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Gender Studies: Language and Power in Politics: the case of a female leader in Algeria

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*In memory of my father
Aoumeur Adda*

Abstract

This dissertation is concerned with some applications of Critical Discourse Analysis in the study of the connections between discourse, gender and power. It is an attempt to investigate the roles that discourse play in creating, maintaining and challenging gender ideologies.

The focus in this study is on women working in the domain of politics; their struggle to create new identities for themselves and their ability to cause novelty in terms of discourse and power relations. At this level the critical analysts' aim is to reveal females' attempts to resist existing gender ideologies and to exercise power discursively.

Our aim in this dissertation is to illustrate such revelations through the investigation of the social and political contexts under which the Algerian political leader 'Louisa Hanoune' exercises power and through a critical analysis of her rhetorical style . Analysis of Hanoune's discourse is conducted on both written (Interview, open letter) and spoken texts (TV interview, speeches, comments). It consists mainly of revealing those features of the text which express authority and toughness.

My hope is that this study will contribute to provide some suitable answers to some enquiries related to issues of discourse, gender and power and add insight into this area of research.

الخلاصة

في هذه الدراسة نتطرق إلى أهمية التحليل النقدي للخطاب في إكتشاف الجوانب المبهمة حول إستعمال اللغة كأداة للتأثير والتأثر. فغالبا ما يكون إستعمال اللغة كأداة لنشر الإيديولوجيات وتشجيع الأفكار النمطية وبالتالي خدمة فئة معينة دون فئة أخرى.

عدة جوانب من هذا البحث تتعلق بفئة النساء الاثني يعانين من التمييز والتهميش بسبب أنوثتهن وأدوارهن المحدودة داخل المجتمع. وتظهر هذه المعاناة جليا من خلال الكلام عن النساء وأدوارهن والأفكار النمطية السائدة والتي يمكن تمييزها من خلال التحليل النقدي للخطاب. بإستعمال كلمة خطاب نقصد كل ما هو مكتوب ومسموع.

هذا البحث يرتكز اساسا على فئة النساء الناشطات في مجال السياسة واللاتي إخترن الإنتقال من الحياة الخاصة إلى الحياة العامة متصديات كل ما هو سائد ونمطي.

هنا يأتي دور التحليل النقدي للخطاب لإبراز محاولاتهن للتأقلم مع الظروف الإجتماعية والسياسية ومحاولة بناء شخصية قادرة على التصدي لها.

إختيارنا للسياسية الجزائرية السيدة **لويزة حنون** كممثلة لهذه الفئة من النساء كان لإبراز الدور الهام للتحليل النقدي للخطاب من أجل الكشف عن الأمور التي قد تخفى عنا كالعلاقة بين اللغة وقوة التأثير والتأثر .

نأمل في الأخير أن نكون قد وفقنا إلى حد ما في الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة

المتعلقة بهذا المجال.

Appendices

Appendix 1. A Newspaper Interview

Appendix 2. An Open Letter

Contents

Introduction	02
---------------------------	----

Chapter One: Critical Discourse Analysis: a brief over view

Introduction	09
1. The Emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis	12
1.2 The Research Scope in Critical Discourse Analysis	14
1.3 Some Basic Concepts and Tools	19
1. 3.1 Discourse.....	20
1.3.2 Text	23
1. 3.3 Domain	25
1.3.4 Genre	25
1. 3.5 Participants and Social Roles	26
1.3.6 Frames.....	26
1.4 The Concept of ‘Critical’ in Critical Discourse Analysis	26
1.5 The Levels of Analysis in Critical Discourse Analysis.....	28
1.6 Critical Discourse Analysis and the Social Context.....	29
1.7 Critical Discourse Analysis and Power Relations.....	31
1.8 Critical Discourse Analysis and Ideology	34

Chapter Two: Critical Discourse Analysis and Gender

Introduction	38
2.1 A Brief Overview on Theories about Gender	40
2.1.1 The Relationship of Gender to Sex.....	40
2.1.2 Gender as a Role	41
2.1.3 Gender as an Identity	43
2.1.3.1 Creation of Gendered Identities.....	45
2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and Gender	46
2.3 Towards a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis	48

2.4 Key Principles of Feminist Discourse Analysis as a Theory and Practice.....	50
2.4.1. Feminist Analytical Resistance.....	50
2.4.2. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, Gender and Discourse.	52
2.5 The Power of Gender Ideologies in Discourse.....	55
2.6 Complexity of Gender and Power Relations.....	60
2.7 Gender Stereotypes.....	65

Chapter Three: Language and Power in Politics

Introduction	70
3.1 Gender, Discourse and Politics	72
3.2 Women’s Adoption of Different Discursive Strategies	74
3.2.1 The Accommodation Strategy.....	74
3.2.2 The Critical ‘Difference’ Strategy	75
3.2.3 The Performative Strategy	75
3.3 The Stereotypical Assumptions about Female Politicians	77
3.4 Women Politicians: construction of subject positions	80

Chapter Four: The Case of a Political Leader in Algeria

Introduction	83
4.1 Hanoune’s Double Burden.....	86
4.2 Political and Social Contexts	90
4.3 Critical Discourse Analysis of Hanoune’s Rhetorical Style.....	93
4.4 Conclusion	102

Conclusion	105
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Bibliography

Appendices

Appendix 1. A newspaper interview

Appendix 2. An open letter

Introduction

Introduction

The aims of linguistics differ from the aims of Critical Discourse Analysis (Hereafter CDA). Broadly speaking, linguistics is concerned with the way in which language works and its interest is in language for its own sake. Critical discourse analysts, on the other hand, are interested in the way in which language is used to achieve social goals and in the part it plays in social maintenance and change. They believe that language is a social practice, i.e., it is a socially conditioned process.

In order to achieve their roles, critical discourse analysts have shown great interest in the study of language and power relations. They argue that language is crucial in articulating, supporting or resisting relations of power in society at the institutional, national and international levels. While critical discourse analysts believe that power permeates every aspect of society and hence is operative in all discourse, other analysts, like conversation analysts for instance, believe that power must be discovered in interaction and cannot be the point from which analysis proceeds, thereby limiting the context to what can be recovered from the discourse itself.

Within the CDA approach, analysts aim at revealing connections between language, power and ideology and describing the way power and dominance are produced and reproduced in social practice through discourse structures in interactions. In their investigations they work at two levels, The Micro and the Macro levels. The micro-level of analysis aims at examining distinctive rhetorical patterns, while the macro-level aims at investigating power, dominance and social discrimination, sharing interests and methods such as context analysis and observational techniques with other disciplines such as sociolinguistics, anthropology, sociology, among others.

Critical Discourse Analysis has been introduced by several scholars, most prominently Norman Fairclough (1989; Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999), Teun Van Dijk (1993a, 1993b) and Ruth Wodak (1989, 1999). It is an approach to language as a primary force for the production and reproduction of ideology- of belief systems that come to be accepted as “common sense”. The beliefs of greatest interest are those that encourage the acceptance of unequal arrangements of power as natural and inevitable, perhaps even as right and good. Trying to think critically,

about how language is used, is central in CDA. Fairclough (1989) explains : “critical” is used in the special sense of showing up connections which may be hidden from people such as the connections between language, power and ideology.

As mentioned above, critical discourse analysts argue that language is crucial in articulating, supporting or resisting relations of power in society at an institutional, national and international levels. As far as institutions are concerned, it is worth mentioning that much social practice in a complex modern society is institutionalized. Taking into account the fact that most of these institutions are essentially verbal such as business, government, education and the law, they are of special concern to critical discourse analysts both because they produce and circulate discourse and because they promote dominant interests over those of politically marginalized groups such as women, children and ethnic minorities.

Power structures tend to be institutionalized and fixed by both customs and laws. This encourages people to behave in certain ways and identify with certain groups. People are then involved over their lifetime with different roles. Many of these roles change through life. Power and status, associated with these roles, change as well. Different roles impose different identities on individuals. The categories in which people are placed are embedded in official discourses and become institutionalized. One of these major systems of institutionalized identity is gender identity. This issue has evoked many controversial debates and discussions. It led to the emergence of different notions and theories around the concept of gender and its connection with identity, society and language.

Language and gender have always been a vibrant area of research and theory development within the larger study of language and society. Before dealing with the part critical discourse analysts have taken in language and gender studies, it seems very important to consider the concept of “gender” and its relation to language.

The concept of “gender” has been treated in different approaches at different periods of time. In the second half of the twentieth century, social science researchers, among them linguists, directed to the discussion of differences between

the sexes, including sex differences in language starting in the 1960s. Sociolinguists, working as urban dialectologists, began providing detailed descriptions of characteristics that were said to distinguish women's and men's speech. (Wolfram, 1969; Trudgill, 1972; Labov, 1972). In 1973, Lakoff's "Language and Women's Place" changed the research landscape and launched a new era of work on "women and language". Lakoff's attempt was to make a number of claims about differences in how men and women talk and about how these differences reflect the roles they play and the positions they hold in society. However, women's and men's speech continued to be compared and contrasted until the 1990s when researchers rethought seriously the interaction of language, sex and gender and showed the need to examine the complexity and the fluidity of the concept of gender.

Current studies about language and gender are thus characterized by a move from essentialized notions of gender, that is to say, focusing on biological differences between men and women, to the implication of social action and social change. Current studies are based on the idea that analyses of gender and language have to start with people's participation in their immediate and most salient societal groups. There have been attempts to relate generalizations about larger trends in society to specific evidence of how gender is understood, contested and absorbed as a category for social membership in the very local domains from which the analysis started.

The social constructionist framework considers the social as well as the linguistic dimensions of their analyses as equally deserving attention. They conceive "gender identity" as a social construct rather than a given social category to which people are assigned. Gender is treated as the accomplishment and product of social interaction. The focus is on the way individuals "do" or "perform" their gender identity in interactions with others. The focus is also on the dynamic aspects of interaction which lead to the conclusion that gender emerges over time in interaction with others. Not only do people speak differently in different social contexts, as sociolinguistic analyses of different styles have demonstrated; but,

more radically, talk in itself actively creates different styles and constructs different social contexts and social identities as it proceeds.

CDA is an important contributor to language and gender studies. It investigates how ideologies become established through discourse and specifically calls attention to the ideologies of gender embedded in the most pervasive forms of discourse in contemporary society.

Researchers working within the CDA approach also believe that gender is socially and discursively constructed - constructed in discourse - and that the institutions play a crucial part in establishing its nature. Consideration of gender identity is thus very important because in most places in the world, there is still a considerable amount of gender discrimination. Researchers are mainly concerned with the investigation of the discourse genres in which issues of gender and power are prominent features and the role they play in maintaining gender distinctions and naturalizing gender hierarchies.

In this field, there is a large amount of research relating to gender issues. Most of them seek to identify in some way how discourse supports or creates gender discriminations, how language itself is gendered and what are the reasons for this. They investigate, for example, the way women and men, boys and girls are stereotypically represented in discourse, and they try to analyze the language used by males and females in specific discourse events.

Having recognized the importance of working within the CDA approach, many feminist theorists have shown interest in working under the umbrella of feminist critical discourse analysis, (Hereafter FCDA) putting gender ideologies at the front of their analyses.

Researchers working within the CDA and FCDA approaches believe in change, they believe that language is crucial in resisting relations of power in society. So, both discourse and ideology repeatedly enter new configurations as long as those who may contest or subvert these ideologies through creative appropriation and production of new discourses, still exist.

Change is possible as far as gender discrimination and gender stereotypes are concerned. It is possible, as long as women manage to affect some change in their own self-definition and in public images of women, as long as they manage to stand up and speak up. Their participation in a number of domains previously monopolized by men – politics in this dissertation- have offered to them more opportunities to achieve such roles. This has also offered to critical discourse analysts more opportunities and tools to investigate discourse possibilities.

This investigation is based on a series of questions such as: how do women negotiate the institutional constraints and the stereotypical assumptions about their performance as female politicians, which discursive strategies they adopt to find room for themselves, how do they construct subject positions for themselves opposite those encouraged by the different institutions. Critical discourse analysts are concerned with those textual features which reveal the gap between how gender is practised by individual women in every day talks and professional contexts, and the stereotypical standards by which their linguistic behaviour is judged.

Within the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis, we will investigate women's participation in domains previously monopolized by men. We suggest that the minority status of women within public sphere institutions such as (the parliament, the government, etc.) means that the dominant discursive practices which circulate in these domains are those associated with male speakers.

We would suggest also that some female politicians accept pre-existing discursive practices and try to adapt them as an inevitable strategy to achieve their immediate aims without being considered as passive.

Chapter One gives an overview of the field of Critical Discourse Analysis in general. Some technical terms are introduced and some indications of the development of the field are given. The study of the relationship between discourse, power and ideology constitutes an important section of this chapter.

Chapter Two focuses on the relation between CDA and gender and the part that the former takes in the investigation of gender, ideology and power. A range of feminists' notions and theories about the concept of gender is given to illustrate the importance of gender as an identity category. Some crucial questions are addressed

in this chapter like: how does discourse support or create gender discrimination, how is language gendered and how can discourse be used to challenge and resist the stereotypical assumptions related to gender. This chapter is mainly devoted to the exploitation of the tools and methods of CDA by many feminists for the establishment of a new research scope ‘feminist critical discourse analyses.

Chapter Three is devoted to the investigation of how the entrance of women to ‘politics’ has contributed to the creation of new dominating discursive norms. Many questions are addressed in this part: How do women use discourse to resist the stereotypical assumptions that are most of the time being institutionalized? How do professional women in general and female politicians in particular speak and are spoken about? How do women attempt to (re)structure subject positions for themselves as women political leaders?

As a case study, we have chosen to investigate, in Chapter Four, the context in which the Algerian General Secretary of the Workers Party ‘Louisa Hanoune’ performs her role, discursively as a female politician. We would apply the critical framework to the analysis of the linguistic resources that she uses, as an attempt to shape and interpret her gender and to establish a subject position for herself.

Chapter One

Critical Discourse Analysis : a brief overview

Introduction

As a reaction to the growing awareness that the study of language should be more than the study of grammar and phonology, new disciplines have emerged such as discourse analysis and pragmatics, while others, such as ethnomethodology, conversation analysis and speech act theory, have experienced a renewed interest. The concept which marks the beginning of this revival of interest in language in its broadest sense is ‘communicative competence’. The term was first used by Del Hymes (1972). He argued that it was necessary to “*incorporate social and cultural factors into linguistic description*” (Coates, 2004:85). In response to Chomsky (1965), who believes that children internalize a set of rules to be able to produce an infinite number of grammatical sentences, Hymes (1972) points out that it is not sufficient for the child to acquire a certain linguistic competence. Besides the grammatical rules, a child needs the rules of use in order to function effectively in the real world (Hymes, *ibid*). He must learn when to speak, what to speak about, to whom, how and so on.

While mainstream linguistics limited its borders to studying language in and for itself (De Saussure, 1916), paralinguistics emerged to broaden the scope of language research by studying the situation in which a discursive event occurs and the role of the interactants who create the true meaning of that situation. Contexts are then believed to be dynamic not static and creative not passive (Beaugrande, 2006: website)¹

In the early 20th century, the analysis of discourse took place of pride. Ethnographers focused on discourse to understand a culture. As Malinowski argues “*Utterance and situation are bound up inextricably with each other and the context of situation is indispensable for the understanding of the words*” (Malinowski, 1923 in Beaugrande, 2006: website)² With some influence from the ethnography of Malinowski, several functionalists came up with revolutionary theories and

¹ (1)http://www-staff.lboro.ac.uk/~ssjer/SLC1/SLC1-2_Beaugrande.pdf

² (1)http://www-staff.lboro.ac.uk/~ssjer/SLC1/SLC1-2_Beaugrande.pdf

methodologies summed up in ‘systemic functional linguistics’. They rejected the dichotomy in ‘theoretical linguistics’ and insisted on the fact that text and discourse are systemic (Halliday, 1992, Beaugrande, 2006) and came up with a new concept ‘lexicogrammar’ (Halliday, 1994) unifying thus the two dichotomous concepts ‘grammar’ and ‘lexicon’. There was a transition of language – system to discourse - system. Functional linguists worked on authentic discourse, with a great interest not only in the word or sentence but the whole pattern which suggests cognitive or social attitudes.

Development in theories about the study of language in social context led to the emergence of a new type of discourse analytical research: ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’ that treats language as a type of social practice among many used for “*representation and signification*” (Van Dijk, 1983). Critical discourse analysts also believe that texts are produced by “*socially situated speakers and writers*” (Kress 1989). Users of language interact linguistically according to their social positions and those linguistic features existing in texts are the result of social processes, which are never arbitrary.

The focus of CDA on language and discourse was introduced by ‘critical linguistics’ (CL) which emerged at the end of the 1970s (Fowler et al, 1979). Recently, the term ‘CL’ has been replaced by the term ‘CDA’ as Wodak (2002) points out

“ *The term Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is often used interchangeably. In fact, recently the term CDA seem to have been preferred and is being used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL.*”³

Most of the researchers working within the framework of CDA, agree on the declaration that CDA is not a school or a specialization next to the other approaches in discourse studies. It aims rather at offering a different perspective in theorizing, analysis and application. “*CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to*

³ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA” (ibid).

Researchers also believe that there are many areas such as : pragmatics, conversation analysis, rhetoric, sociolinguistics, ethnography, among others, that may offer, to a certain extent, the same perspective.

What makes CDA more critical is its focus on the investigation of the way social power abuse; dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and challenged by texts and the role ideologies play in such a context.

This chapter is thus devoted to the investigation of those critical perspectives offered by CDA.

1.The Emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis

Many sociolinguists were interested in describing and explaining language variation, language change and the structures of communicative interaction with limited attention to issues of social hierarchy and power (Labov, 1972, Hymes, 1972) *“In such a context, attention to texts, their reproduction and their relation to societal impulses and structures, signaled a very different kind of interest”* (Wodak, 2002: website)⁴

The work of Kress, Hodge, Trew (1979), Van Dijk (1985) Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (1989) serve to explain and illustrate the main assumptions, principles and procedures of what had then become known as CL.

In CDA, nowadays, a huge continuity exists with CL which developed in the 1970s and 1980s, primarily at the University of East Anglia, around Roger Fowler, Tony Trew and Gunter Kress.

The work of Fowler et al (1979) has been cited to demonstrate the early foundations of CL. Later work by Fowler (1991, 1996) shows how tools provided by standard linguistic theories (1965 version of Chomskyan grammar and

⁴ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

Halliday's theory of Systemic Functional grammar, can be used to understand linguistic structures of power in text.

Halliday's contribution to the development of CL is worth mentioning.

He stressed on the relationship between the grammatical system and the social and personal needs that language is required to serve (Halliday, 1987). He distinguished three metafunctions of language:

- The ideational structures, through which language lends structure to experience.
- The interpersonal function, which constitutes relationships between the participants.
- The textual function, which constitutes coherence and cohesion in texts.

Holliday's (1994) systemic functional grammar would appear to offer a multidimensional model of the relationship between language and context. Holliday (1994) notes : “ *There are rarely any sharp lines in language, since it is an evolved system and not a designed one* ’ (1994: xxv).

There is, then, in such framework a constant tension between treating language as an object of description and a stated commitment to developing a more dynamic model that accounts for the way language functions in specific contexts of use. It is more productive to view texts in terms of lexicogrammatical networks of relations, whose meanings are determined in specific contexts of use, rather than as comprising discrete and autonomous levels. “*This shift in perspective, which contests the linguistic/semiotic boundary, leads to a view of language as multilayered meshing of texts, contexts and histories.*” (Walsh, 2001:34).

The textual is extended to include any elements in the context that contribute to texture. In the case of spoken interaction, paralinguistic features such as facial expressions and body language are compromised. Such cues are often used by addressees to establish the validity, or otherwise, of given speech acts. Kress (1997:257) sees language “*as one representational element in a text which is always multi-modal, and [which] has to be read in conjunction with all the other semiotic modes of those texts*”.

Fairclough's grammatical tools are related to Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, as well as to conversational analysis. He (1989) sets out the social

theories underpinning CDA and a variety of textual examples are analyses to illustrate the field, its aims and methods of analysis.

Later, Fairclough (1992, 1995) and Chouliarki/ Fairclough(1999) explain and elaborate some advances in CDA, showing not only how the analytical framework for researching on language in relation to power and ideology developed, but also how CDA is useful in disclosing the discursive nature of much contemporary social and cultural change.

On the other hand, Van Dijk's earlier work in text linguistics and discourse analysis (1977, 1981) shows the interest he takes in texts and discourses as basic units and social practices. Just like other critical linguistic theorists, he traces the origins of linguistic interest in units of language larger than sentences and in text and context dependency of meaning. Van Dijk turns specifically to media discourse giving not only his own reflections on communication in the mass media (Van Dijk, 1986), but also bringing together the theories and applications of a variety of scholars interested in the production, uses and functions of the media discourses (Van Dijk, 1985). Most recently, he has focused on issues of racism and ideology (Van Dijk, 1985 in Wodak, 2002: website)⁵ and on the elaboration of a theory of context (Van Dijk: *ibid*)

CLS is then an alternative orientation to language study. It would place a broad conception of the social study of language at the core of language study. It would also favour certain emphases within the various branches of study: for instance, in the study of grammar it would find (functionalist' approaches (such as that of the systemic linguistics associated particularly with Halliday) more helpful than 'formalist' approaches (such as that of Chomsky and his followers).

Some approaches harmonize to a degree with CLS: systemic linguistics, pragmatics, or cross-disciplinary trends in discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis makes some use of all these approaches.

CDA analysts focused on many issues such as the necessity for a historical perspective, the study of racism and anti-Semitism (Wodak et al, 1990, 1994, 1999,

⁵ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

Wodak/Van Dijk, 2000) and the study of identity constructions and changes of identities at national and transnational levels (Wodak, 2002: website)⁶

1.2 The research scope in CDA

According to Fairclough (1989), linguistics has given little attention to actual speech or writing; it has characterized language as a potential, a system, and an abstract competence, rather than attempting to describe actual language practice. In the terms of Ferdinand de Saussure, the founder of Modern Linguistics, linguistics is concerned with the study of langue, ‘language’ rather than ‘parole’, ‘speaking.

