Gendered positions in a church youth group: a discourse analysis

Grace Afton De Vos

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Supervisor : Dr. Zannie Bock

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Abstract

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G.A. De Vos

MA Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

This research is a discourse analysis of a Christian 'coloured' youth group, from the area of Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. The aim of the analysis is to explore the ways in which the interlocutors construct their identities and gender positions and how they are able to affirm, challenge and perpetuate dominant discourses. The role of this context, namely the social and religious context is pivotal to shaping this interaction.

The analysis of the data uses the Appraisal framework particularly the attitudinal and engagement systems to analyse how the interlocutors strategically communicate their attitudes, evaluations, feelings and judgements. Ultimately, this research shows how the males and females use language to negotiate identities and socially position themselves.

In addition, the research indicates that the male interlocutors in most instances exert a strong influence on the discussions, which result in females showing tendencies to allow for the male ideologies to dictate, thus perpetuating the dominant ideologies about male and female behaviour.

Declaration

I declare that *Gendered positions in a church youth group: a discourse analysis* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Grace Afton De Vos

Signed: _____   Date: _____

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1. Introduction and Context

1.1. Introduction

This research will focus on the analysis of spoken discourse among a Christian youth group. The aim of this project is to identify the ways in which participants in this study construct their identities and gender positions within this context of a coloured church youth group in Mitchell's Plain. This project also aims to explore how these participants are able or not to assert their voices and agency within their social setting.

This research draws extensively on Discourse Analysis and the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) theory of Appraisal as it seeks to expose recurring themes and patterns within conversation. Appraisal theory is a tool for the close analysis of the language of the participants. Appraisal also enables an exploration of ways in which language is used strategically to communicate attitudes, evaluations, feelings and judgements.

The data consists of two discussions among a Christian youth group. The first set of data was collected in 2008 and the second set of data was gathered a year later in 2009. The participants involved in the discussions are males and females whose ages vary between 18 and 26 years old. These participants all live in the area of Mitchell's Plain and speak English and Afrikaans. Their discussions center on important and relevant issues such as the role of men and women in the home, in society, and in the work place.

The research explores how participants affirm, challenge, and perpetuate dominant discourses. In most instances the males exert a strong influence on the discussion, which is challenged at times by the females. However generally the females, either by implication or silence, tend to allow the male ideologies to dictate, and through this perpetuate the dominant ideologies about male and female behaviour.

1.2. Research Aims

1.2.1. Main Research Aim

This research explores how these participants in this youth group use language to negotiate their identities and socially position themselves. In particular, it explores the gendered identities and the different ideological discourses the participants draw on in the negotiation of these identities and positions.

The research adopts a discourse analytical approach whereby linguistic theories of gender and identity are used as analytical tools to explore how participants make use of language to construct identities and positions for themselves and others. The Appraisal theory in particular is used to evaluate the participants' stance with respect to the dominant discourse. The main research aim of this essay is to analyze the ways in which the participants' construct particular positions for themselves and others. Another aim of this paper will be to explore how the male participants reproduce a patriarchal ideology which dominates much of the discussion. It will also be shown that it is not only the male participants who conform to this patriarchal ideology but the female participants who sometimes agree with it and begin affirming it.

1.2.2. Research Questions

Specific research questions include:

1. What kind of identities and positions do the participants construct for themselves within this interaction?

2. To what extent do biblical discourses influence the way in which participants construct their identities within this context?

3. To what extent do the participants challenge or affirm the dominant shaping discourses?

4. What kinds of evaluations and judgements do participants typically make during these interactions?

5. To what extent does gender play a role in these constructions?

1.3. Context

The notion of context is difficult to define as it varies across different research paradigms. Thus it is hard to attach a single definition to it (Schiffrin 1994, Goodwin and Duranti 1992). This section briefly sketches different approaches to defining context and explains how the analysis will draw on these.

1.3.1. Theories of Context

The SFL approach to context was developed by Halliday and Hasan (1989). Halliday establishes two views of context based on those originally coined by Malinowski (1923), namely, 'context of culture' and 'context of situation'. Halliday (1985) defines context in general as the following:

> *Context is in this kind of model a construct of cultural meanings, realized functionally in the form of acts of meaning in the various semiotic modes, of which language is one. The ongoing processes of linguistic choice, whereby a speaker is selecting within the resources of the linguistic system, are effectively cultural choices, and acts of meaning are cultural acts.*

Here, context is defined as a set of cultural acts and meanings which are realized or expressed through different semiotic modes, including language. *Context of situation* is formally defined as the "set of meanings, the configuration of semantic patterns that are typically drawn upon under the specific conditions, along with the words and structures that are used in the realization of these meanings" (Halliday 1978: 23). For Halliday, the context of situation can be best understood in terms of three features namely *field*, *tenor* and *mode*. The *field* Halliday describes as "what is happening" as well as "the nature of social action that is taking place" (1989: 12).

The *tenor* in Halliday's framework considers the participants. Here the tenor deals with the nature of the relationships between participants. As Martin and White (2005: 27) state, this refers to the extent to which power and solidarity come into play as participants interact with one another. The final dimension, *mode*, looks specifically at the role of language within the interaction. The 'role' of language includes the structure and the way it has been organized within a particular situation. Context of situation, according to Halliday, thus becomes an important framework as it can be used to analyze an interaction and show how language is affected by the context in which it is produced (1989: 55). For the *context of culture* however, the whole cultural history of the text is to be considered. Halliday defines context of culture as the broader context by which sets of beliefs, social practices, social relations and values are considered. Halliday does not produce a theory for context of culture in the way he does for context of situation; however, he still views this as important (1989).

Goodwin and Duranti (1992) explore the shifting definition of context among researchers. During the late 1900's context was seen as flexible and dynamic. They argue that over the past few decades, notions of context have shifted towards ones which view context as arising through dialogue or interaction and as socially situated. Goodwin and Duranti (1989) propose a theory for context using four dimensions which include the setting, behavioural environment, language as context and extra-situational context (1992: 7). *Setting* refers to the actual physical and social setting in which the interaction occurs. *Behavioural environment* refers to the way in which "participants use their bodies and behavior as a resource for framing and organizing their talk" (1992: 7). *Language as context* is seen by the way in which "talk itself both invokes context and provides context for other talk" (1992: 7). Lastly, with regards to *extra-situational context*, background knowledge and cultural knowledge becomes significant in shaping context. In terms of this framework, "context is thus analyzed as an interactively constituted mode of praxis" (Goodwin and Duranti 1992: 9).

Blommaert (2005: 40) makes it clear that language is always embedded in context, thus context is significant and needed in any kind of analysis. Blommaert (2005: 39) argues that context "addresses the way in which linguistic forms – text – become part of, get integrated in, or become constitutive of larger activities in the social world". Blommaert looks at the notion of

contextualization that was first developed by Gumperz (1994). Here contextualization is used to account for the ways in which people make sense of an interaction. In addition, as Blommaert notes, "if we want to understand the way in which people make sense socially, in real environments, we need to understand the contexts in which such sense-making practices develop" (2005: 43). He further notes that context as well as contextualization is 'dialogical'. Blommaert argues that it is not one participant alone that contributes to the context; rather, context emerges collaboratively or dialogically during an interaction (Blommaert 2005: 43). However, this 'dialogue' is not always consensual. It may be the result of one participant 'imposing' his or her context on the other. Issues of power are then central to the creation of context.

It can therefore be concluded that context can be viewed as socially constructed. One cannot separate the text from the context. It is then evident that context is formed through linguistic interactions that occur and texts draw on broader social discourses within which they are embedded (Gee 1999, Kress 2001). Also, what should be noted is that when considering context, the physical settings and social relations should not only be considered, but also the institutional setting as well as the broader social-cultural milieu in which the interactions take place. This research will draw predominately on both the SFL model of context as well as Goodwin and Duranti's (1992) notion of context as dynamic and flexible.

1.3.2. Presentation of Context

As seen in the above, I have given an overview of the different theories of context. This research however will focus predominantly on Halliday's notion of "context of situation" and "context of culture" as it is the framework that will best fit this research.

1.3.2.1. Context of Situation

Context of situation according to Halliday (1989) explores three dimensions referred to as field, tenor and mode. The following is a brief overview of the context of situation as it relates to this research.

The field as proposed by Halliday seeks to find out what is happening in a particular interaction or situation. In my research, a group of young Christian people are meeting together in a home in Mitchell's Plain and discussing topics related to gender, namely the role of men and women in the home, in society, and in the work place. The tenor as Halliday notes looks at the relationships between the participants. The data reflects a close relationship between the participants. The participants all attend the same youth group, the same church and form part of the same circle of friends. However, within the group each member has a particular status. For example, the group consists of a youth leader or pastor who controls to a large extent the kind of talk and ideologies that circulate. The group is also made up of siblings, couples and friends. Although the discussions center on controversial issues, the solidarity within the group is much stronger than the power issues displayed amongst one another. The mode which is concerned with the text and how it is organized is reflected in the data as casual conversation. The conversation is structured in a way whereby participants interact through turn taking. Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 7) in their dimensions of culture observe how participants make use of their bodies and behavior as recourse for framing and organizing talk. This they refer to as the "behavioural environment". In these discussions, eye contact, facial expressions and body language play a role although these aspects are not a focus for this study.

I will now look at the broader cultural context as suggested by Halliday (1975/1989).

1.3.2.2. Context of Culture

The discussion of the context of culture is grouped under two headings: social context and religious context.

Social Context

The social context of my research is a friendship circle. The participants are young 'coloured' people from the Western Cape, in particular from the area of Mitchell's Plain. These participants share the same socio-cultural realities and express themselves in certain distinct ways. For example, the participants share code-switching between English and Afrikaans as well as draw on colloquial language throughout their conversations. Although the research focuses on a friendship circle, it extends beyond the immediate context in to the broader society. Therefore, the discourses these participants draw on are broader societal discourses such as a religious one. As a result of this, their views and ideologies are filtered through this kind of religious discourse. It could also be argued that this particular religious discourse is somewhat patriarchal. This research will therefore explore the recurring patterns of the dominant discourse(s) in the group and how these friends adopt and construct identities and positions for themselves and others in these interactions.
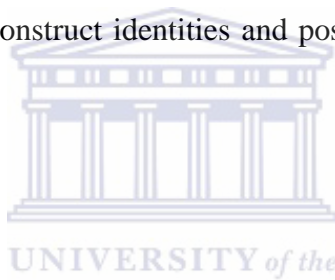
Religious Context

An important aspect of the cultural context is the religious context. The church of which all the participants are members of is a historically Pentecostal church. The denomination with which the church identifies itself is the Assemblies of God Association. Although associated to the Assembly of God, the local church does not subscribe to historical Pentecostal theology. Instead it holds to a more conservative Reformed Evangelical theology. The religious context plays a pivotal role in the analysis of the data because the participants come from homes and out of a religious context in which they were brought up to value the Bible. The Christian faith is important in this research as the Bible seeks to expose what they call 'truth' to 'secularism'.

The views of most of the participants are shaped by the Holy Bible. The participants all subscribe to the belief that the Bible is the inspired Word of God, and is to be sufficient for life and godliness. They base this on the Bible's own testimony as referenced in 2 Timothy 3:16, and 2 Peter 1:3. So it will be noted in the discussion and through the analysis that much of their talk reflects this position and their attempt to stay close to their interpretation of the Bible.

The dominant view of male and female participants and their respective roles and relations is also influenced by the Bible. They believe, according to the teaching of the Bible, that God created humans as male and female, and that both male and female are in essence equal but in function different (Genesis 1-2). This means that males and females must be viewed as equal in matters of faith, and in their essential being or nature. However with regard to the functions or the roles there is a difference, although this difference does not imply inferiority of either the male or female. In practical terms, from this ideological standpoint, males are ascribed the roles of leaders, protectors and providers, and females are the helpers, nurturers and function in the manner that does not oppose but complements their male counter parts. It is from this perspective that the males in this discussion speak. However, this view can also be critiqued as essentially patriarchal and traditional in that it essentialises and fixes the role of women as less powerful societal roles. As Butler states, "In patriarchal theory, women held a distinctly subordinate position. Their inferior place in family, state and society was justified on the basis of scriptural exegesis" (1978: 141).
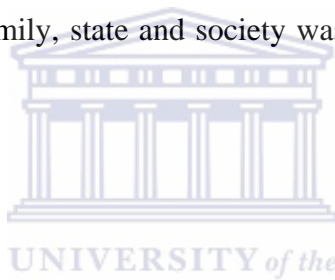
1.4. Overview of thesis

Chapter one provides an outline of the research which includes the background of the study, the purpose of the study, main aims and objectives of the study, research questions, and the scope of the study, and the context in which this research is framed in. Firstly, a background is provided of the study which includes where the study is conducted, who the participants are, the kind of data provided as well as the time frame of the data. Secondly, the research aims are listed along with the main aim of the study. Thirdly, the relevant research questions are asked followed by the context in which the research is conducted using Halliday's (1989) notion of context of situation and context of culture as a frame.

Chapter two is dedicated to literature that is reviewed. This chapter reviews three major fields which include Discourse Analysis, Gender and Identity and Appraisal theory. Firstly, the section on Discourse analysis looks at the various shifts that have occurred throughout the last three decades. This section highlights the progression from an understanding of discourse as language above the sentence, to discourse as language in use, to discourse as utterances, to finally,

discourse as social practice. Secondly, this chapter looks at gender and identity and explores the shifts that have occurred moving from the essentialist paradigm towards a poststructuralist paradigm. This particular section explores a notion of identity and gender as flexible whereby it can be argued that people have multiple changing identities. In particular, this section of the literature review focuses on gender and identity by using discourse analysis as a means to explore the ways in which social actors construct identities for themselves and others. Lastly, this chapter looks at the use of Appraisal theory to explore the attitudinal patterns.

Chapter three provides a description of the theoretical framework. Here the research method approach is given namely qualitative approach. An explanation of the design, methodology, and ethical considerations are also provided. This chapter gives a detailed account of the process by which the data was collected and the background of the participants.

Chapters four and five provide the analysis of the data. In Chapter four, the first set of data collected in 2008, is analysed and in Chapter five, the second set of data taken in 2009 discussed. In both chapters the analysis explores the various positions for males and females constructed through the interaction in the group and the kinds of discourses which shape these identities, roles and positions.

Finally, Chapter six is provided as the conclusion whereby a summary is given of the analysis in response to the research questions as well as some concluding remarks.

Chapter 2

2. Literature Review

The main aim in this research is to show how participants use language to negotiate their identities and socially position themselves. In particular, it explores the gendered identities and the different ideological discourses the participants draw on in the negotiation of these identities and positions. For this reason this chapter will draw on theories related to discourse analysis (Schiffrin 1994/2001 *et al*, Cameron 2001, Johnstone 2008), gender (Cameron 1999/ 2001), identity (Cameron 1999/ 2001) and Appraisal (Martin and White 2005, Menark- Wardick 2005, Bock 2007). An account of the literature and analytical framework is given below.

2.1. Discourse Analysis

This section will provide an overview of the shifts that have taken place over the decades with regards to the notion of Discourse Analysis. These shifts include theories which define discourse as language above the sentence, discourse as language in use, discourse as utterances as well as looking at discourse as social practice.

2.2. Discourse Analysis as a Framework and Methodology

The study of discourse analysis has become a popular field of study and is used across a variety of disciplines. Cameron (2001: 7) refers to Discourse Analysis as an "umbrella term" that varies across disciplines. In respect to this discourse analysis covers a large variety of approaches in a range of disciplines. Johnstone (2008: 2) affirms Cameron's explanation by stating that many people who find themselves within a variety of academic departments as well as disciplines make use of Discourse Analysis. Johnstone (2008: 2) further elaborates by speaking of discourse as a term used for what people do, how they do it, or both. Schiffrin (1994) notes three ways in which discourse has been used and defined over the past decades. An overview of each of these will be given in this chapter as well as the specific approach adopted by this research paper.

2.2.1. Discourse as 'language above the sentence'

The most common and straightforward definition of discourse is the one defined as "language above the sentence" (Cameron 2001: 10). Here, discourse deals specifically with patterns such as the structure and the organization of units, which are usually larger and more extended than one sentence (Cameron 2001: 11). An early discourse analyst, Zellig Harris (1952), posed several questions asking what makes up a 'text'. Harris (1952) went on to define 'text' as a sequence of sentences that relate to one another and together form some larger whole as opposed to just some random collection of unrelated bits (Cameron 2001: 11). In other words, text was defined as a sequence of language generally larger or longer than a sentence. According to Harris's view, cited in Cameron (2001), discourse has structure and is comprised of units. Schiffrin (1994), along with other authors such as Grimes (1952), Sinclair (1975), and Coulthard (1977), places this definition of discourse analysis as "language above the sentence" or "text" within the formalist approach whereby the focus is on the form and structure of discourse. However, this view has been criticized by researchers like Chafe (1980, 1987, 1992), who argue that the units used by people in their speech cannot always be labeled or categorized as a sentence(s).

Being consistent then with the definition of discourse as 'language above the sentence', a number of contemporary analysts of discourse view the "sentence as the unit of which discourse is comprised" (Šiniajeva 2005: 9). However, this definition of discourse as 'language above the sentence or clause' appears to be somewhat inadequate and insufficient. One of the major problems that this presents is that the units in which people speak do not always look like sentences. Also, one area that appears to be problematic is that many might begin to "accept the structure of discourse as being exactly the same as the structure of sentences of which discourse is comprised" (Šiniajeva 2005: 9). Šiniajeva (2005: 9) further elaborates by stating that "structural based definitions of discourse lead to analyses of constituents that have particular relationships with one another in a text and that can occur in a restricted set of text level arrangements". Widdowson (1995) also points out a problem in the definition of discourse as 'language above the sentence' (cited in Cameron 2001: 12). He argues in fact that 'text' can be smaller than a sentence and illustrates this by referring to the legend 'LADIES' on the door of a public lavatory. Here he explains that this form of 'text' conveys a message and what the

message means depends on the context and thus "its interpretation relies on real-world knowledge that is not contained in text itself" (Cameron 2001: 12-13).

2.2.2. Discourse as 'language in use'

Moving away from the formalist/structuralist approach to discourse analysis as "language above the sentence", the shift towards a more functionalist approach to discourse analysis will now be considered. This approach views discourse as "language in use" (Goffman 1974/1981; Hymes 1974; Brown and Yule 1983; Leech 1983 and Schiffrin 1994). Functionalists give much more attention and thought to the purpose and functions of language and are concerned with "how language communicates when it is used purposefully in particular instances and contexts, and how the phenomena we find in 'real language' can be explained with reference to the communicative purposes of the text or the interaction" (Cameron 2001: 13). The functional approach to discourse analysis can be defined as 'language in use'. This approach recognizes that language cannot be restricted to the linguistic forms and independent from the functions it serves in human affairs. As Brown and Yule state, "the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs" (1983: 1).

