggested in this formulation is that textbooks contain carefully compiled texts, which hold exceptional discursive power (Luke, Castell & Luke 1983: 112-113). Similarly, Sleeter and Grant (2011: 186) argue that curricula, represented in and taught via textbooks, are indispensable tools for social control:

> Curriculum always represents somebody's version of what constitutes important knowledge and a legitimate worldview. In writing textbooks […] scholars select from a wide spectrum of knowledge and versions of reality. But texts that get written considerably narrow teachers' and students' access to knowledge. […] In this way, curriculum usually serves as a means of social control. It legitimates existing social relations and the status of those who dominate, and it does so in a way that implies that there are no alternative versions of the world […].

According to Olson (1980: 192, quoted in Luke, Castell & Luke 1983: 113), the authority associated with textbooks can be attributed to two different sources: first, the explicit nature of texts, which stems from the linguistic structures that mediate the contents of the books as unambiguously and 'objectively' as possible. Second, authority is established because of the invisibility of the speaker (or rather author) of written texts, which fosters an illusion of neutrality and undeniable truth. Due to these two characteristics, written texts tend to appear "above criticism" (Luke, Castell & Luke 1983: 113).

However, it is vital to note that the knowledge transferred via a certain textbook does not solely derive from the texts themselves. As a matter of fact, the context in which educational texts are taught needs to be considered, as students usually approach texts by referring to knowledge they have already gained through previous instruction. Thus, textbooks have to be analysed with regard to their actual use in the classrooms, as the way their content is taught by the teacher highly influences students' engagement with the texts. Accordingly, the authority of the textbook does not solely stem from the written texts as such, but to a large extent from the use of the texts within the classroom:

Teachers can indeed promote their students' critical awareness by encouraging them to think or write 'against the text' (Luke, Castell & Luke 1983: 117-119).

Sadly, it seems that the authority of textbooks is seldom questioned. Although "[t]he permanence of written language allows it to be reread and more closely scrutinized than language used in speech" (Luke, Castell & Luke 1983: 119), the case of textbooks used in schools seems to be different. Luke, Castell and Luke (1983: 119-121) argue that, in order to criticise a text, one must be entitled to do so within one's social context and group. The right to criticise derives from one's status of belonging to the same social group as the producer of the text in question – a situation neither teachers nor students usually find themselves in, first and foremost since textbooks are authorised and therefore have institutional authority (Luke, Castell and Luke 1983: 120-121).

The institutional context in which textbooks are used assigns different hierarchical positions to texts, teachers and students. Students are systematically taught to value and respect their teachers, as well as the textbooks they receive from them. The authority of the textbook is not only stressed by the presentation of its contents as the 'truth', but also by its function as an iconic marker. Students are permanently instructed to treat their teaching materials respectfully, thereby abiding by the institutional rules that serve to maintain and strengthen the authority of the text. As Luke, Castell and Luke (1983: 122-123) point out

> [i]n schools, students quickly learn what can and cannot be done to the text […]. […] Respect for adults, including teachers, and respect for public property are fundamental attitudinal and behavioral requisites for appropriate conduct within the school. […] When a text is lost, damaged, or 'defaced' – the term itself a tacit recognition of the anthropomorphic status of the text – the students must either reimburse the school or their report cards may be withheld. […] The material value of the text, then, in conjunction with its unrivaled status as legitimate school knowledge, is greatly facilitated and reinforced by the institutional rules designed to protect and enhance the authority of the text.

Put briefly, textbooks hold considerable discursive power, which depends on the institutional conventions and norms of schools, as well as on structural and linguistic features inherent in written texts (Luke, Castell and Luke 1983: 125). With regard to the challenge of prevailing power structures and inequalities, a critical evaluation and adaptation of the discourses supported in textbooks is imperative. In the following

sections, I will point out notable suggestions and guidelines concerning the gender-sensitive design of textbooks, also with regard to the situation in Austria.

5. Implications for EFL teaching and textbook design

The previous discussion of Foucault's discourse theory and its importance for education as well as the study of language and gender leads us to the question of which measures need to be taken in order to promote gender equality through education instead of strengthening stereotypes. I intend to answer this question by providing, first, a short overview on the implications for EFL teaching as such, and second, for the design of EFL textbooks in particular. Although the suggestions below hold true for language teaching and -textbooks in general, I will focus specifically on EFL teaching in Austria.

5.1. (Un)doing gender in EFL teaching

'Education to equality between women and men', including critical reflection on gender stereotypes, is established as an essential educational principle of all school forms in Austria, independent of the subject (BMBWK). It was introduced as a

> temporary special measure in accordance with Article 4 of the 'United
> Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination
> Against Women' ratified by Austria in 1982. (BMBWK)

Although the introduction of this "special measure" (BMBWK) may pursue a noble aim, the declaration that it is only "temporary" (BMBWK) raises suspicions. It seems that by choosing this phrasing the Austrian ministry of education contributes to the widespread *postfeminist* discourse, which claims that

> once certain equality indicators (such as rights to educational access,
> labour force participation, property ownership, and abortion and
> fertility) have been achieved by women, feminism is considered to
> have outlived its purpose and ceases to be of relevance. (Lazar 2007:
> 154)

However, it is of utmost importance to approach such postfeminist statements with caution, as not all feminist aims have been reached yet, and feminist achievements must never be taken for granted. As Lazar (2007: 154) points out, "women's rights and

freedoms cannot be assumed as a given, for these can be contested through conservative backlash discourses and changing public policies".

In accordance with the educational principle concerning gender equality, the Austrian national curriculum for foreign languages in AHS-Oberstufe provides the following teaching objectives: Education to open-mindedness and awareness of social relations are among the main aims of foreign language teaching. In addition, the curriculum stresses the importance of the ability to deal with conflicts and problems as well as peace education. Thereby, the promotion of gender equality is also considered:

> Durch die Auswahl geeigneter fremdsprachlicher Themenstellungen ist die Weltoffenheit der Schülerinnen und Schüler sowie ihr Verständnis für gesellschaftliche Zusammenhänge zu fördern. Konfliktfähigkeit, Problemlösungskompetenz und Friedenserziehung sind auch im Fremdsprachenunterricht als zentrale Lehr- und Lernziele zu betrachten. Zudem ist im Fremdsprachenunterricht eine Sprachregelung zu vermitteln und zu pflegen, die der Gleichberechtigung der sozialen Geschlechter entspricht. (BMBF AHS 2004: 1)

As can be seen, issues of language and gender are addressed via general educational principles as well as curricula. Still, the question of how to approach these issues in the EFL classroom needs to be discussed.

In order to challenge power hierarchies among genders through education, it is necessary to understand how EFL teaching and learning can contribute to social change. Therefore, a critical perspective on language teaching is imperative (Norton & Toohey 2004: 1). As Fairclough (2015: 231-232) emphasises, language capabilities must not only be seen in terms of instrumental skills, enabling speakers to communicate effectively and fluently. More importantly, he argues,

> language use – discourse – is not just a matter of performing tasks, it is also a matter of expressing and constituting and reproducing social identities and social relations, including crucially relations of power. (Fairclough 2015: 232)

In order to promote gender equality through language teaching, it is therefore vital to adopt a view of education that acknowledges the significance of critical language awareness. Instead of simply training the students to use certain language structures correctly, they should be encouraged to develop a critical consciousness of language and how it contributes to the (re-)production of power relations (Fairclough 2015: 232).

54

Likewise, Pavlenko (2004: 55-56) points out that a critical feminist perspective in language teaching requires teachers who are willing

> to challenge [their] own assumptions, to problematize [their] everyday practices, and to engage students in examining their own – and our – linguistic options, choices, and behaviors, developing, in the process, critical agency […].

Hence, she introduces three key features – inclusivity, engagement and authenticity – which characterise a critical feminist approach to foreign and second language teaching. *Inclusivity* refers to the necessity of responding to the wide diversity of students and teachers, regarding, for instance, ethnicity, gender identity, sexuality, or social class. These multiple backgrounds and identities should be acknowledged when addressing issues of gender in EFL classes, through the selection of teaching contents on the one hand, and, on the other hand through critical reflection on naturalised, cultural norms, attitudes and beliefs. When dealing with gender in the classroom, it is vital to avoid ethnocentrism and take the situation of individuals from all cultural backgrounds into account (Pavlenko 2004: 63-66). Otherwise, we might fall into the trap of disregarding the fact that not "all individuals share the same needs and desires as those of white, middle class, Western men and women […]" (Pavlenko 2004: 66). The second key feature, *engagement*, addresses the need of providing a range of activities and topics for learners, through which they can safely explore prevailing as well as alternative gender discourses and identities. Last, but not least, *authenticity* is crucial in raising students' awareness of the multiple discourses on gender, as it enables them to experience differences in language use and in the interpretation of gendered performances as well as cultural differences. Above all, students must be encouraged to critically examine themselves – their own cultural and social backgrounds, identities, and beliefs (Pavlenko 2004: 63-64).

Similarly, the Austrian ministry of education (BMBF – 'Bundesministerium für Bildung und Frauen') suggests that, in order to overcome dominating gender discourses, teachers need to gain certain competencies, including personal competencies, such as critical awareness of their own gender biography and self-reflection regarding their attitudes, beliefs and actions (BMBF 2014: 35-37). In addition, the need to acknowledge the interdependencies between gender, ethnicity, social background and other aspects of identity is stressed (BMBF 2014: 36).

Regarding issues of language and gender in particular, the BMBF advocates the critical examination of systemic structures in order to make students aware of gender stereotypical behaviour. For instance, students should be encouraged to reflect on their communicative and linguistic behaviour and question how they 'do' or 'undo' gender in different interactional contexts. Besides critical reflection, teachers are required to stimulate structural changes, for example by ensuring that female and male students contribute equally to class discussions (BMBF 2014: 58-59). Furthermore, the BMBF (2014: 67) recommends the establishment of non-sexist language use in all school types and subjects:

> Exklusiv männliche Personenbezeichnungen blockieren die Einbeziehung von Frauen und Mädchen und verfälschen die Realität. Untersuchungen […] belegen, dass Formulierungen, die Weibliches implizit oder explizit enthalten, […] die Vorstellung der Teilhabe von Frauen und Mädchen erheblich erhöhen.

As regards the teaching of English as a foreign language, the BMBF explicitly notes that pseudo-generic 'he', 'his' and 'him' must be avoided as well as references for women that define them according to their marital status like 'Miss' or 'Mrs' (BMBF 2014: 72).

5.2.   (Un)doing gender and EFL textbooks

As discussed earlier in this thesis, textbooks play an essential role in conveying the 'hidden curriculum' of gender polarisation and -stereotypes. Sadly, in contrast to problematic depictions of ethnicity and race in textbooks, stereotypical gender representations in teaching materials seem to be rather persistent (Lowe 2013: 8). As Jones, Kitetu and Sunderland (1997: 469) note, early studies on gender bias in EFL textbooks, undertaken during the 1970s and 1980s, have been sobering: "gender bias is rife in terms of both relative visibility and occupational and personal stereotyping of female characters" (Jones, Kitetu & Sunderland 1997: 469). The majority of these early investigations of gender representations in textbooks focused on content, whereas analyses undertaken during the 1990s started to approach linguistic aspects of stereotypical and discriminatory gender representations (Sunderland 2000: 212).

Although the considerable amount of studies on gender bias in teaching materials has caught the attention of the public as well as teachers and publishers, the problem is far from resolved. As Lowe (2013: 9) observes, female underrepresentation, overt and covert sexism, or stereotyped gender roles are still not entirely eliminated from EFL teaching materials around the globe. One aspect that seems particularly persistent in all kinds of publications is the stereotypical representation of the way women and men speak. According to Freed (2003: 708), taken-for-granted assumptions about male/female speaking behaviour are reproduced not only in educational publications, but also in magazines, newspapers and even academic journals. As Freed (2003: 706) concludes,

> [t]hese deeply entrenched gender-specific linguistic stereotypes apparently serve critical social purposes; they appear to maintain not only a status quo that advantages men over women and heterosexuals over homosexuals and lesbians, but one that helps establish and maintain rules of feminine and masculine behaviour even if these generalizations fail to reflect social or linguistic reality.

Bearing that in mind, an analysis of the situation in Austrian EFL textbooks seems even more tempting to me.

The importance of analysing textbooks with regard to their discursive representation of gender is also acknowledged by the BMBF (2014: 75):

> Schulbüchern und Unterrichtsmaterialien kommt bei der Analyse des heimlichen Lehrplans eine vorrangige Rolle zu. Sie stellen ein wichtiges Medium schulischer Sozialisation dar. Durch das fachliche Wissen, das sie präsentieren, vermitteln sie, was als gesellschaftlich relevant erachtet wird. […] Darüber hinaus transportieren sie Werte und Normen. Und es werden in ihnen explizit oder implizit Aussagen über Geschlechterverhältnisse getroffen.

Accordingly, the BMBF provides guidelines for the analysis of textbooks to encourage both teachers and students to challenge stereotypical or discriminatory contents of teaching materials. In the following, some questions for textbook analyses, as suggested by the BMBF (2014: 76-78), will be listed:

- Does the language used in the textbook explicitly include both women and men? Are both genders addressed (e.g. 'Work in teams. Ask your partner about *his/her* opinion.')?

- Does the textbook represent disabled people, homosexual and transgender individuals, and migrants without reinforcing stereotypes or portraying them as 'deviant' from the 'norm'?
- Who or what is presented as the 'norm'? Who or what is presented as 'deviant'?
- Does the textbook challenge heteronormativity? Does it include homo- and bisexuality, transgender and intersexed persons?
- Which character traits, behaviours, hobbies or professions are assigned to the different genders?

Likewise, the influence of textbooks on 'doing' and 'undoing' gender is addressed by another publication of the Austrian ministry of education, providing detailed guidelines for the representation of women and men in teaching materials (*Leitfaden zur Darstellung von Frauen und Männern in Unterrichtsmitteln*). This publication, in the following referred to as *BMUKK-guidelines*, is explicitly directed towards textbook authors and publishing houses, as well as teachers and students (BMUKK 2012: 5). The BMUKK-guidelines emphasise that teaching materials, including EFL textbooks, must not foster the reproduction of gender stereotypes and should stress similarities rather than differences between women and men. In order to achieve this aim, the BMUKK-guidelines state that all visual and verbal representations of the genders in teaching materials must comply with gender equality and include (and therefore encourage) the performance of various gender identities (BMUKK 2012: 11-12). In practice, the BMUKK-guidelines identify three main topic areas ('behaviour and lifestyle', 'work', 'society') and provide guiding questions for each area that need to be considered by textbook authors as well as their audience. An exemplary sample of these guiding questions is listed below.

Behaviour and lifestyle (BMUKK 2012: 6-7):

- In which activities are women/men involved?
- Which character traits and behaviours are assigned to women/men?
- Does the textbook/teaching material portray women/men who comply with typical gender-roles? Does it also represent women/men who break with conventional roles? How is the latter behaviour evaluated?

- Do the teaching materials depict realistic living conditions, relationships, family structures and environments, i.e. are, for example, single parents, homosexual relationships, patchwork-families or elderly people living in retirement homes represented?

Work (BMUKK 2012: 7-8):

- Which professions are assigned to men/women?
- Is there a realistic depiction of working conditions of men/women, also with regard to the situation in foreign countries?
- Do both men and women participate in childcare and housework?
- Is unpaid work, such as childcare and housework, portrayed as equally valuable as gainful employment?

Society (BMUKK 2012: 9):

- Are women depicted in public spheres, such as political or social activities? Are historical references established regarding women in public life?
- Which space is assigned to women? Are gender stereotypical behaviours in groups and social hierarchies addressed and discussed?
- Do the teaching materials address issues of discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, religion or sexuality?

For the thesis at hand, questions of stereotypical (linguistic) behaviour and the portrayal of women's/men's communicative styles in the public and private sphere are of special importance. Nonetheless, it is imperative to point at the fact that especially the BMUKK-guidelines, but also the recommendations by the BMBF outlined above, seem to enforce gender polarisation and binary oppositions rather than eliminating it. As can be seen, most of the suggestions or guideline questions take the existence of only two sexes ('male' and 'female') for granted, as they constantly refer to either 'women' or 'men'. Although thereby pointing out the issue of (in)equality between these two sexes, it is vital to note that the situation of individuals who do not identify as either 'male' or 'female' (for example intersexed or transgender people) is more or less neglected. Hence, I would argue that these guidelines enforce heteronormativity, despite some half-hearted attempts to stimulate critical reflection on the issue (see, for example, BMBF 2014: 76-78, where at least two of 15 guideline questions address the challenge of heteronormativity).

The fact that only a few studies in educational linguistics or language teaching have adopted a postmodern notion of language and gender, overcoming the sex/gender distinction, is also mentioned by Sunderland (2000: 214), who states that

> [m]uch of the work […] has seen gender largely as a binary category if not an independent variable, and studies still have gender *difference* as their focus [original emphasis].

Similarly, Markom and Weinhäupl (2007: 171) observe the tendency of (Austrian) textbook authors and -publishers to reinforce the normative status of heterosexuality, instead of opening up opportunities for students to examine alternative gender identities. Evidently, while stereotypical representations of men and women in teaching materials are already problematized within the Austrian education system, questions of heteronormativity are only hesitantly touched upon.

The discussion of the impact of educational institutions on the construction of gender now leads to the third part of my thesis: the empirical analysis of EFL textbooks for vocational- and upper-secondary schools.

Analysis of linguistic gender construction and

representation in Austrian EFL textbooks

While the first two parts of this thesis introduced crucial theories providing the theoretical background to the study at hand, the third part aims at an analysis of how gender is linguistically represented and constructed in certain Austrian EFL textbooks. First, I will provide a description of the data used, consisting of interactions represented in listening tasks taken from four different EFL textbooks, and introduce the two school types in which these textbooks are employed: Austrian vocational schools and upper-secondary schools. Second, an outline of the method used for the analysis will be given, followed by the empirical analysis of the selected EFL textbooks.

6. Description of data

In the following, I will introduce the data on which the study at hand is based. Therefore, I will provide general information on the four EFL textbooks I decided to analyse, as well as the criteria upon which the particular examples of spoken interactions represented in the textbooks were chosen.

6.1. Selection of EFL textbooks

Regarding the choice of EFL textbooks used in Austrian schools, I decided to focus on textbooks designed for two different school types and, therefore, produced for two slightly different educational purposes: *upper-secondary schools* (AHS-Oberstufe), preparing the students for their school-leaving exams and, consequently, for attending university, and *vocational schools* (Berufsbildende Schulen, abbreviated 'BS' in the following), which in Austria are usually combined with a practice-oriented vocational training/apprenticeship and qualify students for their future professions. Whereas the curriculum for English taught at AHS-Oberstufe emphasises that students should be able to communicate in a variety of different situations (BMBF AHS: 1), the curriculum for English at BS stresses the importance of foreign language skills in the respective

professional context (BMBF BS: 28). As a consequence, the topics addressed in AHS-textbooks remain rather general, covering a wide variety of communicative situations and tasks. In contrast, EFL textbooks used in the BS context tend to focus on specific topics and discourses that students are likely to encounter in their future professions. The two EFL textbooks for vocational schools used in my analysis provide both a section on 'general topics' and 'situations at work' (Gaderer & Haider 2013; Gaderer, Mangel & Rohr 2013).

For the analysis at hand, the following EFL textbooks, included on the list of approbated Austrian schoolbooks (BMWFJ & BMUKK 2013a: 140-141, BMWFJ & BMUKK 2013b: 6), were chosen:

- AHS-Oberstufe:
    - Davis, Robin; Gerngroß, Günter; Holzmann, Christian; Puchta, Herbert; Lewis-Jones, Peter (eds.). 2010. *Make Your Way 5*. Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG.
    - Hellmayr, Georg; Waba, Stephan; Mlakar, Heike (eds.). 2010. *Prime Time 5*. Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG.
- BS:
    - Gaderer, Heinz; Haider, Heidemarie. 2013. *Salon English. English for Hair and Beauty Professionals*. Wien: Verlag Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky GmbH & Co. KG.
    - Gaderer, Heinz; Mangel, Gerda; Rohr, Robert. 2013. *Talking Networks. Issues in Electrical Engineering and Electronics*. Wien: Verlag Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky GmbH & Co. KG.