“ Its central notion is that language may be analyzed as a Formal system of differential elements, apart from the messy Dialectics of real time production and comprehension.

Examples of these elements include the notion of the linguistic sign”

(Wikipedia website)⁷

Mainstream linguistics has taken two crucial assumptions about langue from De Saussure: that the language of a particular community can for all practical purposes be regarded as invariant across that community, and that the study of langue ought to be ‘synchronic’ rather than ‘diachronic’ (historical). It ought to be studied as a static system at a given point in time, not dynamically as it changes through time.

“ These assumptions and the neglect of language practice result in an idealized view of language, which isolates it from the social and historical matrix outside of which it cannot actually exist.”

⁶ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

⁷ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_de_Saussure.](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_de_Saussure)

(Fairclough, 1989)

Mainstream linguistics is an asocial way of studying language, which has nothing to say about relationships between language and power and ideology.

Unlike Linguistics, Sociolinguistics presented new notions about language as a challenge to linguistics. Sociolinguistics has shown systematic correlations between variations in linguistic form (phonological, morphological, and syntactic) and social variables such as: the social status of people, social relationships between participants in language interactions, social setting or occasion, and the topic. *“It is thanks to sociolinguistics that the socially constituted nature of language practice can be taken as general premises of CLS”*. (Fairclough, 1989:7)

However, in their attempts to study sociolinguistic variations in various societies, sociolinguist, were highly influenced by the methods and conceptions of social science; they focused on the observation of facts. Fairclough (1989) argues that Sociolinguistics is strong on ‘what?’ questions (what are the facts of variation?) but weak on ‘why?’ and ‘how?’ questions (why are the facts as they are?); how-in terms of the development of social relationships of power- was the existing sociolinguistic order brought into being?; how is it sustained?; and how might it be changed to the advantage of those who are dominated by it?

It is worth mentioning that despite the fact that the aims critical discourse analysts are different from the linguists’, the sociolinguist’, the discourse or conversation analysts’, CDA owes many of its tools and methods to these and other disciplines.

“The roots of CDA live in classical rhetorics, textlinguistics and sociolinguistics, as well as in applied linguistics and pragmatics” (Wodak, 2002: website)⁸

In its early years, CDA had a marginal status, within the more established mainstream fields in linguistics, today, it has shifted more to the centre and has become somewhat of orthodoxy itself (Billig, 2000). Van Dijk (1991) argued researchers should cooperate and make efforts to fulfill their aims.

“For CDA to become a prominent approach in the humanities and social sciences, we should expect dozens of books, hundreds of article and conference papers, and special symposia or conference

⁸ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

sections yearly”

(Van Dijk, 1991: in Lazar, 2005:4)

More than 10 years on, all these have been achieved and more. For example, in 2004, an international CDA conference and a new international journal on critical discourse studies appeared.

The question to start with is: what is critical discourse analysis? Van Dijk (1991) defines it as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse and dominance, are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. The critical discourse analysts' main purpose is to understand, expose, and resist social inequality.

Bloor & Bloor (2007) share the same point of view when they speak about the main concerns of critical discourse analysts:

“ Critical discourse analysts are mainly interested in the way inWhich language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and in the part this use plays in social maintenance and social change.”

(Bloor & Bloor, 2007:2)

The practical techniques of CDA derive from various disciplinary fields. Work in pragmatics and speech act theory argues that texts are forms of social action that occur in complex social contexts. Research and theory, in systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1985), show how linguistic forms can be systematically related to social and ideological functions. Halliday argues that lexical and grammatical features of texts have identifiable functions:

- They represent and portray the social and natural world ‘field’;
- They construct and affect social relations ‘tenor’;
- They develop conventions as coherent, identifiable texts in particular media ‘mode’. When Kress (1989) argues the question of language functions he suggests that *“written and spoken texts represent selective views of the world or “subject positions”*. Analysis can describe and explain particular lexical choices (e.g.

naming) and grammatical representation of agency and action (e.g. modality, transitivity). CDA thus can document how the world is portrayed.

Within the framework of CDA, analysts are interested in the way in which language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and in the social maintenance and change. (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:2). According to Bloor & Bloor (ibid), this means that CDA shares interests with other disciplines concerned with social issues such as: anthropology, sociology, ethnography and ethnomethodology, and with disciplines concerned with human cognition and behaviour such as psychology. In its methods, CDA makes use of the work of speech acts and conversational maxims. Sociolinguistics is also very influential in CDA.

Analysts need to share ideas and tools with many professionals and experts. Among many others, they need the help of historians, lawyers, politicians, doctors and business institutions, and can use CDA to investigate social problems that are related to their work. Psychologists, for instance, to study the aggressive speech styles developed at home and that can be transmitted to the children who then use aggressive speech styles in a wider social context Van Dijk (1997), describes CDA as “*A new cross-discipline that comprises the analysis of text and talk in virtually all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences*” (Van Dijk, 1997 in Bloor & Bloor, 2007:2). For the same reason, critical discourse analysts work co-operatively with other experts for better investigations of some social problems and this is what explains the multi-disciplinary nature of this approach.

“ *The methodologies differ greatly in all these studies on account of the aims of the research and also with regard to the particular methodologies applied; small qualitative case studies can be found as well as large data corpora, drawn from fieldwork and ethnographic research*”

(wodak, 2002: website)⁹

In recent years, frequent examples of investigations from the perspective of CDA are analysis of doctor-patient discourse, legal and police discourse and the

⁹ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

discourse of consumerism. Analysts focus on areas of injustice, danger, suffering, prejudice, and so on.

Most recently, Fairclough (2000) has been concerned with the language of ‘New Labour’ and the language of capitalism. Whereas Van Dijk (1989) has turned to the study of racism and ideology and to the elaboration of a theory of context (2001).

“ *If we try to think critically about how we use the language we know, either in intimate social events or in larger structures, it is useful to have training in what some scholars have called ‘making strange’. That is to say, in being able to observe what is going on in a way that an alien studying our planet might do*”

(Bloor & Bloor, 2007:5)

This explains the extent to which people become so familiar with customs and beliefs which sometimes go without notice until they contrast them with customs and beliefs from other places and other times. In this context researchers say that they have become “*normalized*”. (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:5). Something which has become normalized can be changed – for better or worse- which is why this principle of ‘making strange’ is important to discourse analysts in all aspects of their work.

1.3 Some Basic Terms and Tools

According to McGregor (2003: website)¹⁰, CDA tries to unite, and determine the relationship between three levels of analysis: (a) the actual text; (b) the discursive practices (that is the process involved in creating, writing, speaking, reading, and hearing); and (c) the larger social context that bears upon the text and the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2000). In more detail,

“ *The text is a record of an event where something was communicated and involves the presentation of facts and beliefs (often ideological), the construction of identities of participants, discussed in the*

¹⁰ <http://www.kon.org/archives/forum/15-1/mcgregorcda.html>

communication, and strategies to frame the content of the message”

(McGregor, 2003: website)¹¹

Discursive practices are the spoken and unspoken rules and conventions that govern how individuals learn to think, act, and speak in all the social positions they occupy in life. Gee (1990 in McGregor 2003)¹² explains that discursive practices involve ways of being in the world that signify specific and recognizable social identities. We have learned to “be” students, daughters, and mothers, members of an ethnic group or gender and volunteers. He adds that the social context comprises distinct settings where discourse occurs (the marketplace, the classroom, the playground, conferences), each with a set of conventions that determine rights and obligations.

In order to grasp the relationship between the three levels of analysis mentioned above, it is necessary to know the basic tools of critical discourse analysis.

1.3.1 Discourse

The word discourse has long been associated with various traditions of sociolinguistic research and come to be used with a number of different meanings by different researchers and also in different academic trends. To understand each meaning is to look at the ways in which it is used. In the English speaking world ‘discourse’ is often used for written and oral texts.

In its broadest sense, ‘discourse’ refers to all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation between people.

According to Kress (1989), discourse reaches into all major areas of social life. It “*colonizes the social world imperialistically*” (ibid: 7); as it organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a topic, object or process is to be talked about. “*It provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and*

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

individual actions” (ibid). Foucault (1972), on the other hand, uses the term discourse to mean different things:

“ *In the most general and vaguest way, it denoted a group of verbal performances; and by discourse, then I meant that which was produced (perhaps all that was produced) by the groups of science, but also meant a group of acts of formulation, a series of sentences or propositions. Lastly, discourse is constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence.*”

(Foucault, 1972 in Coupland, Sarangi and Candlin, 2001:49).

Sarangi (2001) stresses the importance of the third definition of discourse proposed by Foucault. He says that it is in this sense that we can speak of different discourses: clinical discourse, psychiatric discourse, educational discourse, economic discourse, etc.

In the same context Eckert McConnell & Ginet (2003:42) believe that people engage in different discourses because they experience different things, know different people, develop different knowledge and skills. They define discourse as “the socially meaningful activity- in which ideas are constructed over time.”(ibid)

Theories about language and its relationship to society have then become very sophisticated and led to the recognition that language “*can be seen as a heterogeneous collection of discourses*” (Coates, 1986:216) or as Kress (1989:10) puts it “*a product of the interplay of discourses*”. According to Coates (ibid), when we speak we can have access to different sets of values and meanings. Discourses then acknowledge such values and meanings in the nature of language. They enable us to perform different ‘selves’, because different discourses position us in different ways in relation to the world.

Every discourse is historically embedded, and has repercussions on current and future discourse. In this context, Kress (1989:11) argues that

“ *The individual’s history is composed of the experience of a range of discourses, passing through the intimate relations of*

the family and its discourses of authority, gender, morality, religion, politics; into school and its discourses of knowledge, science, authority, aesthetics; to work and adulthood.

The discursive history of each individual there fore bears the traces of The discourses associated with the social places which that individual has occupied and experienced.”

In CDA, ‘Discourse’ is used in contrast with ‘text’, where ‘text’ refers to actual written or spoken data, ‘discourse’ refers to the whole act of communication involving production and comprehension, not necessarily entirely verbal. The study of discourse, then, can involve matters like context; background information or knowledge shared between a speaker and hearer.

CDA aims at investigating how texts operate under certain cultural and social circumstances. “ *Discourse analysis is not a ‘level’ of analysis as, say phonology or lexico-grammar, but an exploration of how ‘texts’ at all levels work within sociocultural practices*” (Candlin in Fairclough, 1995b: viii). The three-dimensional framework for CDA are: text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice.

“ CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing- as a form of social practice and describing discourse as such implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it.”

(Wodak, 2002: website)¹³

Analysis of discourse cannot be separated from the exploration of historical, cultural and social factors. “*Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned*” (Kress, *ibid*). It constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities and relationships between people and groups of people. According to Kress (*ibid*), “*it is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and*

¹³ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

reproduce the social status quo and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.”

Discourse always involves power and ideologies. It is connected to the past and the current context, and can it be interpreted differently by people because they have different backgrounds, knowledge and power positions - therefore, the “right” interpretation does not exist whereas a more or less plausible or adequate interpretation is likely (Fairclough, 2002; Wodak & Ludwig, 1999).

According to McGregor (2003)¹⁴ discourse refers to expressing one self using words. Discourses are “ubiquitous” (Fairclough,1989) ways of knowing, valuing, and experiencing the world. They can be used for an assertion of power and knowledge, and they can be used for resistance and challenge. Discourses are used in everyday contexts for building power and knowledge, for regulation and normalization, for the development of new knowledge and power relations, and for hegemony (excess influence or authority). The more powerful those who engage in discourse, the more powerful their words are. As Eckert McConnell & Ginet (2003:43) point out “*A discourse has a privileged status in society by virtue of the power of the people who engage in it. It can be heard in more places, get more “air time” associated with voices of authority.*”

Given the power of the written and spoken word, CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analyzing, and criticizing social life as reflected in text (Luke, 1997).

Critical discourse analysts are concerned with studying and analyzing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts (Van Dijk, 1988). They attempt to illuminate ways in which the dominant forces in a society construct versions of reality that favor their interests. By unmasking such practices, CDA scholars aim to support the victims

¹⁴ <http://www.kon.org/archives/forum/15-1/mcgregorcda.html>

of such oppression and encourage them to resist and transform their lives (Foucault, 2000)

1.3.2 Text

The main unit of analysis for CDA is the 'text' but not in the conventional meaning of the term. Texts are taken to be social actions, meaningful and coherent instances of spoken and written language use.

Specific text types or 'genres' serve conventional social uses and functions. That is, texts that attempt to 'do things' in social institutions with predictable effects. They include functional written texts (e.g. business letters, textbooks, forms), spoken face-to-face interactions (e.g. clinical exchanges, service exchanges, classroom lessons), and multi visual electronic and gestural texts (e.g. internet home pages).

Text is a product of discourse. It is normally used to describe a linguistic record of a communicative event. Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) proposes that a text as a meaningful speech event will meet seven standards of textuality: cohesion (the ways the words are connected in sequence); coherence (the outcome of cognitive relations, such as mutual knowledge between the participants in the discourse); acceptability (the form of the text in terms of appropriateness to the cultural setting and the way in which it is received by those taking part); intentionality (the text producers' discourse purpose); informativity (how far is the degree of information transmitted more or less suitable for the receivers in the circumstances); situationality or relevance (the factors which make a text rely on previous texts for its form and references and the ways in which it may incorporate other texts).

Critical discourse analysts give importance not only to the study of texts, spoken or written, but they believe that a fully critical analysis of a discourse would require a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures, which give rise to the production of a text and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social-historical objects, create meanings in their interaction with texts (Fairclough, Kress, 1993)

An important principle for critical discourse analysts is that analysis of text should not be isolated from analysis of institutional and discursive practices that are included in texts. Analysts should take into consideration the way in which texts are interpreted and responded to and the properties of the text itself as well. (Fairclough 1995).

“ The notions of ideology , power, hierarchy and gender together with sociological variables were all seen as relevant for an interpretation or explanation of text”

(Wodak, 2002: website)¹⁵

1.3.3 Domain

‘Discourse domain’ is the term for a socially recognized context within which the discourse takes place. If we talk of scientific discourse, ‘science’ is the domain. A domain may embrace the social setting in which the discourse takes place. Offices, universities, and places of workshop along with their recognized structures may be seen as domains. CDA may be concerned with a more specific domain such as the BBC. Within a domain there is a number recognized social practices and conventional genres.

We shall focus in this dissertation, on critical analysis of discourse within the domain of politics. We suggest how the entrance of female politicians in a domain previously dominated by men influences their vision about themselves and the others.

1.3.4 Genre

‘Genre’ is the term used for a specific product of a social practice. It is a form of discourse, which obeys socially agreed structures. Genres are text types that are socially constructed over time to fulfill certain social functions. According to Kress (1989:20), “ *the meanings of texts are derived not only from the meanings of the*

¹⁵ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

discourse which gives rise to and appear in particular texts, but also from the meanings of the genre of a particular text". Kress (1989) argues that the meaning of discourses is derived from the larger social institutions, whereas the meanings of genres are derived from the conventionalized social occasions through which social life is carried on. A few examples of genres are: interview, essay, political speech, joke, instruction. Part of our socialization is to achieve familiarity with those genres. We learn the rules of recognition and production slowly, generally through education or sometimes by contact with the discourse community that uses them.

1.3.5 Participants and social roles

Participants may have many different roles. Such roles may affect the production and comprehension of discourse. These roles include communicative roles (e.g. news paper editors); interactional roles (e.g. friends, enemies), and social roles (e.g. men, young people). Most of us play different roles in our daily life. In each of these roles, we are engaged in different social practices and we need to use different genres and the language associated with those practices and genres.

1.3.6 Frames

Lakoff (2004) defines to the word 'frame' as "*mental structures that shape the way we see the world*" (ibid in Bloor & Bloor, 2007:11). They are part of one's knowledge about the world, most of the time they operate unconsciously. Framing is very relevant in CDA, since our knowledge of the world include cultural messages that become normalized and accepted in everyday life. Since frames are bound to culture, they vary from one culture to another, and this affect the way we look at things around us.

1.4 The Concept of 'Critical' in CDA

Much of the discourse analysis of the twentieth century was essentially non-critical. That is to say, it did not present a critique of social practices. It was concerned with identification and description of how people use language to

communicate; the development of methods of analysis that help to reveal the categories of discourse and the essential features of each; and building theories about how communication take place.

Critical discourse analysts' commitment to social concerns is very strong as they see discourse "*both as a product of society and also as a dynamic and changing force that is constantly influencing and re-constructing social practices and values, either positively or negatively*" (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:12). Their research includes issues related to individuals 'micro issues' and those social problems of international importance 'macro issues'.

The concept 'critical' is conventionally used in a broader sense, denoting, as Krings (1973) argues, the practical linking of "social and political engagement" with "*a sociologically informed construction of society*" (Krings et al, 1973 in Wodak, 2002 :website)¹⁶

The use of '*critical*' within critical discourse analysis is borrowed from the language of Marxism, especially critical theory, which emerged from the Frankfurt school of literary and cultural criticism. In this context, "*critical signifies a leftist (usually socialist) political stance on the part of the analyst; the goal of such research is to comment on society in order to change it*" (Bucholtz: Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003:55). The word 'critical' in CDA, means that analysis may lead to positive outcomes.

Fairclough (1995), argues that what makes CDA 'critical' is the aim to reveal what has been explicitly or implicitly hidden in discourse, to show the world behind the words

“ My use of the term 'critical' (and the associated term 'critique) is linked on the one hand to a commitment to a dialectical theory and method' which grasps things...essentially in their interconnectedness, in their concatenation, their motion, their coming into and passing out of existence”

¹⁶ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

(Engels, 1976 in Fairclough, 1995b:36).

Grasping the connectedness of things is making it visible. This can be achieved by raising questions and explaining such issues as: how can it be that people are standardly unaware of how their ways of speaking are socially determined? What conception of the social subject does such a lack of awareness imply? How does the naturalization of ideologies come about? How is it sustained? What determines the degree of naturalization in a particular instance?

In the same context, Wodak's (2002: website)¹⁷ definition of the term 'critical' bears political and social reflections.

“ Basically ‘critical’ could be understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social context, taking a political stance explicitly, and having a focus on self reflection as scholars doing research”

(ibid).

Researchers working within the framework of CDA, believe that analysis of texts (spoken and written) should take into account all the historical, social and political factors. The term 'critical', added before discourse analysis, suggests that nothing should be taken for granted.

1.5 The Levels of Analysis in CDA

To try to reveal connections between language and power and language and ideology is to focus attention upon 'social institutions' and upon discourses which are clearly associable with particular institutions, rather than a casual conversation, as has been the fashion.

Such goals can be reached by integrating the 'micro' to the 'macro research, and focusing on social institutions as they own the means of imposing ideological and discursal constraints on people. (Fairclough, 1995b:39).

¹⁷ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

Some researchers, such as Schegloff (1998) assumes that one must do either close micro-analysis or broader political analysis.

“A complete analysis requires both, and each level will inform and deepen the other. There is no reason...to insist on purity without proof that the mixing of levels necessarily vitiates the analysis” (Lakoff in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003: 166).

Language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis. This means that CDA has to theoretically bridge the well-known "gap" between micro and macro approaches. In everyday interaction and experience, the macro-and micro-level form one unified whole. For instance, a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the micro-level of social interaction in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time it may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macro-level.

1.6 CDA and Social Context

The context-dependent view of language advocated by CDA is that the boundaries between linguistic levels, and between linguistic and extralinguistic phenomena, become extremely permeable.

According to Toolan (1996:132) *“language in all its diversity and contextual ebeddedness cannot reasonably be characterized as a closed system of endlessly interminable fixed signs”*. Critical analysts believe that meaning is created when a sign occurs in a specific context. The relationship of sign to meaning is known as semiosis, and the study of signs as semiotics.

An integrational approach has thus come to focus on meaning in context.

(Lee, 1992:26) points out:

“ The structuralist orientation in language studies derives from Saussure’s segmental metaphor where linguistic elements are treated as discrete homogeneous categories. Such an approach assumes that meaning resides in individual lexical and grammatical

components, whereas an integrational approach stresses that meaning is negotiated in context.”

Bucholtz (in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003:45) shares the same point of view when she says “*For most discourse analysts the social world is produced and reproduced in great part through discourse*”

Discourse analysts have shown great interest in studying discursive details in relation to their contexts. However, analysts do not often agree on such points as the limits of context (how much background knowledge is necessary and admissible in order to understand a particular discursive form?), the place of agency (are speakers entirely in control of discourse?), and the role of the analyst (Is the researcher’s role to discover the participants’ own perspectives, or to offer an interpretation that may shed new light on the discourse?). In answering such questions, discourse analysts working within different frameworks are influenced by their own disciplinary traditions.

Language is considered then as a language of signs. It can construct meaning only when it is part of a wider social event. “*It both needs context and helps create context at the same time*” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:17). Mutual knowledge also is needed in interactions.

Many models of context have attempted to identify all the necessary elements of the context that govern the process of interaction. The context of culture for instance, includes the traditions, the institutions, the discourse communities, the historical context and the knowledge of the participants. The context of situations focuses on the various elements involved in the direct production of meanings in a particular situation.

Within the CDA approach, analysts seek to identify “ those features of the context that govern or reinforce the interactional process that take place through language, such as the use of language to control other people either by direction or persuasion” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:27). This may require complex interpretations of the discursal factors and an involvement of all the people engaged in the communicative event. The study of the nature of the discourse also includes the

study of the nature of institutions as they are very influential when it comes to the process of the interaction. They are of great importance because of

“ *their disproportionate power to produce and circulate discourse and because they promote dominant interests over those of politically marginalized groups such as racial and ethnic minorities, the lower classes, children, and women.*”

(Bucholtz in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003:57).