Discourse analysis therefore, according to McCarthy (1994: 7) is concerned with "the study of the relationship between language and the context in which it is used". In addition Aitchison (1992: 97) states that when language is used by people, it is not used randomly and without thought. However, both "conversation and written texts have various devices for welding together miscellaneous utterances into a cohesive whole". Thus, discourse analysis taking on a functionalist approach takes into consideration elements such as coherence (unity of text) and cohesion (linguistic devices that tie sentences together e.g. pronouns). Leech (1983: 46) makes a clear distinction between a functionalist view and formalist view with regards to the "nature of language". He states that a formalist view regards language as a mental phenomenon (as represented, for example, by Chomsky's cognitive theories of Universal Grammar), whereas a functionalist view regards language as a societal phenomenon (e.g. as with Halliday's theories of

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language as a social phenomenon). Schiffrin (1994: 32) views discourse as a "system (a socially and culturally organized way of speaking) through which particular functions are realized". Again, it is shown how a functionalist approach to discourse steers away from the technical and formal view of language and leans more towards language as ways and patterns of speaking for certain purposes in particular contexts. It is then clear as Schiffrin states: "discourse assumes an interrelationship between language and context" (1994: 34).

2.2.3. Discourse as Utterances

The third definition of discourse attempts to somewhat merge the two above definitions, that is, language above the sentence and language in use (formalist-functionalist) dichotomy. This view, according to Schiffrin (1994: 39), "captures the idea that discourse is "above" (larger than) other units of language; however, that the utterance (rather than the sentence) is the smallest unit of which discourse is comprised". Schiffrin, defines the term *utterances* as "units of linguistic production (whether spoken or written) which are inherently contextualized" (1994: 41). Therefore, by defining discourse as utterances appears to balance the functional emphasis on how language is used in context as well as the formal emphasis which focuses on extended patterns (Schiffrin 1994: 40).

The major problem with the notion *utterances* can be seen when considering the definition proposed by other linguists who view utterances and sentences as radically different from each other (Schiffrin 1994: 40). Here it is believed that *utterances* need to have no grammatical support and sentences are in actual fact abstract objects that may never be realized. Consequently they need not conform to grammatical principles. However, this approach to discourse analysis as *utterances* implies several goals such as "sequential goals" which attempt to identify whether there are any principles underlying the order in which one type of utterance follows another. The second goal called "semantic and pragmatic goals" looks at the organization of discourse as well as the meaning and the use of expressions and constructions within a particular context, which allows people to convey and interpret the content of what is said (Schiffrin 1994: 40).

Discourse as social practice

As noted above, the study of discourse has moved through three different phases namely language above the sentence, language in use and discourse as utterances (Schiffrin 1994).

In this section a fourth approach will be explored of discourse as "a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language" (Schiffrin et al 2001: 1). This section looks specifically at the critical approach to discourse as a "social practice" (Fairclough 1992). As Jaworski and Coupland (2001) have pointed out, "discourse does indeed require both the local approaches to the study of language in use, face-to-face interaction, and close textual analyses of all sorts of linguistic and non-linguistic representations as sites of socio-cultural significance, as well as attending to the global dimensions of discourse patterns, which inscribe large-scale norms, values and ideologies" (Jaworski and Pritchard 2005: 4). Therefore, this definition of discourse as "social practice" does not only investigate discourse features related to language structure (structuralist) or communicative function (functionalist) but also views of language from a social constructionist perspective (Jaworski and Coupland 1999, Schiffrin et al. 2001). From this perspective, discourse is viewed as a form of social practice which constitutes social life. Jaworski and Pritchard (2005: 4) state that "the most incisive approaches to discourse are those that combine the detailed analysis of language, in particular instances of its use, with the analysis of social structure and cultural practice". Thus, the approach to discourse analysis that will inform this thesis will draw on the notion of discourse as social practice.

Towards the end of the 1970's a new approach emerged in the field of discourse analysis called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This approach focuses on issues of power, domination and social inequality. Issues of gender, race and class are of a distinct importance to CDA analysts in the study of talk and text (see references in Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003). Lazar (2005) as well as Wodak (1997) have made use of the CDA approach to gender studies. It is now widely accepted that discourse and language practices are embedded in society and in culture and are therefore closely connected to all issues of power.

In Fairclough's work entitled *Language and Power*(2001, first published in 1989), he explores the role of power and ideology in constructing and interpreting discourse. According to Blommaert (2005: 24), "power, and especially institutionally reproduced power, is central" to CDA. Wodak (1995: 204) agrees that the purpose of CDA is to analyze "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language". Wodak (1997: 173) defines CDA as "real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form". She describes CDA as being concerned with the "relationship between language and society" as well as the "relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed" (1997: 173). In addition, Blommaert adds that CDA views discourse as "socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. Furthermore, discourse is an instrument of power, of increasing importance in contemporary societies" (2005: 25). Discourse then constitutes society at the same time it reflects society, particularly the role of power in shaping social relationships.

As Bock (2007: 48) elaborates: "discourse constitutes social structures and subject positions both in the sense that it may help to sustain and reproduce the status quo, and in the sense that it may contribute towards transforming them". Thus this approach to discourse analysis aims to "reveal how hidden ideologies position, and often, manipulate the participants" (Bock 2007: 48). This research draws to some extent on the work of Fairclough (2001), specifically on the notions of power and ideologies and how these are constituted in language. One of the strengths of CDA together with SFL is to "ground concerns with power and ideology in detailed analysis of texts in real contexts of language use, thereby making it possible for the analyst to be explicit, transparent, and precise" (Young and Harrison 2004: 4).

Thus discourse analysis provides an approach and a methodology for this research project. This approach is favoured because, as Cameron argues, it pays attention to how people say things as well as what they say and this gives additional insight into the way people understand things (Cameron 2001: 14). Johnstone (2008: 6) concurs by pointing out how discourse analysis as a research approach also serves to bring meaning to "chunks of information across a series of sentences or via the details of how a conversationalist takes up and responds to what has been said". A discourse approach to language and gender "aims to accommodate ideas of individual

agency, and of gender (identity) as multiple, fluctuating, and shaped in part by language" (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002: 6). Discourse analysis is thus a tool to help illuminate the range of ways in which gender identities are "represented and constructed, performed and indexed, interpreted and contested" (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002: 31) and it is towards this end the research will endeavor.

The term, discourse analysis, does not merely see *language* as something abstract; instead, discourse analysis is interested in finding out how people draw on the "knowledge they have about language" (Johnstone 2008). As Gee argues, "language has a magical property: when we speak or write we craft what we have to say to fit the situation or context in which we are communicating. But, at the same time, how one speaks or writes creates that very situation or context. It seems then, that one fits one's language to a situation or context that language in turn, helped to create in the first place" (2000: 11).With this approach, much meaning can be extracted from a particular speaker's linguistic and discursive choices (Johnstone 2008: 6). Therefore the discourse analysis approach would seem appropriate for this particular research.

2.3. Language, Gender and Identity

Identity is another concept which has been variously defined. In this section, theories of gender and identity will discussed and the various shifts that have occurred throughout the decades will be reviewed. This section will look mainly at the essentialist and poststructuralist approaches to identity and will specify the paradigm I will be drawing on throughout my thesis.

2.4. Essentialist Approach to Identity

During the 1970s and 1980s, an 'essentialist' position dominated the study of identity. However, leading feminist thinkers at this time rejected this notion of identity. They rejected essentialism particularly on the grounds that universal claims about women are invariably false. As Cameron (2001: 170) explains, this perspective views identity and gender as something that is "…fixed, stable and unitary" and assumes that language user's ways of speaking simply "reflect" or

"marks" the identities they already have, that "people talk the way they do because of who they (already) are" Cameron (1999:444).

From this perspective, it is automatically assumed that men and women are and should be placed into different discrete categories. Holmes (1999) as well as Lakoff (1975) conducted research on gender from this perspective of categorizing men and women into certain groups because it is simply "just the way they are". For example, Holmes in her book entitled, *Women, Men and Politeness: Agreeable and Disagreeable Responses,* explores the differences in the way men and women respond within same sex group interactions. She concludes that women respond to one another through common patterns of supportive and collaborative talk (Holmes 1999: 337). She also compares her data of British women's speech to Coates' (1989) data on New Zealand women's speech and found the same patterns. On the other hand, the men's speech appeared to be different to the women's speech. In her findings, she notes that men's talk is viewed as typically "combative" and "competitive" within the interaction (Holmes 1999:343). Research from an essentialist approach to the study of gender and identity therefore tends to reinforce the idea that "women and men appear once again to be operating according to different rules of interaction" (Holmes 1999: 342), thus placing men and women in separate categories with fixed and inflexible gender identities (Cameron 2001: 170).

Also from an essentialist perspective, Tannen (1990) explores the differences in the way men and women speaks (in her book entitled, *You just don't understand).* Similar to Holmes (1993), Tannen concludes in her findings that men and women have different "but equally valid styles" (1990: 15). Drawing from Malts and Borker (1982) cited in Tannen (1990), Tannen argues that as we grow up, we tend to learn these different styles through our use of language. In addition, she argues that men tend to engage in the world as "individual[s] in a hierarchal social order" (1990: 25). Thus for men, "life, then, is a contest, a struggle to preserve independence and avoid failure" (1990: 25). By contrast, women tend to approach the world as "an individual in a network of connections" (1990: 25). Thus, for women, "life, then, is a community, a struggle to preserve intimacy and avoid isolation" (1990: 25).

2.5. Poststructuralist Approach to Identity

Research which takes the view of identity and gender as fixed and something one is born with has been challenged by poststructuralist and postmodernist theorists (Cameron 2001:170). As seen above, it has been noted that the essentialist view of gender identity "conflates sex with gender and treats gender as a relatively fixed trait or 'essence' that resides in male and female selves" (Speer 2005: 33). However, his research project adopts a different perspective. It draws on the approach proposed by Butler (1990) known as the "gender performative" approach. According to Butler, the notion of 'performance' is not simply an act but the rehearsal of a "norm" or "set of norms" that acquires an "act-like status" (1997: 538). Therefore, gender can be viewed as the 'doing' of a subject. The attention is now on the way individuals 'do' or 'perform' the gender identities in their interactions with others. Consequently, "language" as Holmes and Meyerhoff states is merely a "resource which can be drawn on creatively to perform different aspects of one's social identity at different points in an interaction" (2003: 11).

Poststructural accounts argue that it is more accurate to speak of multiple identities (Blommaert 2005), andCameron (2001: 170) argues that from this perspective, identity is "shifting and multiple, something people are continually constructing and reconstructing in their encounters with each other and the world". Blommaert (2005: 204) affirms this by arguing that "identities are constructed in practices that produce, enact, or perform identity…" In addition, Unger (2001: 246) echoes that "from a performative perspective, gender is a dynamic acting-out or ongoing construction of perceivable behaviours, with self and others as audience". As a result, individuals "do gender" within social relationships rather than having or occupying a "static role" (Unger 2001: 246). This will be a point to observe considering the data collected, particularly when looking at the interactions between the male and female participants.

This research will take on Butler's (1990:33) performative view of gender identity, where gender is constituted through "the repeated stylization of the body" (Butler 1990:30). In other words, Butler argues that gender is not something one is but rather what one does. It is what she calls, a "sequence of acts". These repeated ways of acting and behaving are acquired though processes of socialization. Johnstone (2008:153) also supports this performative view by stating that the

"advantage of this is that it highlights the ways in which people decide who to be and how to act, and the extent to which they are responsible for the consequences of such decisions". People are able to select from the repertoires of different linguistic styles and "behave in ways we would normally associate with the 'other' gender" (Cameron 1997: 50).Cameron (1999) analyzes the discourse of five men and shows that their talk reflects features like gossip, cooperation and so on that have typically been identified as features of women's language (Lakoff 1975). These features are therefore not just limited to women, but as reflected in her data, men's conversations show these features too. Cameron shows that features of masculine talk are not as significant as the sustained performance of masculinity that her participants do. Even within their seemingly 'feminine' talk they are in essence performing masculinity. Cameron's research demonstrates how gender is not something fixed but subject to flux and change throughout life's changing contexts.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 5) argue that "both language and gender are fundamentally embedded in social practices, deriving their meaning from the human activities in which they figure". Thus, language according to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet can never be meaningful in isolation, instead it is always accompanied by "other meaningful aspects of interactions: facial expression, dress, location, physical contact, and so on". They argue that once practice is taken to include both language and gender, questions such as 'how do women speak' will not be asked, instead, what should be asked is "what kinds of resources can and do people deploy to present themselves as certain kinds of women or men?" (2003: 5).

This research focuses on the notions of language and gender and will examine and explore the ways in which men and women address, respond, affirm or perpetuate stereotypical gender roles through in given discourse. This research aims to identify the way in which males and females converse, the ways in which they construct their gender identities as well as how power and challenges to power shape these interactions. This research adopts a social-constructionist view of identity and aims to show how gendered identities are performed in and shaped by context. They are hybrid, flexible, and discursively constructed; and power is significant in shaping these identities.

To summarise this section, this research will focus on the notion of gender and identity by using discourse analysis as a means and method to explore the ways in which social actors construct identities for themselves and for others through language (Cameron 2001: 170). The theoretical framework which will be applied comes from the social constructionist approach to identity and this research will thus refer mainly to authors working within this paradigm.

2.6. Appraisal Theory

Appraisal theory is a fairly recent development in Systematic Functional Linguistic (SFL). Within SFL, language in use is broadly classified into three meta-functions: the experiential, the interpersonal and the textual (Bloor and Bloor 1995). SFL considers the way language is used in interaction to negotiate participant positions as well as to establish relationships between participants. Appraisal theory is thus used as a tool to explore the interpersonal meta-functions of texts. It is specifically used to explore the ways in which language is used strategically to communicate attitudes, evaluations, feelings, judgements of people and appreciation of entities, as part of a process of alignment (Martin and Rose, Martin and White 2005) between the speaker and his or her topic and audience. More so, Martin explains how the Appraisal theory explores how "texts negotiate relations of solidarity and power with their audiences and position them as either sympathetic to or dismissive of opinions described" (2003: 171). For this reason, Appraisal theory is relevant to the present analysis as it will seek to disclose how participants construe particular attitudes and positions.

The Appraisal framework is originally developed by Jim Martin and others. Authors associated with this framework are Eggins & Slade (1997), White (2001), updated in (2005), Martin (1997, 2001a, 2006) and many more. This thesis will draw extensively from the work of Martin & White (2005), Menark- Wardick (2005) as well as Bock (2007). Appraisal theory explores the functioning of evaluative language in three main subsystems. These subsystems consist of the following, *Attitude*, *Graduation* and *Engagement*. Each of these will be discussed in more detail below.

2.6.1 Attitude

Attitude is one of the sub-systems of the Appraisal framework (White 2001). The *attitudinal system* deals with direct evaluations of people, objects and facts. Attitudinal analysis is concerned with how one assesses things, people, places and their assessment could either be positive or negative. Droga and Humphrey (1995) defines *attitude* as the "resources used to make either positive or negative evaluations of phenomena". Bock (2007) refers to *Attitude* as the "expression of different kinds of feelings". Attitude is categorized into the following three subsystems namely *Affect*, *Judgement* and *Appreciation*. Firstly, *Affect* can be defined as the expression of one's feelings or emotions as either being positive or negative. Secondly, *Judgement* can be defined as a moral or ethical judgement of one's behavior, and thirdly, *Appreciation* is viewed as an evaluation of objects or situations (Droga and Humphrey 1995).

2.6.1.1. Affect

Affect also known as the "emotive component", refers to how someone makes you feel (Eggins & Slade 1997: 129). Here *Affect* concerns itself with how the participant, also known as emoter or the appraiser feels towards a particular person or thing. (Martin and White 2005: 72) *Affect* usually provides a response to the following questions, "How do/did you feel about it?" In light of this, affect can be seen as either negative or positive (Eggins & Slade 1997). This is further described by Martin and White as expressing "positive vibes" and "negative vibes" (2005: 46). It is demonstrated in the following example, whereby the emoter might react by saying "He hates me" (negative), or the emoter could express a particular mood by saying "I am in love" (positive).

The *Affect* subsystem is generally described as consisting of four dimensions. These dimensions are as follows: the *happiness/unhappiness* dimension, the *security/insecurity* dimension the *satisfaction/dissatisfaction* dimension and the *inclination/disinclination* dimension. Martin and White (2005: 49) explain the differences between these dimensions by stating, "The un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with 'affairs of the heart' – sadness, hate, happiness and love; the in/security variable covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being

– anxiety, fear, confidence, trust; the dis/satisfaction variable covers emotions concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect". Dis/inclination on the other hand is concerned with what one desire or fears (Martin and White 2005). Affect therefore can be best explained as a "speaker's attitudinal position towards a person, thing or situation which has triggered the emotion being expressed" (Bock 2007: 79).

2.6.1.2. Judgment

While *Affect* relates to how the participants feel about a particular person or thing, *Judgement*, which is the next sub-system is defined as the "emoter's attitude to other people and their behavior" (Bock 2007: 79). The questions asked with respect to judgment would be "How would you judge that behavior? And "What do/did you think about that?" (Eggins & Slade 1997: 130, 126). Judgement, similar to affect may also be positive (judgement of admiration) or negative (judgment of criticism). Appraisal theorists distinguish between two main subcategories of judgement. These include: Judgements of *social esteem* and judgements of *social sanction* (Martin and White 2005: 52).
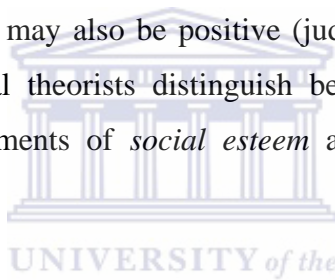
Judgements of *social esteem* (positive or negative) involve evaluations under which a person judged will be lowered or raised in the esteem of their community. However judged the person may be it does not have legal or moral implications. In other words, social esteem is concerned with how people's behavior essentially relates to the socially desired standards of a community.

Judgement of *social esteem* can be further subdivided into three subcategories; these are *normality*, *capacity and tenacity*. *Normality* refers to how special something is. It is concerned with whether or not the person's behaviour is unusual or special or even customary. The second subcategory is *capacity*, indicating how capable somebody's actions are, how productive or competent they are; and lastly, *tenacity*, which evaluates how dependable someone's behavior is or the degree to which a person is dependable (Martin and White 2005: 53).

On the other hand judgement of *social sanction* relate to our moral or legal behaviour (Martin and White 2005:52). *Social sanction* has to do with moral judgements of *veracity* (truth) which

addresses how honest, credible and truthful someone is, and *propriety* (ethics) which addresses how good, moral or responsible the person is (Martin and White 2005: 52).

I have made use of a table of examples to illustrate the above.

Social Esteem	positive [admire]	negative [criticise]
normality (custom) `is the person's behaviour unusual, special, customary?'	standard, everyday, average...; lucky, charmed...; fashionable…	eccentric, odd, maverick...; unlucky, unfortunate...; dated, unfashionable ...
Capacity `is the person competent, capable?'	skilled, clever, insightful...; athletic, strong, powerful...; sane, together...	stupid, slow, simple-minded...; clumsy, weak, uncoordinated...; insane, neurotic...
tenacity (resolve) `is the person dependable, well disposed?'	plucky, brave, heroic...; reliable, dependable...; indefatigable, resolute, persevering	cowardly, rash, despondent...; unreliable, undependable...; distracted, lazy, unfocussed...
Social Sanction	positive [praise]	negative [condemn]
veracity (truth) `is the person honest?'	honest, truthful, credible...; authentic, genuine...; frank, direct ...;	deceitful, dishonest...; bogus, fake...; deceptive, obfuscatory...
propriety (ethics) `is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	good, moral, virtuous...; fair, just...; caring, sensitive, considerate...	bad, immoral, lascivious...; corrupt, unjust, unfair...; cruel, mean, brutal, oppressive...