For reasons of clarity and comprehensibility, the textbooks listed above will be abbreviated and cited as follows:

- MYW 5 (*Make Your Way 5*)
- PT 5 (*Prime Time 5*)
- SE *(Salon English. English for Hair and Beauty Professionals)*
- TN *(Talking Networks. Issues in Electrical Engineering and Electronics.)*

The reasons why I decided to analyse EFL textbooks for these different school types are manifold: Firstly, although Statistik Austria (2014) reports that from 1991 until 2012, the majority of people aged between 25 and 64 in Austria had finished an

apprenticeship[10], including education at a BS, studies on EFL textbooks for this school type are rare, especially with regard to issues of language and gender. Moreover, what I found interesting concerning the representation and construction of gender in EFL textbooks, was the question whether teaching materials tailored to the communicative needs of specific (gendered) professions are more prone to feature stereotypical representations of female/male communicative behaviour than those written for more general purposes. According to Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 594), most people share stereotypical assumptions about the kind of interactional patterns dominating 'feminine' or 'masculine' professions. However, in their study of discursive practices at stereotypically 'feminine' and 'masculine' workplaces in New Zealand, Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 594) were able to prove that these clichés about male/female speaking behaviour at work do not hold true. To investigate whether EFL textbooks used in Austrian vocational schools enforce such stereotypical beliefs or not, I chose textbooks designed for two rather distinct professions that are often associated with 'masculine' and 'feminine' professions: electrical engineering and hair and beauty professions.

Along with textbooks for vocational schools, I decided to analyse how gender is represented and constructed in EFL textbooks for AHS-Oberstufe. In contrast to EFL textbooks used in BS, gender issues and sexism in AHS textbooks have been examined more often (for instance, see studies by Gnan 1992, or Halmer 1996). However, most of these studies focused primarily on content or the (discriminatory) textbook language itself. That is why I believe that an analysis of spoken interactions depicted in AHS textbooks can prove valuable, in order to detect more subtle stereotypical representations of gender.

In both selecting textbooks for AHS-Oberstufe and BS, I considered it important to focus on material that is relatively new, but nonetheless already in use at Austrian schools. As regards the language level according to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), I decided to analyse textbooks designed for approximately the same CEFR-level, namely A2-B1, as the results should be comparable. However, it is important to note that the two textbooks for vocational schools include some tasks for

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[10] According to Statistik Austria (2014), 1,667,374 people between ages 25 and 64 had finished an apprenticeship in 2012, as their highest level of education. By comparison, only 691,148 people of the same age group had completed upper-secondary education.

levels A1-A2. In my selection of examples of spoken interactions, I excluded all tasks explicitly designed for 'A1-A2', firstly, for reasons of comparability and secondly, to ensure that the interactions provided 'rich' language, suitable for the purpose of the analysis. The overall reason why textbooks for upper-secondary education were chosen over those for lower-secondary is that the language used in dialogues in EFL textbooks for lower grades is probably too simplified to provide a valuable basis for the purpose of my analysis.

6.2.   Selection of examples

Since an analysis of every single text and dialogue to be found in the EFL textbooks in question would go beyond the scope of this thesis, I decided to focus on instances of spoken interactions represented in listening tasks related to two different contexts: first, interactions taking place in *private and personal settings*, i.e. conversations, discussions or other forms of interaction among friends or family members, and second, interactions in more *formal, public and 'professional' situations*, such as discussions among colleagues or classmates, expert- or job interviews or presentations held in front of a larger audience.

This classification ('public/professional' versus 'private/personal' talk) is based on one of the most prominent distinguishing features of stereotypically 'male' and 'female' speaking behaviour, identified by several scholars mentioned in the first part of this thesis: the 'common-sensical' assumption that women tend to contribute less in formal, public talk or mixed-sex discussions, while men dominate public talking time, but remain rather monosyllabic in 'private' conversations (see, for example, Spender 1981: 191-197 or Tannen 2007: 75-77). By focusing on these two spheres in my analysis of interactions in EFL textbooks, I hope to gain valuable insights into if and how these textbooks reproduce gender dichotomies and linguistic gender stereotypes, thereby supporting dominant, heteronormative discourses on gender.

As a distinction between 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' talk in EFL listening tasks is not always clear, I decided to categorise the examples along the following criteria, of which the respective examples should fulfil at least *one*:

'Private/personal' interactions …

- take place among a small group of people (two to four participants).
- involve interactants that seem to have a closer relationship (e.g. friends, relatives, etc.).
- tend to contain informal speech.

In 'Public/professional' interactions …

- the interactants' social or occupational roles are of a professional nature (e.g. 'experts', teachers, news reporters, etc.).
- the relationship between the interactants in question is predominantly formal and more distant than among friends and family members (e.g. colleagues at work or school, interviewer/interviewee, strangers, employer/employee).
- the interactants are engaging in 'public speaking', i.e. they are speaking in larger groups or in front of an audience (e.g. presentations, radio or TV programmes, etc.).

7. Methodological framework

In the following, I will provide an outline of the methodological framework used in my analysis. First, I consider it vital to give a brief overview on how feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) is operating in practice, since this method will serve as the basis for my analysis. Then, I will elaborate on the operationalization for the analysis of gender in interactions portrayed in the selected EFL textbooks.

7.1. FCDA in practice

As already mentioned in the first part of the thesis at hand, my investigation of how gender identities are constructed in Austrian EFL textbooks will be informed by feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA). According to Mills and Mullany (2011: 78), FCDA "draws on the theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches developed by critical discourse analysis". As Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 20) point out, a useful conceptualisation of discourse is provided by Fairclough (1992: 4) who defines discourse as a three-dimensional phenomenon:

> [A]ny discursive 'event' (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice. (Fairclough 1992: 4)

At the level of the text, CDA involves an examination of the formal features to be found in the text, for example, vocabulary, grammar and textual structures (Fairclough 2015: 129-130). Furthermore, texts, including both verbal and visual language, must be analysed with regard to their relationship to interaction and context, i.e. the interconnectedness of texts with processes of text *production* and text *interpretation* ('discursive practice' dimension), and the social conditions in which the production and interpretation of texts take place ('social practice' dimension) (Fairclough 2015: 58).

In practice, this means that next to a detailed analysis of the text per se, an account of how the text is produced by the author/speaker, distributed, and received by the audience must be given (Sunderland & Litosseliti 2002: 20). As Lehtonen (2007: 9-10) notes, such an account would entail, for example, how and by whom the text was produced, possible constraints for its production or the (possible) influence of feminist theory. In addition, the critical reception of the text, as well as the audience, could be analysed (Lehtonen 2007: 10). At the level of the wider social context ('social practice' dimension), FCDA theorists would attend to the social practices regarding gender that are prominent in a specific cultural and social context, for instance the 'Western' world (Sunderland & Litosseliti 2002: 21). Accordingly, the socio-historical context of the text must be examined (Lehtonen 2007: 9).

Although a discussion of the social and discursive context is essential for FCDA, Lehtonen (2007: 10) emphasises that "the analysis should mainly focus on the actual text". Next to a consideration of the content, this entails a close study of the text's formal linguistic features (Lehtonen 2007: 10). According to Lazar (2007: 151),

> [t]he levels and foci of analysis in feminist CDA are […] wide ranging, including choices in lexis, clauses/sentences/utterances, conversational turns, structures of argument and genre, and interactions among discourses.

Regarding the formal features of texts, Fairclough (2015: 130-131) notes that they can have experiential, relational and/or expressive values, which hint at the knowledge and beliefs the text producer draws upon, the social relations depicted in the text, and the social identities and subject positions established via the text.

66

Fairclough (2015: 129-130) suggests the following guiding criteria to examine formal features of a text:

- Vocabulary
  - experiential values of words: e.g. ideologically contested words, classification schemes, ideologically significant meaning relations, etc.
  - relational values of words: e.g. euphemistic expressions, markedly formal/informal words, etc.
  - expressive values of words: e.g. negative evaluation that is implicit in the vocabulary
  - use of metaphors: ideological attachments of different metaphors (e.g. representation of social conflicts as diseases)
- Grammar
  - experiential values of grammatical features: e.g. active/passive sentence structure, dominant types of process and participant, nominalization, etc.
  - relational values of grammatical features: e.g. use of modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative), use of the pronouns *we* and *you*, etc.
  - expressive values of grammatical features: e.g. important features of expressive modality
  - linking of sentences: e.g. use of logical connectors, coordinated/subordinated sentences, etc.
- Textual structure
  - interactional conventions: e.g. Does one participant control the interaction?
  - larger-scale structures

Although it is neither possible nor relevant for the scope of this analysis to address all of these criteria in each example of linguistic gender construction to be found in the EFL textbooks, I am convinced that they provide a valuable tool for text analysis using FCDA. In the following sections, I will provide a detailed account of the operationalization of my study.

7.2. *Operationalizing the analysis of gender construction in EFL textbooks*

In the analysis of gender construction in EFL textbooks at hand, I intend to employ a mixed methods approach, including both quantitative and qualitative analyses. Although the main part of the analysis at hand will be qualitative, I feel that complementing qualitative findings with quantitative data can be highly valuable for the purpose of this thesis. As Dörnyei (2007: 45) states, "[w]ords can be used to add meaning to numbers and numbers can be used to add precision to words". Accordingly, I will draw on both research methods to investigate how gender is represented and constructed in the interactions depicted in EFL textbooks. Next to a quantitative and qualitative analysis, I consider it vital to provide a brief outline of the discursive and social context of each textbook, which I will provide at the beginning of each section.

7.2.1. Analysis of discursive and social context

As already pointed out in the second part of this thesis, textbooks hold considerable discursive power generated by the institutional context of their production and reception. In contrast to other printed media, textbooks receive institutional authority from the fact that they have to be officially approbated by the Austrian ministry of education (BMBF), which assigns them the status of the "authorized version of society's valid knowledge" (Olson 1980: 192, quoted in Luke, Castell & Luke 1983: 112).

It goes without saying that the required approbation entails considerable constraints for the process of textbook production, as textbook authors are forced to observe several criteria set by the Austrian ministry of education (RIS Unterrichtsmittel). For instance, the textbook has to correspond with the curriculum and the 'factual accuracy' of its content needs to be approved (RIS Unterrichtsmittel: § 9). The latter formulation is especially intriguing, since it suggests that something like an 'objective, factual accuracy' can indeed be achieved and that approbated textbooks convey the 'truth'. However, what is 'accurate' or not often lies in the eyes of the beholder. Another interesting criterion that textbooks must fulfil in order to be approbated is the education to equality between women and men (RIS Unterrichtsmittel: § 9). As can be concluded

from this wording, the postmodern notion of gender as a dynamic continuum has not yet arrived at public authorities in Austria. Evidently, gender is still treated as a binary category. Also, education to equality between homo-, bi- and heterosexuals is not mentioned at all. Therefore, it is not surprising that most Austrian textbooks still promote heterosexuality as the norm (Markom & Weinhäupl 2007: 171).

Another point that needs to be examined is whether the EFL textbooks in question provide opportunities for critical reflection and reveal any information about the authors, so that students and teachers are encouraged to question the textbooks' 'authority'. The potential of a textbook to foster critical awareness can also be inferred from whether it encourages the readers to use additional sources and whether the sources used in the textbook itself are made explicit (Markom & Weinhäupl 2007: 234-235).

7.2.2. Quantitative analysis

The quantitative part of my analysis will focus exclusively on listening tasks in the EFL textbooks and investigate the following research questions:

1. How often do women/men appear in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions?

As already mentioned above, 'private/personal' interactions include all kinds of (informal) interactions among friends and family members, whereas 'public/professional' interactions refer to more formal situations[11]. Listening tasks that could not be assigned to one of the two categories will be classified as 'neutral'. Since the focus of this analysis lies on gender construction in interactions, listening tasks consisting of recorded fiction, narratives and poems, as well as songs or mere task instructions will not be included in my analysis.

To answer this research question, the total number of both 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions will be counted first. The way of proceeding will be described in the following:

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[11] The criteria upon which I will assign specific listening tasks to these two categories are listed in section *6.2. Selection of examples*.

- If an interaction includes both 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' parts, the sections representing a 'private' conversation will be counted to 'private/personal' talk, whereas the sections representing a formal conversation will be counted to 'public/professional' talk.

- Interactions that cannot be assigned to one of the two categories will be classified as 'neutral'.

- Interactions that are repeated with slightly different wording[12], featuring the same characters, topics and situations, will be counted only once.

- Coherent interactions that are split into more than one listening task will be counted as one.

Then, I will investigate how many male and female individuals appear in the respective types of interaction. Since the vast majority of the characters in the textbooks for AHS-Oberstufe do only appear once throughout the books, I decided not to distinguish between the characters as 'types' (i.e. as individuals) and 'tokens' (i.e. the number of times an individual character occurs in a listening task). Therefore, the few characters appearing two or more times will be only counted once. However, in the case of the textbooks for vocational schools, a distinction between 'types' and 'tokens', as suggested by Jones, Kitetu and Sunderland (1997: 476), seems valuable to me, since these two EFL textbooks feature specific characters guiding the students through the units.

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[12] For example, in *PT 5* the topic 'How to argue politely' includes two listening tasks, both representing the same argument between the same speakers, but slightly reworded to demonstrate a destructive way of arguing and a more constructive one (PT 5 Teacher's Handbook 2010b: 37).

2. Is the amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere balanced?

To analyse whether women/men are portrayed to contribute equally to 'private/personal' or 'public/professional' talk, the number of words spoken by male and female characters in the respective sphere will be counted. In the case of interactions that are repeated with slightly different wording, the average number of words spoken by the interactants will be counted.

3. Are there differences in the occupational and social roles that women/men take on?

This research question aims at investigating whether the portrayal of women/men with regard to their roles is balanced. Investigating the distribution of different occupational/social roles among males and females seems crucial to me, as "the roles allocated to male and female characters are those which imply relative verbosity or relative silence" (Jones, Kitetu & Sunderland 1997: 480), thereby possibly limiting or increasing the character's amount of speech. Therefore, I will list the different occupational and social roles that women/men hold in both 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' listening dialogues in the EFL textbooks and note how often these roles appear per sex.

7.2.3. Qualitative analysis

In the qualitative part of the analysis, I will take a closer look at different examples of 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions represented in the textbooks, in order to explore two aspects of the language employed in these interactions in particular: On the one hand, I will focus on whether the participants in interactions are depicted to use *'overt' and 'indirect' forms of sexism* in their speech, since I am convinced that whether a textbook meets feminist standards by promoting non-sexist language use or not reveals the hidden sexual politics and dominant discourses behind its production. On the other hand, I seek to analyse whether gender stereotypes are implicitly strengthened by the way the *interactional behaviour* of women and men is portrayed in the textbooks.

'Overt' and 'indirect' sexism

Regarding the analysis of (non-)sexist language in EFL textbooks, I draw on Mills' (2008: 1) position that

> sexism, just like racism and other discriminatory forms of language, stems from larger societal forces, wider institutionalised inequalities of power and ultimately, therefore, conflict over who has rights to certain positions and resources.

Mills (2008: 33-34) distinguishes between 'overt' and 'indirect sexism'. While 'overt' forms of sexist language use include features such as generic pronouns and nouns (*he, his, man*) and derogative semantic forms or specific terms of address (*Miss, Mrs*), 'indirect sexism' is more difficult to identify, as it draws on underlying, 'taken for granted' stereotypical assumptions about women and men (Mills 2008: 126-128).

Regarding 'overt sexism' in language, Mills (2008: 35) states that "sexist language or other forms of discriminatory forms of language are no longer tolerated, or at least are less tolerated than they were". However, there are still some overtly sexist language patterns to be found and "sexist discourses are still available as a resource" (Mills 2008: 43), whether institutionalised or used by individuals (Mills 2008: 42-43). Some features of 'overt sexism' in language identified by Mills (2008: 42-73) are listed below:

- naming and representing (e.g. adjectives that are exclusively used to describe women and that bear negative connotations, such as *shrill* or *feisty*)
- generic pronouns and nouns (e.g. referring to both men and women by using *he/him/his/himself* or *man/policeman/fireman*)
- sexualised insult terms (e.g. *bitch*, *faggot*)
- semantic derogation (e.g. *'Mummy track'* to refer to the career path of women raising children or *'super-nannies'* to address psychologists working with offending children)
- first names, surnames, titles (e.g. first names with diminutive forms, such as *Mandy, Debbie*; the use of the male's surname after marriage, and titles referring to the marital status, such as *Miss, Mrs*)
- transitivity (Who is portrayed as active, and who is acted upon?; use of passive or active voice)
- sexist jokes

'Indirect sexism', on the other hand, can be understood as a response to feminist endeavours concerning the elimination of overtly sexist language forms (Mills 2008: 124). These less obvious forms of sexism are often based on stereotypes, which are frequently authorised by powerful social institutions, such as the media (Mills 2008: 126-127). Consequently, as Mills (2008: 127) stresses, "they have an impact on us; they are not simply someone else's personal opinion of us but they appear to be affirmed at an institutional level".

'Indirect sexism' "manages to express sexism whilst at the same time denying responsibility for it" (Mills 2008: 12). Therefore, instances of 'indirect sexism' are frequently disguised as humour or irony. Other types of 'indirect sexism' noted by Mills (2008: 145-152) include, for example:

- presuppositions (e.g. the widely common phenomenon that, when confronted with a genderless noun, many people tend to presuppose the masculine, unless the context entails certain stereotypes about women)
- conflicting messages
- scripts and metaphors
- collocations carrying negative connotations (e.g. most collocations of the word 'spinster' are negatively connoted)
- androcentric perspective

In my analysis of whether the participants in interactions depicted in the EFL textbooks in question are shown to use (non-)sexist language, I will pay particular attention to the features of 'overt' and 'indirect sexism' mentioned in this section.

Stereotypical interactional behaviour

To investigate if and how gender is constructed along certain linguistic stereotypes, which were outlined by second-wave feminists, for example Lakoff (1975) or Tannen (1990), I will focus first and foremost on the following criteria, which I deducted from precisely those studies:

- Who is shown to dominate/control conversations?

- Who is represented as focusing on rapport/report in conversations? Who is shown to provoke or engage in open conflicts and disputes? Who emphasises solidarity/autonomy through the discourse strategies used?

- Who is depicted as participating in what kinds of conversations/talks (e.g. gossip, orders, instructional talk, information giving, intimate conversations, jokes, small talk, etc.)?

- Who is attributed with (im)polite communicative behaviour (interruptions, use of swear words, hedges, apologies, etc.)?

- Are there stereotypical representations of the use of certain lexical items or discourse particles, usually attributed to 'feminine talk', such as euphemisms, 'superpolite' forms, 'empty' adjectives, precise colour terms, frequent use of intensifiers, tag questions, hedges, etc.?

In summary, Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574) identify the following "widely cited features of 'feminine' and 'masculine' interactional style", on which I will also focus in my analysis:

Table 2: Widely cited features of 'feminine' and 'masculine' interactional style (source: Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 574)

FEMININE	MASCULINE
indirect	direct
conciliatory	confrontational
facilitative	competitive
collaborative	autonomous
minor contribution (in public)	dominates (public) talking time
supportive feedback	aggressive interruptions
person/process-oriented	task/outcome-oriented
affectively oriented	referentially oriented

8. Empirical analysis

The following sections will provide the quantitative[13] and qualitative analyses of the four EFL textbooks. The quantitative analysis will address the three research questions already mentioned: the number of appearances of women/men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions, the amount of speech produced by male/female characters in these two contexts and the social/occupational roles portrayed in the textbooks. The qualitative analysis is aimed at examining exemplary interactions in more detail on a textual level. Thereby, it is crucial to note that, due to the limited scope of this thesis, it is impossible to provide a qualitative analysis of all listening dialogues included in the textbooks. The textual analysis rather intends to examine exemplary instances of gender construction and representation along (or against?) linguistic stereotypes. At the beginning of each section, a brief account of the textbook's discursive and sociocultural context will be provided. First, the two textbooks for AHS-Oberstufe will be analysed, followed by the textbooks for vocational schools. Ultimately, a brief comparison of the four EFL textbooks will be given.

8.1. *Make Your Way 5*

8.1.1. Discursive and social context

MYW 5 is part of the *Make Your Way* textbook-series for EFL teaching at upper-secondary schools, preparing students for their school leaving examinations ('Matura'). According to the Austrian publisher, ÖBV ('Österreichischer Bundesverlag Schulbuch'), *Make Your Way* is the Austrian standard reference work for English language teaching at AHS-Oberstufe (ÖBV-MYW). It follows a communicative approach to language teaching and is designed to prepare students for the 'new standardised Matura' ('standardisierte kompetenzorientierte Reifeprüfung'), which was introduced in Austrian AHS this year (2014/2015) (BMBF Reifeprüfung). Next to the coursebook, which includes an audio-CD, teachers and students can order a CD-ROM and a workbook, containing additional exercises ('Testen und Fördern Arbeitsheft').

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[13] The detailed results of the quantitative analysis can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

MYW 5 was first published in 2010. However, this publication is a revised edition of the EFL textbook *Make Your Way Ahead 5*, authored by Robin Davis, Günter Gerngroß, Christian Holzmann, Peter Lewis-Jones and Herbert Puchta, which was first published in 2004 and is no longer on the list of approbated Austrian textbooks. For the revision of the *Make Your Way Ahead*-series the five original, male authors were joined by Sue Ireland and Joanna Kosta, who are mentioned as collaborators in *MYW 5*. The original authors are experienced textbook-writers, four of them (Gerngroß, Holzmann, Lewis-Jones and Puchta) also wrote the EFL textbook-series *More! 1-4,* which is widely used at AHS-Unterstufe, and contributed to several other approbated EFL textbooks for AHS-Oberstufe.