CDA then offers a practical approach to context. The analysts, while dealing with texts for the identification of a context, they, according to (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:29), seek the following:

- “ -the setting (or place/s) of the event;
- time or times and aspect of the event;
- mode and medium of the event
(face to face; one speakers to many listeners; written to be read;
television, for example)
- participants and their roles in the events;
- topics, themes (including distance of participants from the topics);
- purpose of the discourse event and purposes of the participants;
- attitude of the participants;
- the dynamics of the situations (How do events, participants, topics, attitudes, and so on, change during the course of the discourse event?)
- the genre (where applicable).”

1.7 CDA and Power Relations

As mentioned so far, CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power. CDA then, takes a particular interest in the relationship between language and

power. *“Power is about relations of difference and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures”* (Wodak, 2002: website)¹⁸

Wodak (2002) argues that because of the unity between language and other social matters and because power is about relations of difference in social structures, language is eventually related to power:

*“ The constant unity of language and other social matters
Ensures that language is entwined in social power in a number
of ways: language indexes power, expresses power, is involve
where there is convention over power and where power is
challenged”*

(Wodak, 2002: website)¹⁹

Many recent contributions to the study of social structures and phenomena have led to the exploration of the role of language in the exercise, maintenance and change of power. The theory of ideology for instance, has pointed out the importance of ideology as a mechanism of power in modern society, as against the exercise of power through coercive means, and on the other hand has come to see language as a major locus of ideology, and of major significance with respect to power.

*“ Central to CDA is the understanding that discourse is an
integral aspect of power and control .power is held by both
institutions and individuals in contemporary society and any
challenge to the status quo challenges those who hold power.”*

(Bloor & Bloor, 2007:4).

Critical discourse analysts’ role is thus to investigate discourse in order to achieve certain social roles such as equality, fairness and justice. This is itself a

¹⁸ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

¹⁹ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

challenge to those who are responsible for maintaining the inequalities, unfairness and injustice in modern world.

Fairclough (1989) argues that despite the several efforts made by linguists in general and sociolinguists in particular, little has been done to reveal the rich and complex interrelationships of language and power. Their studies for examples of 'standard' and 'nonstandard' social dialects, and of how the amount of prestige which attaches to such dialects depends on the power of their users and other studies of the ways in which power is exercised in conversation and other forms of talk between people have generally set out to describe prevailing sociolinguistic conventions in terms of how they distribute power unequally; they have not set out to explain these conventions as the product of relations of power and struggles for power. The point is that sociolinguistic conventions have a dual relation of power: on the one hand they incorporate differences of power, on the other hand they arise out of - and give rise to - particular relations of power.

Fairclough points out that the focus should be on the second. "*On trying to explain existing conventions as the outcome of power relations and power struggle*" (Fairclough, 1989:2). This approach is on particular emphasis upon the 'common-sense- assumptions which are implicit in the conventions according to which people are generally not consciously aware.

Such assumptions are ideologies. Ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depend on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted. Ideologies are closely linked to language because using language is the commonest form of social behaviour, and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on 'common-sense' assumptions.

Fairclough (1989) argues that the exercise of power, in modern society, is increasingly achieved through ideology, and more particularly through the ideological workings of language. Language is therefore important enough to merit

the attention of all citizens. Nobody who has an interest in modern society, and certainly nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society, can afford to ignore language. However, many people with precisely such interests have believed they could safely ignore language. This is perhaps not surprising, for the general level of attention and sensitivity to language has been woefully inadequate. The gap between the level of consciousness which the contemporary position of language demands, and the level it actually attracts, is another reason.

Power exists in various modalities, including the concrete modality of physical force. But still it is very necessary to help increase consciousness of language and power. And particularly of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others.

Resistance and change are not only possible but continuously happening. This depends on people developing a critical consciousness of domination and its modalities, rather than just experiencing them.

According to Wodak (2002: website)²⁰, CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. Power is signaled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's control of a social occasion by means of the genre of the text. "*For texts are often sites for struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies all contending and struggling for dominance*" (ibid)²¹

In CDA, language is not powerful on its own, "*it gains power by the use powerful people make of it*" (Wodak, 2002: website)²² this explains why CDA often chooses the perspectives of those in power, those who are responsible for the existence of

Inequalities and who also have the means and the opportunity to improve conditions.

1.8 CDA and Ideology

²⁰ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

²¹ Ibid.

²² www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

Crucial for CDA is the exploration of the relations between discourse and ideology. It is based on the assumption that ideologies are mainly acquired

“ *The concept of ideology first appeared in late 18th century France and has thus been in use for about two centuries*” (ibid)²³

The term ‘ideology’ has been given a range of functions and meanings at different times. For Thompson (1990), it refers to social forms and processes within which and by means of which symbolic forms circulate in the social world. Investigation of the social context within which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds is very important.

For Eagleton (1994), the study of ideology has to bear in mind the variety of theories and theorists that have examined the relation between thought and social reality. All the theories assume “*that there are specific historical reasons why people come to feel, reason, desire and imagine the way they do*” (Eagleton, 1994 in Wodak, 2002: website)²⁴

In the same context, CDA takes a particular interest in the ways in which language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions (Wodak, ibid) and one of the aims of the analysts is to “demystify” discourses by deciphering ideologies (Bourdieu, 1989) in order to produce emancipation since they believe that ideologies are closely related to social power abuse, inequality and discrimination.

“ *Discursive practices may have major ideological effects. That is they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people*”

(Wodak, 2002: website)²⁵

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ www.ling.lanc.ac.uk/staff/wodak/interview.pdf

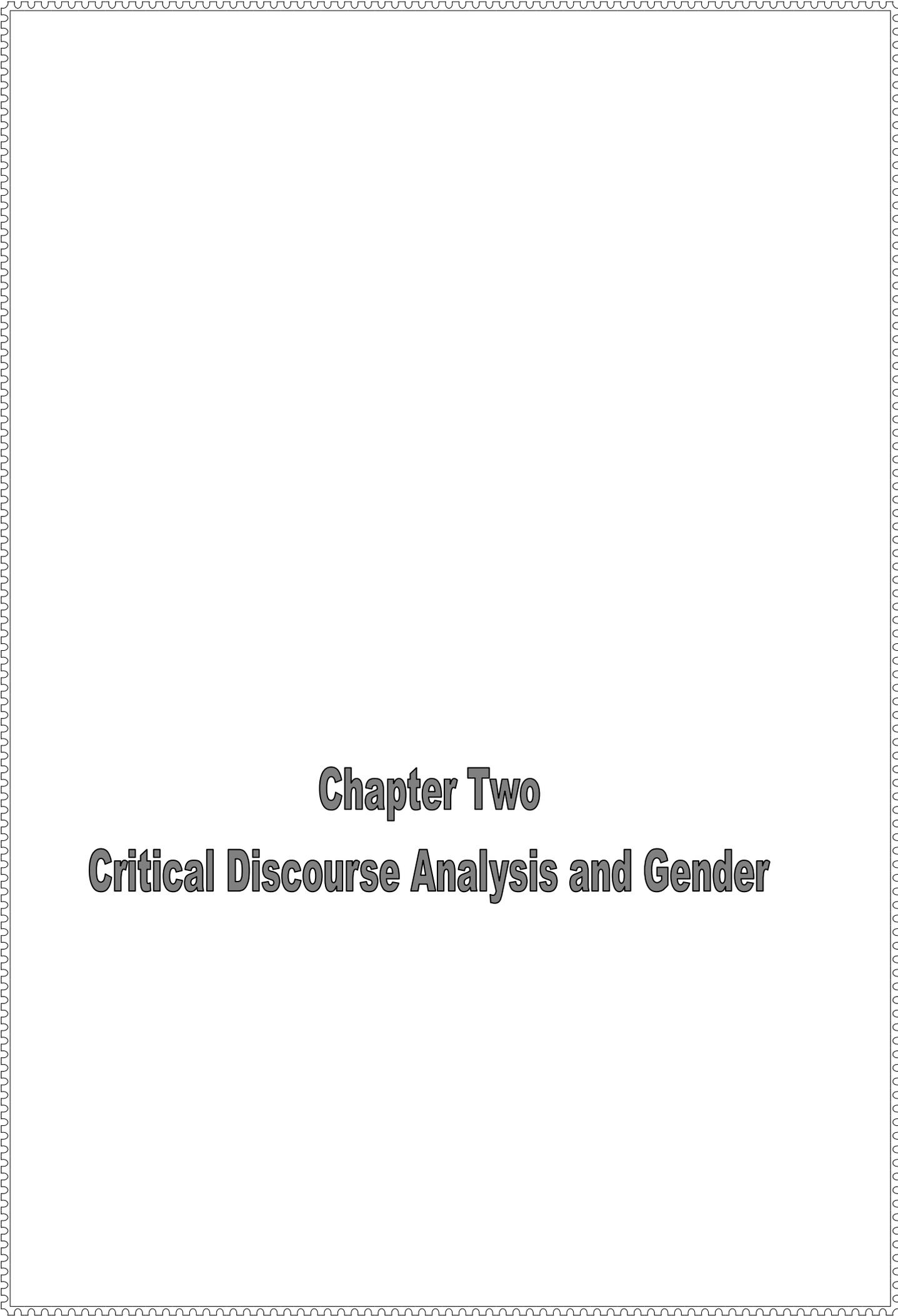
According to Kress (1989) any investigation of ideological assumptions through analysis of discourse implies exploration of the social and historical contexts.

“ *Any linguistic form considered in isolation has no specifically determinate meaning as such, nor does it possess any ideological significance or function*”.

(Kress, 1989)

As shown so far, explicit investigations of Critical Discourse analysts of ideological assumptions and of the way power abuse, dominance and inequality are exercised, reproduced and resisted by text, in the social and political context, is a sign of vigorous interest in fulfilling certain social aims like equality, tolerance and freedom. The diversity of the field is also a sign of strength and growth.

In the following chapter, we will discuss how gender ideologies and power relations are mediated, maintained and negotiated through discourse. We will also focus on the contributions of CDA to the investigations of gender issues and eventually, to the achievements of certain social goals.



Chapter Two

Critical Discourse Analysis and Gender

Introduction

As mentioned in the first chapter; Critical Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. It views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination is reproduced by texts. CDA was founded on the idea that there is unequal access to linguistic and social resources and that most of these resources are institutionally controlled. Critical discourse analysts have thus made a real commitment as regard the social and political issues with the purpose to offer some critical perspectives and propose alternatives by focusing on textual structures within social, cultural, historical and political contexts.

The study and analysis of texts can offer a huge amount of information about certain social realities. They can reveal how many versions of these realities are constructed by the dominant forces in a society to protect their interests. CDA scholars aim at supporting the victims of such oppression and encourage them to resist and transform their lives.

Recently, many critical discourse analysts have focused on a number of political and social issues such as sexism, racism, class domination as they are characteristic examples of the integration of power in laws, rules, norms and habits. They take into account the complex nature of most societies. Feminists, among others, have shown great interest in the perspectives offered by CDA. They have exploited many of its tools to investigate gender stereotypes and gender discrimination. Walsh (2003) believes that studies related to gender are still worth the effort. They can provide us with incredible accounts about power in discourse.

“ Gender remains highly salient, not only in terms of the public identities women and men construct for themselves, but also in terms of how they are perceived and judged by others.”

(Walsh, 2003:208)

This chapter is devoted to some of the contributions of critical discourse analysts to the study of language and gender and their relations with ideology and power. It also includes a range of feminists' notions and theories about the concept of gender and its importance as an identity category. Some crucial questions are addressed in this chapter like: how does discourse support or create gender discrimination, the way language itself is gendered and whether the stereotypical assumptions related to gender can be resisted through discourse. A great deal of this study is concerned with the exploitation of the tools and methods of CDA by many feminists for the establishment of a new research discipline labeled 'Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis'.

2.1 A Brief Overview on Theories about Gender

2.1.1 The Relationship of Gender to Sex

The distinction between sex and gender has been one of the most important concerns of feminists and researchers interested in gender studies.

In gender studies, the term “gender” is used to refer to the social and cultural constructions of masculinities and femininities. It does not refer to biological differences, but rather cultural differences.

Sex is a set of categories used to describe biological and physical traits. It is internal and external organs, chromosomes, hormone levels, genitalia, etc. Gender is in one's mind, spirit and soul. It is the gendered sense of one being. Gender is often described as masculine, feminine, woman and man.

“ [Sex and gender] serve a useful analytic purpose in contrasting a set of biological facts with a set of cultural facts. Were I to be scrupulous in my use of terms, I would use the term “sex” only when I was speaking of biological differences between males and females and use “gender” whenever I was referring to the social, cultural, psychological constructs that are imposed upon these biological differences.”

(Shapiro 1981, cited in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003:22)

Some researchers such as, Bergvall (1996) and Butler (1990), introduced a radical claim that sex like gender, is a constructed category and thus not recognizing the distinction that many feminists have found to be theoretically useful.

Although feminists recognize the biological differences, they make a clear distinction between sex and gender. They focus on the idea that what is socially and culturally constructed can be easily transformed than what is biological.

Gender means different things to different people. Each definition of gender often directs the way we look at gender and the whole issues related to it.

One common perspective of gender focuses on roles, while another focuses on identity. If we define gender as an identity, then we are more likely to look at how that identity is formed and the implications of the formation of that identity. Someone might look at whether the identity is innate or constructed. If it is constructed then we look at how it is constructed both as an individual and as culture and how it influences our existence and how we view ourselves.

If we focus on gender as a set of roles, we are more likely to look at how those roles are constructed both as an individual and as a culture and the implications on our existence.

2.1.2 Gender as a Role

Many feminists believe that gender is related to people's daily activities. It is something that one does and not something that one has. In Goodwin's examination of African American boys' and girls' speech activities (directives, argument, gossip, instigating, and stories) and in a range of play activities, she finds that boys and girls build '*systematically different social organizations and gender identities through their use of talk.*' (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:29)

A focus on activities suggests that individuals have access to different activities, and thus to different cultures and different social identities, including a range of different genders (ibid).

“ Stereotypes about women's speech... fall apart when talk in a range of activities is examined; in order to construct social personae appropriate to the events of the moment, the same individuals[will articulate] talk and gender differently as they move from one activity to another.”

(Goodwi,1990 cited in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:29)

What one notes here is that language varies across context and gender identity also.

“Language and gender co-vary” (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003: 29)

Taking into account the context and the different activities individuals perform, researcher's focus should be on when, whether and how men and women's speech are done in similar and different ways instead on the differences between men's and women's speech considering gender as a possession (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003: 29)

Fairclough (1995) on the other hand believes that to focus on gender in activities is to focus on gender of individuals and as a consequence, the gender of the institutions is not taken into consideration. For him joining the micro to the macro is very relevant,

“ Any ‘micro action’ or event, including verbal interaction, contributes to the production of ‘macro’ structures. ‘Micro action’ can in no sense be regarded as of merely ‘local’ significance to the situations in which they occur.”

(Fairclough, 1995b:35)

According to Fairclough investigations of linguistic practices should be carried out within larger social contexts. *“It makes little sense to study verbal interactions as if they were unconnected with social structures”* (Fairclough 1995b:35)

In the same contexts Tannen (1996) insists on the idea that the social and emotional investments of individuals should be taken into account, rejecting the She rejects the idea that identity is performed strategically. According to her, speech styles are not, *“hats you can put on when you enter an office and take off when you leave”*. (ibid cited in Walsh 2001: 9)

2.1.3 Gender as an Identity

Gender identity has long been understood as one's social identification as a boy or a girl, a man or a woman.

“ For the majority of people, a clear gender classification is given at (or with ultrasound technology, well before) birth. The reafter, all social interactions are influenced by gender assignment.”

(Weatherall & Gallois in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 487).

Identification with a gender group is thus, considered by many psychologists as a fundamental social categorization in the life of a child (Bem, 1993). Their conceptualization of gender identity and its relationship to language is shown from different approaches. Among the major perspectives, these two are worth mentioning: the social cognitive perspective and the discursive psychology. Psychologists working from the former perspective consider gender identity as “*the internalization of social norms about gender that predispose individuals to act, talk and think largely in accordance with them*” (Weatherall & Gallois in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 487). Stating at the same time, that language is both a tool for expressing gender identity and a reflection of it. Discursive psychology, on the other hand, focuses on language, rather than cognition, to understand social behaviour. This approach considers identity “*as primarily a verbal categorization that occurs in the process of interaction in order to do things*” (ibid)

Other researchers concerned with gender studies came up with different versions to the notion of gender identity. Essentialists for instance, believe that sex and gender are the same thing, or at any rate inseparable. Both arise from "nature" or are "God-given". Chromosomal characteristics, visible sex markers, and gender cannot be separated. Essentialists usually believe that there are only two genders; these are present at birth; remain unchanged for life; and there is no territory between. Behaviors or appearances that do not fit these assumptions are viewed as perversions.

The constructionist theory, however, argue that men and women are actively involved in constructing their own gendered identities.

“ ... we, as individuals and as groups, are not passively shaped by the larger societal forces such as schools or the media, but are active in selecting, adapting and rejecting the dimensions we choose to incorporate, or not, into our version of gender.”

(Allard, Cooper, Hildebrand, Wealands, 1995)

People adopt different masculinities and femininities practices according to their situations and beliefs. Their understandings of gender are dynamic, changing over time with maturity, experience and reflection. As individuals develop and shape their gender identities, they may reject some widely accepted notions of gender and adopt new ones. Constructing and reconstructing gender identities is a challenge.

It is a challenge, because as members of a society we are not very responsible of the construction of our gender identities. The practices of the social institutions such as school, media, and family have a great influence upon individuals' options and visions.

“ In their lives in family and community, and before they come to school, children learn socially approved ways of interacting as female or male. As a consequence, many girls and boys develop narrow and limited concepts of masculinity and femininity; concepts which impoverish their existence”

(National Action Plan for the Education of Girls, 1993-1997:7)²⁶

Those who work within Performance Theory believe that gender is performed like any theatre work, is independent of sex, and is best understood through performance studies. Following Foucault – who believes that identity is not a fixed thing within a person but rather a shifting, temporary construction and communicated to others through interactions- the feminist theorist, Judith Butler (1990) comes out with the notion of performativity, to analyze gender development? The concept is about the manners in which identity is brought to life through discourse. She sees gender not as an expression of what one is, rather as something that one does.

Current trends in feminist linguistics thus take into account a number of contextual elements. For most of researchers, gender identities are multi-layered,

²⁶ http://www.curriculum.edu.au/mceetya/nat_plan_girls_93-97,11954.html

diverse, fluid, and actively produced. Instead of abstractions, they focus on situated interactions and show the need for dynamic and multidimensional analyses.

As Cameron puts it “gender...*has turned out to be an extraordinarily intricate and multi-layered phenomenon. Unstable, contested, intimately bound up with other social divisions*” (Cameron,1996 in Coates, 95:217).

2.1.3.1 Creation of Gendered Identities

In the context of language and gender research, a framing approach conceptualizes the creation of gendered identities as one component of the creation of social identities more generally. As Kendall (1992 in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003 :13) notes,

“ *women and men do not generally choose linguistic options for The purpose of creating masculine or feminine identities; instead they draw upon gendered linguistic strategies to perform pragmatic and interactional functions of language and, thus, constitute roles in a gendered way.*

It is the manner in which people constitute their identities when acting within a socialrole that is linked with gender- that is, being a “good mother”, a “good manager.”

In this dissertation I will suggest that in the domain of politics, female politicians use language pragmatically as an attempt to resist the stereotypical assumptions and perform the roles expected from them. I will also suggest that the manner in which these women create subject positions for themselves is linked with gender. In this case, investigations of the social, political and historical factors are very relevant.

2.2 CDA and Gender

As discussed earlier, gender is not born with us; it is the result of our relationships with the world, of our responses to its revelations and secrets, to the changes that occur all the time. As Eckert McConnell-Ginet point out:

“ Gender continues to be transformed as we move into the market place- as we learn to act like secretaries, doctors, lawyers- and it continues to be transformed as our family status changes- as we learn to be wives and husbands, mothers and fathers. As we age we continue to learn new ways of being men and women”

(Eckert McConnell-Ginet, 2003:9)

Gender is then deeply embedded in every aspects of our life, in our institutions, in the family, the school; they are embedded in our actions, our beliefs. Ideas about gender are everywhere, in songs, fairy tales, films, advertisements and so on. These ideas are so common place that they are taken for granted that they are true. For critical discourse analysts, any idea should not be taken for granted.

One of the most productive scholars working within this tradition is Mary Talbot. Her central argument in much of her work is that texts seem to promise readers one thing but instead provide something else. In the same context Eckert McConnell-Ginet (2003) believes that it is up to the researchers to look for the truths which are hidden from people either implicitly or explicitly. Including themselves, they say *“It is our job to look beyond what appears as common sense”* (ibid: 9).

A large amount of research related to gender issues has been conducted within the framework of critical discourse analysis. Most of it seeks to identify in some way how discourse supports or creates gender discrimination. On the other hand, feminists concerned with language and gender have combined much of their studies with those carried out within the CDA approach and finished by proposing a new approach, that of “Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis”.

The investigation of gender discrimination is concerned with the identification of how discourse supports or cerates gender discrimination. According to (Bloor& Bloor, 2007) the study falls roughly into four types:

“ -The way language itself is gendered -or has become gendered- and looking at the reasons for this as,for example,the way in which the male pronoun such as ‘he’ can be used to refer to either males

or males and females (but not females alone);

- The way women and men, boys and girls are stereotypically represented in discourse;

-The way men and women interact in discourse and whether or not there are differences in their styles of talk;

-The way language is used by males and females in specific discourse events.”

There is no doubt that such studies and investigations are very difficult to carry out since issues of gender, power and ideology have become increasingly complex in present times and since gender as a category intersects with other categories of social identity such as sexuality, ethnicity, social position and geography. Eckert McConnell & Ginet (2003:30) point out “*Gender is by no means the only aspect of social identity. It interacts with other socially constructed categories as class, age, ethnicity and race*”

Many of the researchers concerned with the analysis of various discursive structures and strategies in different texts focus on a variety of cultural and institutional contexts which include the news and advertising media, educational settings, workplaces, governments and transnational organizations.