Table 2.1: Judgements (after Iedema, Feez, and White 1994)

2.6.1.3. Appreciation

Appreciation is viewed as the "evaluation of objects, processes, natural phenomena and states of affairs, including the abstract things such as relationships and quality of life" (Bock 2007: 80). Similar to judgement, *appreciation* is directed towards the "appraised" rather than the "appraiser" (Bock 2007). *Appreciation* does not evaluate human behavior, but is concerned with

the "aesthetic" quality of things (e.g. *It was an interesting lecture)* is a positive valuation of the lecture). Answers like "What do/did you think of that?" act as a trigger.

Appreciation is also divided into sub-categories to do with "our 'reactions' to things (do they catch our attention; do they please us?), their composition (balance and complexity), and their 'value' (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.)" (Martin and White 2005: 56). In other words, reaction involves the degree or extent of one's aesthetic response to something. *Composition* involves the extent to which something has been structured or organized as a coherent whole. On the other hand, *valuation* has to do with how far something is worthwhile, significant or useful (Droga and Humphrey 1995).

Bock (2007: 81) illustrates the following through her example concerning appreciation:

> *In the phrase, "a beautiful sunset", the appreciation of the sunset as beautiful is transferred from the emoter to a quality of the sunset itself. This can be compared to "I love sunsets", in which the subjectivity of the emoter is foregrounded, and the evaluation therefore coded as affect. Thus, when the emotion is disconnected from the emoter and represented as being an instrinsic quality of some 'thing' (or even a person, as in "the beautiful woman"), then the appraisal item is categorised as appreciation.*

The system of attitude with the different sub-categories that will be used in these analyses are summarised in the following figure:
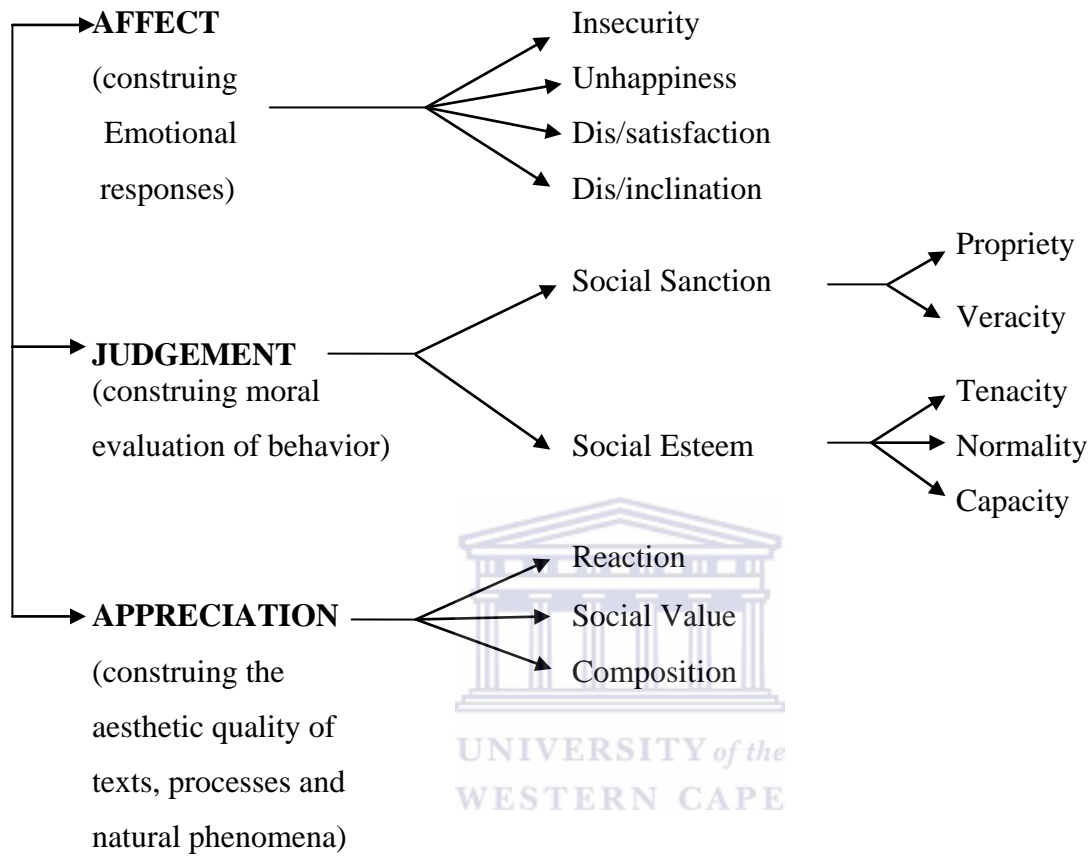
Figure *2.1: Summary of attitude subsystem categories*
(Taken from Jordens 2002: 70 and Bock Z. 2007)

2.7. Summary

The *Attitudinal* sub- system becomes an important tool for my analysis because as Bock (2007: 82) states, it "attends to the resources for negotiating solidarity" by means of three evaluative meanings, namely, these which focus on affectual meanings, judgments of behavior and appreciations for texts, processes as natural phenomena. The *Attitudinal system* thus allows speakers to express interpersonal meanings and consequently position themselves and others in relation to their narratives. The analysis will predominantly focus on attitudinal analysis along with the *engagement resources*.

2.8. Engagement

According to Martin and White (2005), the *engagement system* is concerned with the "linguistic resources by which speakers/writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address." *Engagement* generally includes a range of resources which are used by speakers or writers to negotiate their positions in relation to their listeners or readers. As Menard-Warwick (2005: 536) also explains, through these resources "speakers and writers can display various degrees of engagement with the propositions they are expressing, promoting certain viewpoints and distancing themselves from others"

This sub-system draws on the ideas of Stubbs (1996) and Bakhtin (1981). Stubbs (1996: 197) concludes that whenever a speaker(s) says something, they encode their point of view towards it. More significantly, it draws on the ideas of Bakhtin (1981 cited in Martin and White 2005) and Voloshinov (1995) with respect to the notion of *dialogism*. In their writings, they argued that all verbal communication is 'dialogic' in that "to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, or to take up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners" (cited in Martin and White 2005: 92). In other words, this dialogistic perspective is interested in the degree to which speakers or writers acknowledge these prior voices/speakers. As Martin and White (2005: 93)

state, adopting a dialogistic perspective enables the researcher to explore "whether they [the speakers] present themselves as standing with, as standing against, as undecided, or as neutral."

The Engagement framework can be grouped into two major categories, namely, those of *dialogic expansion* and *dialogic contraction*. *Dialogic expansion* "allows for competing voices and assumes the reader may resist the position advanced by the text" (Bock 2007: 83). In other words, dialogic expansion entertains dialogically alternative positions and voices. On the other hand, *dialogic contraction* "close[s] down the dialogic space by challenging or restricting the range of viewpoints" (Bock, 2007: 83).

Dialogic expansion can further be divided into two types, those which *entertain* a number of viewpoints as well as those which *attribute* these to external sources (Martin and White 2005). With regards to *entertain*, here a number of possibilities are acknowledged or entertained. Formulations which actively entertain 'dialogic' alternatives include: "may", "possibly", "I think", "it seems" and "apparently". *Attribute* on the other hand refers to those viewpoints or statements from an external source; in other words, those which report what someone else has said or written. For example, "it has been said", "according to", and so on. As Bock (2007: 83-84) notes, in these instances the "authorial voice may distance itself from these propositions, through the use of scare quotes, or wordings such as 'claims' or 'alleges'".

Dialogic contraction consists of *disclaiming* and *proclaiming*. With *disclaiming*, the speaker or writer does not fully agree with what someone has said or written. Thus the speaker would be at odds with him or her. Here they might out rightly reject or disclaim a particular position (Bock 2007: 84). For example, "This can't be true…" or "This is not the case…" *Proclaiming* on the other hand, are statements which support or subscribe to a particular position; for example wordings such as "of course, naturally" (Bock 2007: 84) are common.

As Bock (2007: 85) states, "engagement analysts are interested in exploring the ways in which a text either *expands* or *contracts* the dialogic space, thereby creating possibilities for the reader to comply with or resist the position constructed by the text". Consequently, the engagement framework plays an important role in the negotiation of solidarity as, it seeks to explore how and

to what extent speakers and writers acknowledge prior voices and engage with them (Martin and White 2005).

2.9. Graduation

This research will not look at the aspect of graduation; however, a brief overview is provided. *Graduation* is concerned with two aspects known as *focus* and *force*. *Focus* refers to how strongly or weakly an idea fits into its assigned class. These resources "act to grade meanings which are usually not gradable" (Martin and White 2005: 137). *Focus* is thus concerned with the grading of meaning which could be viewed as more or less precise. For example, "She is a **true** friend" or "She is **kind of** funny". Here the focus could be sharpened or softened (blurring). Examples which sharpen the focus illustrated by Bock (2007: 86) include, "clean break, true friend, complete disaster, exactly two years, own eyes" and those which blur or soften the focus include "sort of, kind of, blur-ish, about three years". What should be noted are instances whereby the speaker strengthens the focus; he/she consequently takes up a strong position whether positive or negative thus seeking to align the receiver (reader/listener) with the sender (writer/speaker). In addition, instances of softening the focus, is often used as a means of hedging or conciliatory device in an attempt to maintain solidarity with an audience whom the writer anticipates may not share his or her point of view (Martin and White 2005:138).

Force can be referred to as the intensity of a word or expression. The tone or volume of the word, can be made high or low (Martin 2005: 324). It is therefore measured by the degrees of intensity for example, "**kind of** big", "**somewhat** skilful" and so on. "Upscaling" and "downscaling" are the terms Martin and White (2005: 141) use when speaking about the effect of the "force". When the speaker/writer "upscales" the force of the meaning, then it indicates that the speaker/writer is strongly committed to the proposition. On the contrary, when it is "downscaled", it suggests that the speaker or writer is not so invested and thus he or she distances him/herself from the proposition.

2.10. Scholars using Appraisal theory

There have been a number of scholars who have made use of the Appraisal theory. For example, Ruth Page (2003) in her article, "An analysis of Appraisal in childbirth narratives with special consideration of gender and storytelling style", makes use of the system of A*ttitude* to analyze her narratives around childbearing. Her analysis reveals that men and women have different storytelling styles as indicated through the affect and appreciation in their narratives. Also, her analysis reveals that women make use of a much higher level of affect and graduation while relating their childbirth experience, whereas men use more appreciation. Page (2003), also uses the analysis of *judgement* in the narratives to explore men's behavior in relation to their experiences on childbearing (Page 2003: 232).

Ferris (2010) also draws on Appraisal theory in particular the Attitude subsystem, to analyse graffiti found in male and female toilets. Her research entitled, "Appraisal, identity and gendered discourse in toilet graffiti: A study in transgressive semiotics" reveals that females are more prone to express their emotional evaluation than the male participants. Her analysis indicates that the data found in female toilets shows emotions of *insecurity*. With regards to the evaluation of behavior, Ferris (2010: 124) argues that females tend to evaluate people in terms of their *capacities* and *morality*. On the hand, men, she states evaluates others in terms of how special they are- *normality*. Consequently, her findings suggest that the "focus of evaluation in terms of genders differ in the graffiti they create" (Ferris 2010:124).

2.11. Conclusion to Appraisal

The Appraisal framework gives an account of how speakers and writers use language to express their feelings and signal their values and attitudes. It is also concerned with how speakers or writers construe for themselves particular authorial identities and how they position themselves and their audience in relation to the experiences they describe. As Page (2003: 212)also notes, this approach was developed in order to explore the ways people use language "to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships". Appraisal theory thus explores how "attitudes, judgments and emotive responses

are explicitly presented in texts and how they may be more indirectly implied, presupposed or assumed" (White 2001: 1).

The Appraisal framework can be summarized diagrammatically as follows:
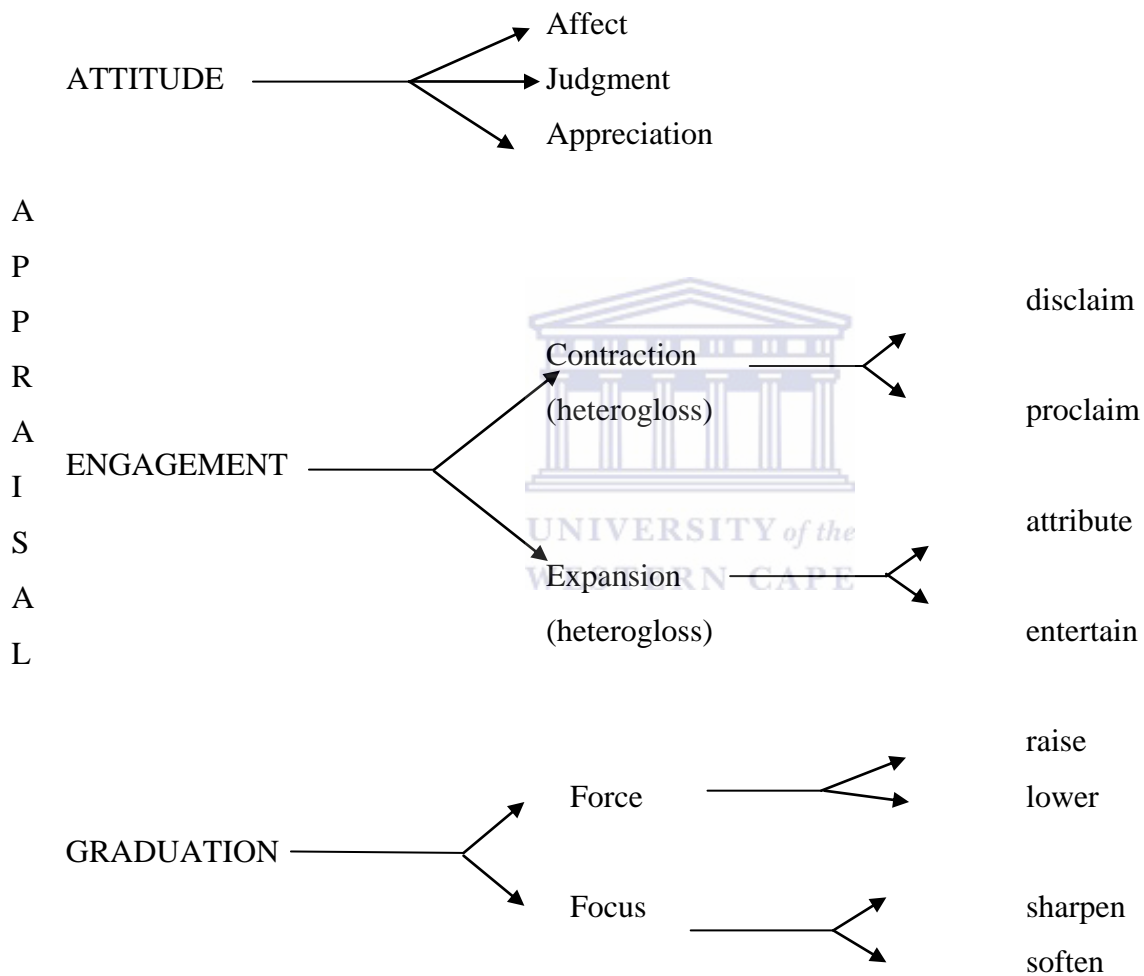
Figure 2.2: Overview of appraisal resources

(Martin and White (2005: 38, 134 and Bock 2007)

2.12. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the literature that forms the framework for the analysis. It has also provided a detailed explanation and discussion of concepts and theories of discourse analysis, identity, gender and Appraisal which will be useful for the analysis of the data presented in Chapters four and five. The overview has indicated the shifts that have taken place over the decades. These shifts include views of discourse as 'language above the sentence', to 'language in use', to 'discourse as utterance' and finally, to 'discourse as broader social practice'.

This section has also indicated the various paradigms on gender and identity as well as the shifts that have occurred throughout the decades. The paradigms that have been highlighted in my literature review are mainly those of essentialists and poststructuralists. The paradigm that informs this thesis is that of the social constructionist approach, that argues that identity and gender are not fixed and stable but multiple and ever- changing. This thesis has taken on Butler's (1990) "performative" approach to gender, whereby participants "do" or "enact" their identity. The analysis of this data seeks to explore how the male and female participants in this research project enact or perform gender roles in these interaction.

Lastly, this chapter reviewed in some detail Appraisal theory. Specific attention is given to the engagement and attitudinal patterns which will be used to analyse the extent, to which different participants in this research project assert, challenge or perpetuate different ideological positions with respect the roles of men and women in the home and society.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The main aim of this research is to explore how participants use language to construe identities and positions for themselves and others. The principal methodology includes a close analysis of the discussions using theories of Discourse Analysis and Appraisal as analytical frameworks.

The approach adopted in this research paper is informed by Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter's (2006) research handbook, *Research in practice: applied methods for the social sciences.* It is informed by their discussion of qualitative/social constructionist research methods. This chapter will outline the rationale, processes and methods for the collection and analysis of data. Lastly, the ethical procedures as they relate to the participants will be considered.

3.2. Research Paradigm

The approach adopted in this project is situated within the social constructionist paradigm of research methodology which views reality as socially constructed, as opposed to the positivist paradigm which views reality as stable and external (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006: 7). The social constructionist approach therefore concerns itself with the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data gathered through observing the actions and conversations of people. As Leedy states, qualitative research usually concerns itself with human beings. In other words, it explores "interpersonal relationships, personal values, meanings, [and] beliefs" (1993: 143). What is also significant about this approach is that it has to do with the collection of data through the means of individual, in-depth interviews and focus groups (Sanghera, 2003; Sha, 2009).

In this research project, focus group interviews were used. Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly (2006: 304), offer advice on how to conduct a focus group interview. They suggest that participants in a focus group should generally and typically share the same or similar

experiences. Within an informal focus group like this, the interviewer is usually aware of the different personal and interpersonal dynamics in the group. This according to them, includes, the marginalization of certain people in the group, the intentional avoidance of a particular topic as well as being sensitive and observant of the comfort levels of the group (2006: 305).

Participant observation has become a common and almost universally accepted method of research within qualitative research in a number of disciplines. According to Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly (2006: 306), "participant observation" is one of the tools researchers working in the social constructionist tradition may use. In the simplest way, participant observation can be defined as the researcher (participant observer) observing the people present in an interaction. They observe how participants are dressed, who speaks the most and how each individual responds to what others are saying. (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002: 1). A participant observer pays special attention to the pace of a conversation and identifying the degree of formality or informality of language used by the participants. The participant observer is not merely a passive observer. He/she may contribute to the interaction and take upon him/herself several roles. For participant observation to be successful, it is best if the researcher is fully present and active in the lives of the interlocutors, for over a period of time. For example, DeWalt and DeWalt states, "participant observation is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routine and their culture" (2002: 1). In this project, I play the role of a participant observer as I am already fully integrated into the social network of friends amongst whom the discussions took place. I was present and participated in the discussions along with the other participants.