Regarding the wider social/cultural context, it is evident that *MYW* 5 is designed for and influenced mainly by a European cultural context. Although the textbooks per se do not reveal any additional information about the team of authors, research on the internet shows that all of them stem from 'Western' cultural backgrounds, including Austria and the UK (Scholes; UNIVIE-Anglistik; CUP-Authors). Furthermore, most of the characters appearing in *MYW 5* are from 'Western' countries. Therefore, it can be assumed that the production of this textbook was influenced by considerations of the promotion of gender equality, not least because of the Austrian educational principle of 'education to equality between women and men' (BMBWK), and the several studies on gender bias in EFL textbooks that arose during the 1970s and 1980s (Jones, Kitetu & Sunderland 1997: 469). However, due to the popularity of studies promoting gender differences in language use during the 1990s, it stands to question whether the listening tasks in *MYW 5* enforce gender polarisation more subtly by portraying women's and men's interactional behaviour in a stereotypical way. What can be said already at the beginning of the analysis, after a first rough examination of the material, is that *MYW 5* does not provide any critical reflexion on the norm of heterosexuality, and it does definitely neither include homo-, bi- or transsexual characters nor intersexed and transgender persons. By portraying only explicitly female or male characters and heterosexual relationships, *MYW 5* strengthens the dominant discourse of heteronormativity.

Nevertheless, *MYW 5* promotes the consultation of other sources of knowledge, for example the internet, and thereby opens up opportunities to encounter and discuss different views and discourses. The authors provide several ideas for 'internet projects',

encouraging students to study independently (ÖBV). In addition, each unit contains 'reading tips', offering the students further information on the topics covered in the respective units. Hence, it can be said that *MYW 5* actively animates students and teachers to draw on different sources and engage with the presented topics in more detail.

8.1.2. Quantitative analysis of listening tasks

On the whole, *Make Your Way 5* contains only four listening tasks related to the 'private/personal' sphere, and 27 that can be categorised as 'public/professional'. In addition, *MYW 5* provides 38 listening passages that involve single speakers talking about specific topics, without a proper context given and without any interaction taking place between two or more characters. Since, due to the lack of context, these listening tasks could not be classified as clearly 'private' or 'public', they were categorised as 'neutral'[14].

As table 3 and 3.1., included in the appendix below, show, women appear almost as often in 'public/professional' interactions as men (24:25). However, in 'private/personal' interactions the number of men is significantly higher (6:2). Unsurprisingly, then, female characters speak less than their male counterparts in 'private/personal' interactions: Only about 2.6 % of words uttered in a 'private' context are spoken by females, whereas men's contribution to 'private/personal' talk makes up 97.4 % (table 4). In 'public/professional' interactions, women speak slightly more than men (43.7 % : 36.1 %). If the listening tasks classified as 'neutral' are included in the analysis, it becomes evident that, although the number of female and male 'speakers' is equal in these tasks, women are portrayed to talk considerably more (61,6 % : 38,4 %) (table 4). As can be concluded, women are not generally underrepresented in the listening tasks examined. However, it must be noted that women's high amount of speech in the exercises labelled 'neutral' might support sexist stereotypes rather than weaken them. Since these 'neutral' passages consist almost exclusively of monologues, without anybody asking for information and without any communicative purpose comprehensible for the students, the fact that women achieve more words than men can

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[14] In counting these 'neutral' passages, not the number of actual tasks was considered, but each 'monologue' appearing in these tasks, as they represent isolated units of speech.

be easily attributed to their alleged 'volubility'. Hence, the widespread stereotype of 'the chatty woman' is subtly strengthened.

The distribution of occupational and social roles among males and females reveals that only one female character is assigned the role of a 'friend' in 'private/personal' interactions, whereas there are five male 'friends' to be found (table 5). The second discourse role represented by a female character in 'private' talk is that of a 'listener' (speaking very little), which might explain why the number of words uttered by females is so small in 'private' interactions, compared to men. Another remarkable point is the general distribution of 'listeners' among women and men: All in all, there are six female 'listeners' (one appearing in a 'private' conversation, five appearing in 'neutral' listening tasks), but not a single male one (table 5). Except from these differences, the distribution of social and occupational roles is relatively balanced.

8.1.3. Qualitative analysis of listening tasks

'Private/personal' interactions

As noted above, *MYW 5* does not contain many listening tasks that could be classified as 'private/personal' interactions. Most of the 'private/personal' dialogues to be found in this textbook take place among male friends, or involve a male character telling a lengthy story to a female 'listener'. However, in 'compact unit 6: food' there is one mixed-sex dialogue between two friends visiting an Indian restaurant and discussing what to order. The conversation is initiated by the male character, 'Matthew':

> **01 Matthew:** m: that does look good doesn't it?
> **02 Lisa:** yes it does. what are you going to have?
> **03 Matthew:** i think i'll have an onion bhajee first (.) and then i'll have (.) the sheek kabab (.) what about you?
> **04 Lisa:** i don't think i'll have any starters. maybe just some plain poppadums (.) if you'll share them with me?
> **05 Matthew:** yeah sure.
> **06 Lisa:** and the bombay aloo? (.) with some dahi.
> **07 Matthew:** er (.) it says here it's a little HOT. do you mind?=
> **08 Lisa:** =oh no i don't. as long as it means what it says? let's ask the waiter.

<div align="center">(example 1: MYW 5 Audio-CD 2, exercise 09, track 15)</div>

The fact that it is 'Matthew', and not 'Lisa', who starts the conversation, makes him appear direct and autonomous (turn 1). 'Lisa', on the other hand, seems to focus on

rapport by affirming 'Matthew's' statement and asking him what he intends to order (turn 2). Instead of expressing her own preferences first, it seems important to her to emphasise an interest in 'Matthew's' choice. Interestingly, 'Matthew' does not hesitate to answer 'Lisa's' question, and, as can be seen in turn 3, he seems to be very determined. In contrast to 'Matthew', who is portrayed as rather decisive and self-confident, 'Lisa' seems more insecure about her decision: She is depicted to use more hedging strategies ('I don't think', 'maybe') and, even more revealing, hinges her decision on 'Matthew's' agreement to share the starter with her (turn 4). When it comes to expressing what she intends to order for the main course (turn 6), she seems equally hesitant, posing a question rather than a direct statement. 'Matthew' does not simply accept 'Lisa's' choice, but feels the need to indicate that the dish might be too hot for her (turn 7). Although 'Lisa's' answer to his concern follows very fast and almost aggressively ('Oh no, I don't!'), she immediately mitigates her initial statement by admitting that the dish might be too hot for her, if the description on the menu is not correct (turn 8). Due to 'Matthew's' objection, she even feels the need to ask the waiter (turn 8).

As can be seen in this example, the male and female characters are portrayed in a rather stereotypical way: Whereas the man's interactional style represents confidence and autonomy, the woman is depicted as indecisive, insecure and dependent on her male friend's support and advice.

'Public/professional' interactions

Among the listening tasks that contained 'public/professional' interactions two interviews included in 'extensive unit 5: travel and more' seemed especially interesting to me, since they depict both a male and a female interviewer, as well as a male and a female 'expert'-interviewee. The first interview (example 2) involves the female character 'Esin', a spokeswoman from the 'World Wildlife Fund', whereas in the second interview (example 3), the male character 'Suleyman', owning a restaurant in a Turkish tourist area, is portrayed. The interview with 'Esin', conducted by a male interviewer, deals with the destruction of wildlife and nature in Turkey's tourist areas:

> **01 Interviewer 1 (m):** esin (.) you have very PUBLICLY spoken out against the development plans for Kazanli beach saying that it will be DISASTROUS for the population of green turtles that nest there. the turtles have been nesting on the beaches of southern turkey for a very long time. why is it necessary to protect them NOW?

02 Esin: turtles used to lay their eggs on beaches a:ll over the mediterranean but NOW they only nest on a few greek islands (.) the northern part of cyprus and the south coast of turkey. they no longer go to italian and spanish beaches. over the last twenty years we have seen their environment ALMOST disappear.
03 Interviewer 1: a:nd this is because of HUMANS?
04 Esin: EXACTLY. there has been too much development (.) too many hotels and holiday homes have been built. many of them ilLEGALLY.
[…]
05 Interviewer 1: but surely TOURISM is very IMPORTANT for a country like turkey. can you really expect to stop people building hotels and other tourist facilities?=
06 Esin: <alarmed> NO </alarmed>. but this must be done CAREFULLY and LEGALLY. the idea is to use the natural resources in a way that is good for ALL of us (.) humans AND animals. we're not against tourism so long as it is NOT going to damage the environment.
[…]
09 Interviewer 1: why do SO many people disagree with you?
10 Esin: <bitter> the people who disagree with us are usually the BUSINESSmen who are looking to make money </bitter>. they want to develop the la:nd (.) sell off their hotels and make a quick PROFIT. <brisk> as soon as they've made their money they'll be gone </brisk>. <enraged> they don't need to look to the future when the tourists have stopped coming because of the pollution caused by their developments because they won't be here anymore </enraged>.
[…]

(**example 2:** *MYW 5 Audio-CD 1*, exercise 13, track 13)

As can be observed in these passages of the interview with 'Esin', the male interviewer displays a rather confrontational attitude. For instance, he uses the intensifier 'very' to indicate that 'Esin' has stated her opinion on the destruction of wildlife insistently in public (turn 1). By giving particular prominence to the word 'disastrous' – an expression 'Esin' evidently used when referring to the events – the audience could get the impression that he ridicules 'Esin's' concerns about the recent developments (turn 1). This impression is even strengthened when the interviewer points out that "the turtles have been nesting on the beaches […] for a very long time" (example 2: turn 1), and asks 'Esin' why their protection is necessary *now*. The interviewer remains direct and confrontational throughout the dialogue, while 'Esin' finds herself in the position of having to justify her point of view. When she points out that the tourist industry is responsible for the environmental destruction, the interviewer critically remarks that tourism is vital for the economy and doubts that 'Esin' will be successful in discouraging people from building more facilities (turn 5). Clearly, this interjection challenges 'Esin's' credibility, since the interviewer presents her endeavours as unrealistic and irrational. In the end, he even mentions that many people object to 'Esin's' demands for a more responsible way of making profits (turn 7). Thereby, he emphasises the intensifier 'so', which enforces 'Esin's' position as an 'outsider', fighting a losing battle (turn 9).

'Esin', on the other hand, becomes more and more emotional in the course of the interview. Whereas she speaks confidently and calmly at the beginning, her answers become noticeably vehement towards the end (turns 6 & 10), as she is trying to resist the devaluation of her arguments. Ironically, this passage perpetuates the stereotype of the emotional, irrational, stubborn woman, trying to speak against a rational, calm man. What is especially interesting is 'Esin's' wording in turn 10, when she describes the people disagreeing with her as 'businessmen'. The use of this generic noun instead of a neutral term illustrates the inconsistency with which gender neutral language is employed in the listening dialogues of *MYW 5*. Furthermore, this lexical choice stresses the difference between the environmental activist 'Esin', a nature-loving woman, and the rational, calculating business*men*. It is intriguing that the occupational role of Esin corresponds to the long-cherished idea that women are closer to nature (and therefore must be controlled), while men represent rationality and cultural achievements.

This stereotypical representation is further perpetuated in the second interview, involving a female interviewer and the young business*man* 'Suleyman', who owns a restaurant on Kazanli beach, where wildlife is endangered by the tourist industry. As becomes evident in the first turn, the female interviewer is not as confrontational as her male counterpart in the first interview. She starts the interview by complimenting 'Suleyman' on his restaurant, which establishes solidarity and a friendly atmosphere between the two characters:

> **01 Interviewer 2 (f):** suleyman (.) you have a VERY nice restaurant here.
> **02 Suleyman:** thank you.
> (**example 3.1.:** *MYW 5 Audio-CD 1,* exercise 13, track 13)

In the further course of the interview, 'Suleyman' is not confronted immediately with challenging questions on the tourist industry's contribution to environmental destruction, but answers questions regarding his family's past and how tourism improved their situation:

> **03 Interviewer 2:** how long have you and your family been here?
> **04 Suleyman:** i was born here. a:nd so was my father. but he started the restaurant abou:t eight years ago (.) when the tourists first came to the beach.
> **05 Interviewer 2:** what was it like here before?
> **06 Suleyman:** <hesitant> well (.) we ha:d a small farm. </hesitant> very small. we used to grow er vegetables (.) tomatos (.) onions and so on. i used to go fishing with my big brother sometimes. it wa:s really quiet. BORING.
> [...]
> **09 Interviewer 2:** so you must be EXCITED by the new development.

10 Suleyman: yes. the new hotels are going to be great for our business and for the economy of ALL the area.

<div align="center">(example 3.2.: MYW 5 Audio-CD 1, exercise 13, track 13)</div>

It is only then that the interviewer carefully starts to pose questions concerning the negative effects of tourism for Kazanli beach. However, in contrast to her male colleague in the first interview with 'Esin', she does not oppose directly to 'Suleyman's' opinion that the economic growth of the area is 'great', but mitigates the disagreement:

[…]
11 Interviewer 2: but do the tourists spoil the natural surroundings?
12 Suleyman: someti:mes they leave rubbish on the beach. there were NO buildings before. <enthusiastic> but i like the hotels and the bars. it's more LIVELY and INTERESTING. </enthusiastic>
13 Interviewer 2: are you sorry that the WILDlife has left the beach?
14 Suleyman: <hesitant> i think there are a LOT of places for wildlife. </hesitant> PEOPLE want to live too.
15 Interviewer 2: what will it be like here in the future?
16 Suleyman: i think there will be more hotels. every year more people come here.
[…]

<div align="center">(example 3.3.: MYW 5 Audio-CD 1, exercise 13, track 13)</div>

As these two examples of 'public/professional' interactions demonstrate, stereotypically 'masculine' and 'feminine' interactional styles are promoted. Even though it could be argued that it is typical for interviewers, regardless of their gender, to pose confrontational questions, in the examples above it is evident that the female interviewer displays a more conciliatory attitude than her male colleague.

A similar stereotypical construction of gender can be found in the next two listening exercises, included in 'compact unit 5: shop till you drop'. The examples below depict 'same sex'-dialogues between two men and two women, respectively. In both dialogues, one of the interactants addresses a passer-by on the street, as she/he asks for the way:

01 Man 1: excuse me? can you tell me where the nearest post office is?
02 Man 2: well there's one quite near here in SHIP street but you've MISSED that. it closes at midday on a saturday.
03 Man 1: damn=
04 Man 2: =what did you want it for?
05 Man 1: i just need to get some STAMPS to send these letters.
06 Man 2: you can get stamps at the newsagent's.
07 Man 1: really? is there a newsagent's around here?
08 Man 2: YEAH. there's morrison's. go straight ahead and take the <counting to himself> first (.) second (.) THIRD </counting to himself> road on the right. it's called something HOUSE street o:r (.) <fast> something like that. </fast> anyway. go right to the end and then turn

RIGHT into market street. morrison's is on the other side of the road (.) opposite the junction with NILE road.
09 Man 1: opposite nile road?
10 Man 2: yeah (.) have you got that or do you want me to repeat it?
11 Man 1: no. that's alright thanks. i'm sure i'll find it. thanks a lot (.)
<div align="right">(**example 4:** *MYW 5 Audio-CD 2,* exercise 1, track 10)</div>

If we take a closer look at the first dialogue, taking place between two men, a lot of features of interactional behaviour typically associated with 'masculinity' can be detected. First and foremost, it is striking that 'man 1' expresses his annoyance by using a swear word ('damn') in turn 3. As will be seen in the second dialogue below, the two women are not shown to be cursing. Furthermore, 'man 2' eagerly and confidently passes on the required information to 'man 1', which can be interpreted as a strategy to stress his superiority and control the interaction, since he is the one providing information, whereas 'man 1' *depends* on the other's 'expertise'. For instance, 'man 2' continues to advise his opposite by asking why he needs a post office (turn 4), thereby controlling the further development of the conversation. Interestingly, 'man 1' uses a hedging strategy when answering this question, by saying that he 'just' needs stamps (turn 5). This conveys the impression that he is resisting his inferior position, suggesting that he does not need the information that urgently. Nevertheless, 'man 2' does not hesitate to display his knowledge about where to get stamps and provides 'man 1' with detailed directions (turns 6 & 8). When he asks 'man 1' if he should repeat the complicated instructions, his dialogue partner turns down the offer very directly, stating that he is 'sure' that he will find the way (turns 10 & 11). This example enforces the 'common-sensical' assumption that men's communicative behaviour is more competitive, and that men tend to negotiate status and show off their expertise when talking in 'public'. In addition, as will become evident when considering the second dialogue, this exercise suggests that men are more competent in giving directions than women, which, as I would argue, is a case of 'indirect' sexism.

In the second dialogue, the two women involved do not seem to negotiate status, but are portrayed to act rather cooperatively:

01 Woman 1: excuse me (.) do you know where i can find somewhere to fix my watch?
02 Woman 2: <caring> ye:ah. you need a jeweller's? </caring>
03 Woman 1: is there one near here?
04 Woman 2: there's one i know of in old steine. <apologetic> it's a bit of a walk. </apologetic>
05 Woman 1: how do i get there?

06 Woman 2: <hesitant> okay. </hesitant> take this street on the le:ft a:nd (.) walk straight down it. it turns into castle square half way along. a:nd then you need to take the first (.) <uncertain> right </uncertain> a:nd you'll be in old steine. e:rm (.) you'll see the jeweller's on the right hand side of the street (.) next to the (.) information office (.)
07 Woman 1: <insecure> so (.) </insecure> i go down THIS street and take the first <uncertain> right? </uncertain>
08 Woman 2: <cooperative> no. <cooperative/> take the first right when you get into CASTLE street. from here old steine's the (.) <uncertain> third street </uncertain> on the right i think?
09 Woman 1: okay. i think i've got that. thanks a lot.

(**example 5:** *MYW 5 Audio-CD 2,* exercise 2, track 10)

As we can see, 'woman 2', whom the other asks for help, tends to stress their equal status by abstaining from showing her 'expertise' too openly. Instead of emphasising the fact that she is the one who is able to provide help, she uses communicative strategies that make her appear more insecure, uncertain and even apologetic for the information she can give. In turn 4, 'woman 2' mitigates her statement that she knows where to find a jeweller by adding "it's a bit of a walk", which makes the information appear less valuable. Moreover, when she describes the way to 'Old Steine', she is depicted as very hesitant and uncertain (turns 6 & 8). The same can be said of 'woman 1', who, when trying to repeat the directions, appears insecure and a bit overwhelmed (turn 7). In contrast to 'man 1' in the first dialogue above, 'woman 1' is shown to hedge her final statement in turn 9 ("*I think* I've got that."), whereas 'man 1' says "*I'm sure* I'll find it" (example 4, turn 11).

8.2. Prime Time 5

8.2.1. Discursive and social context

PT 5 is one of the most recent EFL textbooks, first published by ÖBV in 2010. On the website of the ÖBV, it is introduced as a new and 'gripping' textbook that systematically imparts the four language skills as well as vocabulary and grammar to the students (ÖBV-PT). Next to preparation for the new Matura, *PT 5* focuses on English literature and culture (ÖBV-PT). As stated on the ÖBV homepage, *PT 5* includes and addresses topics that students can relate to and places special emphasis on intercultural encounters (ÖBV-PT).

PT 5 is based on the EFL textbook *Green Line* 5, which was written by Marion Horner, Elizabeth Daymond, Jennifer Baer-Engel and Peter Lampater and published in

Germany by the publishing house Ernst Klett in 2009. *PT 5* is authored by Georg Hellmayr, Stephan Waba and Heike Mlakar, all of whom are experienced Austrian EFL teachers and textbook authors. Interestingly, Heike Mlakar wrote her dissertation on 'women's roles in autobiographical texts by female beat writers' (Mlakar 2007). Consequently, it can be assumed that at least one of the authors is familiar with, if not an expert on, feminist theory.

As regards the promotion of critical reflection, it is noteworthy that *PT 5* draws on different sources, which are explicitly stated. For example, the students are provided with several text types, ranging from literary passages or films to information from websites and non-fictional texts (ÖBV-PT). Furthermore, *PT 5* includes tasks that explicitly ask the students to do some research on the internet.

The wider social and cultural context of the textbook is similar to that of *MYW 5* described above: Since the authors are Austrian and the intended audience are first and foremost Austrian upper-secondary students, it is not surprising that *PT 5* perpetuates mainly 'Western' values and ideals. Due to its cultural context and its recent date of publication it can be assumed that *PT 5* promotes the equality of women and men. However, it must be investigated if the principle of education to equality is fulfilled only superficially and if the 'heterosexual norm' is enforced in the listening tasks to be found in *PT 5*.