The different studies show the complex ways in which social assumptions and power relations are discursively produced, perpetuated, negotiated and challenged (Lazar, 2005).The issues dealt with are in view of affecting social transformations as they have “*actual consequences for groups of women and men in specific societies*” (Lazar, 2005:2). With the intention of dealing with such relevant and complex issues, many researchers have moved towards the combination of the insights of critical discourse analysis and a range of feminist studies of language. This gave birth of a new approach: ‘feminist critical discourse analyses.

My intention in this dissertation is to try to reveal how power and gender are discursively negotiated within the domain of politics. Taking into account a range of historical, political and social factors I will discuss, in the third chapter, some of the discursive strategies adopted by female politicians, and investigate those adopted by Louisa Hanoune, to show their attempt to position themselves in a

domain which is highly dominated by men. I will suggest also that such attempts are continuous since they are related to wider social contexts.

2.3 Towards a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

Over the last ten years or so and in several branches of discourse studies, there has been a concreted move to explicitly include the label ‘feminist’ in the various sub-fields by feminists scholars working in these area. For example, we now have ‘feminist stylistics’ (Mills, 1995), (Feminist pragmatics’ (Christie, 2000), and ‘feminist conversation analysis’ (Kitzinger, 2000). In all these areas, feminist scholars’ main concern is to be objective and neutral.

Feminist CDA is a recent development under the broader branch of critical discourse analysis.

According to Lazar (2005), the need to work within a feminist CDA approach is very necessary. He argues that the theories that feminists have come up are very relevant to investigations of gender issues. According to Walsh (2003), this tendency of integrating gender inequalities within the whole process of the changes in capitalism has served many operations concerned with the exclusion of women from a number of public and civil sphere domains and activities. The need to combine those studies already done in the field of critical discourse analysis from a feminist perspective into a specific approach, is very relevant in the sense that it focuses on the “contemporary *social struggle that centers on the production, maintenance and transformation of gendered identities and relations*” (Walsh, 2001:28).

Feminists have long been working under the rubric of CDA without needing to explicitly establish a feminist approach. Why, then, the explicit feminist label? According to Lazar (2005), there are a number of reasons for it. First, the most straightforward is that studies in CDA with a gender focus mostly adopt a critical feminist view of gender relations, motivated by the need to change the existing conditions of these relations... Second, it is necessary within CDA to establish a distinctly ‘feminist *politics of articulation*’ (Wetherhell, 1995), i.e. to theorize and analyze from a critical feminist perspective *the particularly insidious and*

oppressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social practices” (Lazar, 2005). Eckert (1989), for instance, has pointed to the way gender operates in a pervasive and complex way from other systems of oppression:

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

(Eckert, 1989: in Lazar, 2005:3)

According to Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1995), feminism and CDA, much overlap in terms of emancipatory goals, but unlike feminist approaches that apply descriptive discourse analysis, CDA offers a sophisticated theorization of the relationship between social practices and discourse structures and a wide range of tools and strategies for close analysis of actual, contextualized uses of language. Furthermore, “*under the umbrella of CDA research, explicit analyses of various forms of systemic inequalities have been developed*” (Lazar, 2005:5) what can be learned from critical discourse analysts as regard the particularities of discursive strategies employed in various forms of social oppressions can be used to push feminists’ attempts to develop strategies for social change forward.

As mentioned so far, for Fairclough (1995b), the adoption of ‘critical goals’ in CDA means first and for most: “*Investigating verbal interactions with an eye to their determination by, and their effects on, social structures*” (Fairclough 1995b:36). He argues that in discussing the texts, neither determination nor effects are necessarily apparent to the participant; opacity is the other side of the coin of naturalization. Therefore, the goal of CDA is also ‘denaturalizing’ (Fairclough, 1995b). His use of the term ‘critical’ is linked on the one hand to a commitment to a

dialectical theory and method “ *which grasps things...essentially in their interconnections, in their concatenations, their motion, their coming into and passing out of existence*” (Engels, 1976 in Fairclough, 1995b:36). As an attempt to accomplish the same mission as critical discourse analysts, and show up connections that may be hidden from people, such as the connections between language, power and ideology, feminist discourse analysts have followed the same path, and have named this process also as demystification- or denaturalization- maintaining that one of feminist CDA’s aim is to demystify taken -for –granted or common-sensical assumptions of gender by showing that these assumptions are ideological and obscure the power differential and inequality (Lazar, 2005, Sunderland and Litosseliti, 2002, Talbot, 1995).

The marriage of feminism with CDA, in sum, can produce a rich and powerful political critique for action (Lazar, 2005).

2.4 Key Principles of Feminist Critical Analysis as Theory and Practice

2.4.1 Feminist Analytical Resistance

As mentioned previously, CDA is part of an emancipatory critical social science which is openly committed to the achievement of a just social order through a critique of discourse (Lazar, 2005). Some of the main objectives of critical discourse analysts are to “*analyze discourse practices that reflect or construct social problem, investigate how ideologies can become frozen in language and find ways to break the ice*”(Bloor & Bloor, 2007:12). In the same context, feminist critical discourse analysts’ main concern is with

“ *...critiquing discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order: that is, relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group.*”

(Lazar, 2005:5)

One of the aims of feminist critical discourse analysts is to prove that the social practices in general, are not neutral and are gendered in this way.

According to Lazar, the gendered nature of social practices can be described on two levels: First, 'gender' functions as an interpretative category that enables participants in a community, to make sense of and structure their particular social practices. Second, gender is a social relation that enters into and partially constitutes all other social relations and activities. (Lazar, 2005:6).

Through their analyses of gendered social practices, feminists working within the CDA approach, are then interested, first and for most, in showing a better vision of a society, a just society in which people's practices and relationships with others are not predetermined by their gender identity. (Hill Collins, 1990; Grant, 1993). Such an analysis of discourse for the purpose of showing the workings of power that maintain oppressive social structures and therefore, effecting social transformations, is itself a form of '*analytical resistance*' (Van Dijk, 1991)

In their attempts to fulfill such a perspective, feminist critical discourse analysts are shaping a theory, which is responsible of creating critical awareness "*and providing a source for people to use in making their own decisions*" (Fairclough, 1995b:218).

2.4.2 Feminist CDA, Gender and Discourse

Feminist CDA has developed a more sophisticated theory of gender. The understanding of the concept of gender feminist CDA has been influenced by third-wave feminist and post-structuralist theories. Most of the researchers concerned with language and gender issues have begun to deal with gender with more flexibility moving away from the idea of gender as a binary opposition, which perpetuates stereotypes of men and women and does not address the diversity of ways that individuals "do" gender.

Gender has begun to be theorized in more productive ways from a reliance on global statements about the behaviour of all women and all men, to more detailed statements about certain groups of women or men in particular circumstances.

Instead of abstractions, there was a need to focus on more situated interactions and develop tools for more dynamic and multidimensional analyses.

Current trends assume that gender does not exist pre-discursively, but is produced and negotiated in discourse. Seeing gender as discursively constructed, feminist CDA has found Butler's (1990) performativity a useful concept. In the same context, Eckert McConnell-Ginet believes that people are all the time modulating their ideas according to the reactions of the others. They argue "*We position ourselves vis-à-vis the others with whom we are developing and elaborating a meaningful discourse*" (2003:157). According to them, such discursive positions are bound to cultural contexts and social situations and they are never completely gender neutral.

The main interest of Feminist CDA, therefore, is to focus on empirical studies, and the ways in which gender is actually constructed in authentic texts and situations (Lazar, 2005, Sunderland and Litossiliti, 2002). Since gender is context-sensitive, in analysis the interest is on representations of gender (identities) and gendered power relationships in specific texts and their specific contexts,

" For feminist CDA, the focus is on how gender ideology and gendered relations of power are (re)produced, negotiated and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people's social and personal identities in texts and talk."

(Lazar, 2005:11)

The concept of discourse, then, in feminist critical discourse analysis is understood both in the linguistic sense of language which communicates meaning in a context:

" The discourse analyst treats his data as the record (text) of a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication in a context by a speaker/writer to express meanings and achieve intentions."

(Brown & Yule, 1983:26)

And in the Foucauldian and the social theoretical sense of being a form of social practice which means that language is used to construct identity, including gender, from a particular ideological perspective. (Sunderland and Litolissiti, 2002).

“ *Discourse is constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is , in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence*” (Foucault, 1972 in Coupland & Sarangi 2001:49).

However, in contrast to Foucault’s (1972:49) idea of discourses as “*practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak*”. Which means that Foucault deals with discourse not so much in its representative or communicative functions, but in its functions as a means for controlling other’s, and inevitably one’s own actions (Sarangi, 2001:49), Feminist CDA argues that people can use discourses as recourses with which they can create something new: the participants of discourse can rework and contest the assumptions embedded in discourses (Lazar, 2005, Sunderland and Litossiliti, 2002). Despite the fact that dominant and privileged gendered discourses, for instance, can shape the individuals’ lives, as Coates (1995) points out “ *discourses position us in different ways in relation to the world*” (Coates 1995:216), she believes that:

“ *The speaker is not at the mercy of discourses. We make choices. The use of language is dynamic. We can resist and subvert. Social and cultural changes are possible. We participate actively in the construction of meaning.*”

(ibid).

In this respect, feminist CDA is not only interested in forms of oppression but also in forms of empowerment through discourse. Feminist discourse analysts rely on the principle of ‘gender relationality’ (Lazar, 2005:12), which focuses on two kinds of relationships: the discursive co-construction of ways of doing and being a woman and a man in particular communities of practice and the dynamics between forms of masculinity , specifically, in terms of how these participate within hierarchies of oppression that affect women.

The approach to analysis of discourse within feminist CDA is based on concrete analysis; the data in feminist CDA includes cotextualized instances of spoken and written languages as well as other form of semiosis such as visual images, layout, gestures and actions.

“ While the analysis of data includes meanings expressed overtly, it is especially attentive to the less obvious, nuanced and implicit meanings for the subtle and complex renderings of ideological assumptions and power relations in contemporary societies.”

(Lazar, 2005:13)

2.5 The Power of Gender Ideologies in Discourse

The theory of ideology defines ideologies as a *“special form of social cognition shared by social groups”* (Van Dijk, 1998).

According to Van Dijk (1998) ideologies

“ ...form the basis of the social representations and practices of group members, including their discourse, which at the same time serves as the means of ideological production, reproduction and challenge.”

This means that these social representations are not personal, but shared by groups.

Van Dijk (1998) argues that in order to deal with the social conditions of ‘groupness’, it is relevant to take into account the assumption that many social factors of group membership, group organization, leadership, group practices and rituals, as well as institutions may have to be accounted for in the social component of a theory of ideology” (ibid).

Van Dijk (ibid) explains that his definition of ideology is not negative. Ideologies can be ‘good’ or ‘bad’ depending on the consequences of the social practices based on them. For instance, both racism and antiracism are ideologies, and so are sexism and feminism. Ideologies may serve to organize the social

thoughts and practices of any social group, on one hand and may serve to establish or maintain social dominance on the other (ibid).

According to Cameron (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:447), the term 'ideology' is often used in ordinary discourse to denote beliefs or belief systems (e.g. 'communism', 'feminism', 'racism'). She points out that "*Explicitly or implicitly, 'ideology' is opposed to "truth, as it is connected to belief systems which the speaker takes to be misguided and /or partisan"* (Cameron, Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:447)

According to Eckert McConnell-Ginet (2003:35) ideology is a system of beliefs by which "*people explain, account for, and justify their behaviour, and interpret and assess that of others"*

As regard gender ideologies, much of the earlier research was stimulated by the Women's liberation Movement of the late 1960s and the 1970s, which started in the United States and then spread to Europe and other parts of the world (Philips in Holmes & Meyerhoff (2003:254). The study of gender ideologies was influenced by the political position of this movement which reflected the vision

" ...that women are not equal to men in American society. They do not have the same control over their own lives and the lives of others that men have. They are dominated by men in their family life, in the workplace, and in other social domains as well, particularly religion and politics."

(Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:254).

This domination is supported by patriarchal gender ideology that justified men's domination over women. The term 'patriarchal' was used to refer to ideologies that asserted that men should dominate women, have authority over them, and tell them what to do. (ibid).

In many parts of the world, gender ideologies constitute real barriers to women's emancipation and empowerment. Women are still struggling because of their gender. Additionally, their success in fulfilling certain achievements such as having access to certain jobs or pursuing higher office is more closely tied to the circumstances in which they find themselves than is the success of men.

In the Arab world, for instance, women are still victims of the gender ideologies that govern most of the institutions. They also victims of the western assumptions that still view Arab women as powerless, or as Al-Hegelan says: “*imprisoned behind a veil of powerlessness*”²⁷

Ottaway (2004) believes that the dominant image prevailing in the western mind about Arab women is that of veiled, homebound, uneducated women who need help to take the first steps toward emancipation.

According to Al-Hegelan²⁸, Arab women are victims of a whole stereotyping process. In spite of their efforts to struggle, in their own way, against restrictive social values, they are considered as passive and incapable of achieving anything, unless they seek help and support.

“ *There is little understanding of either our status as women or the total context of our lives. Like other maligned groups, we do our best to understand these misperceptions and, in our own way, to confront them.* ”²⁹

In such a context ‘ideology’ – does not match Van Dijk’s (1998) ‘neutral definition’- it rather carries Marxist connotations. Here Women are seen as dominated by men and the whole system of gender ideology, in the way Marx had argued the working class was ideologically dominated by the bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Europe. (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:254).

Although Marxist concept of ideology was developed in terms of class relations, as Fairclough (1995b:17) points out “*If ideology is tied to power and domination, it has within the Marxist tradition more specifically been tied to class power and domination, including power exercised by the state on behalf of a dominant social class*”, now it is related to other relations of domination (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), including gender.

²⁷ <http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/arbwoman.htm> (Women in the Arab World)

²⁸ <http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/arbwoman.htm> (Women in the Arab World)

²⁹ <http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/arbwoman.htm> (Women in the Arab World)

Following Gramsci's notion of 'common sense' (Gramsci, 1971 in Fairclough, 1995b:76) Gender ideology is hegemonic in that it often does not appear as domination at all (Lazar, 2005:7); It can appear acceptable to most people in a community.

As Fairclough points out "In *common sense, ideologies become naturalized, or automatized*" (ibid). In this context, Lazar (1995), argues that one of the persuasive commonsensical assumptions as regard gender ideology, has been the 'naturalness' of the 'two sex' only idea and that the two, in social terms, must be contrasting.

On the other hand, Eckert McConnell-Ginet (2003: 35) believe that gender ideology is based on a set of beliefs that guide and govern people's participation in the gender order. By gender order she means a system that is based on assignment of rights and obligations, freedoms and constraints, limits and possibilities, power and subordination. Eckert McConnell-Ginet (ibid:36) believe also that ideology supports oppositions as to think, say and believe that men are strong, brave, aggressive, impassive, sex-driven, rational, direct, competitive, practical, rough, where as women are weak, timid, passive, relationship-driven, emotional, irrational, indirect, cooperative, nurturing, gentle and Eckert McConnell-Ginet believe that the list goes on and on. According to them "these oppositions are extremely powerful, because of their place in gender ideology, and because of the ways in which their representation permeates society" (ibid).

Although gender ideology is hegemonic, it is also resistible. As Fairclough (1995b:82) points out :

"Subjects are ideologically positioned as independent of ideological determination... subjects are also contradictorily positioned, and when contradictory positions overlap they provide a basis for awareness and reflexivity, just as they lead to problematization and change."

As mentioned before, critical discourse analysts' main concern is to investigate how ideologies can become 'naturalized' or 'common sense', in Gramsci's (1972) terms and find ways to 'denaturalize' them by increasing critical awareness. As Fairclough (1995b:24) argues: "...*ideologies are primarily located in the 'unsaid' (implicit propositions)*"

Critical discourse analysts thus, believe that awareness and critique lead to possibilities of empowerment and change (Fairclough, 1995b:83). The huge amounts of objectives that researchers are attempting to achieve from a CDA perspective, are contributing to shaping a theory. This is what Kress (1990 in Lazar, 2005:6) says about CDA: "*such an orientation entails making linguistics itself more accountable, more responsible, and more responsive to questions of social equity*".

Lazar (2005), Lakoff, Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003), Fairclough (1995), and Walsh (2003) agree on the fact that critique of ideology is relevant and possible in the sense that the workings of ideologies are not predetermined. It is continuous struggles, which dominated social classes, ethnic minorities and so forth, have engaged in, for a better world and a better existence.

" Ideological critique as a part of academic and intellectual activity, including CDA and its educational application as 'critical language awareness, should be seen in terms of the relationship between sections of the intellectuals as a social stratum, and these struggles on the part of the social classes and other primary social groups."

(Fairclough, 1995b:18).

Intellectuals then, like the other social groups, have the responsibility to contribute to raising people's awareness and to create possibilities for debates over the social and political issues.

Likewise, feminist critical discourse analysts' main concern is to take such an important part in society, through changes in discursive practices and efforts to 'denaturalize' the common sensical norms about men and women. By stressing the creative dialectic that exists between structure and agency, feminist researchers

(Smith, 1990, Mills, 1995, Threadgold, 1997), believe in the capacities of men and women have and which include maintaining, resisting and changing. As Mills (1995: in Walsh, 2001:29) points out :

“ Ideologies of gender are not solely oppressive, and they are not simply imposed on women by men. Women and men construct their own sense of self within the limits of these discursive frame-works, and build their pleasures and emotional development, often in conscious resistance in compliance with these constrains”.

2.6 Complexity of Gender and Power Relations

Essential to feminist thinking about gender difference, has been a particular model of power relations. Much early feminist thought was based on the idea that there was a more or less simple correlation between males and power and females and powerlessness (Lakoff, 1975; Spender, 1980)

Foucault (1979) formulation of power relations has been influential in this area and many feminists have argued that we need to think through power relations in a more complex manner to avoid such binary opposition.

Foucault's work in particular, has popularized a different understanding of power as a *“ubiquitous property of the technologies which structure modern institution, not possessed by or attaches to any particular social class, stratum or group”*. (Foucault, 1979 in Fairclough, 1995b:17)

Foucault's notion of power is 'productive' (Mills, 1997) in the sense that *“power is dispersed throughout all of the social relations and as a force which prevents some actions but enables others (such as the power to show resistance by a minority group”* (Hutchby, 1999 in Coupland & Sarangi & Candlin, 2001:130).

This spread of power throughout a society, rather than the holding and withholding of power by individuals, enables us to move towards an analysis which will see language as an arena where power may be appropriated, rather than societal roles being clearly mapped out for participants before an interaction takes place. In engaging in interaction, we are also at the same time mapping out for ourselves a

position in power relations within the group and within the society as a whole. This is what Sara Mills calls *'interactional power'* (Mills, 2007). For example, a secretary in a university department may be able to use a fairly direct form of address to those in positions of power over her, because of her access to information upon which they depend; conversely, lecturers, who need this information, will need to employ politeness forms which would normally signal deference (Mills, 1996).

In this context, power can be defined as “a *set of potentials which while always present can be variably exercised, resisted, shifted around and struggled over by social agents*” (Hutchby, 1999 in Coupland & Sarangi & Candlin, 2001:130).

Old models of power, which include the older versions feminism, would always tend to argue that power was held exclusively by dominant groups in society. For Marxists, power could only be exercised by the rich ruling class who owned the means of production; and for feminists, power was something held by men. These kinds of models would also have to rely on stable and clear-cut ideas of identities: no confusions as to whether people are ruling class or workers, male or female, straight or gay. Foucauldian work runs against all this, suggesting that it is not reasonable to think that power will somehow be possessed by certain people and not at all held, in any way, by others. Instead, power is something which can be used by particular people in specific situations, which itself will produce other reactions and resistances; and is not tied to specific groups or identities.

With the developments in theories such as feminism, the notion that woman are not one unified group, as radical feminists had suggested, and that a white middle-class woman, will have much less in common with a poor woman in the Third World is very relevant to the understanding of gender and power relations.

“Third –wave feminist and post-structuralist theories , have contributed to complex and nuanced understandings of power relations and gender at work within particular social orders” (Lazar, 2005:9). For feminist CDA, difference and diversity among women and men is also a reality that should be recognized. The complexity of power relations in modern societies is also a fact that should be dealt

with carefully. Feminist critical analysts have chosen to “*undertake contingent analyses of the oppression of women, as Rubin has put it, in its endless variety and monotonous similarity*” (Lazar, 2005:9)

In almost every society, women have witnessed all kinds of oppressive and exclusionary forms of social practices, physical violence, and verbal harassment and denigration, however, what is more

“ *harmful and pervasive is the operation of a subtle and seemingly innocuous form of power that is embedded and dispersed throughout networks of relations, is self-regulating, and produces subjects in both senses of the word*”

(Foucault, 1977 in Lazar, 2005:9).

According to Lakoff (1975), women are not powerful because they have been taught to be powerless and dependent. They cannot have access to power on the ground the ground that they are not capable of holding it. He argues that “*women are made to feel that they deserve such treatment, because of inadequacies in their own intelligence and /or education*” (Lakoff, 1975:8)

Although such a form of power is very alarming, it can be resisted it and changed. Such an optimistic view is recognized in Fairclough’s words when he says:

“ *At least in developed capitalist countries, we live in an age in which power is predominantly exercised through the generation of consent rather than through coercion, through ideology rather than through physical force, through the inculcation of self-disciplining practices rather than through the breaking of skulls.*”

(Fairclough, 1995b:219)

When solutions are closely connected to the socio-cultural potentials, it is possible indeed, to speak about changes. “*It is an age in which the production and*

reproduction of the social order depend increasingly upon practices and processes of a broadly cultural nature.” (ibid)

Lakoff (1975) suggests that what can be done to improve women’s situation is to offer them the opportunity to participate in the real decisions of life.

Discourse analysts, equipped with a strong critical theory finds in the analysis of language a way of detecting problems by deciphering all what is harmful and latent about power and ideologies, a way of performing changes and challenging the status quo. Here again, Fairclough’s belief in the power of language is apparent as he says:

“ Part of this development is an enhanced role for language in the exercise of power: it is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practices, meanings, values, and identities are taught and learnt.”