As stated, the approach adopted in this research paper can broadly be situated within the social constructionist paradigm of research methodology. This is because this approach will best serve to explore the identities of the participants and account for the variety of views and opinions expressed. It will enable me to investigate how people interact with one another to construct and maintain what their society holds to be true, real and meaningful (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2000: 48). As Terre Blanche et al. (2006: 333) argue, the use of discourse analysis, situated within a social constructionist paradigm, helps researchers to analyse texts by helping them

explore what texts do, what effects they might have as well as what kinds of realities they construct.

3.3. Data

Two sets of data were collected between 2008 and 2009. Both are church youth group discussions. The 2008 set of data is concerned with topics such as the role of women in the home and at work, "needs and wants" and dress codes. The data show how these participants affirm, perpetuate or challenge a number of discourses relating to gender. The 2009 data also cover issues relating to motherhood, gender, family, and work. They also reflect the ways in which males and females affirm, perpetuate or challenge the dominant discourse(s). However, a stronger counter discourse is introduced in this set of data with the introduction of a new participant, namely Nicole.

3.3.1. Data Collected in 2008

My first set of data was collected in 2008 on a Saturday evening at 19h00, in the home of one of the participants (Amber), in Mitchell's Plain. It records a discussion within a Christian youth group who gathered together to discuss topics relating to gender. This group of young people all come from a Christian background, hold the Bible in high esteem and value Christian principles. Church youth group discussions are common among these participants and usually occur at least twice a month. The discussions usually center around contemporary issues, which are discussed from a biblical perspective. They are generally informal and therefore the settings that are preferred are largely those such as a home environment, an enclosed coffee shop area or even in the church hall. The data I have gathered reflects a typical youth group gathering. As a result, the participants are not anxious or uncomfortable during the interaction as it is a very familiar event. The 2008 data is drawn from an evening long discussion that continued on an off for 120 minutes.

This Christian youth group consists of ten participants: five males and five females. The participants are between 18 and 26 years old and use English and Afrikaans as their first and

second languages. It consists of one youth leader present named Rob, two male members who form part of the youth leadership named Craig and David, and the rest are all members belonging to the youth group. Each of the members is closely connected and related to the others in different ways. For example, the group consists of two sisters (Amber and Amy), two brothers (Greg and David), one sister and brother (Rob and Angie), as well as three couples, Amber and Rob, Greg and Angie and Ross and Leah. In addition, this group is more than just a regular youth group that meets on a Saturday evening. It is a very close knit group as they are friends and spend time together frequently. I, as the researcher, share a close connection and friendship with this group.

Below is a table which summarises the participants whose discussion forms the data from 2008.

PARTICIPANTS	AGE	SEX	RELATIONS	ROLE	LANGUAGE
ROB	23	Male	Angie (sister) Amber (girlfriend)	Youth Leader	Afrikaans (1st) English (2nd)
GREG	26	Male	Angie (girlfriend) David (brother)	Leader in church	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
AMY	18	Female	Amber (sister)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
CRAIG	25	Male	Friend	Member	Afrikaans (1st) English (2nd)
LEAH	20	Female	Ross (boyfriend)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
AMBER	21	Female	Amy (sister) Rob (boyfriend)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
KIM	21	Female	Friend	Member	Afrikaans (1st) English (2nd)
ANGIE	20	Female	Rob (brother) Greg (boyfriend)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
DAVID	22	Male	Greg (brother)	Leader in church	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
ROSS	23	Male	Leah (girlfriend)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)

Table 3.1: Data Collected in 2008

3.3.2. Data collected in 2009

My second set of data were collected in the year 2009. The location in which the discussions took place was again in the home of Amber. The group makes up a total of nine participants and of the nine, seven were present in the focus group discussion of 2008. Two new members (Nicole and Mark) have joined this discussion and three of the previous members (Greg, Angie and Kim) from 2008 are not present in 2009.

As in 2008, this group of young people all come from the same Christian background. The discussion also took place in the evening and continued on and off for 61 minutes. As noted before, this group consists of nine participants: five males and four females, all between 19 and 26 years of age. English and Afrikaans are their first and second languages; however, English becomes the predominant language spoken in this group throughout the discussion.

The status of the interlocutors in the discussions of 2009 has shifted. Rob who was previously the youth leader in 2008 has now been promoted to youth pastor in 2009 along with Craig who has now been promoted to youth leader. This group is still made up of siblings, courting couples and friends, and is thus close knit.

Below is a table summarising the participants, as above, whose discussion forms the data collected in 2009

PARTICIPANTS	AGE	SEX	RELATIONS	ROLE	LANGUAGE
ROB	24	Male	Amber (girlfriend)	Youth Pastor	Afrikaans (1st) English (2nd)
AMY	19	Female	Amber (sister)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
CRAIG	26	Male	Friend	Youth Leader	Afrikaans (1st) English (2nd)
LEAH	21	Female	Ross (boyfriend)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
AMBER	22	Female	Amy (sister) Rob (boyfriend)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
NICOLE	19	Female	Friend	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
MARK	25	Male	Friend	Member	Afrikaans (1st) English (2nd)
DAVID	23	Male	Friend	Leader in church	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)
ROSS	24	Male	Leah (girlfriend)	Member	English (1st) Afrikaans (2nd)

Table 3.2: Date Collected in 2009

3.3.3. Collection and analysis of data

The data collected in 2008 and 2009 are open discussions, with close observations and audio-recording. The set-up for both discussions was in the home of one of the participants. Both of the discussions were intentionally situated within an environment that creates a comfortable atmosphere as well as the freedom to express their opinions. The group was aware of the presence of the voice recorder, one of which was visible in the centre of the table and the other was in close proximity to the youth leader/pastor. On both occasions, the participants were comfortably seated on blankets that were placed on the floor.

The transcription process was easier because of the close relationship I, as the researcher, have with my participants. Thus, I was able to identify the voices accurately even when a number of participants spoke at the same time. I started by listening to the full discussions recordered. With each set of discussions, I took three days to listen. The replaying of the discussions was beneficial in that I was able to familiarise myself with the data as well as to prepare me as I would need to select the appropriate parts I wanted to use for my analysis. Thereafter, I transcribed the full 120 minute discussions as well as the 61 minute session. The transcription process was a long and difficult one as I had to listen intently to what the participants were saying and transcribe their speech accurately.

The transcription was mostly orthographic. I included indications of repetitions, false starts, hesitations and pauses (see *Appendix C* for transcription key). This was a lengthy process as many of the participants overlapped, interrupted and often times were unclear in their speech. After the transcription process was completed, I immersed myself in the data in order to now find the extracts I would select for my data. The first step was to identify the possible themes that emerged from the data. Among many possible themes, I selected the ones that were most popular and where I felt participants spoke most passionately. The most prominent themes that came from the data were themes on the role and expectations of women in the home, in the work and in society. Also, themes such as what it means to be a male featured in the second set of data. After I had identified the themes, I then selected the particular extracts for close analysis. Six extracts were chosen that displayed the dominant themes. Once the extracts were selected I then

moved on to look for the different and/or similar patterns that occurred in these extracts. To do this, I made use of the Appraisal analysis, also implemented by Page (2003) and Menard-Warwick (2005), and followed a process of identifying, coding and tabulating particular appraisal items in these extracts. Once I had identified my extracts, I broke them into turns and propositions. Sometimes I identified more than one proposition per turn. I then coded each proposition in terms of the framework, and looked at the 'overall colouring' or prosody of propositions in determining categories. Martin and Rose (2003) argue that:

> Appraisal resources are used to establish the tone or mood of a passage of discourse … The pattern of choices is thus 'prosodic'. They form a prosody of attitude running through the text that swells and diminishes … The prosodic pattern of appraisal choices constructs the 'stance' or 'voice' of the appraiser, and this stance or voice defines the kind of community that is being set up around shared values (Martin and Rose 2003: 54).

I have identified the Appraisal elements of attitude. With regard to affect, I have identified and bolded all items that construed emotional elements as well as attitudes of judgement and appreciation whether expressed positively or negatively.

In terms of the engagement system, I have bolded the expressions of modality as engagement resources. As Palmer (1986:16) states, modality can be defined as the grammaticalization of speakers' (subjective) attitudes and opinions. Therefore, modal expressions such as *could, may, should, can, might, ought to, probably, usually*, *I think*, *I suppose* are bolded. I have also bolded markers signaling statements which are expansive and contractive. These include hypothetical statements such as 'if', and the use of questions which indicates expansion, as well as conjunctions such as 'but' which signal contractive.

I have also made use of what Leechy (1997:107) calls, "text based analysis". This kind of analysis considers an in-depth study of the data. The Appraisal analysis thus allowed me to identify, code and tabulating all appraisal items in a number of extracts, and then relate these broad patterns to the social discourses they reflect (see *Appendix A* and *B* for the full set of data).

3.4. Researcher's Role

My role in this process was that of participant-observer (see above). As a participant-observer, I was able to observe the interactions intently as well as contribute to the dialogue. I take on the role of a participant observer by virtue of the fact that I am already part of this particular social network and the researcher at the same time. As a result, I have already established relations of trust with my participants. I was however fully aware that my participation and presence as a friend and researcher could have had an impact on the nature of the data, therefore, as a friend I have responded to questions related to the topic and contributed to the conversation. As the researcher I seek to focus on my participants and allow them to challenge or affirm whatever is being said without my interruption or interference. I was also positioned in a way that I can observe body languages, postures and facial expressions. I am however aware that my dual and somewhat conflicting roles have shaped the data.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

All participants used in this study did so voluntarily. The permission of all participants was requested and obtained in writing via a signed consent form (see *Appendix D* for consent form). None of the participants is under the age of 18 years. I explained to all participants that they are free to withdraw at any point. I undertook to make a copy of the transcribed interactions as well as the findings of the analysis available to all of my participants and I have used pseudonyms to protect their privacy and identities. Two of my participants requested copies of the transcript and I made these available. Both participants' read the transcripts and approved them. In this way, I endeavour to protect the rights and dignity of all participants concerned.

Chapter 4

The Place of Women

4.0 Introduction

This chapter explores how the males and females use language to negotiate their identities and socially position themselves. More so, it explores the gendered and the different ideological discourses participants draw on in negotiation of these identities and positions. The central argument in this chapter is that males and females address, challenge, affirm or perpetuate stereotypical gender roles through discourse, for example, stereotypes such as what are considered to be masculine and feminine roles. These stereotypes are essentially based on and filtered through religious discourse. The context in which the interaction takes place is a Christian youth group.

In the set of data collected in 2008, an overall total of ten participants are involved, with a number of five males and five females who are actively contributing to the discussions. The discussions went on for 120 minutes, and from this, I have selected three extracts of about 40 minutes in total from the longer discussion. The table below indicates the number of turns each participant has in the section (Extracts 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3) I have selected for close analysis.

Participants	No. of Turns
Rob	11
Greg	7
Craig	3
David	2
Ross	0
Amy	5
Amber	4
Leah	4
Angie	1
Kim	6

Table 4.1: Number of turns in Transcript A (Appendix A)

I have selected the three extracts for the following reasons: they were significant thematically and secondly, they effectively exemplified the Appraisal patterns which characterised the discussion. The first Extract explores the role of men and women in the home and work domain using attitudinal analysis. This is presented in **4.1** entitled *Women's Primary Responsibility*. This is followed by the second Extract **4.2***Needs and Wants*. In this section the engagement resources are used to evaluate the male and female stances. Lastly, Extract **4.3**entitled, *Females Dress Inappropriately* uses the engagement resources to evaluate the male and female participants in the discussion. These extracts reflect how the male participants exert a dominant patriarchal view specifically related to women and their function in the home, women and their 'wants' rather than their 'need' for things, and women and the way in which they express themselves through their dress codes. The Appraisal analysis show how these participants use language to express their feelings, signal their attitudes and values, and construe for themselves and others particular identities.

 These sections are explored in more detail below.

4.1. Women's Primary Responsibility

An important theme which emerges in this interaction is the role of women and their primary responsibility within the home. In Extract 4.1, the participants discuss whether women and men have equal roles and rights in the home and working domain. The analysis predominantly uses the attitudinal dimensions of the Appraisal framework to explore how male participants dominate the conversation and how questions of power are negotiated.

First, the results of the analysis are presented in tabular form, with the attitudinal items bolded and coded. Then an analysis of the patterns of judgement used by the males is presented followed by those of the females.

In this extract, the content of discussion centers around a sensitive and often controversial subject, namely should females be encouraged to work outside the home, or should working in the home be their primary or only responsibility? The interlocutors share their views on the subject matter. It has therefore been entitled *Women's Primary Responsibility*.

Extract 4.1

Women's Primary Responsibility

Turn no.	Speaker	Text	Positive / Negative	Affect / Judgement/ Appreciation	Resource
58	Rob	What about working?			
59	Greg	Ja, **it's about** seeing to the fact that she's looking after her household. She works but um ==	pos	judgement	propriety (invoked)
60	Amber	=Ja, **I want** to be like aunty Gloria!	pos	affect	inclination
61	Angie	No, are you **mad!**	neg	judgement	normality
62	All	[everyone laughing].			
63	Greg	My mommy makes sure at night she makes supper at night for the next day. Gets up early in the morning, our breakfast is ready and she==	pos	judgement	propriety (invoked)
64	Leah	=So **what's wrong** with the husband working?	neg	judgement	propriety (invoked)
65	Rob	Also like with Greg's mother, em she does not have so a **stressful** job	pos	appreciation	valuation
		like too **much responsibility**	pos	appreciation	valuation
		in a sense like where, director or corporate manager or er, or er CEO or something em, even er, journalist like traveling and stuff, like **you've got more responsibility**.	pos	appreciation	valuation
66	Amber	**There goes my dream**	neg	affect	satisfaction
67	All	[everyone laughing]			
68	Rob	**no that is still very much possible. I mean to be journalist is still very much possible.** You know journalism happens in various different forms, in different forms.	pos	judgement	capacity

45

69	Amber	**I wanna** go like ==	pos	affect	inclination
70	Rob	=**well like you can still go**	pos	judgement	capacity
		but you know, but the argument here is that **you tend to your primary responsibility**	pos	judgement	propriety
		And we see, we just say, we adding this that **it's very difficult to do that em**, given the, the amount of work that you will have. You can go on experiencing it yourselves	neg	judgement	capacity
		but we just saying that our argument is from the scriptures, the primary responsibility that er, **you can't argue with that.** But then this is from us, like Paul says, "I speak from the Lord" your primary responsibility is staying at home	neg/pos	judgement	propriety
		and "I", now this is me, **I think it would be impossible to do that if you have a full time job**	neg	judgement	capacity
71	Amy	But like **what kind of encouragement is that to the, er, to the youth** and to the ==	neg	appreciation	valuation
72	Leah	ja, it's like = =			
73	Amy	==**And to the future people**?	neg	appreciation	valuation
74	Rob	Let's get back to Craig's initial statement about guy characteristics and the confusion, **I think it is a brilliant and a powerful encouragement to stay true to what God has created,** and I ==	pos	judgement	propriety
75	Amber	== **So men must work their butt off**?	neg	judgement	propriety

76	Craig	but that is what God intended	neg	judgement	propriety (invoked)
		it's even a **curse.**	neg	appreciation	valuation
		We will never be released from it until Jesus comes. We will work from the sweat of our brows.	neg	judgement	propriety (invoked)

From the tabular analysis presented above, it can be seen that the males use a lot of judgement which generally elicits statements of affect from the females. The analysis which follows will show how the males position the women by using strong instances of judgement and how the women's responses include more mixed responses including affect, appreciation and judgements.

As has been noted in the introduction, the discussion centers on the theme, the primary responsibility of females and whether work outside the home is permissible. The males in this discussion put across their views and it best summed up in the Appraisal theory under the category of judgement as the males affirm a number of positions which indicate their attitudes towards and judgements of the behavior of women, as illustrated below.

Judgements are divided into two main sub-categories: *social esteem and social sanctions*. These two categories are evident in the talk of the males. *Social esteem* is an aspect of judgment which relates to issues such as 'what is generally accepted or expected', general standards, norms and everyday behavior which is admired or expected. It is this aspect that will be observed in the talk of one of the male interlocutors, as he draws on social esteem for his view on the primary responsibility of females. *Social esteem* consists of attitudes which may be coded as *normality, capacity* and *tenacity*. The extract shows how males often make use of judgements of capacity throughout their talk. *Social sanction,* on the other hand, includes the stronger judgements of *veracity* or *propriety*. Veracity refers to judgements of what is right and wrong while propriety refers to ethical or unethical behaviours (Martin and White 2005).

In Extract 4.1 above, 11 expressions of judgements by the male participants are identified. The table below shows their frequency.

Total Judgements	Judgements of social esteem			Judgements of social sanction	
	normality	capacity	tenacity	veracity	propriety
11	0	4	0	0	7

Table 4.2: Male Judgements in Extract 4.1

From the above table, it can be seen that the males predominantly use judgements of capacity (social esteem) and propriety (social sanction) when talking about the role of women in the home. The table reflects that the males mostly make use of judgements of social sanction (invoked and inscribed) throughout their discussions.
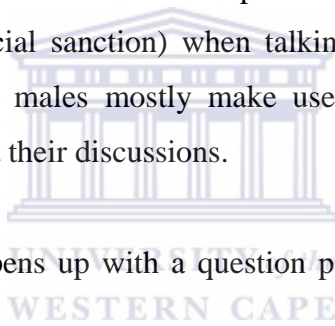
Extract 4.1 is a discussion that opens up with a question posed by the youth pastor, Rob. He starts off by asking:

58   Rob   What about working?

After the opening question, both the males and the females contribute actively. It is clear from the extract that Rob is the one who hold the most power and has the highest status in the group. This is explained firstly by the fact that he is the youth pastor, thus, he naturally holds power by means of his title and position. Secondly, it is also evident that Rob is the main participant in the conversation as a result of the number of turns he takes in the above extract. Altogether he has five turns. His turns are also much longer than the others' turns. Lastly, the way in which his interlocutors respond to what he says also indicates the amount of power and voice he has in the group as will be demonstrated by the analysis of the above extract. In the extract, it is also indicated that the females in particular, ironically forfeit their power by the various responses they make toward him. Therefore it can be said that Rob is the dominant participant in the

group. This is significant because of the way in which the issue of power is played out within the group particularly between men and women.

Greg continues in turn 59, by drawing from his family background to evaluate the role of females which he (along with the other male participants) judges to be a socially accepted norm. The judgment that is evident within Greg's turn can be more closely linked to social sanction. The "she" in his turn refers to his mother. Greg mentions that his mother looks after the "household" as well as "work" outside of the home. In this way, he holds her up as a role model which establishes a desired norm for the role of women: as people whose outside work does not distract them from their work inside the home. Thus his statement invokes a judgement of propriety.