8.2.2. Quantitative analysis of listening tasks

In *Prime Time 5*, seven 'private/personal' and 15 'public/professional' interactions can be found. On the whole, eight women and ten men are shown to contribute to 'private/personal' interactions. In the case of 'public/professional' interactions, 14 women are represented in these dialogues, compared to 17 men (table 6). As can be seen, women are slightly underrepresented in the listening tasks to be found in *PT5*.

This can also be observed in the amount of speech produced by women and men in the spoken interactions (table 7): On the whole, men speak about 12 % more than women (table 7). Male characters contribute more words in both 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' talk.

The distribution of social roles in 'private/personal' dialogues is relatively balanced, except from the number of female characters representing 'friends', which is slightly smaller than those of male 'friends' (6:8) (table 8). In 'public/professional' interactions, the numbers of male tourist guides, who provide information in the respective dialogues, and female tourists, typically asking for information, are remarkable: Both tourist guides depicted in *PT5* are male, whereas there are more female tourists than male ones (2:1) (table 8). Another imbalance can be found in the distribution of 'expert'-interviewees. In total, there are four 'experts' being interviewed on several topics, all of which are women (table 8). However, all characters representing hosts of TV or radio shows and discussion forums – three altogether – are men (table 8).

8.2.3. Qualitative analysis of listening tasks

<u>'Private/personal' interactions</u>

The first example of a 'private/personal' interaction depicted in *PT 5* I would like to discuss can be found in 'Unit 7: Human Rights'. In this listening task a telephone conversation between two teenage girls is portrayed[15]. Although the listener only hears one girl's utterances, the content of the conversation can be roughly deducted from her reactions to what her friend 'Danielle' has to say:

> {mobile rings}
> **01 Girl** {picks up the phone}**:** hey danielle. what's up?
> **02 Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
> **03 Girl:** oh i'm just waiting for brad.
> **04 Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
> **05 Girl:** no. heard WHAT?
> **06 Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
> **07 Girl:** <loud, upset> what about LINDSAY and BRAD? </loud, upset>
> **08 Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
> **09 Girl:** <screaming furiously> WHAT? </screaming furiously> that FAT cow was doing WHAT with my boyfriend at the mall?
> **10 Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
> **11 Girl:** <furious> so THAT's why he's late. i'm gonna KILL that bitch. oh my GOD. what a SLUT. and then i'm gonna kill HIM </furious>
> [...]
>   (**example 6:** *PT 5 Audio-CD 2*, exercise 1a – "Who should respect whom?", track 8)

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[15] This part of listening task 1a in *PT 5* (Unit 7), the phone conversation between the two teenagers, is followed by a discussion between the 'girl' and a passer-by, who feels disturbed by her loud and rude way of talking. For the analysis at hand, only the first part of the task is of interest. Hence, the second part (which was classified as a 'public/professional' interaction) was excluded from the qualitative analysis.

Obviously, the 'girl' learns from 'Danielle' that her boyfriend 'Brad' cheated on her with another girl, 'Lindsay'. One of the reasons why the content of 'Danielle's' parts of the conversation can be guessed so easily, is that this listening task corresponds to many long-cherished stereotypes about 'feminine' behaviour and scripts we already have about similar situations. Generally, the interaction between the 'girl' and 'Danielle' can be categorised as gossip, since 'Danielle' tells her friend the 'latest news' about 'Brad' and 'Lindsay', thereby acting like a 'snitch'. Both girls are portrayed as rather sensationalist, since it can be assumed that 'Danielle' asks her friend if she has already heard about 'it', and the 'girl' responds "No! Heard about *what*?" (turns 4 & 5). 'Danielle' is further shown to build up tension, instead of simply revealing the bad news to her friend, as the 'girl' has to ask "What about *Lindsay* and *Brad?*" in turn 7. The girls' communicative behaviour in this listening task enforces the notion of the 'gossiping woman', taking pleasure in discussing the wrongdoings and relationship dramas of others.

When the 'girl' finally learns the truth about her boyfriend and 'Lindsay', her anger and disappointment is highlighted as she uses various offensive, sexualised expressions to refer to 'Lindsay' (turns 9 & 11). These insult terms are clearly sexist and degrading ('fat cow', 'bitch', 'slut'), but, on top of that, the responsibility for this kind of discrimination is denied: The fact that it is a *female* character who is shown to use these sexist terms, as well as the exaggerated, 'humorous' way in which the whole interaction is presented, distorts the severity of the sexist discourse reproduced in this listening passage. It is intriguing that the 'girl' does not use any swear words referring to 'Brad'. Although she claims that she will "kill him" towards the end of the passage (turn 11), she expresses much more fury with her female rival 'Lindsay'. It seems that this listening task strengthens the patriarchal notion that women should behave morally (especially regarding their sexual relationships), while men's immoral sexual behaviour is tolerated. Besides the promotion of overtly sexist insult terms, the passage promotes stereotypical gender attributes: Women are represented as jealous, phony and deceitful. Whereas the 'girl' is the perfect example of the stereotypical jealous, hysterical and irrational girlfriend, who even threatens to kill her rival and boyfriend, 'Lindsay' embodies the stereotype of the seductive, immoral 'man-eater'.

The second example I consider interesting with regard to the construction of gender is included in 'Unit 8: Music'. This listening exercise is a conversation about a youtuber,

taking place between three friends. Two of the participants are male ('Danny' and 'Adam'), whereas the third is a female character ('Kelly'). It is 'Kelly' who starts the conversation by addressing the two boys, as she wants to tell them about a funny video blog she found on Youtube:

> **01 Kelly:** hey guys. you know that video blog everyone's talking about?
> **02 Danny:** huh?
> **03 Adam:** {to Danny} she means that english guy on youtube. right kelly?
> **04 Kelly:** right adam.
> **05 Danny:** sorry. i'm still not with you on this.
> **06 Kelly:** <scoffing> what planet are you living on danny? </scoffing>
> **07 Adam:** {to Danny} there's a kid from england ok? his name is charlie mcdonald. and he filmed a video and posted it on youtube.
> <div align="center">(example 7.1.: <i>PT 5 Audio-CD 2</i>, exercise 6a – "Charlie's video blog", track 8)</div>

As can be observed in this passage, 'Adam' dominates the interaction, although it is 'Kelly' who initiates it. For instance, he confidently takes the floor and explains what 'Kelly' is talking about in turn 3, instead of waiting for her own explanation. By framing it as a declarative sentence ("She means that English guy on youtube.") and talking about 'Kelly' in the third person, he appears even more dominant and confident (turn 3). When 'Danny' suggests that he still does not know what they are talking about, 'Kelly' makes fun of him (turn 6). However, her joke is not acknowledged by the two boys – neither of them laughs or responds to her remark in any way. Instead, 'Adam' informs 'Danny' about the youtuber. The male character's reaction to 'Kelly's' attempt to mock 'Danny' in a friendly way conveys the impression that they are more focused on 'report-talk' than on emphasising their intimate relationship with 'Kelly', which is a widely claimed feature of 'masculine' speaking behaviour.

In the further course of the conversation, 'Kelly' seems to try to resist 'Adam's' domination of the dialogue. She takes the floor by correcting 'Adam's' account (turn 8) and then continues to fill 'Danny' in on the youtuber (turn 10). Interestingly, 'Adam' reacts annoyed when 'Kelly' points out that he did not pronounce the youtuber's name correctly (turn 9). His response ("whatever") suggests that he repels the face threatening act by expressing that 'Kelly's' remark is not that important (turn 9):

> **08 Kelly:** his name is charlie mcDONNELL actually.
> **09 Adam:** <annoyed> whatever </annoyed>
> **10 Kelly:** he does this how to be english routine. <@> it's SO: funny. </@> you see him in a (.) <uncertain> well (.) i guess it's a suit. </uncertain> like some old man would wear. and THEN slowly (.) one step at a time (.) he shows you how to make a PERfect cup of tea. a MUG of tea actually.
> <div align="center">(example 7.2.: <i>PT 5 Audio-CD 2</i>, exercise 6a – "Charlie's video blog", track 8)</div>

After 'Kelly's' description of the youtube video she is obviously very fond of, 'Danny' does not provide supportive feedback, but questions the legitimacy of 'Kelly's' evaluation of the video as 'funny' (turn 11). His suspicion entails a powerful position in the conversation, since it positions 'Kelly' as the one who has to justify her claim, which she readily does (turn 12). Hence, the female character is depicted as seeking the approval of the boys: Instead of simply standing by her opinion, it seems to be important for her to gain 'Danny's' support. However, 'Danny' rejects her explanation that the video is funny "when you see it" (turn 12), by remarking that "all English people sound weird" (turn 13). As a consequence, 'Kelly' obviously feels the need to draw on 'Adam's' affirmation (turns 14 and 15), which increases the impression that 'Danny' does not take her seriously, unless her opinion is supported by another *male* character.

> **11 Danny:** <doubtfully> and THAT'S funny? </doubtfully>
> **12 Kelly:** it is when you SEE it. <@> he LOOKS and SOUNDS so: weird. </@>
> **13 Danny:** <dismissive> ALL english people sound weird. </dismissive>
> **14 Kelly:** yeah. But this is (.) well (.) it's different. And he has this CRAzy expression on his face when he looks into the camera and gives the instructions for making tea. You just have to LAUGH when you SEE him. Right adam?
> **15 Adam:** well (.) i guess so. […]
>   (**example 7.3.:** *PT 5 Audio-CD 2*, exercise 6a – "Charlie's video blog", track 8)

The boys' rather unenthusiastic reception of 'Kelly's' narration takes an unexpected turn when she mentions the youtuber's sudden success (turn 20):

> **20 Kelly:** […] <excited> they said he'd filmed it HIMself in his BEDroom. </excited> it was after he'd set up an account on youtube (.) he thought he should do something with it so he (.) well (.) he started making little videos and putting them up on the web. <excited> over ONE and a HALF MILLION people have seen his 'how to be english' blog. </excited>
> **21 Danny:** <surprised, approving> one and a half MILLION? WOW. he sure found a good way to get famous. </surprised, approving> <enthusiastic> HEY. maybe WE should make a video and put it on the web. </enthusiastic> it can't be that hard (.)
> **22 Adam:** no. but it can be a real problem if you decide you want to take it off again. i mean (.) once you put something on the web (.) that's it. it's THERE forever. even if you think you've got rid of it you haven't. it'll still be out there somewhere.
> **23 Danny:** well (.) i guess charlie is not worrying too much about THAT right now. he's probably thinking how he can act fast to turn his success into a career.
>   (**example 7.4.:** *PT 5 Audio-CD 2*, exercise 6a – "Charlie's video blog", track 8)

As can be seen, the male characters immediately start to discuss how to become active themselves and set up their own video blog (turns 21 & 22). 'Kelly', on the other hand, is not shown to share her ideas about the benefits and drawbacks of becoming a youtuber, although she was the one raising the topic in the beginning. In contrast to the boys, she is depicted as a passive listener, when it comes to generating creative ideas or

critical thoughts. Instead of developing her own plans, she is portrayed to admire the achievements of others, namely the *male* youtuber's, and seek the boys' approval.

The boys' dominant position in the interaction becomes even more evident at the end of the dialogue. When 'Kelly' informs 'Danny' that the youtuber in question intends to concentrate on school instead of planning his career as a comedian, it is 'Danny' who has the final word, emphasising his low opinion on the youtuber:

> **24 Kelly:** no:. he says right now he wants to concentrate on his school work instead.
> **25 Danny:** <dismissive> he wants to concentrate on his SCHOOL work? you know what kelly? you were right. that guy IS weird. </dismissive>
>   (**example 7.5.:** *PT 5 Audio-CD 2*, exercise 6a – "Charlie's video blog", track 8)

'Public/professional' interactions

One example of a 'public/professional' interaction among the listening tasks in *PT 5* is a discussion between three Australian pupils about a book they were reading at school, included in 'Unit 3: Australia'. What is especially noteworthy about this discussion is that it takes place between two boys and one girl. Whereas the boys are shown to take lengthy turns and present well-founded arguments, the girl does not contribute as much during the whole discussion and her remarks seem less substantial. On the whole, the girl speaks only 107 words, whereas 'boy 1' produces 213 words and 'boy 2' 120 words in total.

The record seems to start at a random point during the conversation. It can be assumed that the girl answers the question of how she liked the book (turn 1). However, she does not start off the actual discussion. It is 'boy 1' who is depicted to raise the first major point of discussion, namely that the "scene in the shopping mall" is "typical of discrimination" (turns 4 & 6). His statement is immediately challenged by the second male character, who scoffs at 'boy 1' for being a "surfie" with "long blond hair", not knowing anything about discrimination (turn 7):

> **01 Girl**: yeah i think it's really <1>good. </1>
> **02 Boy 1**: <1>yeah</1>
> **03 Girl**: better than that LAST book we read (.) i'll tell you.
> **04 Boy 1**: that's for sure. hey and that scene in the shopping mall just now (.) you know in front of the jewellery shop?=
> **05 Girl**: =mhm
> **06 Boy 1**: now is THAT typical of discrimination or what?=
> **07 Boy 2**: =@@ what do YOU know about discrimination mate? look at you you surfie with your long blond hair. <2>@@@@</2>
> **08Girl**:<2>@@@@</2>

90

The fact that it is the male character 'boy 2' who displays this rather competitive and impolite behaviour, and not the female participant, hints at the interactional stereotypes employed in constructing gender in this listening passage. Instead of expressing her own opinion on the first boy's statement in turn 6 or making a humorous remark herself, the girl is depicted to merely laugh about the second boy's witticism (turn 8). This enforces the stereotypical notion of the 'cooperative woman', who politely supports her discussion partners and refrains from being the centre of too much attention herself. The girl's collaborative interactional style can be further observed as the discussion continues:

> **09 Boy 1** hey who said anything about RACIAL discrimination? you don't have to be black or asian to experience discrimination in australia let me tell you.
> **10 Girl:** what do you mean?
> **11 Boy 1:** i MEAN the exact same thing that happened to gracey has happened to ME before.=
> **12 Girl** =ah?
> **13 Boy 1:** for my dad's 40th birthday i wanted to buy him a REALLY nice present. […]
> (example 8.2.: *PT 5 Audio-CD 1*, exercise 3 – "Understanding Angela", track 6)

In accordance with the "widely cited features of 'feminine' and 'masculine' interactional style" (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 574), it is the female interactant who signals her interest in what 'boy 1' has to say and encourages him to elaborate on his thoughts by giving supportive feedback (turns 10 & 12). Due to her cooperative communicative behaviour, 'boy 1' starts to tell them about his experiences with discrimination in Australia (turn 13). In the further course of the discussion, the students share their opinion on 'Angela', the protagonist of the book they had to read:

> **17 Girl:** sure. you know i REALLY liked angela. she wants to help gracey but she says something AWFULLY stupid.
> **18 Boy 1:** i didn't like her at all. she's a RICH kid who likes to feel good so she helped gracey with lots of old clothes and a free drink and meal here or there=
> **19 Boy 2** =yeah and what she says to the manager. <imitating> it's all right. she's with me. </imitating> shows that she thinks she's better than ABORIGINAL gracey (.) just because her mum and dad are RICH.
> **20 Girl:** HEY that's not fair you two. she feels terrible for what she says and she HAS helped gracey a lot and she really likes gracey and I <4>th</4>
> **21 Boy 2:** <4>but</4> she doesn't SAY that she's sorry. she gets really angry with gracey and she's TOO rich and TOO stupid to see what she's done wrong. and she makes things worse=
> **22 Girl:** =angela is NOT stupid you guys. gracey doesn't give her any time to say she's sorry=
> **23 Boy 1, Boy 2:** =<scoffing>@@</scoffing>
> **24 Girl:** gracey gets angry first and then … {fade out}
> (example 8.3.: *PT 5 Audio-CD 1*, exercise 3 – "Understanding Angela", track 6)

Evidently, the male characters do not hesitate to disagree very openly and aggressively with the female participant. It is, again, revealing that it is the girl who comes to 'Angela's' defence, thereby displaying allegedly 'feminine' traits, such as empathy and the need to establish harmony and understanding. The boys, on the other hand, base their reasons for disliking 'Angela' on more rational grounds: Instead of showing empathy for 'Angela's' situation, they judge the protagonist exclusively by her actions (turns 18, 19 & 21). The male characters' confrontational speaking behaviour is highlighted when 'boy 2' interrupts the girl and calls the novel's protagonist "stupid" (turn 21). In the end, the two boys even make fun of the girl's attempt to explain why she disagrees, which implies that they do not take her seriously (turn 23).

Another example displaying intriguing gender imbalances and stereotypes is presented in the same unit of *PT 5* ('Unit 3 – Australia'). This listening task deals with a group of tourists and their male tourist guide, 'Derrick', who are on a 'glass-bottom boat tour' to see the Great Barrier Reef. The dialogue is dominated by 'Derrick', who gives the group a lecture on the Great Barrier Reef and answers their questions. What makes this listening exercise so interesting with regard to the construction of gender is that female characters are portrayed to contribute relatively little remarks and questions in front of the whole group, in comparison to men. This becomes evident when 'Derrick' tells the group that the Great Barrier Reef might soon be destroyed:

> [...]
> **04 Derrick:** YES (.) enjoy while you CAN. some people say that in forty years this huge reef might NOT exist anymore.
> **05 American teen (m):** <alarmed> ah? what do you mean? </alarmed>
> **06 Derrick:** well (.) it's all about GLOBAL warming. with all the factories (.) cars (.) pollution and air-conditioners in the world the earth keeps getting warmer (.) so the WATER gets warmer.
> **07 American teen (m):** but why is warmer water a problem?
> **08 Derrick:** CORAL can only survive with water temperatures between 17.5 degrees and 28 degrees. but in SOME places the water can get warmer than 28 degrees [...]
> **09 British teen (w):** but when the corals die the environment for all the other animals here dies too? so you lose a home for ALL the animals here (.) AND you lose a BEAU:tiful place.
> **10 Derrick:** that's EXACTLY right unfortunately. but global warming is only ONE problem (.) although the biggest. the reef is also dying from the pollution from australian and indonesian factories on the coasts. yes (.) it's sad that the modern world doesn't respect nature as much as the australian aboriginals did (.) and still do.
> **11 American teen (m):** what do the aboriginals have to do with the great barrier reef?
> **12 Derrick:** not the REEF. the ENVIRONMENT. i've ALways admired the aboriginals for their respect for nature. [...]
> **(example 9:** *PT 5 Audio-CD 1*, exercise 2 – "Listening for gist", track 8)

As can be seen, the male American teenager poses three questions to the tourist guide, in front of the other group members, whereas the female British teenager only speaks up once. The portrayal of women's and men's communicative behaviour in this dialogue evidently supports gender differences in language use by depicting men as more daring to participate in 'public' talk, and women as more reserved.

8.3. Salon English and Talking Networks: 'general topics'

Before the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses of *SE* and *TN* are discussed, it is important to note that these two EFL textbooks for vocational schools belong to the same series of EFL textbooks, authored by Heinz Gaderer and published by Hölder Pichler Tempsky (hpt). Therefore, both textbooks contain 35 units on 'general topics', which are the same for each textbook of the series, and 45 units on 'situations at work', which, naturally, differ according to the respective professions. Consequently, I decided to analyse these two sections separately, starting with the analysis of the 'general topics'-section for both *SE* and *TN*. As the discursive and sociocultural context remains more or less the same for both textbooks, it will be discussed only once, at the beginning of the following section. Furthermore, it is important to note that, although *SE* and *TN* are aimed at learners from CEFR language-levels A2 to B1, the textbooks contain listening tasks designed for CEFR-levels A1 to A2. These tasks have been excluded from the analysis, as the focus of this study rests on listening exercises for CEFR-levels from A2 upwards.

8.3.1. Discursive and social context

Both *Salon English* and *Talking Networks* are designed for the use at vocational schools and were first published by Hölder Pichler Tempsky (hpt) in 2007. *SE* is authored by Heinz Gaderer and Heidemarie Haider. Heinz Gaderer is also one of the authors of *TN*, which was written in collaboration with Gerda Mangel and Robert Rohr. The textbooks themselves do not contain any further information about the authors. Research on the internet showed that Gaderer and Haider are experts for ESP ('English for specific purposes') and experienced EFL teachers, also at vocational schools (Communicate-Author; Tritscher-Archan 2008: 249). One co-author of *TN*, Robert Rohr, was a school

inspector for Austrian vocational schools (BMUKK 2010: 44). The second co-author, Gerda Mangel, is a teacher at the vocational school for electrical engineering in Vienna (BSETM-FachbilderInnen).

According to a short introductory note by the authors, *SE* and *TN* are intended to prepare the students for encounters with the English language, both at work and in their free time. To achieve this aim, the authors point out that *SE* and *TN* are based on and include authentic texts taken from English newspapers, magazines, professional journals and the internet. Furthermore, they state that several professional conversations and discussions to be found on the audio-CD are based on interviews that the authors conducted with English apprentices of the respective professions (SE 2013: 6; TN 2013: 6). Obviously, the textbook authors attached great importance to a selection of material that is as authentic as possible. However, since the language level of these textbooks ranges from A2 to B1, according to the CEFR, it can be assumed that the texts included have been adapted to the learners' needs.