(Fairclough, 1995b:219)

Modern power is then, based on an internalization of social norms and acted out routinely in the texts and talk of everyday life. The concern of researchers working from a critical perspective is to make such an invisible power ‘visible’ and ‘resistible’. Relations of power and dominance can be resisted:

“... the habitus...provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives. It ‘orients’ their actions and inclination without strictly determining them. It gives them a ‘feel for the game’, a sense of what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not”

(Thompson, 1991 in Coupland & Sarangi & Candlin, 2001:129).

The notion of 'habitus' is related to language in Bourdieu's (1986,1991,1993) theory of social practice to refer to

“ *Internalized group norms or dispositions whose task is to regulate and generate the actions (practices), perceptions and representations of individuals, and to mediate the social structures which they inhabit*”.

(Jaworski, Coupland & Sarangi & Candlin, 2001:129)

However, the researchers' task to detect the social problems through analyses of discourse is not that easy and stable since the social norms and eventually power relations are not stable as well.

“ *We also live in an age of great change and instability in which forms of power and domination are being radically reshaped, in which changing cultural practices are a major constituent of social change, which in many cases means to a significant degree changing discursive practices of language use.*”

(Jaworski, Coupland & Sarangi & Candlin, 2001:129).

The concern of feminist analysts is then to examine how power and dominance are discursively produced and or resisted, in various ways, through textual representations of gendered social practices, through interactional strategies of talk.

Complexity of gender and power relations lies in the intersection of gender with other relations of power based on race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, age, culture and geography which means that “ *gender oppression is neither materially experienced nor discursively enacted in the same way for women everywhere*” (Lazar, 2005:10).

“ *Feminist CDA then would imply a perspective that is comparativist rather than universalizing, attentive to the discursive aspects of the forms of oppression and interests which divide as well as unite groups of women.*”

(Lazar, 2005:10)

In the comparativist spirit, analysts carry out studies in geographically and culturally diverse contexts. Even within similar groups, it is necessary to focus on similarities and differences.

“The concerns of professional women of high socio-economic status in affluent Western countries for instance, might seem collectively very different from working-class women from non-western countries; however, they all manifest different levels and forms of discrimination in their respective workplaces.”

(ibid).

Since discourse plays an important role in the location and maintenance of power differences among men and women, researchers are attempting to demonstrate the connection between discourse and some political, cultural and social context that enable women to have access to power.

“ *Also of concern to feminist CDA are issues of access to forms of discourse, such as particular communicative events and culturally valued genres that can be empowering for women’s participation in public domains.*”

(ibid).

2.7 Gender stereotypes

As mentioned so far, feminist critical discourse analysts’ main concern is to investigate through analyses of discourse, the hidden forms of oppressions against women. Among these forms is the establishment and naturalization of certain norms and expectations about behaviours of women through the stereotyping process. According to Talbot (2003, in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003) Stereotyping involves simplification, reduction, and naturalization. In order to make sense of the world- and the events, objects, and people in it- we need to impose schemes of

classifications. We type people according to the complexes of classificatory schemes in our culture, in terms of the social positions they inhabit, their group membership, personality traits, and so on. Our understanding of who a particular person is is built up from the accumulation of such classificatory detail. “*Stereotyping involves a reductive tendency*”(Talbot in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003 : 468) “ *to stereotype someone is to interpret their behaviour, personality and so on in terms of a set of common-sense attributions which are applied to whole groups*” (ibid).

Stereotypes focus on certain categories such as: women, Black people, etc. and connect them with certain characteristics. (e.g. *‘Italians are excitable’; ‘Black people are good at sport’*)” (Cameron 1988 in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003:468). They focus obsessively on certain characteristics, real or imagined, and exaggerate them (Talbot: ibid).

Following Talbot (ibid), both social typing and stereotyping are practices in the maintenance of the normal and acceptable as separated from the abnormal and unacceptable, resulting in the exclusion of the latter.

Dyer (1977) points out:

“ *The establishment of normalcy (i.e. what is accepted as “normal”) through social and stereo-types is one aspect of the habit of ruling groups...to attempt to fashion the whole of society to their own world view, value system, sensibility and ideology. So right is this world view for the ruling groups that they make it appear (as it does appear to them) as “natural and “inevitable”- and for everyone- and, in so far as they succeed, they establish their hegemony.*”

(Deyer, 1977 in Holmes: ibid)

Power is clearly a key consideration here. Stereotypes tend to be directed at subordinate groups (e.g. ethnic minorities, women) and they play an important part in hegemonic struggle.

According to Al-Hegelan³⁰, erasing individuals or groups by stereotyping them is not a new phenomenon. She believes that it is difficult to imagine a society or a period of history completely devoid of this particularly cruel method of depriving people of their humanity; to imagine an individual who could live an entire life without being part of the process of stereotyping. She assumes that no one can honestly claim that she or he has never said things like: "Arabs are devious," "Jews are stingy," "Blondes are dumb (or have more fun)," "Redheads are hot tempered," or any of the countless words and phrases that pretend knowledge where there is only blind assumptions.

Al-Hegelan believes that when one becomes aware of an individual's special characteristics, and when one takes into account the full richness of the culture and environment that contribute to the development of these characteristics,

“ A stereotype begins to crumble like any facade. Unless one has a need to keep another in an inferior position, he realizes that prejudice imprisons the attacker as well as the victims. ”

(ibid).

A notable feature of stereotypes of women as language users is how negative they are. *“Women’s verbal excess is treated as a legitimate source of laughter in television situation comedies, newspaper cartoons, and so on.”* (Talbot in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 471)

(Spender, 1985) suggests that women are perceived as too talkative because how much they talk is measured not against how much men talk, but against an ideal of female silence. Ideally women should be saying nothing at all.

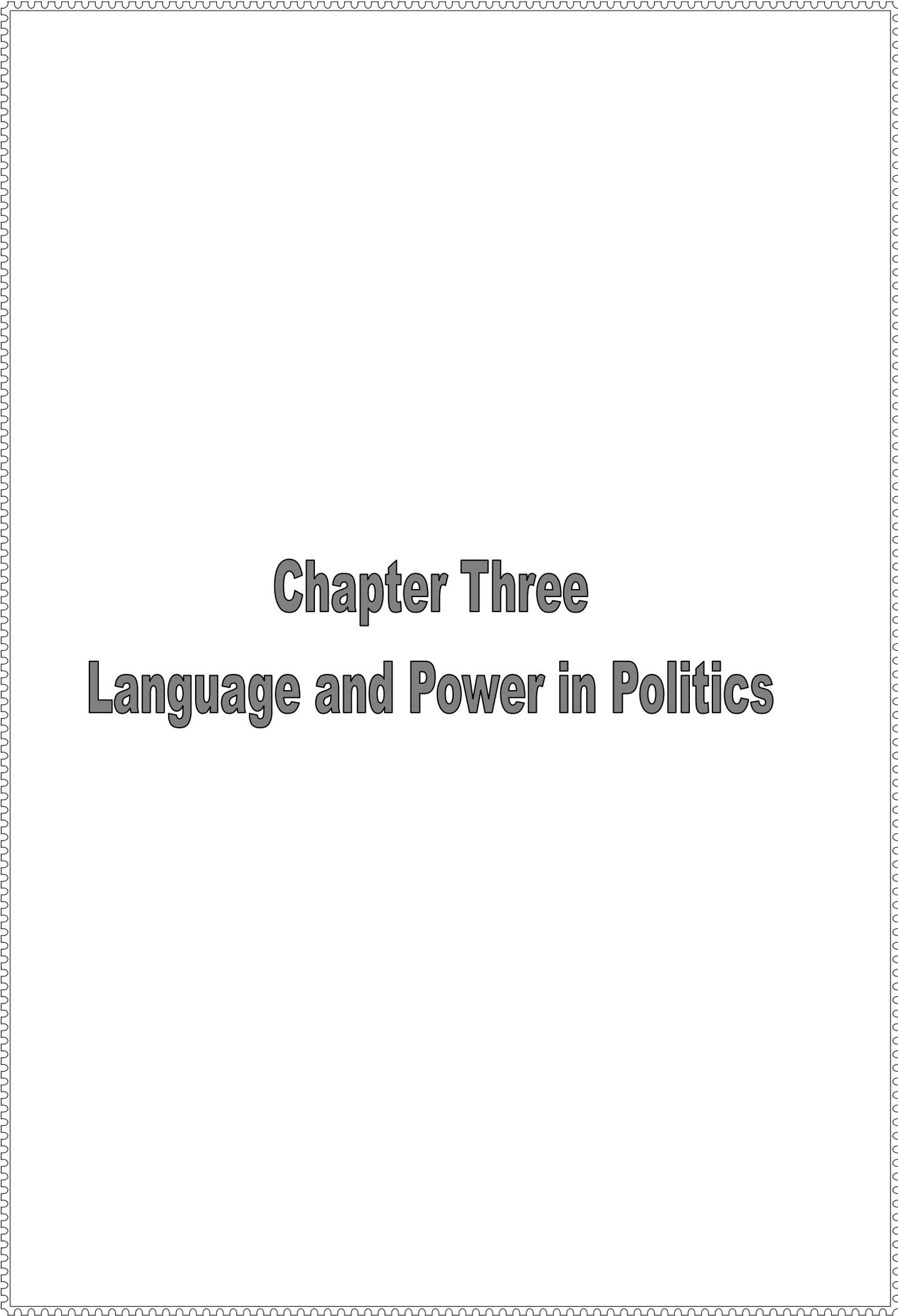
Linguistic variation among men and women has then been considered as the result of social attitudes toward the behaviour of men and women and that of the

30 <http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/arbwmn.htm> (Women in the Arab World)

attitudes men and women have toward themselves and the language they use. They speak the way they do because they feel that it is more appropriate to their sexes and it is what the others expect from them as a result of societal stereotypes usually transmitted in the process of socialization of individuals.

In this context, the role of Critical Discourse Analysis is to show how language may be used as an instrument of power and dominance. How gender stereotypes are negotiated, resisted and challenged in discourse.

Our intention in the third and fourth chapters is to investigate the impact of gender stereotypes on the involvement of women in the domain of politics and how this impact is discursively negotiated. We shall focus on the linguistic features that are present in the texts of an Algerian female politician and on the contexts that have led to their production.



Chapter Three

Language and Power in Politics

Introduction

Studies about language and gender issues include the analysis of men and women's discursive practices in relation to a number of contextual elements. Taking into consideration the idea that gender identities are multi-layered, diverse, fluid, socially and discursively constructed, critical discourse analyses should focus on the social institutions and the discourses which are related to particular institutions rather than a casual conversation. Since much social practice in complex modern society is institutionalized and since most of these institutions, such as, business, government, education, the law, are mainly verbal, the social institutions own the means of imposing ideological and discursive constraints on people. In everyday interaction and experience, the macro-and micro-level form one unified whole. For instance, a female politician's speech in parliament is a discourse at the micro-level of social interaction in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time may enact or be a constituent part of legislation, at the macro-level.

As mentioned so far, one of the most important questions that critical discourse analysts try to answer is whether gender makes a difference in the way teachers, doctors, lawyers, politicians and so on, speak and are spoken about.

Our aim in this chapter is to investigate women's participation in the domain of politics, and the effects of such an involvement in a male sphere on power relations and the production of discourse.

The questions addressed here are: does gender make a difference in the way female politicians talk and are talked about? Do female politicians accept pre-existing discursive practices, or do they try to challenge and resist them? What difference do they make at the level of discourse? Which textual traces reveal their attempts to construct subject positions for themselves?

Undoubtedly, the world has witnessed unbelievable success of women politicians and the end of public rejection of the idea of a political life for women. However, at the same time, statistics show that women make up a much smaller percentage of the population and that the image given to them by the public is still based on a stereotypical account.

According to the UN official statistics for 2007, Women hold 17.5 percent of all parliament seats around the world, over 50 percent more than a decade ago when women held 11.8 percent. This represents a consistent but small annual increase of 0.6 percent points on average. (Website)³¹

There is no doubt that women in modern societies are increasing their roles as active citizens, participating in political debate and public opinion formation. On the other hand, this participation in public spheres, previously monopolized by men, has opened the door to a range of comments and questions as regard the linguistic strategies adopted by women to impose themselves as female politicians and at the same time respond to others' expectations who seem to impose an additional burden on them. Studies also addressed the question of whether women and men in comparable positions linguistically constitute those positions in similar ways (Kendal in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003: 600)

Freed's (1996) points out that certain spaces, settings and domains may be gendered as either masculine or feminine. It means that the minority status of women within public sphere institutions, such as Parliament, means that the dominant discursive practices which circulate in these domains are those associated with male speakers. As a result:

“ Women’s public rhetoric is more likely than men’s to be fractured by competing, often contradictory, norms and expectations and that this fact, in turn, has implications for the way in which women are perceived and judged by others, as well as for the roles they are assigned within the public sphere.”

(Walsh, 2001:2)

However, this does not mean that female politicians are passive in relation to the institutional and other discursive constraints that operate on them; they contribute to restructuring discursive practices and creating new gender ideologies.

³¹ [http://www.iop.harvard.edu/var/ezp_site/storage/fckeditor/file/policygroup-women in politics report.pdf](http://www.iop.harvard.edu/var/ezp_site/storage/fckeditor/file/policygroup-women%20in%20politics%20report.pdf)

As a result, the discursive boundaries between the traditional public and private spheres are becoming increasingly weakened.

As Lakoff (in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:176) points out:

“ *The institutions in which traditional male-only “politics as usual” are being supplanted by the entrance of women into the discourse, causing novel and in some cases rather strange reorganizations of discourse possibilities*”.

3.1 Gender, Politics and Discourse

As mentioned previously, many researchers have been interested in demonstrating how men and women speak in particular contexts, the variations among them and the reasons why such differences have existed in the first place. Lakoff (Lakoff: in Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003: 162), for instance, has connected this linguistic variation to a societal imposition when he says:

“*Many proverbs and folktales function as instruction manuals for the young, warning women of the perils of assertiveness but encouraging it in men*” (ibid). There are different expectations about the way men and women should (or do) conduct themselves linguistically. Men are expected to be direct, women indirect. If a women is indirect, she is variously “*manipulative or fuzzy minded*” (ibid). If she is direct she is apt to be called a “*shrew or a bitch*” (ibid). Denying expressive power to women is political act.

The organization of conversation reflects the power discrepancy between men and women, especially when we compare the empirical findings of about the distribution of turns between males and females with the traditional stereotypes about who talks more than the other. Floor-holding and topic control are associated with power in the conversational interactions. The traditional assumption is that women do most of the talking, usually about nothing. Yet Spender (1980) found that typically men hold the floor 80 per cent of the time. Other research shows that men generate most of the successful topics in mixed-group conversation: women’s attempts are ignored by both men and other women in the group.

Jeikieve &Utka (2006:66) observe that language show women to be overly polite, hesitant and lacking self-confidence. Moreover, as Lakoff also maintained, these features reflect the different expectations of the general public about feminine and masculine interactional styles, starting with the acceptance of “showing temper” by “little boys” and with the anticipation of “docility and resignation” from “little girls” (Lakoff, 1975: 11).

Lakoff’s findings have been criticized as they place women’s language in the inferior position (Talbot, 2003). Indeed Lakoff (1975:19) points out that “*Women prejudice the case against themselves by their use of language*” At the same time, however, her data have motivated many scholars in the discipline to test them empirically. This eagerness was realized in the successive approaches of dominance and difference. The former approach argued that the gender-differentiated discourse resulted from men’s social domination as it is evidenced by the findings of men’s more frequent use of interruptions and overlapping in the cross-gender interactions (Zimmerman and West, 1975). The latter approach aimed to show that gender-specific linguistic differences should be treated as a cultural rather than a power-based variation into which boys and girls are directed through their different upbringing (Tannen, 1990, 1994).

The performance approach has introduced important transformations in conceptualizing gender identity. Instead of being treated as a fixed attribute, gender is now regarded as a diverse interactional property, as a feature liable to change, as a category of “*ongoing social processes*” (Johnson, 1997: 22) and in general as “*doing*” rather than “*being*” (Coates, 1998)

As regard women who hold prominent positions in public spheres, Analysts have been intensively engaged in the research on the interconnection between gender and the use of language in the private and in the public domains.

“ *At the end of the 20th century one important social change, namely women’s successful integration into the labor market and their growing numbers in authoritative positions, took place, blurring the gender-based patriarchal division of social spheres*”

(Jeikieve &Utka, 2006 :64)

3.2 Women's Adoption of Different Discursive Strategies

Cameron (1997) points out that there is a need to account for differences between women, as well as between women and men, since not all women in civil and public sphere roles respond in the same way to the masculinist discursive norms they encounter. Women who enter traditionally male-dominated communities adopt different strategies. According to Walsh (2001), they fall into three.

3.2.1 The Accommodation Strategy

One strategy, advocated by Lakoff (1975), is for women to embrace existing masculinist discursive practices that have become normative within the majority of communities of practice in the public sphere since they are perceived as powerful, whereas those associated with women's speech are perceived as weak and powerless. McElhinny illustrates in practice the strategy of accommodation (1995:221). She reveals that female police officers "*defeminize their language and behaviour in order to reconcile others and themselves to their presence in the police department*"

Coates (1998:295 in Walsh 2001: 5) points out that the fact that women adopt masculinist discursive norms uncritically can lead to negative evaluations to their speech:

“ But women who successfully adapt to characteristically male linguistic norms run the risk of being perceived as aggressive and confrontational, as unfeminine-in other words, there is a clash between what is expected of a woman and what is expected of a person with high status in the public sphere”.

It would appear, then, that the strategy of accommodation to “andocentric norms” (Walsh, 2001: 5) can be counter-productive, leading to negative evaluations of women's performance of public sphere roles. A number of feminists have argued that the uncritical acceptance of this strategy is, in any case, an obstacle to the

feminist goal of promoting gender equality, since it helps to promote ideas which view masculinist norms as legitimate, while women's speech as powerless.

3.2.2 The Critical 'Difference' Strategy

Another strategy is for women to challenge the "*unproblematized status of masculinist norms, promoting in their stead the more cooperative discourse style*" (Walsh, 2001:6)

Cameron (1995b:199) seems to go too far by acknowledging that feminine speech styles are being favoured in certain workplace contexts because they are very suitable to the economic conditions which are changing all the time and which need more cooperation and flexibility.

"What is happening, at least in theory, is a shift in the culture of Anglo-American corporate capitalism away from traditional (aggressive, competitive and individualistic) interactional norms and towards new management style stressing flexibility, team-work and collaborative problem-solving, which is thought to be better suited to changing economic conditions."

Indeed, many 'critical difference' feminists assume that men can and should shift their gendered linguistic behaviour in the direction of feminine norms (Holmes, 1995). That the linguistic variables that correlate with women's speech are, in many instances, preferred norms.

Cameron (1995a:43) points out, the goal of feminist theory is not to rectify existing gender relations, but to "*open up the possibility of challenge and change*". This is what 'critical difference' feminism does.

3.2.3 The Performative Strategy

Women who enter public sphere domains have an alternative strategy. Recent work (Hall and Bucholtz, 1995; Bergvall et al, 1996) has suggested the existence of another one: the shifting between masculine and feminine norms. They suggest a performative view of gender as something that can be deployed strategically.

Women in traditionally male-dominated institutions are known to practice this type of style shifting. (Walsh, 2001)

“...a number of my respondents said they invest in ideals of femininity for strategic purposes in certain circumstances, while in others they align themselves with masculinist professional norms with equally strategic, but different ends in view.”

(Walsh, 2001: 9)

Despite the fact that evidence has more or less proved the utility of such a strategy, Walsh suggests that this type of gendered style shifting is not without risks, since the hybrid nature of the resulting discursive style can lead to accusations of inconsistency and insincerity.

The former British Prime Minister, Thatcher, is a case in point. She switched between *“a confrontational masculinist style and a self consciously exaggerated and stylized version of feminine speech and behaviour”* (Fairclough 1989).

By their use of language, women are defining who they are and are making a choice which may have either a negative or a positive impact. *“A woman’s reputation and position in society depend wholly on the impression she makes upon others, how others view her”* (Lakoff, 1975: 27)

As regard the different strategies discussed above, Walsh admits that the most effective strategy is ‘critical difference’ strategy’. She supports her view by explaining that:

“ Even a small number of women can make an impact on dominant discursive norms if they pursue a ‘critical difference’ approach, where as the voices of larger numbers of women can be assimilated, if they choose to adopt a policy of accommodation to pre-existing norms and practices.”

(Walsh, 2001: 204)

Walsh (2001) believes that if professional women want to impose themselves they have to keep negotiating with the many competing and contradictory expectations that exist about how they *should* perform occupational roles. (Walsh, 2001: 204)

3.3 The Stereotypical Assumptions about Female Politicians

As shown before, the relationship between gender and the use of language especially in public domains, explains women's need for discursive strategies in order to fulfill what they expect from themselves and what the others expect from them. Everything revolves around making an impression and if possible making a difference. However this would not be easy. Obstacles are always there waiting for them.

As revealed by Wodak (2005), male dominance of the public persists in more subtle forms. For instance, the general increase of women's participation in the European political institutions does not entail their better representation at the top level: while women constitute nearly half of the employees at the European Commission, in the year 2000 only 5.9% of them assumed the highest positions (Wodak, 2005: 98). However, the stereotypes alluding to the different compatibility of men and women with public careers are still widely spread (Cameron 2003; Holmes, 2005; Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Lakoff, 2000; Lakoff, 2003; Shaw, 2000; Talbot, 2003; Thimm et al. 2003; Walsh, 2001; Wodak, 2003, 2005). For instance, Walsh (2001) observes that a significant increase of female Labour MPs after the 1997 general election in Britain was accompanied by the media's stereotypic description – 'Blair's babes'. Cameron goes further to suggest that stereotypes not only remain forceful and in most cases empirically unsupported, but can also "*become self-fulfilling prophecies*" (2003: 463) subconsciously steering people towards a stereotypic behavior. In professional communication, as Thimm et al. remark, gender-related social attitudes and possible stereotyping "*can have a negative influence on the professionals' beliefs of self-efficacy and, as a result, on their professional development and success*" (2003 in Jeikieve & Utko, 2006 :64).