59	Greg	Ja, it's about seeing to the fact that she's looking after her household. She works but um ==
		[pos jud: propriety]
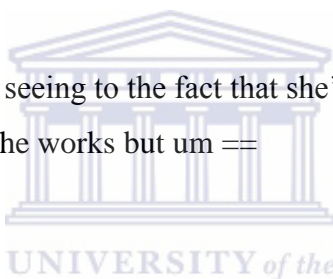
Of all the people and women that could have been mentioned, Greg intentionally chooses his mother to represent a woman who effectively takes on her primary responsibility. He specifies her role by saying:

63	Greg	My mommy makes sure at night she makes supper at night for the next day. Gets up early in the morning, our breakfast is ready and she
		== [pos jud: propriety]

In these turns (59 and 63), Greg emphasises that his mother is not just a mother who cares for her children, but that she is also very active in her home. He is specific about the duties his mother performs in the home, namely ensuring that her family's meals are prepared on time. Greg not only gives acknowledgement to the role his mother plays in the home, but his judgement is motivated by the fact that she is able to do both, hence propriety. She is able to work inside her home as well as outside of her home. Greg's judgement can also be seen as an expectation that is

more than just a personal preference or praise but what he believes should be a norm, as he states in turn 59, "it's about seeing to the fact". Here he is appealing to an objective standard, referenced by the word "fact" and not his own subjective preference. In other words, he uses a judgement of social sanction (invoked, propriety)as a standard for all women to follow.

It is obvious that the other male participants are in agreement. For instance, in turn 65, Rob points out "Also like with Greg's mother, em she does not have so a stressful job, like too much responsibility" Therefore their conclusion would be that she is able to tend to her primary responsibility in the home and also find time to balance and manage her work outside the house. Social sanction, as mentioned before, has to do with issues of truth, morality and how responsible a person is (Martin and White 2005). In Rob's turn (70) he refers to issues of truth and matters of right and wrong. He does this by appealing to the Bible which is held by this youth group as a statement of universal and absolute moral standards and truth. Therefore, there is a lot of biblical discourse and in Rob's turn (70) there are several references drawn from the Bible. Rob, being the youth pastor supports Greg's view by stating:

70   Rob   = well like you can still go but you know, but **the argument here is that you tend to your primary responsibility**. And we see, we just say, we adding this that it's very difficult to do that em, given the, the amount of work that you will have. You can go on experiencing it yourselves but we just saying that **our argument is from the Scriptures, the primary responsibility that er, you can't argue with that**. But then this is from us, like Paul says , "I speak from the Lord" **your primary responsibility is staying at home** and "I", now this is me, I think it would be impossible to do that if you have a full time job.

                                                                [pos jud: propriety]

Rob moves away from his dialogue with Amber (turns 65-69) and includes the rest of the group by pointing out very sternly that the "argument here is that you tend to your primary responsibility". He repeats this point three times, which places much emphasis on his ideological position. Rob supports his argument with biblical references. This is indicated when he uses the

word "Scripture". Rob claims that it is not his words and opinions that are authoritative, but rather the Scriptures. He uses religious judgements of propriety to emphasize his ideological position by quoting from the Bible in particular the gospel of 'Paul'. According to Christian theology, Paul is one of the Apostles and one of the many authors who were inspired by God to write the Scripture. By quoting Paul, Rob claims that he too "speaks from the Lord", and that, from this perspective, women ought to be at home, they should be rearing their children, and they should be care-takers of the home and should not have a "stressful" job outside of the home. In essence, he is saying that a woman's primary responsibility is to see to her home.

With this said, it is assumed that there is right and wrong with regard to women and work, thus according to Rob, working outside of the home with too much responsibility is wrong. Rob comes across as being quite patriarchal in his ideologies. By quoting from the Bible, Rob claims the authority of God which gives much power and voice in the interaction. Throughout the discussion, the men deploy a biblical discourse to assert their positions. The frequent use of judgements of propriety is evident, especially those which are related to religious discourse. Rob is the first to make use of this strategy, and as we will see further, others also use it to strengthen their arguments. This places the women in a less powerful position as they cannot argue with "God".

Rob's ideological position is reinforced by Craig, in turn 76, when he presents the concluding thoughts on the issue of a women's primary responsibility by stating, "but that is what God intended" He uses "God" as a means to justify why a man ought to be the provider and the woman the home-maker. He uses invoked judgements of propriety (thereby making the issue a moral one) which leaves no room open for a challenge from the females. This statement by Craig also negatively evaluates the behavior of the female participants in that it suggests that females who do not conform to what "God intended", are disobedient, even immoral.

From the above analysis, it can be seen that the male participants (Greg, Rob, Craig) generally position women through judgements of propriety (both invoke and inscribed). They draw on the Bible as justification for their position, which they assert as a norm sanctioned by God, which makes it very difficult for the women to contest. By making the matter into a 'moral issue' as

opposed to say, a matter of choice or gender roles, they position the women as potentially 'immoral' should they not comply. In this way, the position is naturalised as a norm from which any deviation brings the threat of strong social and religious censure.

Females' Response

The next section of this chapter analyses the females' responses towards the male judgements. In the previous section it was noted that the males mostly evaluate the females' behavior using judgements of capacity and propriety. The female participants, however, respond to these judgements with statements of affect as well as instances of judgement and appreciation, although the statements of judgement and appreciation frequently function to invoke affect. From the table below, it can be seen that the most of the responses are affectual – either inscribed (3) or invoked (3) – or six out of eight statements of affect:

No. of Turns	Speaker	Text	Pos/Neg	Affect/ Judgement/ Appreciation	Resource
60	Amber	=Ja, I want to be like aunty Gloria!	pos	affect	inclination
61	Angie	No, are you mad!	neg	judgement	normality
64	Leah	= So what's wrong with the husband working?	neg	judgement	propriety (invoked)
66	Amber	There goes my dream	neg	affect	satisfaction
69	Amber	I wanna go like==	pos	affect	Inclination
71	Amy	But like what kind of encouragement is that to the, er, to the youth and to the ==	neg	appreciation	valuation *(token,neg affect: satisfaction)*

73	Amy	==And to the future people?	neg	appreciation	valuation *(token,neg affect: satisfaction)*
75	Amber	== So men must work their butt off?	neg	judgement	propriety *(token,neg affect: satisfaction)*

Table 4.3: Females' attitudinal responses in Extract 4.1

The first instance of affect is expressed in turn 60, which develops as a result of turn 59.

60   Amber   Ja, I want to be like aunty Gloria!

                                                                    [pos affect: inclination]

In turn 60, Amber expresses her desire to also be like Greg's mother, "aunty Gloria". By using Greg's mother as the ideal to aspire to, Amber does not challenge Greg's view about the role of women. Instead, she supports his view. So, it appears in the first few turns that males and females are in agreement.

It is noted that Amber expresses a positive attitude of inclination in that she aspires to be like "aunty Gloria" (Greg's mother). Inclination expresses feelings of want, desire, longing, fear and so on. Inclination in essence is what Martin and White (2005: 48) call, "irrealis affect". It is to do with the future or hypothetical situations. Amber's idea of an ideal woman is someone who is able to care for her family by rearing her children and tending to the home, while at the same time still having the freedom to explore career opportunities outside of the home, like Aunty Gloria.

Other instances of affect are seen in turns 66 and 69.

66   Amber   There goes my dream   [neg affect: satisfaction]

| 69 | Amber | I wanna go like== | [pos affect: inclination] |

Amber yet again, is the one who responds to the males using positive affect displaying feelings of dissatisfaction as well as inclination. For example, turn 66 positions Amber as being dissatisfied with the males' view on females. Amber is interested in pursuing a career in journalism and Rob has made it clear that journalism will prevent her from performing her primary responsibility which is in the home. The fact that the word "responsibility" in Rob's turn (70) is used twice along with the words, "stressful" and "travelling" indicates his view is that if a woman's work becomes stressful with many responsibilities, then it is unlikely that she would be able to manage her home effectively. According to Rob's ideological position, men are the providers; they are the people who take on the heavy responsibilities, the late nights and the pressures of the corporate world. They are depicted as the strong powerful men who come home to a weak and dependent woman. Rob asserts his power through the way he speaks. As argued above, he uses a range of judgements to assert this position, to which Amber responds with no more than a disappointed though compliant (or possibly sarcastic) statement of affect. In her response, Amber is conforming to the expected norms for female behavior. In this, we see yet again a form of gender oppression.

The table above also reflects attitudes of judgement from the females. This is indicated in turns 61, 64 and 75. In turn 64 Leah's response to the males indicates an attitude of negative judgement.

| 61 | Angie | No, are you mad! | [neg jud: normality] |

| 64 | Leah | = So what's wrong with the husband working? | [neg jud: propriety] |

| 75 | Amber | So men must work their butt off? | [neg jud: propriety] |

In this turn Leah questions why men should not also help with the housework – hence the invoked propriety. In this way, she mounts a challenge to the ideological position advocated by Greg, but by phrasing it as a question; she frames it as less of a challenge and therefore less

threatening (Talbot 1998). This is a further indicator of the less powerful position held by the women; namely, when they do challenge the male position, they hedge their challenge by framing them as questions or statements of affect.

This statement from Leah also raises the issue of "unequal egalitarianism" (Woofitt 2006: 56). It could also be the start towards a critical view that "ideologies are representations of practices formed from particular perspectives in the interest of maintaining unequal relations and dominance" (Lazar 2005: 7). Therefore, Leah's question marks the start of a challenge to the dominant (patriarchal) view of women's work in the discussion. Leah's question is significant, for in addition to challenging the males' bigoted view it spurs Rob, the youth pastor, to reassert his ideological position in turn 65.

In turn 75, it appears as if Amber uses a stronger form of judgement (propriety) compared to the rest of the females when she states:

75   Amber   == So men must work their butt off?   [neg jud: propriety]
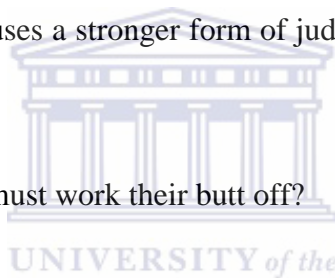
Although she makes a judgement on the position of men, she also poses her turn in the form of a question which softens the challenge and leaves the position open to refutation.

Questioning is one of the strategies used by the females as a form of indirectly challenging the dominant male position (see turns 64, 71/73 and 75). Here Amy uses this strategy to assert her position. However, the fact that she uses an indirect form of challenge indicates that she is aware of the power issues displayed, thus the need to hedge her challenge.

Finally, the table also reflects instances of negative appreciation which also act as tokens of negative affect. For example, Amy asks:

71   Amy   But like what kind of encouragement is that to the, er, to the
                    youth and to the ==

                                                                [neg apprec.: valuation:]

73   Amy   ==And to the future people?

<div align="right">[neg apprec.: valuation:]</div>

Amy, the youngest of the females, joins the discussion and reflects a genuine concern for the youth, more particularly the young females. She evaluates the situation and dilemma negatively as she considers the position of young women who are 'not allowed' to take on 'stressful' jobs thereby mounting an indirect challenge to the ideological position advanced by the males. We see once again females using questions as a means to show their dissatisfaction with what is being said.

Summary

The Appraisal analysis of Extract 4.1 indicates how the males dominate this conversation through the judgements they make about the role that women should play in society. The analysis shows that males generally display positive judgements towards the view that the female's primary role is to be in the home, a view which can be described as sexist and patriarchal. The analysis indicates that males not only hold to their position but frequently make use of biblical discourse to support their argument. For example, Rob, on several occasions, uses his status as a youth pastor and his knowledge of the Bible to assert his 'expert' position. In this way, his position is unlikely to be challenged.

On the other hand, the females in the group respond to the males predominantly through the use of affect as well as instances of negative appreciation and negative judgement, some of which function as tokens of affect as well. Thus they are limited to reacting to the ideological position asserted by the males, rather than asserting a counter position. The analysis also shows how the females attempt to challenge the male position indirectly. This is often reflected in their use of hedging and questions. The following section explores how this pattern of male dominance continues in the second extract which deals with the theme, *Needs and Wants*.

4.2. Needs and Wants

In this extract, the topic shifts from *Women's Primary Responsibility* to *Needs and Wants*. The analysis focuses on the engagement resources used by the participants, and shows how the males and females make use of different and similar linguistic resources as they take up a stance towards one another. Engagement, as noted in Chapter 2, Section 2.8, is when speakers or writers take up a particular stance towards a position (Martin and White 2005). Within this extract, both male and female participants establish different positions on the topic of shopping and clothing. The engagement analysis is used to explore the ways in which different participants expand or contract the conversation, thereby making it more or less heteroglossic. Although the subject under discussion is typically viewed as women's talk, this analysis will show how both male and female participants show strong forms of assertiveness throughout the discussion. The female participants in particular are more willing to challenge the males when compared to Extract 4.1. However, the analysis will clearly show that despite the assertiveness from the females, it is the male interlocutors who still take on the dominant voice in the group.

The engagement system can be explained in the following words: *engagement system* is concerned with the "linguistic resources by which speakers/writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address" (Martin and White 2005:92).Within the engagement system there are two main categories known as *contraction* and *expansion*. *Contraction* closes down the "dialogical space by challenging or restricting the range of viewpoints" (Martin and White 2005). On the other hand, *expansion* "allows for competing voices and assumes the reader may resist the position advanced by the text"(Martin and White 2005). Each category has its own sub categories. Contraction for example, looks at the resources for *disclaiming and proclaiming*. With *disclaiming*, the speaker does not fully agree with what the person has said. *Proclaiming,* on the other hand, is when a participant subscribes to a particular position. Within the category of expansion, the subcategory of *entertain and attribute* feature. *Entertain* refers to a number of possibilities that are acknowledged whereas *attribute* has to do with external sources or references that are being used by participants.

The extract is once again presented in the form of a table with each engagement proposition coded. The text that signals and expanding or a contracting of the discourse has been bolded.

Extract 4.2

Needs and Wants

Turn No.	Speaker	Proposition	Expand / Contract	Resource
83	Greg	== **I think** em, when it comes to shopping, em, my thing is this, if you need it, it's as simple as this.	expand	entertain
84	Amy	**that's your rule**; tell that to your girlfriend [laughing].	contract	disclaim
85	Greg	**I told her so many times,** the thing is man if, look, if you can afford it and you sometimes can then you buy it, but if you can't then you don't buy it.	contract	proclaim
86	Craig	**coz**' a lot of the stuff that we say we need is just, you em, I have a friend who's working for a big company and what she earns now at the moment is already sustaining two people. And, I mean I er, even **she says** no, she has still a lot more ambition and **she has already said** how many children she wants and she's not gonna have more children than that because of her ambition she has already set for her. But she has already the capacity to get what they need==	expand expand	entertain attribute
87	David	==In today's world the enemy attacks us. He comes with the attractions and we get so caught up that we just buy things and **we don't realize** that the enemy is using that to draw you closer to the things. It causes people to want more…and we move further away from God and what is pleasing too him.	contract	disclaim
88	Rob	**I feel like** I should take communion now. [Laughing]	expand	entertain
89	Greg	ja, this shopping is a sensitive topic to girls **coz,** I mean the first time you buy something you buy something you wear it once or twice then you don't wanna wear it again.	expand	entertain
90	Amy	**But** you must also consider the fact that you are a male ==	contract	disclaim

91	Greg	==**no, no no!**==	contract	disclaim
92	Amy	==you guys are different to us. **You just don't care** what you wear and ==	contract	disclaim
93	Leah	==**I just don't think** they care; it's just that if a guy has a jean, a sweater, a jacket er, church pants and a shirt, he's got everything he can have. That is all he can have when it comes to clothing.	expand	entertain
		But we different, we have==	contract	disclaim
94	Rob	==**I think, I think** that we are going into the line of preference now. You know like what I prefer and what you prefer. You know and that's like a whole days discussions, so em, maybe we should not go there…	expand	entertain
95	Greg	Ja, this is about needs and wants.	monoglo ssic	
96	Rob	**I think maybe** with needs we can connect it back to what David said that the, the false need that we have today causes rise to em, getting more money and then that causes rise for the women to need to now also go and get provisional goedtetjies outside the world.. Can link, so em, ja	expand	entertain
		but the point was back to the household, the family structure. **That's not preference**, you know, we all have to come to one agreement	contract	disclaim

After much talk around the "primary responsibility" of women in Extract 4.1, the conversation now steers towards the subject of shopping. Similar to the first extract, the analysis shows how the males in Extract 4.2 dominate the conversation as they challenge the females using biblical strategies to strengthen their views.

Greg not only introduces the topic, he also draws the females into the conversation as it relates to women. Similar to the first extract, we find the men taking on a more dominant role. This is indicated by the number of turns taken: the males collectively contribute a total of ten turns

whereas the females only contribute four. Also, of the five males represented in the group, four take part in this discussion, whereas only two of the five girls participate in the discussion. It is also interesting to note that it is expected of females to dominate and control the conversation considering the topic at hand; however, we see the males taking control of female "talk" and not only steering the conversation, but also establishing rules and norms for what is considered appropriate behavior for women.

Greg, who is the first participant to speak, opens up the discussion with the following:

83   Greg   == I think em, when it comes to shopping, em, my thing is this,
                     if you need it, it's as simple as this.

                                                                 [expand: entertain]

Greg grounds his statement or proposition in his own authority. Words such as, "I think" and "my thing" frame his statement and indicate that his position. It is therefore open to challenge, and this is what happens in the following turn.
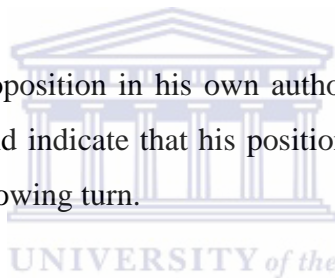
84   Amy   that's your rule; tell that to your girlfriend (laughing).

                                                                 [contract: disclaim]

Amy without hesitation closes down the dialogical space by challenging Greg's viewpoint. Her instant reaction is to contract and counter Greg's statement. She disclaims Greg's statement on two grounds: firstly it is his own rule, not universally applicable. Secondly it must first be accepted by his girlfriend. If it is not accepted by his girlfriend then how and why must she accept it? From Amy's response what can be noted about her is her unwillingness to adhere to a "rule" as stated by Greg.

Greg and Amy continue in their disagreement on the topic of needs and wants through proclaiming and disclaiming. This is seen in the following turns:

89   Greg   ja, this shopping is a sensitive topic to girls coz, I mean the

first time you buy something you buy something you wear it once or twice then you don't wanna wear it again.

[expand: entertain]

90	Amy	But you must also consider the fact that you are a male ==

[contract: disclaim]

91	Greg	==no, no no!==

[contract: disclaim]

92	Amy	==you guys are different to us. You just don't care what you wear and ==

[contract: disclaim]

As noted before, disclaiming refers to the disagreement between participants as reflected in their dialogue. Here they are at odds with one another. Amy in turn 90 expresses to Greg that there is a difference between males and females "you are a male" and therefore he cannot make assumptions or draw conclusions about what is worn by females. Greg strongly rejects or disclaims Amy's comment by saying "no, no, no!" It is a blunt negation, a categorical rejection of the previous claim. Amy continues to challenge Greg by echoing "you guys are different" and goes further to reject Greg's idea of 'sameness'. The use of the negative, in "you don't care" is heteroglossic in the sense that it suggests an alternative viewpoint ("you do care") but contracts the dialogic space by rejecting this alternative.

Craig contributes to the conversation and defends and affirms what Greg has said. He is expansive in what he says as a result of the word "coz". The word "coz" is a colloquial form of the conjunction 'because'. It is an important feature here because it presents an argument or reason. This can be regarded as expansive because it suggests the need to convince the addressee. Craig ironically refers to a female friend to illustrate his point and to convince the females in the group.