SE and *TN* do not contain many activities that stimulate critical reflection or encourage students to use different sources for studying. Although in their introductory note the authors advise students to bring interesting English texts from other sources to class (SE 2013: 6; TN 2013: 6), they do not provide tasks explicitly asking the readers to consult different materials. Nevertheless, the textbooks include some prompts for group discussions, which clearly aim at developing students' awareness of the various angles and perspectives from which a certain topic can be approached. For example, the 'general topics'-section provides the students with the opportunity to question the notion of 'typically female' and 'typically male' jobs (SE 2013: 13; TN 2013: 13). However, the issue of gender stereotypes is not further dealt with. Hence, whether a fruitful discussion takes place or not, depends entirely on the teachers' or the students' background knowledge and attitudes.

With regard to the Austrian sociocultural context, the exclusion of a thorough thematisation of issues of gender equality and gender bias at Austrian workplaces in textbooks for vocational schools seems surprising to me. During the last years, there have been several campaigns in Austria to foster girls' and women's interest in

technical professions[16] and encourage both boys and girls to overcome stereotypical notions of 'masculine' and 'feminine' workplaces. Thus, I find it intriguing that this issue is not touched upon in more detail by *SE* and *TN*, as these textbooks are written for apprentices of two professions that are often associated with 'typically male/female' jobs. Nevertheless, it is open to further examination if the listening tasks included in the textbooks strengthen gender stereotypes or not.

8.3.2. Quantitative analysis of listening tasks

For the quantitative analysis of *SE* and *TN* it seemed plausible to distinguish between 'types' (characters as individuals) and 'tokens' (the number of each character's appearance), as suggested by Jones, Kitetu and Sunderland (1997: 476) in their own study of gender and language in textbook dialogues. Since both textbooks feature specific characters that appear throughout the units, I considered this distinction necessary to investigate gender balance in the listening tasks.

In total, seven 'private/personal' and 15 'public/professional' interactions could be found. As tables 9 and 10 illustrate, there are significantly more male 'types' than female ones in the 'general topics'-section of *SE* and *TN* (16:9). Only one female 'type', 'Daniela Faber', appears in 'private/personal' interactions, compared to five different male 'types'. Nevertheless, the difference between female and male 'tokens' in 'private/personal' interactions is less significant: 'Daniela Faber' engages in 'private' talk six times, and the five male 'types' only eight times altogether. Therefore, it can be concluded that the female 'type' of 'Daniela Faber' plays an essential role for the story line of the 'general topics'-section of *SE* and *TN*.

In 'public/professional' interactions, the nine female 'types' appear 18 times in total, whereas male 'types' appear slightly less often (tables 9 & 10). Again, the female student 'Daniela Faber' is shown to contribute frequently to 'public/professional' interactions – she appears six times in total, whereas no male 'type' can be found to participate in formal talk more than two times.

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[16] For example the projects 'MiT – Mädchen in die Technik' and 'FiT – Frauen in die Technik', organised by 'Verein Sprungbrett', which is, among others, financed by the AMS ('Arbeitsmarktservice') and the Austrian ministry of education (Sprungbrett).

Regarding the distribution of social/occupational roles, it is noteworthy that men appear in a greater variety of occupational roles than women: They are represented in media-related jobs (radio presenters, interviewers), jobs in tourism (receptionist at a hotel, travel agent, tour guide), or shop assistants (table 10). Women, in contrast, work in professions that are typically associated with 'feminine workplaces' (except from a radio speaker and one news reporter), including a teacher ('Ms Enders'), a waitress, a shop assistant in a clothing store and a doctor's receptionist. However, some social/occupational roles are relatively balanced: Both women and men are represented in jobs related to the media (news reporter, radio presenter, etc.). Likewise, one girl ('Buky') and one boy ('Brian') appear as exchange students at 'Daniela's' Austrian school. Nevertheless, there are more male students in total than female ones (4:2), but the only teacher appearing in the 'general topics'-section is female ('Ms Enders') (tables 9 & 10). Perhaps the tendency for men to hold more powerful social and occupational positions in the textbooks could be one reason why the amount of speech produced by male characters is higher in both 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions (table 11).

8.3.3. Qualitative analysis of listening tasks

'Private/personal' interactions

Among the listening tasks to be found in the 'general topics'-units of *SE* and *TN* I detected a 'private/personal' interaction similar to one in *MYW 5*, described above. In this short passage, included in 'Unit 21A', two of the main characters, 'Daniela' and 'Kevin', are about to place their orders at a restaurant. Similarly to the dialogue in *MYW 5* (example 1), the two characters are shown to consult each other before the waitress arrives:

> **01 Kevin:** what are you having?
> **02 Daniela:** <insecure> i am not sure. maybe spaghetti? (.) o:r the fresh vegetables? what are you having? </insecure>
> **03 Kevin:** i'll have the <hesitant> avocado: (.) </hesitant> bacon and spinach salad.
> **04 Daniela:** that sounds GOOD.
> **05 Kevin:** if you like spaghetti the chef's seafood sauce is very good.
> **06 Daniela:** yeah (.) i think i'll try that.
> [...]
>   **(example 10:** *SE & TN Audio CD 1*, unit 21A, exercise 4, track 53)

As we can see, 'Daniela' seems to be more insecure about her decision than 'Kevin'. When 'Kevin' asks her what she is going to order, she openly states "I am not sure" (turn 2) and then mentions two dishes that seem to appeal to her. Her indecisiveness is highlighted as she utters her preferences like a question, instead of a declaration (turn 2). In contrast, 'Kevin' seems to have decided on a dish relatively quickly: Although he too sounds a bit hesitant when telling 'Daniela' what he is having, he knows that he will order the "bacon and spinach salad" (turn 3). 'Daniela' supports her friend by saying "That sounds good!" (turn 4). However, her own decision is shown to be dependent on the helping remark of her male companion: 'Kevin' confidently recommends "the chef's seafood sauce" to 'Daniela', who eventually chooses to try it. Interestingly, albeit having reached a decision, 'Daniela's' phrasing still conveys the impression that she is not completely certain, since she is shown to hedge her final statement in turn 6 ("*I think* I'll try that.").

Equally to example 1 taken from *MYW 5,* the communicative behaviour attributed to 'Kevin' and 'Daniela' in this listening task enforces the stereotype that women are more indecisive than men, and, thus, need guidance and advice. However, it must be noted that the scene takes place in England, where the Austrian character 'Daniela' visits her English friend 'Kevin'. Thus, it could be argued that 'Daniela's' insecurity is a result of her being in a foreign country, whereas 'Kevin' is much more familiar with his surroundings. Nevertheless, I consider the fact that it is a *male* character who is shown as the 'expert' in this passage as a hint to the underlying discourses about gender the textbook reproduces.

'Public/professional' interactions

An interesting example of a 'public/professional' interaction in the 'general topics'-section of *SE* and *TN* is the listening task directly following the one analysed above (example 10). In this dialogue, 'Kevin' and 'Daniela' have finished their meal and are about to leave the restaurant. They are approached by the waitress and it soon becomes apparent that 'Kevin' takes up the cause of communicating with her:

> **01 Waitress:** did you enjoy your meal?
> **02 Daniela:** <enthusiastic> oh yes. thank you. it was delicious. </enthusiastic>
> **03 Kevin:** yes. it was very good.
> **04 Waitress:** would you like some coffee or dessert?
> **05 Kevin:** no thank you. can we have the bill please?

06 Waitress: yes. certainly.
07 Kevin {to Daniela}: if you'd like some coffee and cake we can go to the coffee company. it's right around the corner. we can sit outside on the pavement.
08 Daniela: well. why not. can we take a walk first?
09 Kevin: yes. good idea.
10 Waitress: here's your bill.
11 Daniela, Kevin: thanks.
12 Daniela {to Kevin}: let me see. is that <doubtful> 22 pounds 50? </doubtful>
13 Kevin {to Daniela}: yes. but that can't be right. {to Waitress} <loud> miss. </loud>
14 Waitress: yes?
15 Kevin: there must be a mistake. we had the seafood spaghetti a:nd and avocado and bacon salad =
16 Daniela: =and two glasses of mineral water.
17 Waitress: <apologetic> oh yes i see. that must be the wrong bill. i'm sorry. </apologetic>
18 Kevin: that's alright.

(example 11: *SE & TN Audio CD 1*, unit 22A, exercise 1, track 55)

As can be observed, it is 'Kevin' who answers the waitress' question if they would like a dessert, without taking 'Daniela's' wishes into consideration, and it is 'Kevin', who asks for the bill (turn 5). When the waitress leaves to prepare the bill for them, 'Kevin' informs 'Daniela' about the opportunity to have coffee and dessert at the 'coffee company' (turn 7). Although this idea seems to appeal to 'Daniela', 'Kevin' is the one taking the decision. What is further intriguing is the way 'Daniela' phrases *her* idea, namely that they take a walk before having coffee (turn 8): She does not directly express that she would like to take a walk, but she asks "*Can we* take a walk first?" (turn 8), which suggests that 'Kevin' has the final say. Moreover, 'Kevin' is shown to call the waitress' attention to the mistake on the bill (turns 13 & 15). All in all, it can be said that the male character is portrayed to do the major part of the 'public' talking in this interaction, while the female character 'Daniela' seems rather passive. However, when 'Kevin' lists what they had had, 'Daniela' quickly adds the two glasses of mineral water (turns 15 & 16). This could be interpreted as an attempt to resist the slightly inferior position she occupies in the dialogue and take action herself.

The second 'public/professional' interaction I chose to analyse in more detail is a telephone conversation between 'Daniela's' English host father 'Mr Pound' and a female doctor's receptionist, whom he calls for 'Daniela':

01 Mr Pound: hello. we've got a student from AUSTRIA staying with us. she's got an INSECT bite under the eye. her eye is BADLY swollen.
02 Receptionist (f): oh DEAR. e:r have you removed the sting?
03 Mr Pound: just a moment. {to Daniela} is there a sting?
04 Daniela: no.
05 Mr Pound {to receptionist}: erm there was no sting. er could she have an appointment? as soon as possible please.

06 Receptionist: yeah. she can come in at half past ten. e:r has she got health insurance?
07 Mr Pound: yes. she's got an insurance cheque (.) that's good in the european union.
08 Receptionist: oh that'll do. e:r in the meantime tell her to apply a COLD compress.
09 Mr Pound: i will. thank you very much. {to Daniela}: the doctor will see you at HALF PAST TEN. your insurance cheque is alright and you should apply a COLD compress.
10 Daniela: thank you very much mr pound.
(example 12: *SE & TN Audio CD 1*, unit 24A, exercise 4, track 59)

As this example illustrates, *SE* and *TN* promote both stereotypical and non-stereotypical occupational and social roles for women and men. On the one hand, the receptionist at the doctor's is shown to be a woman, a profession that is often associated with a 'feminine' workplace. On the other hand, a host *father* is depicted as caring for 'Daniela', instead of a host *mother*. Concerning the interactional styles of the participants, it is noteworthy that the receptionist's speaking behaviour makes her appear experienced and professional. Not only does she speak in a firm and confident way throughout the conversation, but she also seems very competent in providing 'Mr Pound' with first aid instructions, for instance she asks him whether the sting is removed and advises him to apply a cold compress on 'Daniela's' swollen eye (turns 2 & 8). Moreover, she makes sure that 'Daniela' has got health insurance, which hints at her familiarity with cases of foreigners visiting the medical practice (turn 6). In comparison to the receptionist, 'Mr Pound' is in an inferior position, since he is the one seeking help for 'Daniela'. It is evident that he does not possess the same expertise knowledge as the receptionist, for example he obviously did not think about checking if the sting was already removed or not before calling the doctor.

Nevertheless, the depicted dialogue does bear some interesting stereotypical representations of women and men. First and foremost, the example at hand seems to draw on the dominant discourse of the 'motherly woman', in this case the receptionist, who knows what to do and provides 'Mr Pound' with the necessary help and instructions. This impression is further strengthened by the expression "Oh dear!" (turn 2), which makes the receptionist appear very caring and compassionate. It is interesting that 'Mr Pound' is shown to need the receptionist's advice regarding the removal of the sting and the application of the cold compress. These first aid measures seem quite ordinary and it appears strange that they did not already come to 'Mr Pound's' mind. Hence, it can be argued that this portrayal of the situation enforces unfair gender stereotypes about women's and men's roles in childcare: Whereas the receptionist is

depicted as competent and caring, the male character 'Mr Pound' seems helpless and dependent on a woman's advice.

8.4. Salon English: 'situations at work'

8.4.1. Quantitative analysis

The listening tasks included in the 'situations at work'-section in *SE* provide five interactions that can be classified as 'private/personal' and 28 'public/professional' interactions. As tables 12 and 13 show, the total number of female 'types' is significantly higher than the number of male 'types' (27:17), as is the total number of appearances of women (41 for females, 32 for males).

The leading characters of the storyline are the apprentices Andrea, Diane and Thomas. What can be observed from tables 12 and 13 is that Thomas appears most often (eight times in total), whereas Diane appears six times and Andrea only five times. Interestingly, the male apprentice, Thomas, is involved in 'private/personal' talk more often than the other two, while the distribution of appearances in 'public/professional' talk is equal among the three characters. All in all, men contribute more in 'private/personal' conversations: As table 14 illustrates, about 56 % of the words uttered in 'private/personal' interactions are spoken by men and only about 44 % are produced by female characters. However, the situation is different in 'public/professional' talk, where women speak about 57 % of all words, whereas men only contribute about 43 % (table 14).

A remarkable point in the distribution of social/occupational roles is that the number of female clients at hairdressers and beauty salons is more than 50 % higher than the number of male clients (13:6) (tables 12 & 13). What is even more striking about the female and male clients appearing in *SE*, is the fact that the female clients' names are mentioned frequently, including titles revealing the marital status of some women ('*Mrs* Cook', '*Mrs* Graham', but '*Ms* Hoover', etc.). Besides, some of the female clients appear more than once throughout the units. By comparison, all of the male clients remain anonymous (except from 'Mark', a little boy accompanied by his mother), and each of them appears only once (table 13). Thus, stereotypes about women being more

concerned with their appearance and visiting hairdressers or beauty salons more regularly than men might be enforced. In addition, the number of total appearances of male and female 'hair and beauty experts' (including stylists, beauty therapists, barbers, chiropodists, receptionists, 'experts' and the owners of hairdressing salons) in work-related interactions is the same (14:14). This is remarkable, considering that, overall, women 'types' appear more often in 'public/professional' talk (36 for females, 26 for men). As can be observed, women tend to be represented as 'passive consumers' of beauty services, while men are shown to occupy the active roles of professionals.

8.4.2. Qualitative analysis

'Private/personal' interactions

Among the few 'private/personal' interactions to be found in the 'situations at work'-section in *SE*, one dialogue features the two main characters 'Diane' and 'Thomas', talking about their plans for the near future. Both characters are apprentices and are about to take their final exams. As regards the speaking behaviour depicted in this example, both characters' contribution to the conversation is relatively balanced and neither seems to dominate the dialogue. 'Thomas' initiates the conversation by asking 'Diane' about her plans for the summer. In the further course of the interaction, he is shown to pose more questions, encouraging 'Diane' to keep talking about her plans:

> **01 Thomas:** what are you going to do this summer?
> **02 Diane:** well. first of all i'll take care of school. my final exam will be at the end of june.
> **03 Thomas:** good luck.
> **04 Diane:** thanks. and THEN i'm going to move to eastbourne.
> **05 Thomas:** <surprised> to eastbourne? </surprised>
> **06 Diane:** yes. i'm going to start a new job in september. before that i'll have to fix up a flat.
> **07 Thomas:** fix up a flat ey?
> **08 Diane:** yes. i'm going to share a flat. with a friend of mine.
> (**example 13.1.:** *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 45B, exercise 3, track 51)

As we can see, 'Thomas' is shown to give supportive feedback and formulates rather open questions, thereby inviting 'Diane' to elaborate on her future projects. He appears very interested. In the second half of the dialogue, 'Thomas' indirectly shifts the topic towards his own plans (turn 9). By offering his help to fix up 'Diane's' new flat, he reveals that he is going to work in England (turn 11):

> **09 Thomas:** maybe i can help you.

10 Diane: what? fixing up the flat?
11 Thomas: yes. i'm going to move to brighton.
12 Diane: <surprised> you mean you're going to work in ENGland? </surprised>
13 Thomas: yes. for a while.
14 Diane: where are you going to LIVE?
15 Thomas: i don't know yet. e:r the company promised to help.
16 Diane: good luck then. <doubtful> and (.) you REALLY want to help us decorate the flat? </doubtful>
17 Thomas: well (.) yes.
18 Diane: thank you very much. how can i reach you?
19 Thomas: i'll call you when i get to brighton.
20 Diane: thanks. and all the best.
     (**example 13.2.:** *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 45B, exercise 3, track 51)

Although the conversation is quite balanced on the whole in terms of amount of speech and turn taking, it is interesting that it is the male character 'Thomas', who is portrayed as adventurous enough to leave the country and work abroad. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that 'Thomas' offers 'Diane' to help her with the flat, whereas 'Diane' does not return this offer when she learns that 'Thomas' too is going to move. This hints at the widely believed stereotype that men are more technically skilled than women, and that women thus depend on their help when it comes to tasks requiring manual work.

'Public/professional' interactions

Since the 'situations at work'-section of *SE* deals with topics related to hair and beauty professions, there are many activities dealing with health and how to lead a healthy lifestyle. One example I chose to analyse depicts a radio interview with a female expert on food. She is interviewed by a male radio presenter. On the whole, both of the participants employ relatively informal language and the atmosphere during the interview seems rather casual. Both the female and the male character are depicted as confident and secure when talking in 'public', live 'on air', and their exchange is rather humorous:

01 Interviewer (m): welcome to our (.) weekly health food programme (.) today about fast food.
02 Melanie Preston: what's healthy about fast food?
03 Interviewer: ah yes (.) and our guest today is melanie preston.
04 Melanie Preston: hello.
     (**example 14.1.:** *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 29B, exercise 3, track 19)

The female expert, 'Melanie', confidently enters the conversation by making a joke (turn 2), even before the interviewer finds the time to introduce her to the audience. However, in the further course of the dialogue, the interviewer retains control of the

conversation. By posing his questions very quickly, he determines what 'Melanie' is going to talk about. Instead of asking general questions about a healthy diet, he proposes a variety of clearly unhealthy dishes and expects 'Melanie' to explain why they should not be consumed too often:

> **05 Interviewer:** what's healthy about fast food?
> **06 Melanie:** yes. take a hamburger for instance=
> **07 Interviewer:** =well what's wrong with a GOOD (.) LEAN beefburger?
> **08 Melanie:** it's high in calories. and even a lean burger contains FOUR teaspoons of saturated fat in 100 grams=
> **09 Interviewer:** =sounds awful. what about a hotdog?
> **10 Melanie:** <@> that's </@> even worse. LOTS of fat (.) HIGH in calories (.) NO vitamins (.) NO fibre.
> **11 Interviewer:** then where do i get my proteins?
> **12 Melanie:** have you tried fish? contains a lot of protein and it's low in saturated fat.=
> **13 Interviewer:** =fish and chips then and a coke.
> **14 Melanie:** <disgusted> oh: yuk. </disgusted> fried fish is soaked in oil and so are chips. and coke is high in sugar.
> […]
> **(example 14.2.:** *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 29B, exercise 3, track 19)

As example 14.2. shows, the interviewer returns 'Melanie's' initial remark "What's healthy about fast food?" to her (turn 5). However, he interrupts 'Melanie' when she sets out to answer his question and assumes that she is going to point out why hamburgers are unhealthy (turn 7). At this point, it becomes evident that the interviewer appreciates fast food, since he asks "What's wrong with a *good, lean* hamburger?" This question, although humorous, appears rather provocative and suggests that the interviewer does not completely take the topic seriously. What is noteworthy is that the answers of the female expert get shorter in the course of the interview. Before the first interruption, it seems as if she intended to give a more detailed answer (turn 6). Similarly, her answer to the second question (turn 8) consists of full declarative sentences and contains detailed information on the nutritional value of hamburgers. In contrast, the third answer resembles a mere list of bullet points, summarising the nutrients of hotdogs rather superficially (turn 10). It seems that 'Melanie' adapted her speaking style to the interviewer's quick, informal interactional behaviour.

Furthermore, it is interesting to reflect on the stereotypical roles the interactants assume: When 'Melanie' indicates that hamburgers and hotdogs are not healthy, the interviewer acts baffled and wants to know where he should get *his* proteins instead (turn 11). By making use of humour and acting as if he is not familiar with a healthy diet at all, the male character fits in with the cliché of the tough 'macho', who needs a 'proper' meal,

consisting predominantly of meat. This portrayal provides a stark contrast to the depiction of the female expert, who obviously prefers a healthier diet, which is often associated with 'femininity'.