There is a complex relationship between women and power. When women hold power, they are looked at in a very curious way. People often give importance to their sexuality, their private lives, and their external appearance (Salter, 2000). “*Powerful women are variously sexualized, objectified, or ridiculed.*” (Lakoff in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:173) This constitutes an additional burden for them. The public perception of powerful women is not based on the same criteria.

“ *A prominent woman who, by behaviour or appearance, does not function as a male sex fantasy is apt to be recast as a lesbian, as was the case with Attorney General Janet Reno as well as Hillary Rodham Clinton herself*”

(ibid).

Walsh adds: “ *Women who have uncritically embraced professional norms have been accused of mimicking men*” (Walsh, 2001: 205).

Even more than sexualization, objectification through elaborate discussion of appearance, usually negative, is disempowering.

Lakoff (in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003), points out:

“ *it is true that men in the public eye can be criticized for their looks, but these comments are much more dangerous to a women’s already dangerous fragile grasp of power than to a man’s: they reduce a woman to her traditional role of object, one who is seen rather than one who sees and acts*”

(Lakoff, in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:173)

The image of women in general, is related to people’s conventional view about them.

Public women are much more subject to erosion of the wall between their public and private personate than are men, with anything unconventional about their private lives leaching into judgments of their public performance. “*Hillary Clinton,*

both as first lady and as senatorial candidate, got relentless criticism largely from women about her failure to end her marriage after the Monica Lewinsky imbroglio” (Lakoff, 73). Her position as a senator is a feminist challenge to masculinity in the parliament.

Just like Hillary Clinton, many female politicians are facing this dilemma. If they want to succeed they have to face the conservative stereotypes, challenge, and resist them.

“ Equal rights for women and men and equal treatment in professional and public contexts have long been sought by prominent women and women’s organizations. Yet when we look at this more precisely we have to say that women still have to justify their existence in the public domain, and often have to compete with conservative stereotypes, whereas men are spared this kind of legitimization pressure. They are simply, and more easily, accepted.”

(Wodak in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:672).

Despite these negative responses, the part that women are taking within the political institutions is very significant and has made a difference,

“ For eight years Hillary Rodham Clinton had functioned as a standard-bearer in the gender wars, a woman cast in a traditional role trying to redefine it and herself, and thereby womanhood... Her fight for a US Senate seat could be seen as a referendum on new option gender.”

(Lakoff , in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:164)

He adds, *“Change is coming...The way we talk about the relation between women and power is a language of new, tentative, but very real possibilities”* (ibid).

Positive change is also what Critical discourse analysts are seeking through their investigations. Their aim is to increase social tolerance and deal with the possible language-related stereotyping of gender in political communication.

3.4 Women Politicians: construction of subject positions

Female politicians are then facing a dilemma because of their commitment to a particular role and they are in constant need for support, encouragement and tolerance. *“They are accepted only if they conduct themselves in the way in which people in such positions always have”*. (Fairclough, 1998:182)

They have always been concerned with establishing for themselves subject positions not only as political leaders but as women political leaders. They attempt to show the appropriate image of a political leader as being tough, aggressive, and self-confident without being unfeminine. Their attempts are to some extent evident in their texts (speeches, interviews, comments...), they also require reference to features which are not present in the text - the way they sound, and they look and so on.

According to Fairclough (1989: 183) the analyst should focus upon these features of the text: modality, especially the relational modality of obligation (must, have got to, etc.) and expressive modality (categorical truth, certainty, probability, possibility), and on turn-taking, and features of the text which express ‘toughness’, assertions and appearance-hair, clothes, jewelry, etc.

Fairclough’s (1989) analysis of the rhetorical style of Thatcher was an attempt to distinguish the relationship between what is ideologically determining and what is ideologically creative; relationship between individual creativity and social determinism. Fairclough points out *“creativity in discourse is never the willful and extra social business”* (ibid). Mrs. Thatcher’s has attempted to establish a subject position for herself as a female political leader in a social context characterized by institutionalized sexism. These are to some extent evident in the text.

Lovenduski and Randall (1993:53 in Walsh, 2001: 72) suggest that, at the very least, Thatcher achieved a symbolic victory for women, making it easier for them to attain positions of authority within parliamentary institutions:

“ Surely, the very fact of her occupation of the supreme political office and the confidence and authority with which she carried out

its duties, had some effect. She must have made it seem more possible for women to be powerful, to succeed in a 'man's world.'"

According to Walsh (2001:73) Thatcher had a real impact on the whole system of gender ideology, she says:

" Thatcher presented the only real role model for women who subsequently aspired to high political office in Britain has had a detrimental effect on feminist-identified women who have sought to promote an alternative way of doing politics."

This can also be said about every woman accomplishing a certain role in the domain of politics. The comment made by Labour's Helen Liddell: *'every woman in politics has to live down the record'* (Walsh, 2001:73)

Women's participation in a number of political contexts can then influence the positive image of women in society and offer many perspectives and alternatives.

" Margaret Thatcher has brought to the institutions of politics a new sort of leader who combines traditional properties of authoritativeness with a tough and aggressive style, and with being a woman"

(Fairclough, 1989:193).

Our aim in the following chapter is to relate the involvement of Louisa Hanoune in the domain of politics with her intentions and attempts to adopt certain discursive practices to position herself vis-à-vis the whole systems of gender ideologies and power relations.

Chapter Four

The Case of a Female Leader in Algeria

Introduction

As shown in the previous chapter, women's participation in the political arena has resulted into a range of different attitudes towards the existing discursive practices. Every female politician wants to embrace discursive strategies suitable to existing political and social realities. One strategy is to adopt masculinist discursive practices; another strategy is to challenge the status quo and a third strategy is to shift between the two.

Critical discourse analysts' main focus is to understand and expose certain realities concerning the different choices that these women have to make. Their investigations are based on complex interpretations of discursal factors and the involvement of all other social and political elements.

Not only Critical discourse analysts are interested in the way female politicians make use of language to perform their roles in specific contexts, but they attempt also to reveal what is hidden behind the choices of the different strategies adopted; the implicit intentions and the other alternatives available. The study and analysis of texts can provide them with a huge amount of information about certain social realities and certain ideologies.

In a domain such as politics women do not have the same opportunities as men and are in constant need for encouragement and support. Critical discourse analysts believe that the fact that gender ideology is hegemonic it does not mean that it cannot be resisted and challenged. Gender inequality and discrimination can be resisted thanks to critical awareness and the pursuit of the truth. To uncover certain realities about the way female politicians use language to perform their roles and resist existing social realities, is to try to answer such questions as:

What does she say? How does she speak? To whom does she speak? Why does she speak the way she does? Does she contribute, discursively, to the maintenance of gender stereotypes or rather tries to resist and challenge them?

What can be learned from these investigations and these answers can be used to push feminists' attempts to develop strategies for social change forward and to reach certain social goals as to live in a society in which people's practices and relationships with others are not predetermined by their gender identity.

Female politicians continue to struggle against the current gender prejudices and stereotypes. Their main concern is to establish for themselves subject positions not only as political leaders but as female political leaders. They have to deal with the tension that exists between being women and being politicians. If they adopt what is stereotypically associated with men, they run the risk to be judged as unfeminine. However, if they try to be less authoritative, they run the risk not to be taken seriously. In discourse, this clash is conveyed through the presence of certain features. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Fairclough (1989) suggests that analysts need to investigate these features that in their texts (speeches, interviews, comments...), they need also to make reference to features which may not be present in the text - the way they sound, they look and so on.

In this chapter, we focus on a range of social and political factors under which Louisa Hanoune performs her role as a female politician. We also focus on her discursive responses to those factors and to her own gender as well. For this purpose, we shall focus on some of the textual traces, as suggested by Fairclough (1989), which characterize her rhetorical style and convey her attempts to construct a subject position for herself as a female political leader, capable of accomplishing her roles and preserving her credibility at the same time.

We have chosen Louisa Hanoune for many reasons, for the prominent position she holds in the domain of politics in Algeria and most importantly, for her participation in the presidential elections as the only female candidate. Before Hanoune could knock at the door of politics, she was an activist for women's rights and for equality between all citizens of the republic. She is a founding member of the first association for the law for equality between women and men created in 1985.

This chapter is also devoted to a critical discourse analysis of Hanoune's rhetorical style. Our intention is to show the extent to which Hanoune's use of language is built upon a tension between her gender identity and political identity and what strategies she adopts to create a subject position for herself as a female politician. We will also attempt to investigate these strategies within historical, political and social context.

In our attempt to carry out such an investigation, we shall take into consideration the fact that rhetorical style is not an invariable way of using language, but a mixture of different ways of using language. As it will be shown, Hanoune does not always speak in the same way, but she has a distinctive repertoire of ways of speaking which she moves between in a way that can be recognized. Part of the variability of her style is related to the variability of the genres within which she operates. We will also focus to a certain extent, on her bodily performance; how she sounds, how she looks, the shifting expressions on her face, the way she moves her head and other parts of her body.

As regard the corpus, we will focus on seven examples in different genres.

- A public speech she delivered during the electoral campaign for the parliamentary elections of November 2007 (Video recorded)
- An interview she did in 2007, on the national Algerian TV, A few days before announcing her candidature for the legislative elections. (Video recorded)
- A speech she delivered at the opening ceremony of the International Tribunal on Kathrina and Rita on August,2, 2007. (Downloaded from You Tube)³²
- A speech she delivered during the electoral campaign for the presidential elections of 2009. (Video recorded)
- A speech she delivered in plenary of the assembly within the framework of the debate around the action plan of the government in October, 2008. (Video recorded)
- An open letter addressed to the Algerian people and published by the International Liaison Committee of Workers and Peoples, on February 16, 2005. (Downloaded and printed)
- An interview that appeared in La Tribune newspaper and was published by the International Liaison Committee of Workers and Peoples, on February 16, 2005. (Printed)³³

The extracts and examples taken from the first five texts have been translated from Arabic and French into English. (Translation mine)

³² <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LGzF658s4rU&feature=related>

³³ http://www.owcinfo.org/ILC/NEWS/ILC_118.html

4.1 Hanoune's Double Burden

In the early 1990s, Ali Benhadj, the most media exposed Algerian opponent, declared “ *Louisa Hanoune is the only man in the Algerian opposition*”³⁴. Does this mean that Hanoune, the politician is not a woman? Does this mean that as long as she speaks and behaves as a politician she must speak and behave as a man?

Hanoune, has once said:

“ *I am a woman. Since the time I have been in politics, I have never heard an Algerian make the least remark recorded in the framework of oppression or deny me the right to be active in politics. I found the greatest respect and infallible solidarity.*”

(Interview, 2005)

Does this mean that Hanoune is aware of the double burden imposed on her? Of the clash between what is expected from her as a woman and what is expected from her as a politician? How does she attempt to enhance her status as a politician and as female politician at the same time? How does she negotiate and challenge discursively the social assumptions and power relations?

In the following example, Hanoune establishes a relationship between her participation in the presidential elections and the beginning of a new phase in the process of emancipation of equality.

“ *In 2004, my party has presented my candidature for the presidency. This was important for my country and the entire region because for the first time that in Algeria and the Arab world a woman was a candidate for presidency. This posed questions of equality of rights. It was for the first time!*”

(Interview, 2005)

³⁴ 1.<http://themoornextdoor.wordpress.com/2009/04/27/louisa-hanoune-between-opposition-and-collaboration/>

The involvement of Hanoune in the political arena has provoked many reactions at the national and international levels.

Here are some examples in which Hanoune is talked about:

“ *Hanoune is undoubtedly unconventional ideologically*”³⁵

“ *She has been a fervent defender of women’s rights throughout her career and she represents a kind of aggressive opposition*”³⁶

“ *In terms of women’s rights generally, if Hanoune had not been in the race, there would have been no talk of equal pay for equal work, protection of maternity leave or the family code.*”³⁷

“ *People like her audacity and style*”³⁸

“ *It was for the first time the Algerian people had seen a woman courageously talking about the ideas, feelings, and the needs of the people*”³⁹

“ *An iron lady*”⁴⁰

When Hanoune is talked about, words such as (tough, aggressive, audacity, unconventional, courage.....) are often used, implying a range of hidden ‘common sense’ assumptions about female politicians. Women holding prominent positions are often considered to be courageous, audacious and tough. Women like Thatcher and Gandhi, were known to be ‘iron ladies’. No one has heard about ‘iron men or gentlemen’ because men’s toughness and capacity to perform executive roles is taken for granted.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, gender ideology is very hegemonic, in the sense that it affects, in a very implicit how people position themselves and the others.

³⁵ Hayam El Hadi for www.Magharebia.com/09/03/09

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Here are some comments on Hanoune's participation in the presidential elections of 2009.

“ We are lucky enough to live in a somewhat more advanced society. People are now more accepting of women who pursue careers and do not think about getting married.”

(A woman's comment).⁴¹

“ The fact that a female candidate is running in the presidential elections is seen by many as proof that society has made advance.”

(A man's comment)⁴²

“ Is woman not a citizen like man? Is she not Algerian like man? Is she not an individual like man? If rights were decided to all the Algerian people equally without difference between man and woman, what is the use of stipulating a specification to her? Aren't 70% of judges women? Haven't women occupied all functions in Algeria since the era of President Chedli Ben Jdid?”

(A man's comment)⁴³

“Women are far superior to men. I am glad that change is finally occurring in countries throughout the world,” said women.⁴⁴

Under these conditions, female politician have to keep “*negotiating with the many competing and contradictory expectations that exist about how they should perform occupational roles.*” (Walsh, 2001: 204)

This means that gender remains highly salient, in terms of how Hanoune is judged and perceived by others (men, women, male politicians, voters,

⁴¹ Hayam El Hadi for www.Magharebia.com/09/03/09

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

journalists...). This also means that Hanoune is in a real dilemma. If she wants to win, she has to be as expected from her. The most effective one in political contexts is abuse of rhetoric which includes the use of language to exercise and challenge power as well.

Adopting the appropriate discursive strategies is part and parcel of political career.

As Holmes (1995:67) points out “*There is little doubt that talk in public context is potentially enhancing status; it is “display” talk, an opportunity to display what one knows*”.

What discursive strategy can Hanoune adopt to enhance her status and resist gender hegemony? How can she recreate herself through language? Can she succeed to construct for herself a subject position, compatible with her own expectations and the others’ as well?

Before any attempt to investigate Hanoune’s discursive practices, consideration of some of the political and social factors that contributed to the production of certain gender ideologies in Algeria, and thus to the construction of Hanoune’s identity as an Algerian female politician, is very relevant since discourse is produced within a context.

4.2 Political and Social Contexts

Historically speaking, the overall status of women in Algeria since 1962 must be viewed in the context of the country's progress in the political, economic, cultural and social spheres. As in all the societies that make up the Arab-Muslim world, the legal status of women in Algeria presents a dichotomy. In the sense that the constitutional principle of the equality of the sexes is scrupulously respected but when it comes to civil and political rights: women have the status of full citizens. With respect to their personal status, they are governed by the Family Code, which is based in part on the Shariah⁴⁵ and despite the amendements which were enacted in 2005, it still includes strong elements of Islamic Law⁴⁶

In civil law, as in criminal law, there is no legal basis for discriminating between women and men in Algeria. Women have full legal capacity, just as do

⁴⁵ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw20/algeria.htm>

⁴⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algerian_Family_Code

men. They make free use of this capacity, pursuant to article 40 of the Civil Code, They have the right to acquire, administer, use and dispose of any property and the right to sign contracts and engage in business transactions.⁴⁷

In the political sphere, the commitment with which Algerian women took part in the struggle for national liberation has naturally led them to participate actively in the country's reconstruction efforts. The authorities, for their part, have never adopted any provisions that could be deemed to discriminate against women. On the contrary, and despite the shifting nature of political events in the country, the general status of women has improved appreciably.

There is no legislative or regulatory provision that restricts participation by women in the country's political life. The Constitution and the Elections Code guarantee women the right to vote and to be elected on the same basis as men.

Algerian women are becoming more and more active in politics. They participate both as voters and as candidates for all publicly elected institutions and other bodies.⁴⁸

However, the Algerian women are still struggling to get a fair political representation. According to Lyes Aflou (2007),⁴⁹ in spite of the legislative regulations that give Algerian women full rights as regard their participation in political life, they constitute a minority in most of the political institutions “*Despite their strong presence in the country's daily life, Algerian women remain relatively absent from political parties and the legislature*”⁵⁰. In preparation for the parliamentary elections scheduled for May 17th, a number of parties have proudly announced the inclusion of women in their lists. No parties, however, have placed quotas for women and the number of female candidates remains small. Although the leading parties are trying to achieve greater female representation, the country's elected institutions do not reflect the presence of Algerian women or the role they play in the activity of the country, says women's rights activist, Nadia Haddad.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw20/algeria.htm>

⁴⁹ Lyes Aflou for www.Maghreb2007

⁵⁰ Ibid.

"We have to raise the awareness of society, and this is a task which will take some time," she added.⁵¹

The Workers' Party claims to have 14 women at the top of its candidate lists. The largest party in the National Assembly, the National Liberation Front (FLN), has 72 female candidates out of a total of 525 nationwide. The MSP (Movement for the Society of Peace), a member of the ruling coalition, has announced that 20% of its candidates are women.

" We are seeing hesitation on the part of officials to put forward female candidates, based on the assumption that they stand less chance of being elected – but it's the party's job to tackle these taboos by enforcing the principle of equal opportunity",

(Halima Benzaghrou, a grassroots FLN activist)⁵²

According to Aflou (2007)⁵³, among the reasons for the lack of women within legislative bodies is the fact that few of them appear on the candidate lists of political parties. The total figures for the five legislative elections held in Algeria between 1977 and 2002 show a sizeable cleavage between the number of male and female candidates. The number of women candidates rose in 2002 to 694 (5.5%) from 39 in 1977 – a clear improvement, but still small when one considers there are typically 4,500 candidates.

His study also revealed that women have no influence whatsoever over candidate lists and are not involved in the creation of party policies or agendas. « *Despite all the progress made over the last three decades, conservative social tendencies continue to hamper the advancement of women in politics* »⁵⁴. Although researchers acknowledged that a few parties are beginning to take steps to increase the number of women among their ranks, progress is still slow.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Lyes Aflou for www.Maghreb2007

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Despite the fact that many women work in the civil service, education, justice and health sectors, the number of those involved in politics remains low. In parliament they occupy just 8% of seats. In the country's double elections on November 2007, few women had the chance to win

According to Lyes Aflou and Mouna Sadek (2007)⁵⁵ the prevailing theory is that the conservative nature of Algerian society prevents female candidates from getting elected and political parties are reluctant to expend energy promoting women less likely to receive votes.⁵⁶

They point out that people in Algeria in general and in rural areas in particular are still not accustomed to seeing women involved in political life. Municipal elections are primarily a matter of tribes and villages choosing their representatives, they are still not used to the idea of women representing them for the simple reason that it is not traditional for them to lead public debate in these areas and even when they manage to stand for office, they have little chance of winning votes.

Under these conditions, Women continue to fight in order to make their voices heard and to impose themselves in a domain, dominated by men, and by a whole system of gender ideologies.

Language plays a key role in this fight, indeed, and part of the empowerment of these women can be achieved through discourse. As shown already, women politicians need to embrace certain discursive strategies, suitable for existing social realities and for the roles they perform.

4.3 Critical Discourse Analysis of Hanoune's Rhetorical Style

As discussed earlier, the contexts under which Mrs.Hanoune performs her roles as a politician are characterized by negative stereotypical assumptions about women's political involvement. Besides her aims to fulfill her political aspirations,

⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁴Lyes Aflou for www.Maghrebia/2007

she has to deal with other issues related to her gender and to people's conceptions and notions about gender and power.

Through a critical analysis of her rhetorical style, I intend to grasp the connections between her struggle against stereotypical assumptions and her attempts to enhance her status discursively.

Through my examination of the videos, in which Hanoune is either delivering a speech or interviewed, I have noticed that before she speaks, she looks at the audience with a rather embarrassed smile on her face, and stands with a firm and serious expression on her face which conveys her intention to look firm and tough.

The seven texts examined suggest Hanoune's attempts to resist the dominant image, in which women are viewed as homebound and uneducated. Her attempts to display her intellectual capacities are conveyed in many ways. For instance, in several occasions, Hanoune never misses an occasion without making reference to historical events or economic analyses. She is fond of statistics, dates and geographical information. She seems aware about all what happen in the world. She moves from talking about Brazil to commenting on what is happening in the Sudan to discussing about the president of Venezuela.

She never misses an opportunity to provide her audience with facts, data and authentic examples. Here are some examples:

"Venezuela has nationalized most of the companies as an attempt to regain monopoly over the natural resources and create jobs and real economy"
(Parliament)

"Do you know that in China, 62% of the companies belong to the multinationals"
(Parliament)

"We have to draw lessons from what happened in many countries such as: Venezuela, equator, Bolivia" (Parliament)

The coming of MalcomX to Algiers immediately after the war of independence has a great impact on us! He came to express the joy of the black people in the United States of America" (International conference)

She does not hesitate to mention how proud she is because she can rely on her memory at any time. She even tells the interviewer that she has inherited this capacity from her mother.

Journalist: What is the secret behind your infallible memory? You refer to names, dates, statistics and events with a great precision.

Hanoune: That's true. I have a very reliable memory. Thank God!

Hanoune's attempts to resist gender stereotypes are clearly apparent in text. Her struggle to resist and negotiate gender is conveyed through her intentions to position herself as a strong, hardworking, and busy person, an image that seems more or less incompatible with the one established for women in general.

As in the case of the TV interview, Hanoune's discourse is loaded with words and expressions that reveal these intentions. Like when the journalist ask her if she reads books, without hesitations she says yes and gives the titles of the books she is interested in.

Hanoune: Yes, I have already read her book (Fatima Mernissi ' Le Harem Politique') It is very interesting. It is a detailed account about the political struggles

Hanoune: Recently, an Italian struggler has sent me a book but I have not read it yet.