86	Craig	**coz'** a lot of the stuff that we say we need is just, you em,

I have a friend who's working for a big company and what she earns now at the moment is already sustaining two people. And, I mean I er, even **she says** no, she has still a lot more ambition and she has already **said**, how many children she wants and she's not gonna have more children than that because of her ambition she has already set for her. But she has already the capacity to get what they need-

[expand: attribute]

In turn 86, Craig also makes use of attribution. This is so because he draws on external sources as a means to justify and support Greg's view on needs and wants. Perhaps Craig makes use of this strategy to somewhat distance himself and to promote the testimony of the external source as a voice of authority. Craig draws on reported speech verbs in his turn such as "says" and "said" which could serve to disassociate the authorial voice from the proposition. He uses his female friend as an example of someone who has the capacity to get what she needs, but still abides by the rule of what is essential or not.
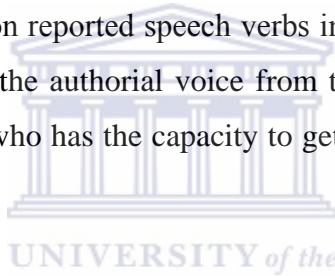
It is ironic that Craig holds up a working woman as a role model in this extract. In Extract 4.1, Craig made use of several biblical references to support his claims that women should not work outside the home, and now we see him using a working woman as an example and perhaps role model to follow.
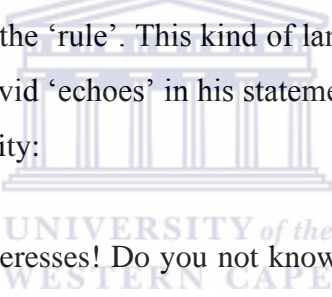
In this extract, David contributes to the discussion for the first time. Generally, in this discussion, David does not say much. However, when he speaks he adopts the same strategy as the rest of the males, using biblical discourse in the form of proclamations as a way to strengthen the argument and position advocated by Greg and Craig. He states:

87   David   In today's world the enemy attacks us. He comes with the attractions and we get so caught up that we just buy things and we don't realize that the enemy is using that to draw you closer to the things. It causes people to

want more…and we move further away from God and what is pleasing to him.

[contract: proclaim]

The proposition that "the enemy is using that" is presented as presupposed through the introductory "we don't realize". It is thus presented as unarguable. This is certainly a much stronger form of contraction, making it very difficult to argue against it, unless one rejects the presupposition. Here, David emphasizes the dangerous nature of the "enemy" through the repetition of the of the word "enemy". The "enemy" is described here as an active participant ready to cause destruction and deceit upon those who give in easily. His role in the world is one who "attacks" and lures people away from God. David's turn is dialogically contraction (proclaim) as he draws on biblical discourse in this turn. For instance, he makes use of the words "enemy", "attack", "caught up" and "attractions" to emphasise the wickedness in giving into the 'wants' and in actual fact breaking the 'rule'. This kind of language is used to great extent in the Bible. The kind of words which David 'echoes' in his statement have been highlighted in bold as possible sources for the intertextuality:

Adulterers and adulteresses! Do you not know that **friendship with the world is enmity with God?** Whoever therefore wants to be a friend of the world makes himself an **enemy** of God.(Bible, NKJV (1997), James 4:4)

Let no one say when he is tempted, "I am tempted by God", for God cannot be tempted by evil, nor does He Himself tempt anyone. **But each one is tempted when he is drawn away by his own desires and enticed**. Then when desire has conceived, it gives birth to sin; and sin, when it is full-grown, brings forth death. (Bible, NKJV (1997), James 1:13-16)

> **Do not love the world or the things in the world**. If anyone loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life—is not of the Father but is of the world. And the world is passing away, and the lust of it; but he who does the will of God Abides forever. (Bible, NKJV (1997), 1 John 2: 15-18)

The use of biblical discourse makes David's statement difficult to challenge. As seen above, all three quotes taken from the Bible testify to the position that the 'enemy' is taken to be the Devil. David could also be reminding us of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (Genesis, Chapter 3), when the Devil in the form of a serpent tempted Eve to eat of the fruit which God commanded them not to eat from. It is understood that after much convincing and enticing, Eve ate of the fruit, persuaded Adam to do the same and as a result they sinned against God. Similarly, in "today's world" as David says, the "enemy" referring to the Devil also attracts and lures women (and men) into the "attractions" of the world. David is implying that the Devil himself tempts females (and males) to indulge and spend all their money on what is not needed and thus draws them "away from God".

Once again we see women constructed as the ones who give into temptation and who lure 'men' into 'wickedness'. The Garden of Eden narrative associates femininity with weakness, wickedness and inferiority and a tendency to lead men astray. Through this we see the underlying ideologies that shape this interaction. We see that it is the men who assume the right to make rules about what is appropriate or not, and who construct the females as weak and prone to behave immorally if not carefully monitored and policed by men.

David also takes on attributing values which attributes his views to some external voice, in this case, the Bible, in order to close down the dialogic space. The effect of this is to contract the dialogic space as the women feel unable to contest the views of God. After this strong assertion of this 'biblical' position from David, Rob responds to him approvingly by stating:

65

88	Rob	**I feel like** I should take communion now. [Laughing]

<div align="right">[expand: entertain]</div>

In Christian theology, it is understood that communion represents the work of Christ on the cross; namely, His crucifixion. Symbolically, Christians partake of Christ's blood (wine/grape juice) and of His body (biscuits/bread) to indicate that they have been forgiven of their sins and are included into the family of God (Bible, NKJV (1997), 1 Corinthians 11:23-30). In light of this, Rob's statement is expressed humorously indicated by the laughter, as he positions himself as sinless and therefore can partake of the communion. Consequently, the underlying ideology is that women are weak, easily tempted and lured into evil as Eve was, but that men are strong and have the power to call females back to "the Lord's ways". This in essence could be viewed as a very patriarchal ideology. Although the underlying ideologies are present in Rob's turn, what is evident is the expansive nature of his statement. His turn is filled with markers of modality indicating subjectivity. For instance, he uses the words "I feel", "like" and "I should". These are all markers of modality which open up the dialogical space. Through these markers, it leaves his proposition open for other opinions. It also softens up the tone of his speech therefore seeming less harsh and judgmental of the female interlocutors.

Similarly, in turn 94 Rob states the following:

Rob	==**I think, I think** that we are going into the line of preference now **you know**, like what I prefer and what you prefer **you know,** and that's like a whole days discussions, so em, **maybe** we should not go there…

<div align="right">[expand: entertain]</div>

Again, Rob continues to be expansive in his talk due to the frequent use of modality. Phrases such as, "I think", "you know", "maybe" point to the uncertainty and tentativeness on the part of the speaker, thus opening his position to challenge from the group. The excessive use of these modalities is also to make allowance and space for alternatives viewpoints and to value positions in the ongoing colloquy. In Rob's turn, he also uses two instances of the collective pronoun "we". By employing this strategy, he becomes inclusive of both the male and female

interlocutors as he attempts to steer the conversation to a different direction. Rob presumes to speak for the whole group which is once again an indicator of his role as youth pastor and greater power.

However, what we notice is that Rob also makes use of positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levison 1987) whereby he does not use his power to such an extent where participants are silent and are afraid to express the opinions and thoughts to the group. Instead, we have seen throughout Extracts 4.1 and 4.2, Rob allows his fellow participants to also have a voice; yet, he still makes sure that he maintains control of the ideological position. This is possible as he draws on engagement resources namely, expansion, thus entertaining a number of possible viewpoints but then, at certain points, closing down the dialogic space through contraction. As a result, he can assert his identity as a leader while still maintaining his position within this social group of friends.

Rob ends the discussion of this topic by firstly opening up the dialogic space, only to close it down at the end of his turn. In turn 96, he steers the conversation and provides the final evaluative comment by stating the following:
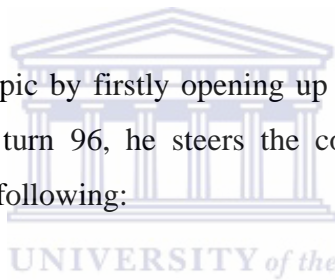
96   Rob   **I think maybe** with needs we can connect it back to what David said that the, the false need that we have today causes rise to em, getting more money and then that causes rise for the women to need to now also go and get provisional *goedtetjies* outside the world. So em, ja

[expand: entertain]

but the point was back to the household, the family structure. **That's not preference**, you know, we all have to come to one agreement.

[contract: disclaim]

In Rob's final comment and as well as the closing on the subject of needs and wants, Rob presents his final thoughts to the group. He is clear to state his view on the subject of shopping. Rob along with David, Greg and Craig, promotes the idea that it is 'women' who are generally led and misled by the worldly pleasures. However, as he presents his thoughts, he uses a

subjective frame to soften his (patriarchal) ideological position in the matter. In the first three lines of his turn, Rob uses several markers of modality. For example, he uses "I think", "we can" and so on to point out that it is women who are recipients of the want for more money. Also the statement: "causes rise for the women to need to now also go get provisional goedtejies" (lines 3-4), also suggests that is the women who are the recipients of the need for more money. It is interesting how Rob makes use of the word "goedtejies" to describe what women indulge themselves in. This word in the English language can refer to words such as 'stuff', 'things', and 'belongings'. Instead of using the English word, Rob chose to code mix into Afrikaans in order to make the statement more informal and less threatening and judgmental. He uses of the word "goedtejies" and as a means to avoid offending the females or avoid interfering with the hearers' (women's) face (Goffman 1999), thus still maintaining a positive face in the group. Rob is therefore consistent with his politeness strategies which allows him to keep the unity and friendship in the group but at the same time still enables him to assert his ideological leadership. It is evident that turn 96 contains both expansive and contractive markers. Rob begins this turn by being very accommodating and subjective, but ends with categorical statement about "primary responsibility" introduced by the word "but". In this way, he is able to affirm his ideological position without appearing to be too dominant and overbearing.

Summary

The analysis of Extract 4.2 dealt with the engagement resources, namely those of contraction and expansion. Throughout the extract, it was evident that both male and female interlocutors appear to show strong forms of assertiveness throughout their discussions.

Engagement Patterns	Males	Females
Expand		
Entertain	6	1
Attribute	1	0
Total Expand	**7**	**1**
Contract		
Proclaim	2	0
Disclaim	2	3
Total Contract	**4**	**3**

Table 4.4: Patterns of Engagement in Extract 4.2

The above table summarizes the engagement patterns that occurred throughout the extract. The table shows similar patterns of contraction engagement between the males and the females. The males display a total of four instances of contraction whereas the females a total of three, often resulting in disclaiming, proclaiming or both. This was seen in Greg and Amy's interaction (turns 83-85 and 89-92).

It appears that the females in this extract are more prepared to challenge the men, than they were in Extract 4.1. This may be because the topic is one over which the women feel greater authority namely clothing. The analysis showed how females tend to be more direct in their challenge to the men. Females often made use of contraction as they disclaimed the position held by the males. The analysis overall indicated that Amy and Leah in particular attempt to challenge the dominant male discourse by asserting their "difference" to men. Although, the females appear to be more assertive, it is still evident how the male interlocutors still take on the dominant voice in the group.

The table also reflects patterns of expansion between the males and females. The table indicates a total of six instances where males draw on entertaining as a resource. The females on the other

69

hand, only use one instance of the resource entertain. The data reflects that the male interlocutors appear to soften the dominant ideological position by making allowance for alternative viewpoints through the resource entertain. However, it could be argued that the men are only more expansive because the topic is clothing and shopping, a less 'core' issue to male/female role question than that of a women's primary responsibility in marriage.

Finally, this extract shows how the men insist that the difference between the genders concerning the topic of shopping and clothing choices is merely a preference (therefore open to change). This is expressed by Rob who dismisses it as "preference" and thus he is more concerned with establishing agreement around something which he argues women do not have a choice namely that of the family structure (Refer to Extract 4.2, turn 94). But the fact that women may have work aspirations as indicated in Extract 4.1 is presented as not a matter of choice, but a question of morality as it "comes from the Lord" (Refer to Extract 4.1). Ironically, in Extract 4.2, the argument that genders may be different when it comes to shopping and clothing is rejected as a matter of preference or choice but male/female differences are used as a justification for the position that the female's primary responsibility is in the home.

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4.3. Females Dress Inappropriately

After Rob's concluding statement in Extract 4.2, the conversation shifts into a different direction. The conversation now moves to a more specific issue namely, dress codes. Here the participants discuss what is considered appropriate and inappropriate with respect to female dress codes. For the first time Kim contributes to the discussion. Kim attempts to point out the inappropriate dress codes of certain Christian females, namely 'Apostolics', yet she presents herself comically as guilty of the same inappropriateness.

The analysis uses the engagement framework to show the expansive and contractive nature of males as they seek to present and reaffirm the dominant male position on appropriate dress codes for women.

Turn No.	Speaker	Proposition	Translation	Contract /Expand	Resource
107	Rob	Ja, no that er, **we can indeed address,** what we wear.		expand	entertain
		Ja, **I think** there is definitely boundaries, absolute standards in what we wear and it's more applicable to those who have the most clothes(everyone laughing). So it's obvious,		expand	entertain
		but I'm **not** picking on girls here **but** because they just open themselves up and expose themselves for a assault, because of their wardrobe (guys laughing), and em their need…		contract	disclaim
		like at times, girls **often** er, females they dress inappropriate, especially Christian females can dress inappropriately.		expand	entertain
		It's possible for Christian females to dress inappropriately. They dress in a way that would not honour God		expand	entertain
108	Kim	like soes die em… Apostolieks!	Like the uhm… Apostolic		
109	Rob	Appel stokkies			
110	All	(everyone laughs).			
111	Kim	Ou Apostolieks, em, lyk hulle dollie hulle op soos posers**soos my ma altyd sê**. kot skirre, en, ok ek is ook 'n female en wat, but die way hulle aan trek is ampe soes hulle, hulle, hetie 'n way hoe hulle aan trekie. Ons	Old Apostolics, em, like, they dress themselves up like models, **like my mother always says**. Short skirts, and, ok, it's females but, the way they dress it's almost like they, they don't have a way how to	contract	proclaim

		sal nou wiet hoe om ons aan te trek in 'n mooi manier en die Apostolieks, hulle het 'n different way hoe hulle aan trek.	dress. We will know how to dress in a nice manner. But) the Apostolics, they have a different way of dressing.		
112	Craig	**Dink jy dit is moontlik om, om te dink**dat jy nie wiet hoe om aan te trek nie as jy jou self compare met mense ==	**Do you think it is possible to, to, think** that you do not know how to dress when you compare yourself with people==	expand	entertain
113	Kim	Is soes like jy, ons as Christians ons kan vir die Hêre enige iets vra, ons kan vir hom vra Hêre wys my hoe om aan te trek, guide my in my kas in, watte sokkie (everyone laughing). **Van** hulle is totally weg van die Here af, nou hulle dress enige way, revealing and whatever, jy wiet. Wys skin everywhere.	It's like you, we as Christians can ask the Lord for anything, we can ask him, Lord, show me how to get dressed, guide me in my cupboard, which sock to wear. [everyone laughing]. **Because** they are totally away from the Lord, so they dress any way, revealing and whatever, you know. Show skin everywhere.	expand	entertain
114	All	(Everyone laughing)			
115	Leah	**I just think** ok most of us are going to church so er, for example if I come to church and **I know** it's not for anybody else but I love to look nice but I mean **I know** it's not so that people can you know see me rather that seeing Christ in me…		expand	entertain

116	Kim	But, but er, een keur, **my broe het gesê** dat ek het kyk, 'n, 'n ouliker toppie aan gehet. Like as ek nou gedagter kry like oh ja ek het nogals die toppie dan trek ek dit soema aan. But som tyds dan dra ekit nie. Like as ek nou gedagter kry dan dra ek it. So ek het dit een keer aan gehet en almal het vir my admire in die kerk,	But, but, er, **one time, my brother told me** that, look, em, I had a cute top on. Like if I remember now, if I have this top, then I wear it. But sometimes I don't wear it. But if I remember now, then I wear it. So one time I had it on and everyone admired me in church,	contract	proclaim
		ma **my broe hier het nogals vir my gesê** ek moet 'n bietjie op cover. Want ek het n boob-tube ma is lank, **toe sê my broe** ek moet opcover. En ek het 'n broek ook aan gehet, 'n wit broek. Ma daai broek was ook revealing van my. En ek het nie gewiet nie. En 'n wit pentie was daar by.	but **my brother told me** that I must cover up a bit. Because I had on a boob-tube but its long, but **my brother said** I must cover up. And I also had on a pants, a white pants. But that pants was also revealing. But I never knew. And I had on a white panty.	contract	proclaim
117	All	[laughing]			
118	Rob	ma, ma Kim, **ek het ge-appreciate**Kim se response.	But, but, I appreciated Kim's response.	expand	entertain
		Uhm, daar was nie, uhm obviously daar is n manier om te correct. So ja. Ma daai was 'n goeie manner hoe sy receive it. **So dis die attitude wat ons moet het.**	Uhm, there wasn't, uhm, there is a way to correct. So yes. But that was a good way she received it. So that is the attitude we must have.	contract	proclaim
119	Kim	ja, veral **my ma sê vir my** trek jou ordentlik aan as jy na die huis van die Hêre toe gaan-	Yes, especially **my mother tells me** to dress appropriately when you go to the house of the Lord.	contract	proclaim

120	David	**not only** at church **but** when you go anywhere.		contract	disclaim
121	Craig& Kim	**Ja, anywhere you go.**		contract	proclaim

In Extract 4.3 Kim is the one presented as the one who still takes up the most turns. She contributes to the discussion for the first time with a total of six turns. Firstly, in Rob's turn he starts off by making a statement and drawing conclusions on the issue of dress code particularly related to females. Rob being the youth leader expresses the following:

107   Rob   … I think there is definitely boundaries, absolute standards in what
                                we wear and it's more applicable to those who have the most clothes…
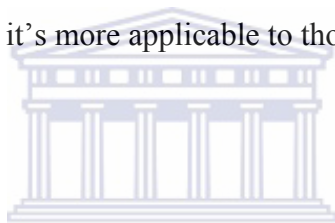
                                                  [expansion: entertain]

Rob's opening turn might appear to be rather contestable at first, especially considering the words "definitely" and "absolute" that are used. However, it is clear that he opens his remark with a subjective marker, "I think". Using this subjective marker has the effect of opening up the dialogic space, thus making his proposition grounded in subjectivity. Rob also uses the words "we" and "they" in his statement, possibly to maintain solidarity in the group. He not only states what he thinks, but he becomes inclusive in his statement.

However, this dialogism is in contrast to his choice of words which suggest a non-negotiable position: "definite boundaries" and "absolute standards". The implication he makes causes one to believe that it is the females who are victims of this, thus it applies to them, as they are the ones according to Rob, "who have the most clothes".

Rob continues in the following turn:

107   Rob   …**but** I'm not picking on girls here but because they just

open themselves up and expose themselves for a assault, because of their

wardrobe (guys laughing), and em their need…like at times, girls often er,

females they dress inappropriate, especially Christian females can dress

inappropriately.