The next example I decided to discuss in more detail is characteristic of the listening tasks to be found in the 'situations at work'-section of *SE*. It represents a typical scene at a hair salon, in which a female client consults a male stylist about which hair colour to choose. In general, *SE* depicts several male hairdressers and beauty professionals, which must be positively highlighted, as it breaks with prevailing gender stereotypes regarding 'feminine' and 'masculine' jobs. As can be seen in the example below, the male stylist employs features of interactional style as well as lexical features that are stereotypically associated with 'feminine' talk. For example, he uses specific colour terms, such as 'garnet red' or 'medium brown', to advise his client on which colour to choose (turn 4):

> **01 Client (f):** would this shade of red be too dark? what do you think?
> **02 Stylist (m):** this one here?
> **03 Client:** yes.
> **04 Stylist:** mhm: (.) that seems to be (.) garnet red. well. why not? i i think it would suit you. your (.) your natural haircolour is medium brown so it's just (.) it's just a little DARKER.
> **(example 15.1.:** *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 23B, exercise 2, track 7)

In addition, the stylist is shown to use hedging strategies quite frequently during the consultation, thereby avoiding to stress his 'expert' status too directly. Instead of saying "That's garnet red and it suits you," he mitigates his judgement by using the formulation "That *seems* to be garnet red. *well, why not? I think* it *would* suit you" (turn 4). In the further course of the consultation, the stylist is shown to respond to his client patiently and seems to focus on the client's wellbeing, rather than on finishing her hair as quickly as possible. In other words, he is depicted as person- and process-oriented, rather than outcome-oriented, which is stereotypically associated with 'feminine' interactional style. This is illustrated by his polite communicative behaviour, which entails that it is the client who controls the course of the conversation through posing several questions, and not the stylist. Furthermore, he does not influence the client's choice, but only offers her all possible opportunities of colouring her hair (turns 11-17):

> **05 Client:** and the streaks?
> **06 Stylist:** we'll make them a bit lighter and more INTENsive. e:r i'll show you on the shade card. here.
> **07 Client:** aha:
> **08 Stylist:** so. this will be garnet (.) and this lighter shade here for the streaks.

09 Client: yeah. that'll look pretty good.
10 Stylist: right.
11 Client: and (.) how long will the colour last?
12 Stylist: that depends on what we USE. semi-permanent or permanent colours.
13 Client: a semi-permanent colour?
14 Stylist: that'll fade out gradually after six to eight shampoos. and you'll have no regrowth.
15 Client: and a permanent colour?
16 Stylist: that'll grow out. about one centimetre per month.
17 Client: aha: (.) then let's do a semi-permanent colour.
18 Stylist: all right. we'll start with the streaks then. and (.) THEN we'll put on the garnet.
    (example 15.2.: *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 23B, exercise 2, track 7)

Example 15 supports the postmodern feminist notion that communicative behaviour does not depend on a person's gender, but can be related to the communities of practice, in which a certain individual engages. The stylist in this example clearly belongs to the CoP of hair and beauty professionals. As a consequence, he is shown to adopt the discursive practices prominent among hairdressers and stylists, which include politeness and regard towards the customers, as well as technical vocabulary, such as precise colour terms.

8.5. Talking Networks: 'situations at work'

8.5.1. Quantitative analysis of listening tasks

The 'situations at work'-section of *TN* contains eleven 'private/personal' interactions and 19 'public/professional' interactions among the listening tasks examined. The number of male and female 'types' is fairly balanced: In total, there are 17 female characters and 18 male ones (tables 15 & 16). Although the difference between total appearances of women and men is small, male characters appear slightly more often in total (32:29). As can be seen in tables 15 and 16, both men and women appear almost equally in 'private/personal' talk (12 times for women, 11 times for men). However, in 'public/professional' interactions the number of male 'tokens' is slightly higher than the number of female 'tokens' (21:17).

The main characters of the storyline are the apprentices Kathryn, Tina, Andreas and Peter. Andreas appears most often in total (9 times), followed by Kathryn (7 times), Peter (4 times) and Tina (4 times) (tables 15 & 16). It is interesting that neither Kathryn nor Tina are depicted to engage in 'public/professional' talk, whereas from both male apprentices, at least Andreas is involved in 'professional' dialogues twice.

Regarding the distribution of social/occupational roles, the number of female and male 'experts', working in the field of electrical engineering, is equal: Overall, there are nine female 'experts' and nine male 'experts' to be found in the 'situations at work'-section of *TN*, including employees of electrical shops, electricians, several electronic 'experts', trainers, engineers, and many more. Likewise, the total number of students, apprentices and trainees is fairly balanced, with six female 'student'-characters and five male ones. It seems noteworthy, however, that the professions of the male 'experts' are more varied and described in greater detail, including a marketing director ('Mr Fox'), an engineer, an energy expert with Global 2000 ('Mr Green'), a technician, a lecturer, a sound engineer and a business manager ('Mr Cook'). By comparison, women are either shown in less prestigious positions or simply introduced as 'experts', without more detail on their actual field of expertise provided. For example, women are depicted as shop assistants in shops for electronic devices, electricians, and instructors or trainers for apprentices. As a result, the male roles seem more impressive and credible.

As table 17 shows, female characters talk more in dialogues that were classified as 'private/personal' than men: 58.5 % of words are spoken by women in more 'private' contexts, whereas men produce only about 41.5 % of the total number of words. The amount of speech is more fairly distributed in 'public/professional' conversations, where both female and male characters speak about 50% of the total number of words.

8.5.2. Qualitative analysis of listening tasks

'Private/personal' interactions

An interesting depiction of a 'private/personal' conversation in the 'situations at work'-section of *TN* is an interaction between the two friends 'Andreas' and 'Tina'. The listening task starts by 'Andreas' complaining about the batteries of his portable stereo:

> **01 Andreas:** <annoyed> oh NO. the batteries are gone AGAIN. </annoyed>
> **02 Tina:** you spend a lot on batteries for your portable stereo. don't you?
> **03 Andreas:** <frustrated> yes i DO. mhm: </frustrated>
>   (**example 16.1.:** *SE Audio CD 2*, unit 11B, exercise 3, track 45)

As we can see, 'Tina' uses 'Andreas'' remark as an opportunity to point out that her friend spends "a lot on batteries" (turn 2). By phrasing this utterance as a declarative, followed by a tag question, she indirectly determines the response she expects from

'Andreas', thereby subtly controlling the further course of the conversation. When 'Andreas' meets her expectation by admitting that he indeed spends a lot of money on batteries (turn 3), 'Tina' continues to control the dialogue by posing another question that obviously serves a specific purpose (turn 4):

> **04 Tina:** what sort of batteries do you use then?
> **05 Andreas:** alkaline.
> (**example 16.2.:** *SE Audio CD 2*, unit 11B, exercise 3, track 45)

The point 'Tina' is getting at is finally revealed, when she asks 'Andreas' why he does not use rechargeable batteries instead:

> **06 Tina:** <surprised> why don't you use rechargeable batteries? </surprised>
> **07 Andreas:** <disapproving> i don't like them. </disapproving> i once tried nickel cadmium cells. they only lasted HALF the time my alkaline had lasted (.) and they cost four times as much.
> (**example 16.3:** *SE Audio CD 2*, unit 11B, exercise 3, track 45)

Evidently, 'Tina' is trying to persuade her friend to use rechargeable batteries, instead of 'alkaline'. However, she chooses not to hand out the advice openly and directly, but poses questions intended to make 'Andreas' aware of the drawbacks himself (turns 2 & 4). This strategy could be interpreted as an attempt to maintain equality and solidarity between them, and mitigate the potential face threat. On the contrary, 'Andreas' disagrees directly with 'Tina' by stating that he doesn't like rechargeable batteries (turn 7). Instead of confronting his objection and risking an argument, 'Tina' is depicted to attend to 'Andreas'' thoughts and admit that nicads have their downsides as well (turns 8 & 10). As the conversation continues 'Andreas' resists 'Tina's' advice by pointing out numerous negative aspects of the batteries she recommends (turns 9, 11 & 18):

> **08 Tina:** <admitting> that's right. nicad's are more expensive than alkaline. </admitting> but in the long run they are CHEAPER because you can recharge them (.) at least 500 times.
> **09 Andreas:** i'd need to buy a CHARGER then.
> **10 Tina:** <admitting> mhm: yes. </admitting> i still think rechargeable batteries are more cost-effective. of course they have their drawbacks too. nicads tend to die suddenly (.) so it's good to have recharged cells at hand.
> **11 Andreas:** does that mean i'd need twice as many nicads as alkaline?
> **12 Tina:** yes. to run down a first set while you recharge a second one. it's important to drain them completely before you charge them again.
> **13 Andreas:** why's that?
> **14 Tina:** nicads have this memory effect. if you recharge them before they're drained they lose capacity.
> **15 Andreas:** <doubtful> mh: THAT doesn't sound so good. </doubtful>
> **16 Tina:** only nicads have this memory effect. other types like nickel metal hydride o:r (.) lithium ione batteries don't have this effect. and they'd run your stereo nearly TWICE as long.
> **17 Andreas:** so i should rather take one of those?

18 Tina: well (.) they're even more expensive than nicads.
19 Andreas: <disappointed> oh NO. </disappointed>
    (**example 16.4:** *SE Audio CD 2*, unit 11B, exercise 3, track 45)

In the end, 'Tina' does not succeed in convincing 'Andreas' of the benefits of using rechargeable batteries. As regards gender representation, it is noteworthy that 'Tina' is portrayed as possessing a lot of technical knowledge. Hence, she is in the position of giving advice to her male friend 'Andreas', who seems to know less about the subject. However, 'Tina's' interactional behaviour resembles many stereotypes about women. First and foremost, she is represented as avoiding open discussions and conflicts, since she tends to convey her opinion indirectly. As a result, she appears manipulative in the first part of the conversation, which might explain 'Andreas'' dismissive attitude. Despite her expertise, she is shown to fail in convincing the male character, which weakens her credibility.

'Public/professional' interactions

As the quantitative analysis of listening tasks in *TN* already revealed, the textbook promotes the portrayal of female characters in professions that are frequently assumed to be 'male domains'. Likewise, the first example chosen for the qualitative analysis at hand depicts a female shop assistant at 'Time Computer Systems', who conducts a sales conversation with a male customer. She is shown to illustrate her competence and expertise by pointing out all the technical details of the product in question. On the whole, her speaking behaviour suggests confidence and experience in dealing with customers. Although she lists various technical features and numbers, she does never use any fillers or hedging strategies, which might indicate insecurity or weaken her status as an expert. In contrast, the male customer's communicative behaviour suggests that he is less familiar with technical devices and has not yet a clear idea of the product he wants to buy:

01 shop assistant (f): good morning. what can i do for you?
02 customer (m): <hesitant> i:'m looking for a notebook. i need it at home (.) a:nd for school.
03 shop assistant: come with me plea:se.
04 customer: mhm
05 shop assistant: here's our offer to start you at school.
06 customer: mh: (.) a 15-inch power book?
07 shop assistant: right. a 15 point 2 inch tft display with a resolution of 1440 by 900. AND a backlit keyboard. the housing is lightweight aluminium alloy (.) about two and a half kilos. here. lift it.
08 customer: mhm
    (**example 17.1.:** *SE Audio CD 2*, unit 14B, exercise 2, track 51)

As can be seen in the dialogue above, the shop assistant is able to present her customer a suitable notebook at once. Whereas she clearly dominates the conversation by providing the male character with a considerable amount of information, the customer is portrayed as giving feedback now and then (turns 4 & 8). The fact that he seems to have less knowledge about notebooks and software programmes than the shop assistant is further highlighted towards the end of the conversation (turns 10 & 11):

> **09 shop assistant:** still it has ALL you need (.) even for business use. a 100 gigabite hard drive with a processor speed of two gigahertz. the one gigabite ram is expendable up to two point 5 gigabite. 128 megabite of graphics memory support all your ilife multimedia applications.
> **10 customer:** <uncertain> like e:r what? </uncertain>
> **11 shop assistant:** well. there is a programme to edit your photos. you can watch movies on dvd with a double layer dvd drive or make your own (.) plug in your camera (.) here (.) and the movie editor helps you make your own (.) on dvd. of course you can download songs and burn your own cds.
> **12 customer:** sounds great.
> **13 shop assistant:** wait until you hear the price. {fade out}
>   (**example 17.2.:** *SE Audio CD 2*, unit 14B, exercise 2, track 51)

Obviously, the customer is pleased with the detailed advice he received (turn 12). Similarly to the dialogue in *SE* discussed above, between the stylist and his client (example 14), this listening exercise challenges stereotypical portrayals of women and men. Again, the example can be analysed by considering the specific community of practice, which the shop assistant is a member of. As a salesperson for computers, she is depicted to draw on the same discursive practices and interactional styles as her male colleagues would.

8.6. Comparison and discussion of findings

In the following sections, I intend to compare the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the textbooks under consideration and provide a brief discussion of these findings.

8.6.1. Comparison and discussion of quantitative results

As can be observed from the quantitative analysis, there are significantly more 'public/professional' than 'private/personal' interactions to be found in all of the four textbooks. Interestingly, men are generally shown to contribute more in 'private/personal' situations than women in each textbook, except from the 'situations at

work'-section of *TN*, where women produce more words than men in 'private/personal' interactions. However, it is important to note that only because the context and number of participants of a specific interaction suggest that it is a rather 'private' conversation, it does not reveal much about the actual content of the dialogue. Interactions that are shown to take place between two close friends can nevertheless be dominated by 'report talk', instead of rapport, which, then, does not contradict commonly held stereotypes about men's and women's interactional style.

As regards the amount of speech in 'public/professional' interactions, the number of words spoken by women and men in *MYW 5* and the 'situations at work'-section in *TN* is relatively balanced. In contrast, *PT 5,* the 'general topics'-section of *SE* and *TN* as well as the job-related units in *SE* show significant differences between the amount of speech produced by women and men. Whereas male characters speak considerably more in 'public/professional' interaction in *PT 5* and the 'general topics'-section of *SE* and *TN*, women contribute more in 'public/professional' dialogues in *SE*. The latter is not surprising, considering the higher number of female 'types' and 'tokens' in the job-related units of *SE*.

Concerning the overall number of female and male characters ('types') in the listening tasks examined, it can be said that women are slightly underrepresented in all of the textbooks, except from the 'situations at work'-section in *SE,* which depicts considerably more female 'types' than male ones. This is intriguing, since the job-related units of *SE* predominantly deal with a professional domain that is typically associated with 'femininity'. Hence, it can be concluded that gender equality is still not completely achieved in the EFL textbooks at hand, despite the establishment of the educational principle of 'education to equality between women and men' in Austria. However, it is noteworthy that the 'situations at work'-section provided in *TN* displays only minor gender imbalances, albeit dealing with a professional domain stereotypically associated with 'masculine' workplaces. Apparently, the various campaigns to promote gender equality in usually male-dominated professions have also affected the design of this EFL textbook for apprentices of electrical engineering. Sadly, the same does not hold true for stereotypically 'female' professions, as can be seen in *SE*.

As regards the social and occupational roles of women and men, it can be noted that, on the whole, the number of different roles is balanced in *MYW 5* and *PT 5*. However, both

the 'general topics' and 'situations at work'-sections of *SE* and *TN* tend to present male characters in a slightly greater variety of social/occupational roles. In addition, female characters tend to be shown in less prestigious professional or social positions, especially in the units dealing with 'general topics'. This fact reveals a very subtle gender bias in *SE* and *TN*.

Lastly, it must be critically pointed out that none of the examined listening tasks includes characters that are explicitly shown to digress the heterosexual norm. All participants in the dialogues could be clearly assigned to either the 'female' or 'male' category, also due to the contextual descriptions of the characters in question or on the basis of the names and titles they were given in the included CD-scripts.

8.6.2. Comparison and discussion of qualitative findings

In the beginning, I consider it vital to note once again that the findings of the qualitative analysis at hand do not allow general conclusions about the promotion of gender equality or stereotypes in the textbooks *as a whole*. Rather it provides an exemplary selection of different instances of how gender is constructed and represented along, but also against certain linguistic gender stereotypes.

All in all, many of the examples under consideration enforce the notion that women and men employ different interactional styles, thereby supporting dominant, heteronormative discourses about gender. As could be shown, the two EFL textbooks for upper-secondary schools, *MYW 5* and *PT 5*, contain several examples promoting the stereotypical assumption that women are more cooperative, person- and process-oriented and less direct and confrontational than men. Furthermore, the examined dialogues suggest that men tend to control conversations more and are more likely to negotiate status through the language they use, whereas female characters seem to stress solidarity and equality, especially in same-sex talk. Examples containing sexist language and indirect sexism in the form of highly stereotyped portrayals of female/male interactional behaviour seemed to be particularly frequent in *PT 5*.

In the dialogues taken from the 'general topics'-section of *SE* and *TN*, the situation is similar: Female characters tend to be portrayed as more insecure, hesitant and indecisive than male ones. Besides, they seem less autonomous due to the speaking behaviour that

is attributed to them. However, in the 'situations at work'-section of *SE* and *TN*, examples challenging stereotypical gender representations can be found. Both women and men are portrayed as experts in the respective professional domains of both textbooks (hair and beauty professions and electrical engineering). As can be seen in the selected examples, women and men are shown to employ the same communicative patterns and strategies established in the discursive practices of their respective communities of practice. Hence, it can be said that these examples of listening dialogues to be found in the job-related units of *SE* and *TN* contribute to the transformation of prevailing perceptions of linguistic gender differences.

9. Conclusion

The diploma thesis at hand intended to provide an analysis of how gender is constructed and represented through language and interactional styles portrayed in the listening dialogues of contemporary EFL textbooks used in Austria. Therefore, I adopted a postmodern feminist stance, arguing that static notions of a binary gender system must be overcome in favour of a dynamic approach. Hence, the first part of this thesis established the theoretical preliminaries necessary to gain an understanding of major aims and concepts of feminist theory, and the crucial role of language for feminist endeavours. It provided an outline of the three 'waves' of feminism, which were then related to developments and different approaches in the study of language and gender. In doing so, I pointed out the differences of a 'modern' and a 'postmodern' feminist approach to issues of language and gender.

At this point it seems vital to me to address one of the ambiguities of adopting a dynamic approach to study linguistic gender representation in textbooks, namely that one seems to rely on the same dichotomous terms that one seeks to overcome. As Freed (2003: 705) acknowledges, it bears a certain contradiction to use "the words *female* and *male* and *woman* and *man* while arguing against the immutable nature of the very categories that these terms are said to name [original emphasis]". Although it is difficult to go beyond these limitations of our language, it seems imperative to me to maintain an awareness of this dilemma in order to avoid falling into the trap of "put[ting] essentialism out through the front door, only to let it in again at the back" (Talbot 2010: 13).

112

In the second part of this thesis I discussed the important part education plays in the reproduction or transformation of hegemonic discourses on gender, based on the Foucauldian discourse theory. In doing so, the second part of this thesis sheds light on the question why an analysis of linguistic gender construction in EFL textbooks can prove valuable for the demystification of the hidden sexual politics employed. Moreover, various measures to promote gender equality through EFL teaching and the design of EFL textbooks were pointed out.

The final part of this thesis was dedicated to the empirical analysis of gender construction and representation in the listening dialogues to be found in four different EFL textbooks used at Austrian schools. In particular, the analysis focused on textbooks approbated for upper-secondary schools (AHS-Oberstufe) and vocational schools (Berufsschule). By following a mixed-methods approach, including both a quantitative analysis and a qualitative study, the empirical part of my thesis should show whether the textbooks in question promoted the notion of a 'two-gender-system' as well as gender polarisation by emphasising gender differences and stereotypes, regarding the communicative behaviour of women and men. It could be shown that all of the textbooks indeed enforced the discourse of heteronormativity and stereotypical representations of 'male' and 'female' interactional style could be detected in many of the examples under consideration. However, on a more positive note, some examples of listening dialogues to be found in the two textbooks for vocational schools, dealing with job-related issues, could be shown to overcome such linguistic stereotypes.

Ultimately, it seems that folklinguistic, 'taken-for-granted' assumptions about the communicative behaviour of men and women are still reflected in textbook-dialogues for EFL teaching, although first tendencies to break with such gender stereotypes can be observed. Therefore, it is important, especially for EFL teachers, to approach the interactions depicted in textbooks critically and, at the same time, foster their students' critical awareness. After all, it depends on the actual use of a text in the classroom that determines whether gender stereotypes are enforced or challenged.