Hanoune: I am reading a very interesting book entitled "Palestinian Papers" which I received from the Palestinian struggler, Salah Salah"

When the journalist asks her what kind of music or songs she prefers listening to, she hesitates, blushes and then smiles, after few seconds she says:

"I do not have time for that! Anyway, I listen to what I can listen to when possible"

She does not have time for listening to music. She is very busy. She works a lot. She even does not find time for vacations.

"I have not taken vacations for seven years"

The toughness in Hanoune's style is conveyed through her confrontational style as she longs to empower her image and the party she leads. She uses words such as: succeed confidence, improve, hope....) to impress the audience. She generally targets the youths as they represent the majority.

Part of the authoritativeness is in her language and specifically in the degree of assertiveness. She makes a number of categorical and authoritative assertions. Here are some examples:

“We intend to succeed and not to fail, we intend to regain confidence, and we intend to improve life standards in our society, why our youths prefer dying while our country produces gas and oil? They shouldn't lose hope? We are constructing a party to win the majority” (TV interview)

“Whatever were the difficulties no one can disable us” (Local Elections)

“No one can push us back” (International Conference)

But part of that authoritativeness is also in the way she says it. Assertions are delivered in an emphatic way and in a very sharp voice. Each assertion is followed with sharp movement of the head and the hands. Hanoune uses body language to stress important points in her speeches.

Hanoune's protest against the regime is shown through her use of a tough language as she reveals her attitudes towards the governmental institutions. The expressions she uses represent an aggressive opposition. For blaming and criticizing she uses expressions such as:

(Disengaged government, fool the citizens, sub-citizens, feeble....)

Here are some examples:

“The framework in which the amendments were elaborated is not democratic” (International Conference)

“It is not longer that easy to fool the citizens on what is really at stake here” (International Conference)

“There are citizens and sub-citizens” (La Tribune)

“The entry into the globalized world of commerce and the agreement with the European Union, what budget will the Algerian State have in order to carry out its

responsibilities of public service and to pay the salaries of functionalities?” (Open letter)

“The state is thinking of divesting itself of the prerogative to intervene, to enforce labor laws, to maintain jobs, to create them” (Open letter)

“What guarantees will protect the social denegation of our workers?” (Open letter)

“No! The state will not know how to guarantee the maintenance of jobs and existing gains in privatized industries!” (Open letter)

She asks negative questions as a means to presuppose certain answers and impose certain realities, like in these examples:

“Isn’t this that makes the state feeble, unable to preserve our rights” (Open letter)

“Isn’t this that pushes our youths to flee their country?” (Interview of 2007)

“Aren’t we on the verge of disaster?” (Elections, 2007)

Here are some examples of Hanoune being audacious and tough in the speech:

“We pose a question to the ministers! How could they still speak about the achievements of the Arabs in the Golf countries? Don’t they know that the stock exchange of the Golf has just wasted 150 billion dollars?” (Parliament)

“On July 27, 2008, our president diagnosed privatization and revealed his fears concerning its dangerous effects, but unfortunately he did not stick to his ideas and did not keep his promises”

Hanoune’s attempts to emphasize her record as an experienced, accomplished and potential leader and politician are clearly demonstrated in her speeches.

This view is reinforced by her selective depiction of the roles she has performed. And the use of authoritative statements like in these examples:

“No one can stand in our way, no one! We have faced all the difficulties; we have never shrugged our shoulders” (Local elections)

“Unlike the other political parties, we are the only who feel so concerned about the people’s issues” (Presidency, 2009)

“In 2002, the unity of our country was about to explode, we decided to participate for the unity of the country. In 2004, we run for the presidency under the slogan Algeria is Amana”

“We run for the legislative knowing that our country was in a bad situation”.
(Presidency, 2009)

“Not a day goes by that I’m questioned by collectives of workers, who are desperate, who ask: why? What’s going to happen to us?” (Open letter)

“A few months ago, our people spoke about our beliefs as being archaic. Now, great capitalist countries speak about reconsidering their economic systems by adopting these same beliefs” (Parliament)

“We have expressed our fears openly; we have not waited for the crisis to speak out”

“We have proposals of 62 amendments” (Presidency, 2009)

“Concerning the importation of medicines, we have proposed an amendment for seven times” (Presidency, 2009)

Even when she wants to avoid confrontations, she manages to keep her authoritative style. The way she sounds and the expression on her face give a certain salience to her statements.

Some of these statements are delivered very slowly and followed by applause.

Here are some examples:

“We accuse no one, we merely pose questions” (Open letter)

“We wish we could settle disputes peacefully” (Parliament)

“We do not tolerate any kind of interference in other parties’ affairs” (Parliament)

“We respect every one’s attitudes” (Parliament)

Hanounes’ struggle to strengthen her image as a political leader at the expense of her image as a woman is present in text. When she speaks about her concerns and ambitions, she makes sure to go beyond expectations, beyond gender, and even beyond ethnicity. Her discourse is that of a politician holding a powerful position and ready to make a difference. In a very authoritative voice she says:

“I also come from Africa, I come from North Africa, I come then from the black continent, the fragile continent, where the majority of people are deprived from their rights” (International conference)

“I also represent hundreds and hundreds of Algerian men and women who responded positively to this call...” (International conference)

“We long to show the way to millions around the world, particularly in Africa”

“We have to save humanity” (International conference)

“This campaign was organized in defense to our Palestinian women and the Arab women; this is our fight against discrimination” (International conference)

“I will never forget The Gold coast tragedy of 2005. I will never forget the image of hundreds of people forced to flee their nations”

“We have to work together, politicians, experts... we have to look for an issue to our nation, to the peoples and why not to the whole world” (Parliament)

Hanoune’s intentions to empower her image by exhibiting her capacities as a political leader are revealed through language in many ways. In order to show her capacity to deal with all the Algerians and gain their compassion, confidence and solidarity she tries to reduce power and status differences and focuses on what all participants share.

Hanoune uses ‘everybody knows’ ‘we all know’ “you know” as a way to emphasize the mutual knowledge of the participants and get them involved.

“What about the youth in our country who constitute a majority, who aspire to a decent job and starting a family?”(Open letter)

“What will happen to the retired? What will happen to the Algerian workers and their families?” (Open letter)

She also uses the inclusive pronouns (our, we, us), positioning the others as her allies. Being aware of the need to have a social base from which she can look for support, she targets the diverse social groupings which need to be welded into a coherent constituency. Words such as (all, the majority) are used to construct generalizations. Here is an example:

“I address my speech to the workers, the farmers the youth, who constitute the majority of the Algerian people” (Presidency, 2009)

However, these social groupings can never come under the same umbrella if they do not share the same fears and expectations. For this reason Hanoune intentions to shock and frighten the audience are revealed by her attempts to evaluate the government in the most negative way; she uses a great deal of dramatic words and alarming expressions (warning, ruin, tragedy, industrial desertification...)

Here are some examples from the open letter.

“Warning! Our country is on the verge of ruin”

“What will happen to millions of Algerians? Must Algerians die of cold while our country produces gas and oil?”

“There are pressures from abroad forcing our country to get rid of economic and social missions to ensure the maximum profit for the multinationals by placing at their disposals our infrastructures, our industry, and our natural and financial resources”

“The national tragedy that has plunged our country has weakened the social tissue”

“The application of a privatization plan would ruin any chance of re-establishing normal living conditions. It would accelerate social breakdown and living in violence”

“Infernal working conditions, reduction in wages”

“Disaster and industrial desertification”

Talking about the issues that threaten all the people in Algeria is not the only way to unify the Algerians; Hanoune refers also to the contributions and implication of all masses in the process of promotion. Hope is a great unifier of populations.

“There is strong movement among women in trade Unions, universities,”

(International conference)

“There is still time to save our country” (Open letter)

“The hope of a return to peace and fraternity seems possible” (Open letter)

“It is up to us! Up to Algeria....”

“since the workers, the youth, the farmers who constitute the majority of the Algerian people, affirm each day that they will not renounce their country, I share their stubborn hope that it is not too late, that Algeria can survive” (Open letter)

As mentioned before, Hanoune’s authoritativeness is shown through the modalities which predominate in her speeches. The relational meaning of ‘obligation’ expressed by the modal auxiliaries (have to, must...) as is the case in the following examples:

“We have to stop the privatization programme right now!” (Parliament)

“We have to re-open the companies and create jobs”

“We must bring back our money from abroad”

“We have to fight the bargainers and the profitters”

The turn-taking system depends on power relationships between participants.

In the interviews and the speeches examined, Hanoune’s dominance of talk is very apparent. She talks continuously and quickly, stressing some words and expressions by delivering them slowly. As in the case of her speech (Parliament), although the chairman interrupts her for three times and asks her to give ground to the other participants, Hanoune keeps talking ignoring any attempt to silence her. Here is an extract from her speech.

Chairman: please!

Hanoune: (still talking) we have to do something to act now.

Chairman: Mrs. Hanoune!

Hanoune: (still talking) it is our responsibility to find solutions.

Chairman: No more than one minute Mrs. Hanoune.

Hanoune: (still talking) we can do many things if we join our efforts.

Here is another extract from the TV interview of (2007) in which the interviewer (Bouamama) interrupts Hanoune for three times to take the turn and change the topic, but she does not manage to do so in spite of her status as an interviewer. Hanoune attempts to control the interview in a very firm but polite way.

Bouamama: I would like to ask you about your participation....

Hanoune: Excuse me! I have not finished yet!

Bouamama: will you announce your.....

Hanoune: (still talking) our youths are desperate

Bouamama: Mrs Hanoune how about...

Hanoune: (still talking) it is high time we did something for our youths.

In the same interview, Hanoune is interrupted twice by a male journalist who wants to ask her some questions. Once more, Hanoune refuses to give up the floor. She seems much more concerned with dominating the others and asserting her status. Here toughness and determination are also conveyed through her rejection of the

journalists' questions and even through her negative evaluation of their opinions. Here is an extract from the TV interview of 200, in which Hanoune comments on a journalist's question in a very tough way, bodily as well as verbally.

Journalist: Mrs. Hanoune, your party intersects with a variety of parties around the world.

Hanoune: What? You are mistaken! You are totally mistaken!

Conclusion

We have focused in this analysis on Hanoune's intentions to empower her image as a politician and her attempts to combine properties of authoritativeness with being a woman through language. While her visual appearance suggests that she is very careful about her image as 'feminine'- Her hair is always brushed in a very feminine and traditional way. She always makes sure to wear brooches, necklaces and earrings- the linguistic features present in texts convey her toughness and authoritativeness. Her interview style is rather combative, interrupting interviewers, rejecting their attempts to change the topic, challenging their questions, not giving ground to interviewers. The authoritativeness of her style is linguistic as well as bodily. This illustrates her attempts to make her rhetorical style compatible with that expected of a male politician and thus and reveals her intentions to embrace masculinist discursive practices that have become normative within the majority of political institutions since they are perceived as powerful and since those associated with women's speech are perceived as weak and powerless.

Running the risk of being perceived as aggressive and unfeminine, Hanoune adopts the strategy of accommodation to andocentric norms (Lakoff 1975) as an attempt to preserve her credibility and enhance her status in a domain totally dominated by men. For a number of feminists, adopting such a strategy is very risky and can cause misunderstanding and under evaluation of women's capacity to perform public sphere roles. They believe that any acceptance of the established norms can undermine the goals to fight gender discrimination, since it helps to maintain and

promote ideas which view masculinist norms as legitimate, while women's speech as powerless.

Nevertheless, consideration of gender stereotypes and the whole ideological system and their hegemonic power, and consideration of how gender hegemony is produced, supported, negotiated and challenged socially and in discourse, can shed light on certain realities that have been hidden from people either consciously or unconsciously.

It is true that analysis of Hanoune's style reveals her attempts to exercise power discursively, but it is also true that her intentions and attempts are determined, to a certain extent by the existence of certain political and social factors.

Joining the micro level of interaction to the macro-level, contributes to a better understanding of Hanoune's motives. At the same time it helps to look for the other alternatives, concerning the use of language that may be more efficient in terms of gender equality. It is a process in which the discursive boundaries between the traditional public and private spheres are becoming increasingly weakened, in which Hanoune's ambitions are not achieved yet, in which her attempts to gain power and credibility are still continuous as well as her contributions to restructuring discursive practices and creating new gender ideologies.

Conclusion

Conclusion

Theories about language and its relationship to society have developed in many ways and have resulted in the recognition that language “*can be seen as a heterogeneous collection of discourses*” (Coates, 1986:216). Discourses enable us to perform different ‘selves’, because different discourses position us in different ways in relation to the world. In this context, Kress (1989:11) believes that:

“ *The individual’s history is composed of the experience of a range of discourses, passing through the intimate relations of the family and its discourses of authority, gender, morality, religion, politics; into school and its discourses of knowledge, science, authority, aesthetics; to work and adulthood*”.

According to him, every one’s has a discursive history which bears the traces of the discourses associated with the social places she or he has occupied and experienced.

Analysis of discourse is no more a level of analysis, for instance, phonology or lexico-grammar but an exploration of how ‘texts’ at all levels work within sociocultural practices. Critical discourse analysts have come up with new tools and notions, regarding discourse in terms of the use of language in speech and writing, considering it as a social practice. They have focused on the study of language as part of a wider social event in order to achieve certain social goals Such as: equality, emancipation, social awareness and so on. To try to fulfill these hopes is to focus attention upon ‘social institutions’ and upon discourses associated with them instead of focusing on ordinary conversation. Researchers working within the CDA framework believe that certain institutions are very powerful and hold the necessary means to impose ideological and discursal constraints on people. For this reason, a complete and efficient analysis of discourse can be reached through integrating the ‘micro’ to the ‘macro’ research. This can also be reached through the contributions of other researchers from other disciplines such as sociology, psychology, medicine, education among many others.

CDA then, takes a particular interest in the relationship between discourse and power, and as mentioned previously, discourse is a very important aspect of power which is held by both individuals and institutions in modern society. Any challenge to the status quo is a threat to these individuals and institutions. Critical analysts' purpose is to try to explain how certain conventions are the results of power relations and power struggle and to reveal the ideological assumptions which are consciously or unconsciously embedded in these conventions of which people are not aware. Ideologies are thus, of a particular interest for critical analysts as they are closely linked to power.

Discourse analysts then, equipped with a strong critical theory are concerned with the analysis of discourse as a way of detecting problems by revealing the hidden connections as those between ideologies and power. They focus also on all what is harmful in discourses. They believe in the freedom of individuals to make choices within discourse. They believe also in the possibility of changing and challenging the status quo.

Challenging the status quo is challenging the stereotypes which involve ideologies that have become 'naturalized' 'common sense' or 'acceptable' despite the fact that they may be very bad and very harmful. People are typed and classified according to the classificatory schemes in their cultures, in terms of their social positions, their group membership, personality traits, and so on. Power is clearly a key consideration here. Stereotypes tend to be directed at subordinate groups (e.g. ethnic minorities, women) and they play an important part in hegemonic struggle. As Fairclough (1995:24) argues ways must be found to 'denaturalize' them by increasing critical awareness.

In this context, many feminists have been concerned with showing the persuasive commonsensical assumptions as regard gender ideology. Among these stereotypical assumptions has been the 'naturalness' of the 'two sex' only idea and that the two, in social terms, must be contrasting. Essentialists believe that sex and gender is the same thing, or at any rate inseparable. However, the distinction between sex and gender has been one of the most important concerns of feminists and researchers interested in gender studies. According to them "gender" refers to

the social and cultural constructions of masculinities and feminities. It does not refer to biological difference, but rather cultural difference.

The constructionist theory argues that men and women are actively involved in constructing their own gendered identities according to their situations and beliefs. Their understandings of gender are dynamic, changing over time with maturity, experience and reflection. As individuals develop and shape their gender identities, they may reject some widely accepted notions of gender and adopt new ones. Constructing and reconstructing gender identities is a challenge.

Current trends in feminist linguistics thus takes into account a number of contextual elements. For most of researchers, gender identities are multi-layered, diverse, fluid, and actively produced. Instead of abstractions, they focus on situated interactions and show the need for dynamic and multidimensional analyses.

A large amount of research related to gender issues has been conducted within the framework of CDA. Most of it seeks to identify in some way how discourse supports or creates gender discrimination. Feminists concerned with language and gender issues did not hesitate to work within the Current trends assuming that gender does not exist pre-discursively, but is produced and negotiated in discourse. Their contributions and efforts resulted in the emergence of “Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA).

From the FCDA approach, researchers are then interested, first and for most, in establishing a better vision of a society, a just society in which people’s practices and relationships with others are not predetermined by their gender identity. According to Lazar (2005) such a contribution to the analysis of f discourse for the purpose of showing the power that maintain oppressive social structures and therefore, effecting social transformations, is itself a form of ‘analytical resistance’. Gender remains highly salient, not only in terms of the public identities, women and men construct for themselves, but also in terms of how they are perceived and judged by others.

In almost every society, women have witnessed all kinds of oppressive and exclusionary forms of social practices, physical violence, sexual and verbal

harassment and denigration, however, what is more harmful and pervasive is the operation of a subtle and seemingly innocuous form of power that is embedded and dispersed throughout networks of relations. Indeed, a whole ideological apparatus exists. In this context, feminist critical discourse analysts recognize that power may be everywhere and that gendered subjects are affected by it in different ways. Although such a form of power is very alarming, it can be resisted and changed.

These forms of oppression against women have been multiplied by their entrance in public domains previously monopolized by men, especially the domain of politics. Political discourse has often been identified as a male domain, with women excluded or at best relegated to the role of observers. Despite the fact that in interviews, some female politicians pretend that they have never faced any kind of problem being women and that the domain of politics is a gender neutral territory with equal opportunities for women and men, female politicians are subject to the forces of traditional stereotypes. If they are to succeed they have to adopt, among other behaviours, masculine discursive practices. This means that they have to speak in a way that suggests that they are capable of performing their public roles. If they do so, they are ridiculed and judged as unfeminine. Such attempts to construct discursively subject positions for themselves as authoritative female leaders capable of negotiating with the many competing expectations that exist about how they should perform occupational roles develop and maintain their credibility, can be demonstrated through the analysis of certain textual features such as modalities, turn-taking, interruptions, and the other linguistic form used to convey authoritativeness. Fairclough's analysis of Thatcher's rhetorical style has shown the extent to which she manages to position herself as authoritative and feminine as well.

The entrance of women into the domain of politics, has caused novel, and in some cases rather strange reorganizations of discourse possibilities and has made a difference to the hegemonic discursive norms that prevail in these domains. At the very least, the increasing presence of women has called into questions the unproblematic status of discursive practices and beliefs that predominate in these

domains. The access to civil and public sphere has afforded women new opportunities for self-fashioning and self-defense as well.

The number is still small but it can make an impact. All the details gathered of what women are saying and doing, their activities, speech, and behaviour, are different enough from the stereotypes which have been handed in the past. There is enough evidence that things are changing. As Lakoff (2005 in Holmes&Meyerhoff, 2003: 178) points out “*change is coming, the clock cannot be turned back*”. Each woman who has managed to find a place for herself in the domain of politics has been heard in a way or another, each one has succeeded to effect some change in her own self-definition and in public images of women. As a result of the process of discursive restructuring, the discursive boundaries between the public and private spheres are becoming increasingly weakened.

The case study in the fourth chapter illustrates the struggle female politicians engage in to resist gender stereotypes and how the clash between political identity and gender identity are discursively conveyed. Hanoune’s intentions to empower her image as a politician in a context characterized by male dominance and her attempts to reject the negative stereotypical assumptions about women politicians are conveyed by her dominant and tough rhetorical style. Indeed, the seven texts examined reveal the extent to which, Hanoune wants to position herself as tough, determined and firm. This is accomplished through embracing masculinist discursive practices which prevail in the political arena. Her style is characterized by interrupting interviewers, rejecting their attempts to change the topic, challenging their questions, not giving ground to interviewers; the authoritativeness of her style is based on language and body.

Hanoune’s discursive strategy is determined to a certain degree by existing political and social factors. However, her involvement in the arena of politics has contributed to reconsidering certain facts regarding women’s performance of public roles and the whole system of gender ideology.

Her attempts to preserve her credibility and make her voice heard are still progressive as well as her contributions to restructuring discursive practices and creating new gender ideologies.

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Louisa Hanoune between Opposition and Collaboration.27 April, 2009 by Kal

Appendix 1

Open letter conference

In Defense of Trade Union Independence & Democratic Rights

ILC INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER NO. 118

A dossier of weekly information published by the International Liaison

Committee of Workers and Peoples

February 16, 2005

La Tribune, a national Algerian daily, interviewed Louisa Hanoune, secretary general of the Workers Party in Algeria, with regard to the reform of the family code. *La Tribune* indicated:

"Louisa Hanoune, prior to finding a political niche that corresponds to her political aspirations and allows her to fight for the principles she believes in, was an activist for women's rights and for equality between all the citizens of the Republic. She is a founding member of the first association for the law for equality between women and men created in 1985."

It seems useful for our readers to recall that the Algerian Constitution proclaimed after the independence of Algeria in 1962, accords equality in right to women and men. It was in 1984 that the Family Code was instituted making women "second class citizens."

Interview

LT: Regarding the debate about the amendment to the family code recently adopted by the government's council. What are your comments?

LH: There was apparently a flipflop on the part of certain members of the commission under pressure. The reason is that the framework in which the amendments were elaborated is not democratic. Because these are people-whose integrity I do not question-who were chosen on unclear basis. From a democratic point of view, it's about recognizing the principle of citizenship for all.

Therefore it is about respecting the Constitution in reference to the question of equality and the abolition of any form of discrimination. There is pressure on the government to annul these amendments that translate into a call for people to demonstrate. These are different times. It is no longer that easy to fool the citizens on what is really at stake here. This debate has already taken its own course. Several years ago women mobilized against the first version, held in secret, along with the men that signed petitions with us against the assembly of a single party, that had no legitimacy, can decide the future of half the Algerian people, and confine it to a second class status.