Here Rob shifts from the expansive marker, "I think" to the contractive marker "but" as he states to the group how it is the females who potentially "open themselves up and expose themselves for assault…" because of the clothing they wear. Here he positions the females as responsible for the assault they might 'invite' by dressing provocatively.

He tries to avoid making over-generalizations by employing words such as "at times" and "often". Despite his attempt to soften his tone when addressing the females and their dress code, Rob's wording still appears to be problematic. The fact that he says "girls…open themselves up and expose themselves for assault" is a further indicator of his patriarchal views. "Assault" is a very strong word to use. If Rob is using this word humorously, then why is it that the males are the only participants responding to what he said (through laughter)?If it is used seriously, then it appears that he is blaming women for becoming victims of male violence. Once again, this extract reflects a particular ideology (patriarchal) in which men assume the right to specify what is appropriate and acceptable for women and are exempt from judgements of propriety when it comes to their own behaviour.

Proclaiming as noted before refers to "meanings by which, through some authorial interpolation, emphasis or intervention, dialogic alternatives are confronted, challenged, overwhelmed or otherwise excluded" (Martin and White 2005:117-118). Through the use of proclamation, Rob limits the dialogic alternatives in the ongoing colloquy and pronounces that the topic on dress code relating to females has limitations. Rob is clear to mention that what "we" wear has "definite boundaries", "absolute standards" and consequently it applies to females only. The pronouncement here is directed towards the female participants in the group, which consequently result in an obvious threat to solidarity. Finally, as it has been noted, Rob continues to show patterns of expansion and contraction occurring within the same turn, typically indicating his

attempt to open the dialogic space, by being inclusive, showing leadership and allowing for subjectivity, only to yet close down the very space he opens, exercising his position as youth leader and promoting his ideologies.

Furthermore, Craig also shows patterns of expansive markers of modality through the following turn:

| 112 | Craig | Dink jy dit is moontlik om, om te dink dat jy nie wiet hoe om aan tetrek nie as jy jou self compare met mense == |

<div align="right">[expand: entertain]</div>

Translation
(Do you think it is possible to, to, think that you do not know how to dress when you compare yourself with people==)

Craig's turn, similar to Rob's, is filled with markers of modality. This is firstly indicated by him asking a question. Questions often have the function of opening up the dialogic space. Secondly, Craig's turn is filled with markers of expansive modality, for example, "Do you think" and "possible". These markers allow Kim, to whom the question is addressed, the space to respond.

Finally, turns 120 and 121, show a shift that displays markers of contraction. David, who previously (Extract 4.2) expressed the strongest form of contraction (proclaim), speaks again in this extract also using contractive modality.

David's contractive response towards Kim is as a result of her turn indicated below.

| 119 | Kim | ja, veral my ma sê vir my trek jou ordentlik aan as jy na die huis van die Hêre toe gaan- |

(Yes, especially my mother tells me to dress appropriately when you go to the house of the Lord.)

He responds to Kim in such a way that what he says, is unquestionable and unarguable. David states:

| 120 | David | Not only at church but when you go anywhere. |

[contract: disclaim]

So far, it has been demonstrated in the analysis that the males tend to make frequent use of expansive modality as they allow the dialogic space to open up. However, this expansiveness is coupled with a tendency to close it down again using the resource contraction (Refer to turns 107 and 118).

This extract also shows how Kim, a female interlocutor positions herself in relation to the male interlocutors. For the first time we see Kim contributing to the conversation extensively. Kim responds to what Rob has just said in turn 110, by pointing out a certain religious group, the Apostolics, who form part of the broader Christian faith and who, in her view, dress inappropriately.

Kim goes further to say the following:

| 111 | Kim | Ou Apostolieks, em, lyk hulle dollie hulle op soos posers soos |

my ma altyd sê, kot skirre, en, ok ek is ook 'n female en wat, but die way hulle aan trek is ampe soes hulle, hulle, hetie 'n way hoe hulle aan trekkie. Ons sal nou wiet hoe om ons aan te trek in 'n mooi manier en die Apostolieks, hulle het ń different way hoe hulle aan trek.

[contract: proclaim]

(Old Apostolics, em, like, they dress themselves up like models, like my mother always says, short skirts, and, ok, it's females but, the way they dress it's almost like they, they don't have a way how to dress. We will know how to dress in a nice manner. But these Apostolics, they have a different way of dressing.)

In this statement, Kim quotes her mother's rather conservative views, to support the dominant ideological position. Although this could be seen as an expansive move which introduces other voices, the rhetorical effect is to contract the dialogic space, and it is therefore analysed as contractive. She also conveys a negative attitude of judgement towards the Old Apostolic group. She constructs the Old Apostolics as provocative in their dress code. She says that they always wear "kot skirre" (short skirts) and "dollie hulle op soos posers"(dress up like models). Kim appears to view these Apostolics through a rather judgmental lens influenced by her mother whose views she has adopted as her own. She continues to separate the "hulle" (they) and the "ons" (us) by emphasizing that "we" (implying the group) will at least know how to dress appropriately unlike the "them" who dress the way they want. It is also seen in turn 113 when she assumes that these Apostolic members who dress the way they want are "totally weg van die Hêre af". By implication, Kim is saying if female dresses inappropriately then they are far from God. Perhaps Kim could have possibly misinterpreted Rob's statement when he said "at times" it is "possible" for Christians to dress inappropriately. Rob was not necessarily referring to a particular religious group or denomination, but Christians in general, even those within this group. However, Kim immediately uses this opportunity to judge the way in which the Old Apostolic members dress for church.

Kim also makes use of her first language Afrikaans in which she finds it easier to express herself. Rob responds to her in Afrikaans. Both use a local code mixed variety which signals their identity as speakers from the Cape Flats. (I have used non-standard Afrikaans spelling to reflect aspects of this variety)

Kim continues to affirm the dominant view of how females should dress with an anecdote that she tell against herself:

116   Kim   But, but er, een keer, my broe het gesê dat ek het kyk 'n, 'n ouliker toppie aan gehet. Like as ek nou gedagter kry like ou ja ek het nogals die toppie dan trek ek dit soema aan. But som tyds dan dra ekit nie. Like as ek nou gedagter kry dan dra ek dit. So ek het dit een keer aan gehet en almal het vir my admire in die kerk, ma my broe hier het nogals vir my gesê ek moet 'n bietjie op cover. Wan ek het n boob-tube ma is lank, toe se my broe ek moet opcover. En ek het 'n broek ook aan gehet, 'n wit broek. Ma daai broek was ook revealing van my. En ek het nie gewiet nie. En 'n wit pentie was daar by.

Translation

(But, but, er, one time, my brother told me that, look, em, I had a cute top on. Like if I remember now, if I have this top, then I wear it. But sometimes I don't wear it. But if I remember now, then I wear it. So one time I had it on and everyone admired me in church. But my brother told me that I must cover up a bit. Because I had on a boob-tube but its long, but my brother said I must cover up. And I also had on a pants, a white pants. But that pants was also revealing. But I never knew. And I had on a white panty).

In this incident, she vividly describes what she wore on a specific Sunday morning to church. She describes openly that she had on a white pants, a boob-tube and even to the extent of saying that she had a "wit pentie" (white panty) on. The rest of the group apparently finds her confession funny which is indicated by their laugh (turn 114). What we also notice is that in the previous turn of Kim (turns 110/115); she appeared to be rather quick to construe a negative attitude of judgment at the Old Apostolic in the way they dress. Ironically, we find the same incident happening with her where she admits that the way she dressed was inappropriate

therefore her "broe" (brother in Christ, which is Rob) had to correct her concerning the way she dressed.

Through her narration of this anecdote, Kim affirms the dominant ideology, namely, that females should dress appropriately and that males have the right to define what this means and 'police' this behaviour.

Rob, being the leader and one in authority, shows appreciation for the way she responded and commends her for 'submitting' to the dominant ideology, thus positioning him as sympathetic towards Kim. Naturally, females tend to feel embarrassed and often offended if corrected from a male, however, according to Rob "daai was 'n goeie manner hoe sy receive it". Perhaps this incident can be seen as further evidence of the solidarity that exists between members of the group.

Summary

Extract 4.3 concludes the first set of data in this thesis. In Extract 4.3 it has been noted that Rob and Kim enter into conversation concerning what is appropriate for a Christian female with respect to dress codes. What is also noted in the analysis are the similar patterns used by the male interlocutors through expansive and contractive resources. Firstly, it was noted that the males tend to start off expansive, as they open up the dialogic space for alternative views. However, as they conclude their turn, they are sure to contract, thereby closing down the dialogic space and disallowing others to challenge their ideologies. Kim on the other hand, is the only female interlocutor in the group that supports this ideology. Even though her 'voice is heard', what Kim says by comically narrating her own experience affirms the dominant male position on appropriate dress codes for women. . By endorsing her mother's and brother's views in turns 111, 116 and 119, her statements have the rhetorical effect of contracting the dialogic space.

This extract positions Rob yet again as the one who hold the most power in the group. Through a combination of expansive and contractive engagement resources, he steers the conversation towards a particular ideological position. Once again, in this extract, Rob is supported by the

other male participants, and in this case, also Kim. Only Leah (turn 115) attempts to raise a counter discourse but this is a weak challenge as it is grounded in her own subjectivity.

The table below is a summary of the number of times the males and females use either contractive or expansive resources indicating a total of 17 expressions of expansion and contraction from both male and female participants. The table shows that the female participants use the expansive resource twice whereas the males six times. Markers of contraction are evident from both male and females participants. A total of four markers of contraction from the male interlocutors and a total of five markers of contraction from the female interlocutors are used.

Participants	Males	Females	Totals
Expansion	6	2	8
Contraction	4	5	9

Table 4.5: Contractive and Expansive Resources in Extract 4.3
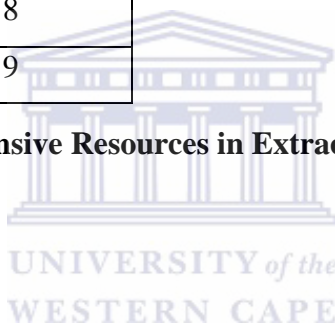
4.4 Conclusion

From the analysis of the three extracts in this chapter, it is clear that the males in the group hold strongly to the dominant discourse of male authority where females are inevitably positioned as less powerful and more prone to immoral behaviours. They are expected to be home-makers and not have too many responsibilities outside of the home (Extract 4.1), they ought to refrain from shopping excessively and indulging in "worldly" pursuits (Extract 4.2) and finally, they are expected to dress "appropriately" as a Christian female should (Extract 4.3). All of these ideologies are filtered through the Bible; therefore, we find the males constantly quoting from the Bible to support their argument. This position however, can be seen as patriarchal, as it suggests that it is the males who have the right to work outside the home, it is the males who can decide what is preference and what is seen as "worldly" and it is the males who have claimed the authority to decide what is appropriate and what is not appropriate with respect to the female dress code.

The Appraisal framework, specifically the attitudinal and engagement systems, was used to help identify the different attitudes, values and ideologies the participants construe for themselves and others. The attitudinal analysis of Extract 4.1, showed how the male participants draw predominantly on capacity (social esteem) and propriety (social sanction) when talking about the role of women in the home. On the other hand, Extract 4.2 and 4.3 focused on the engagement resources. These analyses showed how, despite the fact that the men appeared more 'open' to alternative viewpoints and typically began their turns expansively, they tended to conclude them with contractive resources which close down the dialogic space and asserted their dominant ideological position over the women.

Chapter 5
Equal but Different

5.0. Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the different evaluative stances adopted by the male and female participants in the data gathered in 2009. Although the data was collected a year later, the topics presented are similar; however, there is a shift in the appraisal patterns as well as in the participants involved in the discussion. In the 2008 data, it was evident that the male interlocutors dominated the discussions in turns as well as in length of turns. In the 2009 data, the female interlocutors appear to be more vocal; however, despite their attempt to challenge the males, it is still the male interlocutors who tend to overpower the females. The 2009 data is also different to the 2008 data in that the male interlocutors are more open to alternative viewpoints. However, similar to the previous data, the males have a tendency to close down the dialogical space and reassert their dominant ideological position over the women. Through the use of the Appraisal framework, the analysis aims is to identify the ways in which the males and females converse, to analyse the gender identities and to show how masculine and feminine stereotypes exist and are perpetuated, as well as how issues of power and challenges to power shape this interaction.

Overall there are nine participants in this data: four females and five males. Of the nine participants, two of them are new members to the group, whereas the other seven members feature in Chapter Four. This data came from a 61 minute discussion, I have selected 45 minutes for transcription and from this I selected three extracts for close analysis. The table below indicates the number of turns each participant has in the Extracts (5.1, 5.2 and 5.3) that I selected.

Participants	No. of Turns
Rob	18
Craig	11
Mark	0
David	0
Ross	7
Amy	10
Amber	10
Leah	8
Nicole	10

Table 5.1: Number of turns in Transcript B (Appendix B)

I have selected three extracts for close analysis. I chose these extracts because they are significant thematically and because they effectively demonstrate the Appraisal patterns. The first Extract is presented in **5.1** entitled, *Stereotypes of "guy-ishness"*. This is followed by the second Extract**5.2***Women and Work* and lastly, **5.3***Equality.*

5.1.Stereotypes of "guy-ishness"

The discussion centers on certain stereotypical views displayed by both males and females relating specifically to the subject, "what it means to be a guy" Here, the males and females in the group make frequent use of attitudes of judgement and affect, as they question the nature of "guy-ishness". Thus an attitudinal analysis is provided.

The discussion opens up with a general topic on babies and each member's parental aspirations in terms of their baby gender preferences. The interlocutors move from person to person to state which sex they would like their first child to be, and provide reasons for their choice. The conversation ends with Ross in turn 170 expressing his preference for a baby girl and then shifts towards stereotypes of what it means to be a man.

Extract 5.1

Stereotypes of "guy-ishness"

Turn no.	Speaker	Text	Positive / negative	Affect / Judgement/ Appreciation	Resource
170	Ross	… I'm not quite sure,	Neg	affect	insecurity
		but **I know I want a boy first.**	Pos	affect	inclination
		But if there was only one chance**, I'm not sure if I would want** a boy if I had a choice between one.	Neg	affect	insecurity
		I'm not quite sure anymore.	Neg	affect	insecurity
		But, err, I don't know man. There's one thing about me, this is just me. **One thing that I like is the whole protectiveness thing**	Pos	affect	happiness
		and I feel like I can probably be more protective over a female than over a guy.	Pos	judgement	capacity
		So, uhm**,** that's why I would probably have a more, more, more uhm, **I would probably be inclined to a girl than a guy.**	Pos	affect	inclination
171	Leah	A guy than a girl?			
172	Ross	A girl baby than a guy baby if I only had a choice between one.	Pos	affect	inclination
173	Craig	Ja			
174	Leah	For the protective thing?			
175	Ross	Ja, the protective issue.	Pos	affect	happiness
		But uhm, **I want a boy also**…	Pos	affect	inclination
[Girls overlapping and laughing at Ross's indecisiveness.]					

176	Amber	[laughing] I want a girl and a boy	Pos	affect	inclination
177	Craig	That's a postmodern….			
178	Amber	An in between [laughing]			
179	Ross	[laughing]			
180	Amy	Ja**,** but sometimes if you have a very guy-ish guy and you have a uhm, your first child is a male then **the guy doesn't always turn out the way you want.**	Neg	judgement	normality
		Like for example, Grant, **he's a guy-ish guy but he's not into sport you know. The whole sports thing…**	Neg	judgement	normality
181	Leah	Ja, **he's very different**	pos/ neg	judgement	normality
182	Amy	**Like he's into cars and Uncle Donny is into cars,**	Pos	judgement	normality
		but you know like **just because you not into sports, that does not influence your guyness**.	Pos	judgement	normality
183	Ross	Like my daddy, **he's into sports**	Pos	judgement	normality
		and I'm the first born and **I'm not much into sports than he is,**	Neg	judgement	normality
		but I am into soccer, so…	Pos	judgement	normality
184	Rob	**But you get different types of guy-ishness**	Pos	judgement	normality
185	Ross	Ja			

186	Rob	Like you get for example uhm, my neighbour's nê, **most of them are all guys, but they are more car guys**,	Pos	judgement	normality
		they don't understand a thing about sports so,	Neg	judgement	capacity
		I would judge them as do you want… **but they are thorough guys**.	Pos	judgement	normality
		Where I, I like my sports, I would question my…[laughing]	neg/pos	judgement	normality
		[Guys laughing]			
187	Rob	…**coz I don't like cars,**	Neg	affect	happiness
		only when I'm in trouble with the car I would like to know what is happening,	Pos	affect	inclination
		but generally I wouldn't want to lay under a car and get dirty and stuff.	Neg	affect	inclination
		I mean it's cool, so **there's different offshoots of guy-ishness.**	Pos	judgement	normality
		I think you can be a guy that's not interested in the hard, hard things and you can be a guy that's interested in the mild things.	Pos	judgement	normality
		I don't wanna say **soft things coz soft things are exclusively for girls**.	Neg	judgement	normality
188	Ross	So the cooking aspect, you wouldn't want to cook?			
189	Rob	**I'll, I'll, wouldn't like to cook…**	Neg	affect	inclination
190	Amber	So you would want to cook?			
191	Rob	**well not on a regular basis. Like once a while.**	pos/neg	affect	inclination

192	Amy	You always cook[laughing]			
193	Rob	So now and then I would, but **I won't want to do it every night….those things just wear off.**	Neg	appreciation	reaction

Ross is the first male to open the conversation on baby gender preferences. In his turn, Ross firstly ends his turn with his preference of having a baby girl, although he appears very indecisive. This is indicated by the frequent use of modality in his talk, for example, his use of the words: "would" and "probably".

170   Ross   … **I'm not quite sure**,

[neg affect: insecurity]

but **I know I want a boy first**.

[pos affect: inclination]

But if there was only one chance, **I'm not sure if I would want** a boy if I had a choice between one.

[neg affect: insecurity]

I'm not quite sure anymore.

[neg affect: insecurity]

But, err, I don't know man. There's one thing about me, this is just me. **One thing that I like is the whole protectiveness thing**

[pos affect: happiness]

and I feel like I can probably be more protective over a female than over a guy.

[pos jud: capacity]

So, uhm**,** that's why I would probably have **a more, more, more** uhm, **I would probablybe inclined to a girl than a guy.**

[pos affect: happiness]

Ross's turn starts off by drawing extensively on the attitudinal resources, of inclination, happiness, capacity and insecurity. He starts off by saying, "I'm not quite sure" and this he states three times throughout his turn (lines 1-3), which only emphasizes Ross's indecisiveness. In his attempt to explain himself, he starts off by saying that he would like to have a baby boy as his first choice. Ironically, all the males in the group, prior to his turn, also expressed an interest in having a male as their first choice. Perhaps, Ross starts off expressing the same interest in order to maintain solidarity with the male group which has already been established in the preceding turns. He begins with a statement of positive affect: "I want to have a boy first". Here Ross's immediate response to the question is captured in his inclination for wanting a boy baby first. However, Ross's strong inclination quickly shifts from a positive to a negative. This is indicated in the following:

"But if there was only one chance**, I'm not sure if I would want a boy if I had a choice between one**."