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Appendix I

Results of quantitative analysis of listening tasks in *Make Your Way 5*

- **Table 3.** *MYW 5*: Appearances of women and men in 'private/personal', 'public/professional' and 'neutral' interactions, with total numbers of female/male appearances

- **Table 3.1.** *MYW 5:* Appearances of women and men in 'private/personal', 'public/professional' and 'neutral' interactions

- **Table 4.** *MYW 5:* Amount of speech of women and men in 'private/personal', 'public/professional' and 'neutral' interactions

- **Table 5.** *MYW 5:* Occupational/social roles of women/men in the interactions, with frequencies

Results of quantitative analysis of listening tasks in *Prime Time 5*

- **Table 6.** *PT 5:* Appearances of women and men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions, with total numbers of female/male appearances

- **Table 6.1.** *PT 5:* Appearances of women and men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

- **Table 7.** *PT 5:* Amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere

- **Table 8.** *PT 5:* Occupational/social roles of women/men in the interactions, with frequencies

Results of quantitative analysis of listening tasks in *Salon English* and *Talking Networks*: 'general topics'

- **Table 9.** *SE* and *TN* ('general topics'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of women in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

- **Table 10.** *SE* and *TN* ('general topics'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

- **Table 11.** *SE* and *TN* ('general topics'): Amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere

Results of quantitative analysis of listening tasks in *Salon English*: 'situations at work'

- **Table 12.** *SE* ('situations at work'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of women in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

- **Table 13.** *SE* ('situations at work'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions
- **Table 14.** *SE* ('situations at work'): Amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere

Results of quantitative analysis of listening tasks in *Talking Networks*: 'situations at work'

- **Table 15.** *TN* ('situations at work'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of women in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions
- **Table 16.** *TN* ('situations at work'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions
- **Table 17.** *TN* ('situations at work'): Amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere

Table 3. *MYW 5*: Appearances of women and men in 'private/personal', 'public/professional' and 'neutral' interactions, with total numbers of female/male appearances

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS	'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	'NEUTRAL' INTERACTIONS	TOTAL APPEARANCES OF WOMEN/MEN
women	2	24	24	50
% of total appearances	1.980	23.762	23.762	49.505
men	6	25	20	51
% of total appearances	5.941	24.752	19.802	50.495
total number of male and female characters	8	49	44	101

Table 3.1. *MYW 5:* Appearances of women and men in 'private/personal', 'public/professional' and 'neutral' interactions

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS			'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS			'NEUTRAL' INTERACTIONS		
	women	men	total	women	men	total	women	men	total
number of appearances	2	6	8	24	25	49	24	20	44
%	25 %	75 %	100 %	48.98 %	51.02 %	100 %	54.54 %	45.45 %	100 %

Table 4. *MYW 5:* Amount of speech of women and men in 'private/personal', 'public/professional' and 'neutral' interactions

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS			'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS			'NEUTRAL' INTERACTIONS		
	women	men	total	women	men	total	women	men	total
number of words	69	2614	2683	5778	4772	10550	2374	1481	3855
%	2.572 %	97.428 %	100 %	54.768 %	45.232 %	100 %	61.58 %	38.41 %	100%

Table 5. *MYW 5:* **Occupational/social roles of women/men in the interactions, with frequencies**

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS		'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS		'NEUTRAL' INTERACTIONS	
	women	men	women	men	women	men
speaker	0	0	0	0	19	19
listener	1	0	0	0	5	1
narrator	0	1	0	0	0	0
pupil holding a presentation	0	0	0	2	0	0
interviewer	0	0	5	5	0	0
interviewee (non-expert)	0	0	6	4	0	0
interviewee (expert)	0	0	4	3	0	0
comedian	0	0	0	1	0	0
host of radio show, TV show, discussion forums, etc.	0	0	1	2	0	0
official/passer-by providing travel information	0	0	1	2	0	0
traveller/person asking for information	0	0	3	3	0	0
teacher/lecturer/expert giving a talk	0	0	2	0	0	0
news presenter/reporter	0	0	1	1	0	0
waitress/waiter	0	0	0	1	0	0
customer	0	0	1	1	0	0
friend	1	5	0	0	0	0
total	2	6	24	25	24	20

Table 6. *PT 5:* **Appearances of women and men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions, with total numbers of female/male appearances**

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS	'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOTAL APPEARANCES
women	8	15	23
% of total appearances	16.00	30.00	46.00
men	10	17	27
% of total appearances	20.00	34.00	54.00
total	18	32	50

Table 6.1. *PT 5:* **Appearances of women and men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions**

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS			'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS		
	women	men	total	women	men	total
number of appearances	8	10	18	15	17	32
%	44.44 %	55.556 %	100 %	46.87 %	53.125%	100 %

Table 7. *PT 5:* **Amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere**

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS			'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS		
	women	men	total	women	men	total
number of words	1088	1513	2601	2366	2932	5298
%	41.83 %	58.17 %	100 %	44.658 %	55.342 %	100 %

Table 8. *PT 5:* **Occupational/social roles of women/men in the interactions, with frequencies**

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS		'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	
	women	men	women	men
classmate	0	0	1	2
tourist guide (providing information)	0	0	0	2
tourist (asking for information)	0	0	2	1
passer-by	0	0	2	0
interviewer	0	0	1	1
interviewee (non-expert)	0	0	1	1
interviewee (expert)	0	0	4	0
audience member (posing questions to 'expert')	0	0	0	1
personnel manager	0	0	1	1
job applicant	0	0	2	1
host of radio show, TV show, discussion forums, etc.	0	0	0	3
news presenter/reporter	0	0	1	0
waitress/waiter, employee at delivery service of restaurant	0	0	0	2
customer	0	0	0	2
friend	6	8	0	0
daughter	1	0	0	0
son	0	1	0	0
mother	1	0	0	0
father	0	1	0	0
total	8	10	15	17

129

Table 9. *SE* and *TN* ('general topics'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of women in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

	FEMALE TYPES	TOKENS: 'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOKENS: 'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOTAL APPEARANCES
1.	Ms Enders (teacher)	0	3	3
2.	Daniela Faber (student)	6	6	12
3.	female shop assistant	0	1	1
4.	Waitress	0	2	2
5.	Receptionist at doctor's	0	1	1
6.	Buky (exchange student)	0	2	2
7.	Monika	0	1	1
8.	Female radio speaker	0	1	1
9.	Female news reporter	0	1	1
	Total	6	18	24

Table 10. *SE* and *TN* ('general topics'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

	MALE TYPES	TOKENS: 'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOKENS: 'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOTAL APPEARANCES
1.	Travel agent	0	1	1
2.	Brian (exchange student in Austria)	1	0	1
3.	Male receptionist	0	2	2
4.	Male shop assistant	0	1	1
5.	Kevin (student from England)	4	2	6
6.	Male radio presenter (Howard Nightingall)	0	1	1
7.	Mr. Pound (host father)	1	1	2
8.	Tour guide	0	1	1
9.	Johann (student)	0	2	2
10.	Peter (student)	0	2	2
11.	Male interviewer	0	1	1
12.	Austrian friend	1	0	1
13.	American friend (John)	1	0	1
14.	Male radio presenter (Chris Davis)	0	1	1
	Total	8	15	23

Table 11. *SE* and *TN* ('general topics'): Amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS			'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS		
	women	men	total	women	men	total
number of words	318	371	689	996	1395	2391
%	46.154 %	53.846 %	100 %	41.656 %	58.344 %	100 %

Table 12. *SE* ('situations at work'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of women in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

	FEMALE TYPES	TOKENS: 'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOKENS: 'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOTAL APPEARANCES
1.	Mrs Cook (client at hairdressing salon)	0	2	2
2.	Andrea (apprentice)	2	3	5
3.	Female stylist 1	0	1	1
4.	Ms Hoover (client)	0	1	1
5.	Female receptionist at beauty salon	0	1	1
6.	Female customer at beauty salon 1	0	1	1
7.	Diane Parker (apprentice, exchange student)	3	3	6
8.	Mrs Graham (client)	0	2	2
9.	Female client at hairdressing salon	0	1	1
10.	Mrs Young (client)	0	1	1
11.	Female beauty therapist	0	2	2
12.	Female client at beauty salon 2	0	1	1
13.	Female client at beauty salon 3	0	1	1
14.	Masseuse	0	2	2
15.	Female client at chiropodist	0	1	1
16.	Female expert on fast food	0	1	1
17.	Julie (stylist)	0	1	1
18.	Mrs Parker (client)	0	2	2
19.	Female receptionist in London	0	1	1
20.	Mark's mother (client)	0	1	1
21.	Female stylist 2	0	1	1
22.	Ms Khaleba (expert-interviewee)	0	1	1

23.	Susan (stylist)	0	1	1
24.	Mrs Winter (client)	0	1	1
25.	Mrs Lindner (client)	0	1	1
26.	Ms Cooper (owner of salon in Eastbourne)	0	1	1
27.	Ms Evans (owner of hair workshop in Brighton)	0	1	1
	Total	5	36	41

Table 13. *SE* **('situations at work'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions**

	MALE TYPES	TOKENS: 'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOKENS: 'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOTAL APPEARANCES
1.	Male receptionist at hairdressing salon	0	2	2
2.	Male stylist	0	6	6
3.	Male client 1	0	1	1
4.	Thomas Thaler (apprentice)	5	3	8
5.	Barber	0	1	1
6.	Male client 2	0	1	1
7.	Male client 3	0	1	1
8.	Male chiropodist	0	1	1
9.	Male radio presenter	0	1	1
10.	Male interviewer	0	2	2
11.	Mr Davis (owner of salon in London)	0	1	1
12.	Male stylist	0	2	2
13.	Mark (client)	0	1	1
14.	Male client 4	0	1	1
15.	Male beauty therapist	0	1	1
16.	Male client 5	0	1	1
17.	Brian (exchange student)	1	0	1
	Total	6	26	32

Table 14. *SE* ('situations at work'): Amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS			'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS		
	women	men	total	women	men	total
number of words	287	370	657	2460	1871	4331
%	43.683	56.317	100%	56.8	43.2	100%

Table 15. *TN* ('situations at work'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of women in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

	FEMALE TYPES	TOKENS: 'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOKENS: 'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOTAL APPEARANCES
1.	Tina (student)	4	0	4
2.	Female expert	0	1	1
3.	Female interviewer	0	1	1
4.	Kathryn (exchange student, apprentice)	7	0	7
5.	Female shop assistant in electrical shop	0	2	2
6.	Female radio interviewer	0	3	3
7.	Ms Lindner (electrician)	0	1	1
8.	Female student 1	0	1	1
9.	Female friend/electronic expert	1	0	1
10.	Female expert (holding presentation)	0	1	1
11.	Female instructor	0	1	1
12.	Female apprentice	0	1	1
13.	Female student 2	0	1	1
14.	Female trainee	0	1	1
15.	Female expert (in discussion)	0	1	1
16.	Female trainer	0	1	1
17.	Ms Andreas (automotive electronics expert)	0	1	1
	Total	12	17	29

Table 16. *TN* ('situations at work'): Appearances and occupational/social roles of men in 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' interactions

	MALE TYPES	TOKENS: 'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOKENS: 'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS	TOTAL APPEARANCES
1.	Peter (apprentice)	4	0	4
2.	Male radio interviewer	0	2	2
3.	Mr Butcher (expert)	0	1	1
4.	Andreas Frank (apprentice)	7	2	9
5.	Male customer	0	2	2
6.	Mr Fox (marketing director)	0	1	1
7.	Male interviewer	0	1	1
8.	Male engineer	0	1	1
9.	Mr Green (energy expert with Global 2000)	0	1	1
10.	Male friend	0	1	1
11.	Male expert (holding presentation)	0	1	1
12.	Male student 1	0	1	1
13.	Male technician	0	1	1
14.	Male lecturer	0	1	1
15.	Male sound engineer	0	1	1
16.	Male student 2 (participating in discussion)	0	1	1
17.	Male trainee	0	1	1
18.	Mr Cook (business manager)	0	2	2
	Total	11	21	32

Table 17. *TN* ('situations at work'): Amount of speech of women and men in the 'private/personal' and 'public/professional' sphere

	'PRIVATE/PERSONAL' INTERACTIONS			'PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL' INTERACTIONS		
	women	men	total	women	men	total
number of words	1164	825	1989	1938	1944	3882
%	58.52	41.47	100%	49.92	50.07	100%

Appendix II

<u>Complete transcripts of listening dialogues</u>

- *MYW 5:* examples 1-5

- *PT 5:* examples 6-9

- *SE & TN* – 'general topics': 10-12

- *SE* – 'situations at work': 13-15

- *TN* – 'situations at work': 16-17

Example 1.

> **01 Matthew:** m: that does look good doesn't it?
> **02 Lisa:** yes it does. what are you going to have?
> **03 Matthew:** i think i'll have an onion bhajee first (.) and then i'll have (.) the sheek kabab (.)
>   what about you?
> **04 Lisa:** i don't think i'll have any starters. maybe just some plain poppadums (.) if you'll
>   share them with me?
> **05 Matthew:** yeah sure.
> **06 Lisa:** and the bombay aloo? (.) with some dahi.
> **07 Matthew:** er (.) it says here it's a little HOT. do you mind?=
> **08 Lisa:** =oh no i don't. as long as it means what it says? let's ask the waiter.

(**example 1:** *MYW 5 Audio-CD 2*, exercise 09, track 15)

Example 2.

> **01 Interviewer 1 (m):** esin (.) you have very PUBLICLY spoken out against the development
> plans for Kazanli beach saying that it will be DISASTROUS for the population of green turtles
> that nest there. the turtles have been nesting on the beaches of southern turkey for a very
> long time. why is it necessary to protect them NOW?
> **02 Esin:** turtles used to lay their eggs on beaches a:ll over the mediterranean but NOW they
> only nest on a few greek islands (.) the northern part of cyprus and the south coast of turkey.
> they no longer go to italian and spanish beaches. over the last twenty years we have seen
> their environment ALMOST disappear.
> **03 Interviewer 1:** a:nd this is because of HUMANS?
> **04 Esin:** EXACTLY. there has been too much development (.) too many hotels and holiday
> homes have been built. many of them ilLEGALLY. they take sand from the beach and this
> disturbs the nesting sites. the other problem is the SEA . it has been polluted and OVERfished
> for TOO long now.
> **05 Interviewer 1:** but surely TOURISM is very IMPORTANT for a country like turkey. can you
> really expect to stop people building hotels and other tourist facilities?=
> **06 Esin:** <alarmed> NO </alarmed>. but this must be done CAREFULLY and LEGALLY. the idea
> is to use the natural resources in a way that is good for ALL of us (.) humans AND animals.
> we're not against tourism so long as it is NOT going to damage the environment. this is why
> we continue to promote ECO tourism.
> **07 Interviewer 1:** what do you mean by eco tourism?
> **08 Esin:** well it's a way of trying to marry tourism with the environment so that people will
> still come to our country but we won't DAMAGE nature by doing this. <fast> for example
> </fast> many people come to Kazanli PRECISELY to see the turtles. <upset> but we have NO
> way of organising this </upset> . when the turtles disappear we will lose many tourists.
> **09 Interviewer 1:** why do SO many people disagree with you?
> **10 Esin:** <bitter> the people who disagree with us are usually the BUSINESSmen who are
> looking to make money </bitter>. they want to develop the la:nd (.) sell off their hotels and
> make a quick PROFIT. <brisk> as soon as they've made their money they'll be gone </brisk>.
> <enraged> they don't need to look to the future when the tourists have stopped coming
> because of the pollution caused by their developments because they won't be here anymore
> </enraged>.
> **11 Interviewer 1:** how do you see the future for the turtles?
> **12 Esin:** <gloomily> well (.) the future doesn't seem so bright. neither for HUMANS nor for
> SEA TURTLES. </gloomily> as i said (.) if people continue building hotels without thinking of

the future then soon the whole area will be a MESS and there won't be any turtles OR tourists.

<div align="center">(example 2: MYW 5 Audio-CD 1, exercise 13, track 13)</div>

Example 3.

01 Interviewer 2 (f): suleyman (.) you have a VERY nice restaurant here.
02 Suleyman: thank you.
03 Interviewer 2: how long have you and your family been here?
04 Suleyman: i was born here. a:nd so was my father. but he started the restaurant abou:t eight years ago (.) when the tourists first came to the beach.
05 Interviewer 2: what was it like here before?
06 Suleyman: <hesitant> well (.) we ha:d a small farm. </hesitant> very small. we used to grow er vegetables (.) tomatos (.) onions and so on. i used to go fishing with my big brother sometimes. it wa:s really quiet. BORING.
07 Interviewer 2: are you PLEA:SED that the tourists come here?
08 Suleyman: <delighted> YES (.) it's GREAT. i like a lot of people to talk to. </delighted> i've learnt english (.) that's because of the tourists. we work hard in the summer (.) but it's quiet in the winter. i usually go and visit my uncle in the city then.
09 Interviewer 2: so you must be EXCITED by the new development.
10 Suleyman: yes. the new hotels are going to be great for our business and for the economy of ALL the area.
11 Interviewer 2: but do the tourists spoil the natural surroundings?
12 Suleyman: someti:mes they leave rubbish on the beach. there were NO buildings before. <enthusiastic> but i like the hotels and the bars. it's more LIVELY and INTERESTING. </enthusiastic>
13 Interviewer 2: are you sorry that the WILDlife has left the beach?
14 Suleyman: <hesitant> i think there are a LOT of places for wildlife. </hesitant> PEOPLE want to live too.
15 Interviewer 2: what will it be like here in the future?
16 Suleyman: i think there will be more hotels. every year more people come here. they are going to build the new tourist village four kilometres from here. the complex is opening next april. <enthusiastic> I'M going to study and be a MANager because my brothers can stay here and look after the restaurant. </enthusiastic>

<div align="center">(example 3: MYW 5 Audio-CD 1, exercise 13, track 13)</div>

Example 4.

01 Man 1: excuse me? can you tell me where the nearest post office is?
02 Man 2: well there's one quite near here in SHIP street but you've MISSED that. it closes at midday on a saturday.
03 Man 1: damn=
04 Man 2: =what did you want it for?
05 Man 1: i just need to get some STAMPS to send these letters.
06 Man 2: you can get stamps at the newsagent's.
07 Man 1: really? is there a newsagent's around here?
08 Man 2: YEAH. there's morrison's. go straight ahead and take the <counting to himself> first (.) second (.) THIRD </counting to himself> road on the right. it's called something HOUSE street o:r (.) <fast> something like that. </fast> anyway. go right to the end and then turn RIGHT into market street. morrison's is on the other side of the road (.) opposite the junction with NILE road.
09 Man 1: opposite nile road?
10 Man 2: yeah (.) have you got that or do you want me to repeat it?
11 Man 1: no. that's alright thanks. i'm sure i'll find it. thanks a lot (.)

<div align="center">(example 4: MYW 5 Audio-CD 2, exercise 1, track 10)</div>

Example 5.

01 **Woman 1:** excuse me (.) do you know where i can find somewhere to fix my watch?
02 **Woman 2:** <caring> ye:ah. you need a jeweller's? </caring>
03 **Woman 1:** is there one near here?
04 **Woman 2:** there's one i know of in old steine. <apologetic> it's a bit of a walk. </apologetic>
05 **Woman 1:** how do i get there?
06 **Woman 2:** <hesitant> okay. </hesitant> take this street on the le:ft a:nd (.) walk straight down it. it turns into castle square half way along. a:nd then you need to take the first (.) <uncertain> right </uncertain> a:nd you'll be in old steine. e:rm (.) you'll see the jeweller's on the right hand side of the street (.) next to the (.) information office (.)
07 **Woman 1:** <insecure> so (.) </insecure> i go down THIS street and take the first <uncertain> right? </uncertain>
08 **Woman 2:** <cooperative> no. <cooperative/> take the first right when you get into CASTLE street. from here old steine's the (.) <uncertain> third street </uncertain> on the right i think?
09 **Woman 1:** okay. i think i've got that. thanks a lot.

(**example 5:** *MYW 5 Audio-CD 2,* exercise 2, track 10)

PT 5: examples 6-9

Example 6.

{mobile rings}
01 **Girl** {picks up the phone}**:** hey danielle. what's up?
02 **Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
03 **Girl:** oh i'm just waiting for brad.
04 **Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
05 **Girl:** no. heard WHAT?
06 **Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
07 **Girl:** <loud, upset> what about LINDSAY and BRAD? </loud, upset>
08 **Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
09 **Girl:** <screaming furiously> WHAT? </screaming furiously> that FAT cow was doing WHAT with my boyfriend at the mall?
10 **Danielle** {speaking on the phone}
11 **Girl:** <furious> so THAT's why he's late. i'm gonna KILL that bitch. oh my GOD. what a SLUT. and then i'm gonna kill HIM </furious>
[...]

(**example 6:** *PT 5 Audio-CD 2*, exercise 1a – "Who should respect whom?", track 8)

Example 7.