At the time we declared against the codification of personal relationships. Because from a democratic point of view and the principles of a Republic, since that time that one speaks of a particular status, of a particular social category, this carries systematically different rights, and consequently inferior ones. The law cannot legislate on the basis of sex. It is about laws in regard to marriage, divorce (these are contracts), these are within the civil code, in other words in positive right.

LT: You therefore maintain your position according to which the code in force was drawn up against women.

LH: Absolutely. It is a law designed to codify, institutionalize the oppression

of all Algerian women. These aren't only regulations for marriage, divorce, and the custody of children. No. The code defines the status of women.

According to the terms of the code, there are citizens and sub-citizens in Algerian society. Women are included in the second category.

At the time this text was promulgated, it was not the product of a requirement of society. The Algerian people didn't need a family code. All the movements that existed and demonstrated in demand of democracy, trade union independence in connection with a single party, the recognition of tamazight, and social rights. There wasn't a process of regression. On the contrary. The Algerian peoples looked to progress, democracy, and rose up against misery that had started to prevail. They didn't want a single party system. It was for the needs of a single party, which was already in crisis, that this code was drawn up on the sly.

At that time we discuss, in total secrecy, the length of the stick with which a man beats his wife. It wasn't possible therefore to talk about something that had been voluntarily prepared on the sly. It was my opinion and that of the majority of women who mobilized. Those who cried out threatened because the amendments approved by the counsel of government suppressed the guardianship for the women within the marriage, we must remember that before 1984, the Algerian people were Muslims.

Under colonization, they had been able to preserve their culture and their identity. While they demonstrated, and because they fought for independence, Algerians went out of their way to denote: "Algeria - Algerian." "Muslim Algeria." There wasn't a family code at the time. Algerians married and divorced perfectly normally. Judges decided on their soul and their conscience. That doesn't mean that all rights were recognized. But now that this code is in force, the judge can't - even if he wants to - protect the women and the children, as he is obliged to apply the law.

LT: Those who oppose the amendments argue that depravity and prostitution would be rampant if guardianship is suppressed. What is your opinion?

LH: Those who deal in prostitution and white slavery are Muslims. To those who come up with these kind of arguments we ask what they think of women and children who spend the nights in street arcades in the capital city or other towns in the country, subject to all the dangers.

LT: What do you really think of these amendments?

LH: Firstly, I tend to rise up against the politicians who pretend that the activists who fight for women's rights, in which I have been involved from the beginning of the movement, want polyandry. That is to say to marry several men. These are lies, calumny. It's scandalous! Women demanded equality in rights, and the banning and interference in private affairs. In reference to polygamy, it says in this project that it is up to the judge to decide if a man must remarry or not, and if he is able to ensure equality among his wives. It's an aberration. It is terrifying that in 2004 we continue to talk about this and that there are voices that rise up to say that we want the maintenance of polygamy.

But who is entitled to speak about equality? What woman can accept to be oppressed? When a man and a woman marry, it is to build something together, make children and share a common life. Returning to polygamy, I would say that there is not a woman on the face of this earth that would accept sharing her husband with another woman.

Furthermore there is no way to measure equity. Therefore, when the man wants to remarry, this is the problem. There are marriages that are not successful because of incompatibility, violence, and disagreements. When one

reads the chapter about divorce, one observes that the kohl is maintained, even if the novelty includes the partner.

There is a disposition that stipulates that in the case of divorce, if she keeps the children, the women must stay in the conjugal home if the husband doesn't provide a separate lodging for her. This doesn't solve the problem if, in the majority of cases with children, she finds herself on the street. This, because the state has not taken up the question of lodging.

LT: It is a question of compensation and damages for both

LH: Why do we call it kohl if it's about compensation and damages? You must know that the kohl, in its original conception, consisted in the buy back of freedom by a slave. I am not a specialist in the fikh and I don't make mix things up. I am a responsible politician. I live in a Republic. I would like to see laws that are framed in positive law, civil law that treats all questions of the city, about the lives of men and women. There's no reason why if in speaking of commerce, economy, international relations, it can be done within the framework of positive law but from then on that it's about the status of a woman, a small part is opened in the soul of the fougaha and resorts to jurisprudence.

Jurisprudence, precisely, is that each one can interpret it as they wish. It's the reason why we must absolutely separate things. If there is a divorce, there should be equality between men and women. The separation must be valid for both. On the other hand, in this new version, the right to work is not recognized unless it is clearly established in the Constitution. If the woman wants to work, under the terms of this project, she must record it in the marriage contract. It's very strange it's an aberration in a country such as Algeria where women participated in the revolution, where she is not excluded from any job, where she is a candidate for the presidency of the

Republic, congresswoman, and votes on questions that concern the nation. Women have political rights but, paradoxically, she has to specify her right to work in the marriage contract. If need be, the husband can prevent her from working. It's exactly the same in the case of the right to education that is recognized constitutionally but not guaranteed in fact. In this sense there is no system or mechanism to follow education. Generally, it is the young girls who are sacrificed when the parents are not financially able to send all their children to school. They make a choice.

Nevertheless, all other aspects are within the family code and are similarly aberrant from the point of view of relations between the couple. If the woman must obey her husband, he can even prevent her from going out. Therefore the right to work is not guaranteed. Consequently, we cannot speak of citizenship. The code in force is a text on personal status. That is why it doesn't concern the woman. It is not a law that refers to the question of relationships in the family, starting from a single principle that is equality - and the law should be neutral, and not give privileges to one or the other. Except for the right to guardianship where the mother should have priority without the father being prejudiced.

LT: Independently, from the Workers Party position, which is for abrogation, pure and simple, what are the positive changes that you have seen in the new version?

LH: It's not about saying that the new text contains nothing positive. It's not black or white. Parental authority and the right of guardianship awarded to the father is in second place and constitutes advances. In effect, it is important for the stability of the child that he would be in charge of one parent or another. The child needs both parents for his psychological balance and the formation of his personality. It is the same for the guardianship.

Unfortunately we have observed that there is only one point of view on this project. One cannot qualify the contradictory debate. On my part, I led an electoral campaign. The democratic questions were plebiscited to the example of the recognition of tamazight for which one cannot demand a referendum for its officilization. It's a natural right. On this point, I particularly insisted in the Arabic-speaking regions. I didn't find any animosity. On the contrary. Algerians demonstrated that they seek ways and means to resolve their problems.

This was equally so when I broached the abrogation of the family code. I am a woman. Since the time I have been in politics, I have never heard an Algerian make the least remark recorded in the framework of oppression or deny me the right to be active in politics. I found the greatest respect and an infallible solidarity. It's normal. I believe it's a victory for democracy. It's a scathing reply to all the charlatans (that's what one should call them) the obscurantists who want to push Algerian society backwards.

Algerians have always judged on political positions. This is normal since it is the product of our history. The fight for national freedom in our country had a special place since it was a revolution that carried profound modifications on these questions. Men and women marched alongside and joined the maquis. In the house where I was born there were men and women who fought against colonialism. It was never a problem. There was a woman that I would like to see testify how she led a mujahedin group, and how they conducted the debates with my father in regard to my mother, and my sister, who is illiterate.

This entire dynamic brought by the revolution can't be erased despite the political tendencies that wanted to push us back. The independence of Algeria brought considerable progress: first in its evolution and later in thought and research. Since little girls were attending school, women were asked to occupy positions in administration, the prefecture, and education. There was a

need for officers to represent the State. You can't erase all this after all the tragedies we have experienced, especially during the recent period.

LT: The amendments adopted in the government council met with opposition from some of the political class

LH: Those threatening voices want Algerians to be against citizenship for over 50% of society. I repeat, it's not a matter of black or white, but we want this code to be abrogated because it is anti-constitutional. It violates the dispositions of the supreme law of the country that bans any form of discrimination. From the point of view of the republic and democracy-this is valid for any law draft in any circumstance -- if one considers that a text is unconstitutional, one should abrogate it.

We recognize the principles of the Republic and then we argue about the framework and the type of law that we should debate. Institutions of the Algerian state planned the Constitution. Persons who met behind closed doors and adopted, according to their point of view, their ideology, a text against Algerian society in order to prevent its advance, made the family code. We recall-- my political moral tells me to say exactly what happened -- in 1989, when the debate on co-education was introduced, it wasn't the Muslims who were in power, but the assembly of a single party. The suppression of co-education was proposed.

The deputies of the single party accused over 400,000 employed women to be responsible for the unemployment of men. It was an assembly that started to orient itself with counter reforms and an austerity that would engender unemployment. In every instance, the question of regression on the plan of freedoms or equality was tied to something else. It's one side of the coin: in other words, economic regression. The question of rights and citizenship is always present, since the first trial in 1978, in which an attempt was made to

ban women from leaving the country without the authorization of their husbands.

LT: This measure was later removed

LH: That's because there is a strong movement among women in trade unions, universities, and students. It was therefore an attempt that we were able to prevent. Afterwards, after we learned that there was a text on the family code, held in secret, we mobilized again in an extraordinary manner. We were successful in removing the project.

Furthermore, we must remember, for those who have a short memory, that the family code adopted in 1984 on the sly, was in favor of a wave of repression that, for the first time after independence, had concerned women. Fettouma Ouzzegane, an activist of my organization and myself, and activists for human rights, as well as the action committees that existed at the time were slightly embarrassed in the sense that one had to choose between carrying on a campaign for our freedom or continue the mobilization for the removal of the text.

On the other hand, the first women's association was founded in 1985, under the system of a single party. It posed fundamental problems: the abrogation of the family code and the recognition of equality before the law for women and men. It was later titled the Association. One fought equally for the right to organize independently from a single party. A democratic question that concerns all the Algerian people. It wasn't a fight against men, as we didn't hold the men responsible for this regression, but rather the single party system.

LT: Those who voted for the code, did they do so in the sense of oppression of women or rather to ensure their power?

LH: They did it for ideological reasons. The system of the single party is in crisis. It was necessary to distract attention. This type of regime always has the need to put one sector of society against the other. In history, women are always the first to be oppressed. When I became an activist there wasn't a family code. But in the collectives that existed in the most important towns of the country, they fought against a form of oppression and backwardness that wasn't codified. Returning to the code, I would like to recall that Abdelmadjid Méziane (God rest his soul) had explained that the family code was anti-constitutional and that it was an aberration to apply regulations that existed in past centuries to today's world.

In 1989, when we at last had the right to demonstrate, we came out by the hundreds and thousands. The men were more numerous. They carried their children on their shoulders and shouted: "We don't want women to be oppressed. We don't want our daughters to be oppressed." It is a fight for equality. It is the reason why I say that the president of the Republic, guarantor of the Constitution, must control the constitutional council and abrogate this code.

LT: What would be your position if the question of inheritance were removed?

LH: We are in a country named the "Algerian Republic, democratic and popular." In the republic one separates the political from the religious. Religion is a private affair.

LT: However Article 2 of the Constitution stipulates that Islam is the religion of the State!

LH: This is one of the contradictions of the country. We want to support the positive aspects that constitute the conquests after independence. We fight to remove these contradictions. There are other countries, also Islamic, like Algeria. This has not prevented them to open debates and advance on the road to progress. There are dramas that arise because of inequality and oppression. There is the custom to deny the right to women to benefit from inheritance. I don't think there is contradiction between being a Muslim, of Muslim culture, and aspiring to modernity. It is not incompatible. We must debate it freely.

Appendix 2

Louisa Hanoune, deputy, secretary general of the Workers' Party of Algeria, sent an open letter to all Algerians, to all those that believe that "privatizations cannot be ignored."

Open letter

To all those that believe that privatizations cannot be ignored:

I am addressing all of you, regardless of your political affiliation or your position:

Warning! Our country is on the verge of ruin.

On November 1, 2004, that is to say on the same day as the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the start of the fight for the recovery of national independence, the decision to privatize 1,200 public companies was officially announced by the head of government.

Is it necessary to recall that these nationalists participated in the victory of the Algerian revolution 43 years ago?

Even before the workers and their families have the time to regain their breath, since the shock was too brutal, torment and anguish settled in the production sector following the decisions of the transfer to the Internet list the number of companies to be sold and for certain sectors, unloaded on buyers.

Let's state it clearly: even though certain questions aren't clear cut, it is all the national property as defined in Article 17 of the constitution that is in question. Who can think otherwise?

In January 2005, when the foreign exchange reserves amounted to 43.2 billion dollars and the tax collectors funds totaled 642 billion DA, the majority of Algerians who are unable to pay for medication, lose a precious gain of national independence, free health insurance.

In public hospitals or the "contractual system" went into effect, so any medical consultation must be paid for, even for emergencies. Hospital personnel are subject to an intolerable situation of not providing assistance to people in danger and for doctors who deny the Hippocratic oath, through which all doctors swear to save lives, and care for the sick, in all circumstances. What will happen to chronically ill Algerians, poor Algerians and the families of workers? Will the CNAS be able to support the cost of alignment of hospital tariffs with those of the private sector?

Must Algerians die of cold while our country produces gas and oil?

At the same time a cascade of liberalization measures sent the prices of basic products such as water and the gas skyrocketing. With what will poor families, in the majority, face in the increase in the prices of transportation and other vital necessities? Schools and universities no longer have heating; must Algerians die of cold while our country produces gas and oil? And what will happen to our little farmers already confronted by great difficulties and catastrophes?

The answer to these questions that come from every corner of the land, can be found in the reintroduction of the law project leading to the denationalization of hydrocarbons in order to liquidate SONATRACH, and preparing its disappearance in the framework of competition with multinationals? Everyone knows that this means that the oil funds that constitute 97% of national income will have shrunk.

From then on, we can add enormous losses for the public treasury the result of suppression of custom taxes, the tax exemptions for foreign firms in the framework of the entry into the globalized world of commerce and the agreement with the European Union, what budget will the Algerian state have in order to carry out its responsibilities of public services, and to pay the salaries of functionaries?

Isn't there a link between the reform projects of the public function and structures and missions of the state in this orientation?

Consequently, aren't they preparing the dismantling of the state by the liquidation of ministries, the equipment budget and public services to abandon the country to "private investors" that is to say the multinationals?

I accuse no one, I merely pose questions.

While the elected officials of the country refuse to act on the mandate of the voters and the activists of the Workers' Party, the workers and the youth who tell us of their anguish, I think it is my duty to express myself on these questions. Who can doubt, but that they determine the destiny of our country?

Who can ignore the fact that future generations and history will judge each politician on his positions and political acts in those decisive moments for our present and our future?

There is still time to save our country!

Those who prepared the declaration of November 1954 were conscious, they wrote and assumed their historical responsibilities.

In honor of their fight, to all the activists for the national cause, the sacrifices of the Algerian people, in fidelity to the martyrs of the Algerian revolution, I address all those

who consider that the privatization of companies and public services is an irreversible choice: I ask them to revise their position. There is still time to save our country.

Of course, the economic option called "reforms" is the result of pressures from abroad forcing our country to get rid of all economic and social missions, to ensure the maximum profit for the multinationals by placing at their disposal our infrastructures, our industry, our natural and financial resources, by reducing the cost of labor, and suppressing customs barriers.

For institutions and world centers that are the source of these pressures, they only count the profits, isn't it our duty as Algerians to evaluate the consequences of these pressures?

Haven't the Algerian people a right to live?

Because, using one example, on our continent, they are the origin of the human tragedies, the ethnic wars and the chaos. What's left of Somalia? The Congo (democratic) (ex Zaire) has it risen? And the Ivory Coast destroyed? But let us not cite other countriesŠ

For those ravaged countries or what is left of them, the "reforms", the plans of structural adjustment, the privatizations were imposed as "unavoidable choices."

But the wars and the human disasters they have generated, haven't bothered the "affairs", on the contrary it's a veritable plunder by multinationals, in those bloodied countries, torn apart, where the states have disappeared, or have become virtualŠ

Before jumping into the abyss shouldn't one meditate on the Argentine case that became EXANGUE after the same plunder, the same sacking of its economy? Is this our destiny? Should we throw a line on our country precisely at a time when the hope of a return to peace and fraternity seems possible? The national tragedy that has plunged our country into mourning, weakend the social tissue, the application of a privatization plan would mortgage, would ruin any chance of re-establishing normal living conditions. It would accelerate social breakdown, and living in violence. Is this option irreversible?

Where is our country going? What will become of us?

They tell us that privatization will relaunch our national production, create new jobs with all sorts of guarantees.

Does this mean that there will be no layoffs, no closing of companies, no attempt against trade union rights, collective bargaining, social benefits? Who will dare affirm these counter truths?

This hasn't been possible anywhere in the world. How can it be otherwise, when transferring companies and public services to the private sector, towards the multinationals, the state divest itself automatically of the prerogative to intervene, the plan,

to enforce labor laws, to maintain jobs and create them?

If there were guarantees, why announce privatizations in different sectors, these enormous pressures are they exercised by the "old" workers in order to make them accept early retirement with all the consequences that will affect the CNR?

What guarantees will protect the social degeneration of 6,000 families of workers in 18 construction companies that will be dissolved?

Who can answer the unstoppable balance sheet of "the first generation of reforms:" 1,500 public companies have been broken up, causing the liquidation of 1.2 million permanent jobs. According to official statistics, 1.5 million workers are hired on the black market, over exploited, without any social protection. The state is incapable of controlling this, or enforce labor legislation.

No, it won't know how to guarantee the maintenance of jobs and existing gains in privatized industries!

No, it won't know how to guarantee the maintenance of jobs and existing gains in privatized industries: Mital Steel, Annaba (ex-ISPAT), and Fienkel, cited as examples of partnership, who have benefited from the financial largesse of the Algerian state, have they created a single job? The grave incidents that have occurred in Sidi Ammar, because of the absence of recruitment in the steel complex, we are bombarded by seathing propaganda disclaimers here and there.. The testimonies of the workers employed of these multinationals have been reduced to a state of slavery. Infernal working conditions, reduction in wages was done by the "voluntary departure" that received a ridiculous indemnity un pressure and blackmail in layoffs.

What European state has been able to avoid the closure of companies, the relocations and the layoffs?

No! This is verified: throughout the world, since the "it is the market that finances and regulates" there is only a question of competition everywhere and this has been established as a synonym of reducing the cost of production through layoffs, the suppression of social charges that the employers must contribute, and the reduction in costs of security and maintenance? Isn't this that makes the state feeble, unable to preserve our rights, guarantees and norms it has codified? Isn't this deregulation the cause of the multiplication of deadly accidents?

Isn't this the way they have dismantled the social protection system? What will have to the insured, the retired?

What will happen to the Algerian workers and their families?

Those in food processing, mechanics, red products, mineral waters, tourism who already caught up in the storm? With the suppression of the textile quotas since January 1, 2005, announcing the relocation of 30 million jobs from different countries to China, in slavery zones, who can believe that with the entrance in the WTO and the agreement with the European Union, won't the public and private Algerian companies in the textile and leather sectors, already strangled by foreign FRIPERIE (second hand?), disappear?

What will happen to the 45,000 families affected?

What about the youth in our country who constitute a majority, who aspire to a decent job and starting a family, will they have to resign themselves to live as pariahs? Must they join the 900,000 persons who yearly increase the number of slaves throughout the world?

At the time where non conformity of the almost totality of private schools that are proven through norms and national legislation, who can agree with the generalization of private education in all the stages preparing the liquidation of the right to public education? Who can admit that for higher education, the liquidation of national diplomas through the bias of the LMD, are replaced by regional devalued diplomas? Who will profit from the planned privatization of the university the assault on another fundamental gain of national independence, the right to studies, renounce the rights at a price of 1,5 million martyrs? Why?

The questions I raise are they exaggerated, populist or dogmatic?

Let each one judge on the basis of established facts on all continents today, everyone has access through the bias of satellite dishes, who would dare to deny that in all countries where this policy has been applied, whether rich or poor, it has engendered human disaster and industrial desertification?

One thing is certain: the workers and their families, the youth of all political tendencies, know that privatizations signify layoffs, the threat to rights relative to the independence of trade unions and savage exploitation. Understandably, they are concerned.

They know that in a partnership where the state retains 51% it is a privatization that exposes them to risks of direct compression or disguised by the bias of early retirement, of pseudo voluntary retirement.

They also know that privatization for the benefit of employees is an illusion in which they would lose in the short term, their jobs and their meager economies. Workers in Eastern Europe have already had the bitter experience of this. Today they are subject to the worst conditions of exploitation, in the framework of relocation of activities in three countries to lower the cost of labor.

Therefore beyond political movements, a question that each worker survives, for the family of each worker, for whom dignity, daily bread, education of children, access to medical care are inseparable from a permanent job, of a decent wage and social security that allows real medical protection and guarantees a retirement pension in old age.

If I am today addressing those who affirm that privatizations are unavoidable, and want to close the debate, because in addition to the mandate I endeavor to respect as an Amana, in addition to the incalculable consequences of the decision to privatize all ASIMUT INDUIRA on the national and the state, not a day goes by that I am questioned by collectives of Algerian workers, who are desperate, who ask: why? What is going to happen to us?

The wishes that I received for 2005 are cries of distress that remind me of the shipwrecked of the BEHAR who could have been saved.

Can one have serenity after all the misfortunes that have hit our country; the privatization program is an unprecedented social earthquake that could be fatal to all of us?

Since my party is not in the majority, it hasn't the power to stop this policy.

I address all those at different levels of decisions can do so, I appeal to their conscience as Algerians. I am convinced that not a single Algerian worthy of that name cannot go along with the destruction of our country.

It is not just a question of party. It's a question of everyone's existence.

Isn't it possible to take a respite, open a national debate?

Isn't this the very least, from the point of view of democracy, since it's about national property, it belongs to each of its members, to those have come to NAITRE A NOTRE DOYEN D'AGE? This signifies its inalienability cannot be destroyed by a simple decision, the product of external pressures.

I repeat. It is up to us, up to Algeria. I am sending a cry of alarm, a greeting to all a greeting for the Algerian national, since not country can survive such a storm. Will it be understood?

Since the workers, the youth, the fellahs who constitute the majority of the Algerian people, affirm each day that they won't renounce their country, I share their stubborn hope that it isn't too late, that Algeria can survive.

Algeria, February 3, 2005

Louisa Hanoune

Deputy