01 **Kelly:** hey guys. you know that video blog everyone's talking about?
02 **Danny:** huh?
03 **Adam:** {to Danny} she means that english guy on youtube. right kelly?
04 **Kelly:** right adam.
05 **Danny:** sorry. i'm still not with you on this.
06 **Kelly:** <scoffing> what planet are you living on danny? </scoffing>
07 **Adam:** {to Danny} there's a kid from england ok? his name is charlie mcdonald. and he filmed a video and posted it on youtube.
08 **Kelly:** his name is charlie mcDONNELL actually.
09 **Adam:** <annoyed> whatever </annoyed>

10 Kelly: he does this how to be english routine. <@> it's SO: funny. </@> you see him in a (.) <uncertain> well (.) i guess it's a suit. </uncertain> like some old man would wear. and THEN slowly (.) one step at a time (.) he shows you how to make a PERfect cup of tea. a MUG of tea actually.

11 Danny: <doubtfully> and THAT'S funny? </doubtfully>

12 Kelly: it is when you SEE it. <@> he LOOKS and SOUNDS so: weird. </@>

13 Danny: <dismissive> ALL english people sound weird. </dismissive>

14 Kelly: yeah. but this is (.) well (.) it's different. and he has this CRAzy expression on his face when he looks into the camera and gives the instructions for making tea. you just have to LAUGH when you SEE him. right adam?

15 Adam: well (.) i guess so. anyway. what were you going to say about the blog kelly?

16 Kelly: oh right. <@> yeah (.) i ALMOST forgot. </@> i just wanted to ask if you saw 'the VIEW' yesterday?

17 Adam: no. i don't watch daytime tv.

18 Kelly: <scoffing> a:nd you obviously didn't see it danny. </scoffing>

19 Danny: how do you know that?

20 Kelly: because we wouldn't have had to EXPLAIN about CHARLIE. his video was featured on yesterday's show. <excited> they said he'd filmed it HIMself in his BEDroom. </excited> it was after he'd set up an account on youtube (.) he thought he should do something with it so he (.) well (.) he started making little videos and putting them up on the web. <excited> over ONE and a HALF MILLION people have seen his 'how to be english' blog. </excited>

21 Danny: <surprised, approving> one and a half MILLION? WOW. he sure found a good way to get famous. </surprised, approving> <enthusiastic> HEY. maybe WE should make a video and put it on the web. </enthusiastic> it can't be that hard (.)

22 Adam: no. but it can be a real problem if you decide you want to take it off again. i mean (.) once you put something on the web (.) that's it. it's THERE forever. even if you think you've got rid of it you haven't. it'll still be out there somewhere.

23 Danny: well (.) i guess charlie is not worrying too much about THAT right now. he's probably thinking how he can act fast to turn his success into a career.

24 Kelly: no:. he says right now he wants to concentrate on his school work instead.

25 Danny: <dismissive> he wants to concentrate on his SCHOOL work? you know what kelly? you were right. that guy IS weird. </dismissive>

(**example 7:** *PT 5 Audio-CD 2*, exercise 6a – "Charlie's video blog", track 8)

Example 8.

01 Girl: yeah i think it's really <1>good. </1>

02 Boy 1: <1>yeah</1>

03 Girl: better than that LAST book we read (.) i'll tell you.

04 Boy 1: that's for sure. hey and that scene in the shopping mall just now (.) you know in front of the jewellery shop?=

05 Girl: =mhm

06 Boy 1: now is THAT typical of discrimination or what?=

07 Boy 2: =@@ what do YOU know about discrimination mate? look at you you surfie with your long blond hair. <2>@@@@</2>

08 Girl: <2>@@@@</2>

09 Boy 1 hey who said anything about RACIAL discrimination? you don't have to be black or asian to experience discrimination in australia let me tell you.

10 Girl: what do you mean?

11 Boy 1: i MEAN the exact same thing that happened to gracey has happened to ME before.=

12 Girl =ah?

13 Boy 1: for my dad's 40th birthday i wanted to buy him a REALLY nice present. so i went to one of those expensive shops over at the mall. i was wearing the same kind of clothes i am now. old jeans with holes everywhere (.) thongs (.) a t shirt a baseball cap (.) er (.) do you think ONE salesperson paid ANY attention to me? of COURSE not.=

14 Girl, Boy 2 =no?

15 Boy 1: the looks on their faces told me i was a TOTAL loser. and that's how i felt too. i mean i know my family isn't rich and maybe i look like i don't have any money (.) but that doesn't give ANYbody the right to treat you like your NOTHING.

16 Boy 2: but with nice clothes and short hair they would've treated you like a KING in that shop. black people like gracey have a MUCH harder time. i can see why she wants to get politically active and fight the system.

17 Girl: sure. you know i REALLY liked angela. she wants to help gracey but she says something AWFULLY stupid.

18 Boy 1: i didn't like her at all. she's a RICH kid who likes to feel good so she helped gracey with lots of old clothes and a free drink and meal here or there=

19 Boy 2 =yeah and what she says to the manager. <imitating> it's all right. she's with me. </imitating> shows that she thinks she's better than ABORIGINAL gracey (.) just because her mum and dad are RICH.

20 Girl: HEY that's not fair you two. she feels terrible for what she says and she HAS helped gracey a lot and she really likes gracey and I <4>th</4>

21 Boy 2: <4>but</4> she doesn't SAY that she's sorry. she gets really angry with gracey and she's TOO rich and TOO stupid to see what she's done wrong. and she makes things worse=

22 Girl: =angela is NOT stupid you guys. gracey doesn't give her any time to say she's sorry=

23 Boy 1, Boy 2: =<scoffing>@@</scoffing>

24 Girl: gracey gets angry first and then … {fade out}

> **(example 8:** *PT 5 Audio-CD 1*, exercise 3 – "Understanding Angela", track 6)

Example 9.

01 SX(m, f): isn't it beautiful? what a GREAT idea to come on a glass-bottom boat tour.

02 Derrick: YES (.) the reef IS beautiful. and there's LOTS of it. the great barrier reef is the world's largest coral reef system. 2600 kilometres long (.) longer than the great wall of CHINA. A:ND it's the only living thing you can see from SPACE.

03 SX (m, f): a:h

04 Derrick: YES (.) enjoy while you CAN. some people say that in forty years this huge reef might NOT exist anymore.

05 American teen (m): <alarmed> ah? what do you mean? </alarmed>

06 Derrick: well (.) it's all about GLOBAL warming. with all the factories (.) cars (.) pollution and air-conditioners in the world the earth keeps getting warmer (.) so the WATER gets warmer.

07 American teen (m): but why is warmer water a problem?

08 Derrick: CORAL can only survive with water temperatures between 17.5 degrees and 28 degrees. but in SOME places the water can get warmer than 28 degrees (.) and when THAT happens the corals die. the beautiful bright red pink and blue corals you're looking at through the glass right now turn WHITE when they die. remember (.) the REEF is a living thing. the reef is ONE big coral collection.

09 British teen (w): but when the corals die the environment for all the other animals here dies too? so you lose a home for ALL the animals here (.) AND you lose a BEAU:tiful place.

10 Derrick: that's EXACTLY right unfortunately. but global warming is only ONE problem (.) although the biggest. the reef is also dying from the pollution from australian and indonesian factories on the coasts. yes (.) it's sad that the modern world doesn't respect nature as much as the australian aboriginals did (.) and still do.

11 American teen (m): what do the aboriginals have to do with the great barrier reef?

12 Derrick: not the REEF. the ENVIRONMENT. i've ALways admired the aboriginals for their respect for nature. they have a better feeling for the land and the whole environment than industrial societies like australia britain america and so on. aboriginals never killed more animals than they needed to eat. we've got a few great books in our shop about the unique way the aboriginals lived with nature before the white people came. maybe if we had paid more attention to the environment like the aboriginals there wouldn't be any danger of losing

unique places like the reef. <@> but that's a whole different topic now isn't it? </@> {fade out}

<div align="center">(example 9: PT 5 Audio-CD 1, exercise 2 – "Listening for gist", track 8)</div>

SE & TN 'general topics': examples 10-12

Example 10.

01 Kevin: what are you having?
02 Daniela: <insecure> i am not sure. maybe spaghetti? (.) o:r the fresh vegetables? what are you having? </insecure>
03 Kevin: i'll have the <hesitant> avocado: (.) </hesitant> bacon and spinach salad.
04 Daniela: that sounds GOOD.
05 Kevin: if you like spaghetti the chef's seafood sauce is very good.
06 Daniela: yeah (.) i think i'll try that.
[...]

<div align="center">(example 10: SE & TN Audio CD 1, unit 21A, exercise 4, track 53)</div>

Example 11.

01 Waitress: did you enjoy your meal?
02 Daniela: <enthusiastic> oh yes. thank you. it was delicious. </enthusiastic>
03 Kevin: yes. it was very good.
04 Waitress: would you like some coffee or dessert?
05 Kevin: no thank you. can we have the bill please?
06 Waitress: yes. certainly.
07 Kevin {to Daniela}: if you'd like some coffee and cake we can go to the coffee company. it's right around the corner. we can sit outside on the pavement.
08 Daniela: well. why not. can we take a walk first?
09 Kevin: yes. good idea.
10 Waitress: here's your bill.
11 Daniela, Kevin: thanks.
12 Daniela {to Kevin}: let me see. is that <doubtful> 22 pounds 50? </doubtful>
13 Kevin {to Daniela}: yes. but that can't be right. {to Waitress} <loud> miss. </loud>
14 Waitress: yes?
15 Kevin: there must be a mistake. we had the seafood spaghetti a:nd and avocado and bacon salad =
16 Daniela: =and two glasses of mineral water.
17 Waitress: <apologetic> oh yes i see. that must be the wrong bill. i'm sorry. </apologetic>
18 Kevin: that's alright.

<div align="center">(example 11: SE & TN Audio CD 1, unit 22A, exercise 1, track 55)</div>

Example 12.

01 Mr Pound: hello. we've got a student from AUSTRIA staying with us. she's got an INSECT bite under the eye. her eye is BADLY swollen.
02 Receptionist (f): oh DEAR. e:r have you removed the sting?
03 Mr Pound: just a moment. {to Daniela} is there a sting?
04 Daniela: no.
05 Mr Pound {to receptionist}: erm there was no sting. er could she have an appointment? as soon as possible please.
06 Receptionist: yeah. she can come in at half past ten. e:r has she got health insurance?
07 Mr Pound: yes. she's got an insurance cheque (.) that's good in the european union.

08 Receptionist: oh that'll do. e:r in the meantime tell her to apply a COLD compress.
09 Mr Pound: i will. thank you very much. {to Daniela}: the doctor will see you at HALF PAST TEN. your insurance cheque is alright and you should apply a COLD compress.
10 Daniela: thank you very much mr pound.
(**example 12:** *SE & TN Audio CD 1*, unit 24A, exercise 4, track 59)

SE – 'situations at work': examples 13-15

Example 13.

01 Thomas: what are you going to do this summer?
02 Diane: well. first of all i'll take care of school. my final exam will be at the end of june.
03 Thomas: good luck.
04 Diane: thanks. and THEN i'm going to move to eastbourne.
05 Thomas: <surprised> to eastbourne? </surprised>
06 Diane: yes. i'm going to start a new job in september. before that i'll have to fix up a flat.
07 Thomas: fix up a flat ey?
08 Diane: yes. i'm going to share a flat. with a friend of mine.
09 Thomas: maybe i can help you.
10 Diane: what? fixing up the flat?
11 Thomas: yes. i'm going to move to brighton.
12 Diane: <surprised> you mean you're going to work in ENGland? </surprised>
13 Thomas: yes. for a while.
14 Diane: where are you going to LIVE?
15 Thomas: i don't know yet. e:r the company promised to help.
16 Diane: good luck then. <doubtful> and (.) you REALLY want to help us decorate the flat?
17 Thomas: well (.) yes.
18 Diane: thank you very much. how can i reach you?
19 Thomas: i'll call you when i get to brighton.
20 Diane: thanks. and all the best.
(**example 13:** *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 45B, exercise 3, track 51)

Example 14.

01 Interviewer (m): welcome to our (.) weekly health food programme (.) today about fast food.
02 Melanie Preston: what's healthy about fast food?
03 Interviewer: ah yes (.) and our guest today is melanie preston.
04 Melanie Preston: hello.
05 Interviewer: what's healthy about fast food?
06 Melanie: yes. take a hamburger for instance=
07 Interviewer: =well what's wrong with a GOOD (.) LEAN beefburger?
08 Melanie: it's high in calories. and even a lean burger contains FOUR teaspoons of saturated fat in 100 grams=
09 Interviewer: =sounds awful. what about a hotdog?
10 Melanie: <@> that's </@> even worse. LOTS of fat (.) HIGH in calories (.) NO vitamins (.) NO fibre.
11 Interviewer: then where do i get my proteins?
12 Melanie: have you tried fish? contains a lot of protein and it's low in saturated fat.=
13 Interviewer: =fish and chips then and a coke.
14 Melanie: <disgusted> oh: yuk. </disgusted> fried fish is soaked in oil and so are chips. and coke is high in sugar.
15 Interviewer: i give up. what do you suggest?
16 Melanie: try grilled fish and cooked potatoes or a baked potato and a fruit juice.
17 Interviewer: mhm:

18 Melanie: or try cottage cheese on wholemeal bread. cottage cheese is low in fat and contains some protein and calcium. wholemeal bread contains vitamins and minerals and LOTS of fibre.
19 Interviewer: thank you: MELanie preston. that was your health programme today with some fast food ideas.
　　　　(example 14: *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 29B, exercise 3, track 19)

Example 15.

01 Client (f): would this shade of red be too dark? what do you think?
02 Stylist (m): this one here?
03 Client: yes.
04 Stylist: mhm: (.) that seems to be (.) garnet red. well. why not? i i think it would suit you. your (.) your natural haircolour is medium brown so it's just (.) it's just a little DARKER.
05 Client: and the streaks?
06 Stylist: we'll make them a bit lighter and more INTENsive. e:r i'll show you on the shade card. here.
07 Client: aha:
08 Stylist: so. this will be garnet (.) and this lighter shade here for the streaks.
09 Client: yeah. that'll look pretty good.
10 Stylist: right.
11 Client: and (.) how long will the colour last?
12 Stylist: that depends on what we USE. semi-permanent or permanent colours.
13 Client: a semi-permanent colour?
14 Stylist: that'll fade out gradually after six to eight shampoos. and you'll have no regrowth.
15 Client: and a permanent colour?
16 Stylist: that'll grow out. about one centimetre per month.
17 Client: aha: (.) then let's do a semi-permanent colour.
18 Stylist: all right. we'll start with the streaks then. and (.) THEN we'll put on the garnet.
　　　　(example 15: *SE Audio CD 3*, unit 23B, exercise 2, track 7)

TN – 'situations at work': Examples 16-17

Example 16.

01 Andreas: <annoyed> oh NO. the batteries are gone AGAIN. </annoyed>
02 Tina: you spend a lot on batteries for your portable stereo. don't you?
03 Andreas: <frustrated> yes i DO. mhm: </frustrated>
04 Tina: what sort of batteries do you use then?
05 Andreas: alkaline.
06 Tina: <surprised> why don't you use rechargeable batteries? </surprised>
07 Andreas: <disapproving> i don't like them. </disapproving> i once tried nickel cadmium cells. they only lasted HALF the time my alkaline had lasted (.) and they cost four times as much.
08 Tina: <admitting> that's right. nicad's are more expensive than alkaline. </admitting> but in the long run they are CHEAPER because you can recharge them (.) at least 500 times.
09 Andreas: i'd need to buy a CHARGER then.
10 Tina: <admitting> mhm: yes. </admitting> i still think rechargeable batteries are more cost-effective. of course they have their drawbacks too. nicads tend to die suddenly (.) so it's good to have recharged cells at hand.
11 Andreas: does that mean i'd need twice as many nicads as alkaline?
12 Tina: yes. to run down a first set while you recharge a second one. it's important to drain them completely before you charge them again.
13 Andreas: why's that?

14 Tina: nicads have this memory effect. if you recharge them before they're drained they lose capacity.

15 Andreas: <doubtful> mh: THAT doesn't sound so good. </doubtful>

16 Tina: only nicads have this memory effect. other types like nickel metal hydride o:r (.) lithium ione batteries don't have this effect. and they'd run your stereo nearly TWICE as long.

17 Andreas: so i should rather take one of those?

18 Tina: well (.) they're even more expensive than nicads.

19 Andreas: <disappointed> oh NO. </disappointed>

> (**example 16:** *SE Audio CD 2*, unit 11B, exercise 3, track 45)

Example 17.

01 shop assistant (f): good morning. what can i do for you?

02 customer (m): <hesitant> i:'m looking for a notebook. i need it at home (.) a:nd for school.

03 shop assistant: come with me plea:se.

04 customer: mhm

05 shop assistant: here's our offer to start you at school.

06 customer: mh: (.) a 15-inch power book?

07 shop assistant: right. a 15 point 2 inch tft display with a resolution of 1440 by 900. AND a backlit keyboard. the housing is lightweight aluminium alloy (.) about two and a half kilos. here. lift it.

08 customer: mhm

09 shop assistant: still it has ALL you need (.) even for business use. a 100 gigabite hard drive with a processor speed of two gigahertz. the one gigabite ram is expendable up to two point 5 gigabite. 128 megabite of graphics memory support all your ilife multimedia applications.

10 customer: <uncertain> like e:r what? </uncertain>

11 shop assistant: well. there is a programme to edit your photos. you can watch movies on dvd with a double layer dvd drive or make your own (.) plug in your camera (.) here (.) and the movie editor helps you make your own (.) on dvd. of course you can download songs and burn your own cds.

12 customer: sounds great.

13 shop assistant: wait until you hear the price. {fade out}

> (**example 17:** *SE Audio CD 2*, unit 14B, exercise 2, track 51)

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit geht der Frage nach, wie Geschlecht in den Hörbeispielen von vier verschiedenen Englisch-Lehrbüchern durch Sprache konstruiert und dargestellt wird. Der Fokus liegt hierbei speziell auf stereotypen Repräsentationen von „typisch männlichem" und „typisch weiblichem" Kommunikationsverhalten sowie der Darstellung von sexistischem Sprachgebrauch in den jeweiligen Dialogen.

Der erste Teil dieser Diplomarbeit beschäftigt sich daher mit relevanten Entwicklungen und Konzepten innerhalb der feministischen Theorie und deren Einfluss auf die Erforschung von Sprache und Geschlecht. Dabei wird die wichtige Rolle von Sprache für die Erreichung feministischer Ziele herausgearbeitet. Außerdem wird der Unterschied zwischen einem „modernen" und „postmodernen" Zugang zur feministischen Sprachforschung sichtbar gemacht und geklärt, weshalb diese Diplomarbeit einem „postmodernen" Ansatz folgt.

Im zweiten Teil wird die Rolle von schulischer Erziehung und Lehrbüchern im Hinblick auf die Verfestigung, oder aber auch Wandlung, von dominanten, heteronormativen Geschlechterdiskursen näher beleuchtet. Dafür wird die Diskurstheorie von Michel Foucault vorgestellt und deren Nützlichkeit für feministische Ziele herausgearbeitet. Weiters werden Maßnahmen des "undoing gender" für den Englisch-Unterricht sowie für die Gestaltung von Unterrichtsmitteln diskutiert.

Der dritte und letzte Teil dieser Diplomarbeit beinhaltet die empirische Analyse der vier ausgewählten Englisch-Lehrbücher. Zwei davon werden zur Zeit an der österreichischen AHS-Oberstufe verwendet, während die anderen zwei für den Englisch-Unterricht an Berufsschulen konzipiert sind. Die Analyse beinhaltet sowohl einen quantitativen als auch einen qualitativen Teil und ist nach der Methode der Feministischen Kritischen Diskursanalyse ausgerichtet.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die untersuchten Hörbeispiele Heterosexualität als Norm darstellen und alternative Formen der Sexualität oder der Geschlechtsidentitäten keine explizite Erwähnung finden. Weiters sind weibliche Charaktere in den Dialogen leicht unterrepräsentiert, mit Ausnahme der berufsrelevanten Hörbeispiele in einem der Bücher für die Berufsschule. Außerdem ist festzuhalten, dass stereotypisierte

Darstellungen des Sprachverhaltens von Männern und Frauen in einigen Beispielen durchaus reproduziert werden.

Curriculum Vitae

Persönliche Daten

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Ausbildung

2008 – dato	Universität Wien
	Lehramtsstudium UF PP, UF Englisch
2007 – 2009	Universität Wien
	Studium der Kultur- und
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1999 – 2007	Besuch des BG Tulln
1995 – 1999	Besuch der VS Einsiedlergasse, 1050 Wien

Relevante Arbeitserfahrung

10/2009 – dato	Betreuerin in der Kinder- und
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Oktober 2012 – Juni 2013	Sprachassistentin für Deutsch an der
	Saddleworth School, Yorkshire, UK
2006 – 2012	Kinder- und Jugendbetreuung bei den
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Juli 2010	Kinder- und Jugendbetreuung auf einem
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