He then provides reasons for why he would prefer a baby girl as opposed to a boy. The first reason he gives has to do with the opportunity it would afford him to be protective. He uses judgments of capacity in turn 107 to perform his masculinity through asserting his desire and need to protect a female.

The conversation continues and builds up from Ross's perception of masculinity. Amy, who is the first female to contribute to this topic, makes strong judgements on how guy should be.

180   Amy   Ja**,** but sometimes if you have a very guy-ish guy and

you have a uhm, your first child is a male then **the guy doesn't always turn out the way you want.**

[neg jud: normality]

Like for example, Grant, **he's a guy-ish guy** but **he's not into sport** you know. **The whole sports thing**…

[neg jud: normality]

181	Leah	Ja**, he's very different**

[neg jud.: normality]

182	Amy	Like he's into cars and Uncle Donny is into cars, but you know like **just because you not into sports, that does not influence your guyness.**

[neg jud: normality]

In the above turns Amy makes a distinction between two types of guys as she evaluates them, using judgments of normality. She makes mention of those guys that are "guy-ish" (masculine) and play sport and those guys that are still considered to be "guy-ish", but do not play sport. For example, Amy refers to one particular person, Grant who to her, is rather "guy-ish" but does not play sport. In turn 180, Amy uses strong judgements of normality to assert stereotypes of maleness.

Amy already has a perception of what it means to be a male. In her turn she makes a negative judgement when she states "the guy does not always turn out the way you want". Firstly, Amy makes the assumption that there are guys who are typically perceived as more masculine. These are the guys that play sport for example, and if you desire to have the more masculine boy first, there is the potential of being disappointed. Amy still acknowledges that there are other "guy-ish guys" for example "Grant" who is not into sports per se, but he likes cars. Also, what is seen in turn 180 is Amy's statement as evoked. Amy is not explicitly judging the males; however, a negative judgment is evoked by stating that boys are "supposed" to be into sports.

91

She elaborates this in turn 182 below.

| 182 | Amy | Like he's into cars and Uncle Donny is into cars, **but you know like just because you not into sports, that does not influence your guyness.** |

In turn 182, Amy continues to justify why Grant is still a guy-ish guy. She makes a strong positive judgement of normality when she states that the absence of sports in a guy's life does not necessarily affect their masculinity. Thus, Amy uses social esteem to define what it means to be male.

Furthermore, the extract indicates a consistent use of social esteem reflected throughout Rob's turn. Rob, who is the youth pastor, also contributes to the group by drawing on judgments of normality to further justify why it is normal to have "different kinds of males" (turn 184).

For instance, in turn 184, Rob evaluate guys against the norm.

| 184 | Rob | But **you get different types of guy-ishness** |
| | | [jud: normality] |

Rob along with the rest of the group agree that there are different types of guys or what the group calls "guy-ishness". At this point it appears that the group is all in agreement with this. This agreement is seen in turns 180, 183, 184 and 186.

Rob continues his thoughts on maleness to the point whereby he draws a comparison between himself and his neighbours in the following turns:

| 186 | Rob | Like you get for example uhm**,** my neighbor's ne, **most of them are all guys, but they are more car guys,** |
| | | [pos jud: normality] |

they don't understand a thing about sports so

<div align="right">[neg jud: capacity]</div>

I wouldn't judge them as do you watch… **but they are thorough guys**.

<div align="right">[pos jud: normality]</div>

Where I, **I like my sports**, I would question my… (Laughing)

<div align="right">[pos affect: happiness]</div>

Guys laughing

187   Rob   **…coz I don't like cars,**

<div align="right">[neg affect: happiness]</div>

only when **I'm in trouble with the car I would like to know what is happening,**

<div align="right">[pos affect: inclination]</div>

but generally **I wouldn't want to lay under a car and get dirty and stuff**.

<div align="right">[neg affect: inclination]</div>

I mean it's cool, so **there's different off-shoots of guy-ishness**.

<div align="right">[pos jud: normality]</div>

I think you can be a guy that's not interested in the hard, hard things and you can be a guy that's interested in the mild things.

<div align="center">93</div>

[pos jud: normality]

I don't wanna say **soft things coz soft things are exclusively for girls**.

[neg jud: normality]

In turns 186 and 187 Rob draws a humorous comparison between two kinds of guys. He speaks about guys that have a strong interest for cars and then guys like himself that are not interested in cars bur prefer sports. Rob is clear to mention that his neighbors do not "understand a thing about sport" but he still considers them to be "thorough guys". In this way, Rob uses judgements of social esteem to evaluate the masculinity of his neighbours against a norm. However, when he speaks of his own masculinity, he uses the weaker evaluations of affect. For example, his turn indicates three instances of affect whilst describing himself as a man. He draws on negative affect of happiness and positive affect of inclination to justify why it is normal to have different off-shoots of guys. Rob's statement reflected in turn 187 illustrate what is considered positive and normal for guys. His statement is thus presented as normative and expresses stereotypes and expectations about how males should behave.

Summary

The attitudinal analysis of Extract 5.1 shows the different evaluative stances participants take with regards to what is considered "guy-ish". The analysis shows that when expressing views about masculinity, affect is the preferred choice for males whereas judgements are the preferred choice for females. The predominant kind of judgements to be expressed by the males and females are judgements of normality. This is a softer kind of judgement (social esteem) than the judgements of social sanction which characterised the discourse of the males in the 2008 data set.

Attitudinal Patterns	Males	Females
Affect		
In/security	3	
Un/happiness	3	
Dis/inclination	8	1
Total Affect	**14**	**1**
Judgement		
Normality	10	5
Capacity	2	0
Tenacity	0	0
Veracity	0	0
Propriety	0	0
Total Judgements	**12**	**5**
Appreciation		
Reaction	1	0
Valuation	0	0
Composition	0	0
Total Appreciation	**1**	**0**

Table 5.2: Attitudinal Patterns in Extract 5.1

5.2 Women and Work

The second Extract is a continuation of Extract 5.1, only this time, the conversation shifts from male to female stereotypes. Also, a few turns (222-248) within the extract have been omitted because the conversation at that point became irrelevant to the subject under discussion and only started to pick up again from turn 249. This analysis focuses on the engagement resources and indicates that despite the apparent assertiveness from the female interlocutors, it is the male interlocutors that appear to dominate the discussions through frequent use of proclamation and disclaiming.

Extract 5.2

Women and Work

Turn no.	Speaker	Proposition	Expand/ Contract	Resource
194	Leah	I have a question for the guys. **Do you have this idea that** it's a woman's role to cook, to clean and to do all of those things?	expand	entertain
195	Rob	**Of course**! [laughing]	contract	proclaim
196	Amber	Craig is **saying** no	expand	attribute
197	Leah	Craig **says** no	expand	attribute
198	Amber	So **you would say**….	expand	entertain
199	Leah	…**so you would go into a marriage thinking** that already having this preconditioned idea that you gonna be cleaning and that is your primary role doesn't mean that they are not gonna help you with it, but that is your primary role?	expand	entertain
200	Craig	That's exactly your primary role yes	monoglossic	
201	Rob	**I don't think** it is exclusively your role	expand	entertain
		but it is, it makes practically sense. The guy is gonna be the one out making the money and the girl is gonna be the one taking care of the kids. So it's just….	contract	proclaim
202	Craig	It's just our churches girls [laughing]		
203	Amy	That's what you would like….		
204	Leah	…**but sometimes** it's just, it doesn't happen that way	expand	entertain
205	Amy	It **does not** have to be in that direction	contract	disclaim
206	Rob	**well**, it's supposed to happen	expand	entertain
207	Amy	It's supposed to **but it's not**!	contract	disclaim
208	Leah	Ja, **coz** I mean let's just say that and there's, I work as well, so I come home and I come home a bit later. So do I come home and my primary role still suppose to be to clean…	expand	entertain
209	Craig	…**No**, you leave your job and then tend to your primary role…	contract	disclaim
210	Girls	**No** Craig!	contract	disclaim
211	Amy	**No** ways	contract	disclaim
212	Amber	**No** ways	contract	disclaim

123	Craig	Or you **could just**…	expand	entertain
214	Amber	… **I will only** start applying it when it comes to…	contract	disclaim
215	Rob	… Ja, **but** that's a bad reason not to get married	contract	disclaim
216	Amy	**No I'm saying that** if the male will never get married	expand	entertain
217	Rob	Uhm, **why** not?	expand	entertain
218	Amy	**coz** he is looking for a female to be at home	expand	entertain
219	Craig	Males **will be sure** to find a ….	expand	entertain
220	Rob	**No**, I find that…	contract	disclaim
221	Amber	…**no**, **the only time** I will consider staying at home is when I have children. And it's not gonna be like…soon you know. So I'm gonna go work…	contract	disclaim

[…]

249	Craig	**No**, I would want her to work,	contract	disclaim
		but I would want her to do the work that she is suppose to do [laughing] that is also work…	contract	disclaim
		ja, **I think**…a lot of the things we think we need are the things we don't need.	expand	entertain
		And I think a lot of reasons why both husband and wife is working because they are pursuing those things that they don't really, that they think they need.	expand	entertain
		And um, uhm, **I want to** sound overtly biblical and **we believe in absolute truth** and **there are no conditions** to that.	contract	proclaim
		Ja, so, ja. So even if we are to work, **we would want** to please the Lord.	contract	proclaim
250	Amber	**No exceptions?**	expand	entertain
251	Craig	**Absolute!**	contract	proclaim

Extract 5.2 shows how the males challenge the females on pivotal issues pertaining to womanhood. The extract also reflects the female participants' notion of what it means to be

female. Here, issues such as the role of woman in the home and motherhood are once again challenged and affirmed.

Leah is the first participant of the females who introduces the notion of what it means to be a female through her question:

| 194 | Leah | I have a question for the guys. **Do you have this idea** that it's a woman's role to cook, to clean and to do all of those things? |
| | | [expand: entertain] |

In the above turn, there is an immediate shift from male stereotypes to female stereotypes. Leah questions the norm of females having to cook and clean in the home. She directs her question to the males as an expansive opening up of the dialogic space.

The immediate responses to the question are given by Rob and Craig in turns 200, 201, 209, 249 and 251. In these turns Rob and Craig make strong use of disclaiming and proclaiming, with one exception. The turns below indicates the stance they take on the current issue.

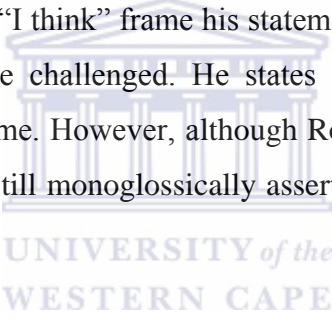| 200 | Craig | **That's** exactly your primary role yes |

201	Rob	**I don't think** it is exclusively your role
		[expansion: entertain]
		but it is, it makes practically sense. **The guy is gonna be the one out making the money and the girl is gonna be the one taking care of the kids**. So it's just….
		[contraction: proclaim]

The above utterance from Craig, is presented in a bare form. In other words, there is no evidence of heteroglossic markers, except for the word "yes", which only expresses agreement with the previous claim (turn 199). Consequently, this kind of utterance according to Martin and White (2005) is seen as "monoglossic". Thus, Craig's statement or response to women working outside of the home is strongly authoritarian. The use of the adverb "exactly" stresses the absoluteness of the position thus the role of the woman is to be in the home cooking and looking after the children. Craig closes down the dialogic space leaving no room for contestation. Craig also makes use of the words "primary role" in his response. These words echo the discourse analysed in the previous chapter (Extract 4.1), that it is a woman's primary role to take responsibility for the home.

Rob in turn 201 shares the same position as Craig; however, he starts off his turn by using an expression of "I think". The words "I think" frame his statement and indicates that his position is merely subjective. Thus, it can be challenged. He states that woman's primary role is not "exclusively" to function in the home. However, although Rob appears to be more expansive in the opening part of his turn, he is still monoglossically asserts his position in the second half of turn (201):

> **but it is**, it makes practically sense. The guy is gonna be the one
> out making the money and the girl is gonna be the one taking care
> of the kids. So it's just…."
>
> [contraction: proclaim]

The use of the word "but", indicates the shift in his position. In the opening statement, it was clear that Rob explicitly presented his proposition as grounded in its own contingent and individual subjectivity, leaving room open for possible positions and alternatives. Then he immediately shifts by introducing the word "but". This word can be construed as dialogically contractive as it closes down the space for dialogical alternatives. This pattern of expand to contract can also be seen in Craig's turn 249.

The data reflect several attempts on the part of female interlocutors to challenge the dominant position. This is seen in the turns below:

205	Amy	It does **not** have to be in that direction
		[contract: disclaim]

207	Amy	It's supposed to, **but it's not!**
		[contract: disclaim]

221	Amber	…**no**, the only time I will consider staying at home is when I have children. And it's not gonna be like soon you know. So I'm gonna go work…
		[contract: disclaim]

The turns above reflect strong markers of contraction which expresses the women's sentiments towards the current response from the males. Words such as "no", "not", and "but it's not" appear to convey that the females are not happy with the position held by the males. Here, Amy and Leah disclaim the position or stereotype held by the guys. Their responses indicate that they do not support this gendered stereotype and patriarchal view of a woman's role. Therefore, they too contract the dialogic space through disclaiming and countering the dominant ideology.

Strong statements of proclaiming and disclaiming continue throughout the extract on female stereotypes. Craig, who takes on the dominant authorial voice in the group, contracts the issue in turn 209

209	Craig	…**No**, you leave your job and then tend to your primary role…
		[contraction: disclaim]

Being very dogmatic in his approach, Craig, disclaims *the* females' responses towards his view. He says very confidently, "No", and furthermore, continues to give solutions to the current issue. Craig is clear to that there are no excuses as to why a woman cannot tend to her primary role. If the woman is unable to do so, then she should "leave [her] job". This statement without a doubt closes down the space for dialogic alternatives, thus disallowing interlocutors to present their

opinions on the matter as well as contesting the matter. Craig makes himself clear when he not only disclaims by rejecting the females' position on the subject, but it could be said that he perhaps implicitly also brings forth a proclamation which is unquestionable. This pronouncement from Craig comes across as very patriarchal because of the implications that it communicates. His statement not only affirms the stereotypes of males, as the provider, but also reproduces a stereotype of women as the home-maker and care-giver.

This kind of dogmatic approach immediately elicits statements of disclaiming from the females in the following turns:

210	Girls	**No Craig!**	[contraction: disclaim]
211	Amy	**No ways**	[contraction: disclaim]
212	Amber	**No ways**	[contraction: disclaim]

The female interlocutors quickly jump in, and strongly disagree with what Craig said in turn 209. Collaboration and solidarity is heightened at this point as the females counter Craig's position by strongly asserting "no" and "no ways". At this point one might expect the females to at least justify or elaborate on their position they prefer. However, as is typical of this group, the females do not generally present strongly motivated counter positions. This role of counter position is taken up by a new member of the group, Nicole, as illustrated the following extract.

Summary

The table below summarises the engagement patterns that occur throughout the data. The table reflects that the male interlocutors show frequent patterns of the resource contraction whilst engaging on the topic of woman's work in the home and motherhood. On the other hand, the female interlocutors, appear to be less contractive in their approach on the subject at hand as shown in the table which follows:

Engagement Patterns	Males	Females
Expand		
Entertain	7	8
Attribute	0	2
Total Expand	**7**	**10**
Contract		
Proclaim	5	0
Disclaim	5	7
Total Contract	**10**	**7**

Table 5.3: Patterns of Engagement for Extract 5.2

The analysis of Extract 5.2 indicates a shift in Appraisal patterns encountered in Extract 5.1. In Extract 5.1, the discussions on what it means to be a guy showed that when expressing views about masculinity, affect and judgements of normality are the preferred choices for males and females. In Extract 5.2, the discussion is centered on females and their work. Here, the analysis showed that although the females show instances of disclaiming the views presented by the males, the female participants still have the tendency to use more expansive resources while males, on the other hand, may begin expansively, only to contract towards the end of their turn, thereby closing down the dialogic space and silencing any challenge to their ideological position.

5.3Equality

This final section explores the one single occasion in both data sets when a female interlocutor presents a sustained counter-position to the dominant male one. This analysis shows how tension arises between the females within the group on issues concerning a woman's role in the home, more specifically her role as a mother and a worker outside of the home. Nicole who is a new member, expresses a counter-position, and causes awkwardness and unease between the females as well as with the males in the group.

This extract is similar and different to the previous ones in many ways. Firstly, it is similar in that the subject under discussion is also centered on a controversial issue, namely, the "intended" functioning of woman in the home, in the work place and her role as a mother. Secondly, what is different is the strong counter voice that emerges when Nicole takes on a feminist position as she challenges the dominant discourse. It is also different in that in the previous chapter, it was noted that the females in the group conformed more to the patriarchal ideology presented. Although, they challenged the males, it was very indirectly through use of questions. However in this extract, the females have a tendency to respond less and to remain silent with the exception of Nicole who challenges the males by stating her views on the subject matter.

Equality

Extract 5.3

Turn no.	Speaker	Proposition	Expand/ Contract	Resource
252	Amber	Nicole you gonna stay at home?	expand	entertain
[Pause 1.0 seconds]				
253	Nicole	Uhm, for the primary developmental stages of their life **I would like** too, uhm,	expands	entertain
		but, uhm ,	contract	disclaim
		maybe as soon as they start going to school or	expand	entertain
		maybe when they just settle themselves in primary school,	expand	entertain
		I think that's when I'll start working.	expand	entertain
		But, other than that I kinda, I have to work at…	contract	counter
[Distraction]				
254	Nicole	Uhm, where was I, yes, **I will have to work**, **I will have to work so that** my child will also be expose to mommy working, uhm, that mommy also has responsibility to work and to earn a living,	expand	entertain
		so that they can see that mommy contributes to their survival.	expand	entertain
		So that they can also comprehend that and not to only form a conception that mommy stays at home and that is where she supposed to be you know.	expand	entertain
		That they also get into their mind that mommy also have skills and that mommy can also do that kind of things you know.	expand	entertain
		So that they can establish that there is some kind of equality between mommy and daddy you know. That daddy work, mommy works, daddy earns money, and mommy earns money.	expand	entertain

		So that they can see that partnership man, so that they can have that realization that they are working as a team. So ja…	expand	entertain
255	Craig	[laughing]		
256	Nicole	So ja, **they have to be** exposed to that.	expand	entertain
257	Rob	**Who supports Nicole?**	expand	entertain
[Pause 3.0 seconds]				
258	Rob	All of the females **probably** supports you, not to say that the males wont,	expand	entertain
		but who? **Who is thinking** that seems balanced?	expand	entertain
		How do we settle such an issue?	expand	entertain
		Is it necessary, uhm, you **obviously see it** as important that the children view you in that aspect of that as well, uhm, in a working class aspect as well and to contribute to family as well financially.	expand	entertain
259	Craig	**I see that position that Nicole brought up** about equality between a man and a women is seen in what they bring…	expand	entertain/attribute
		but do you ….	contract	disclaim
260	Nicole	Huh, say again?		
261	Craig	**You spoke about** equality between a wife and a husband.	expand	attribute
		So from that I have er, **I have derived that you are saying** that equality is seen by the fact that they do the same thing?	expand	attribute

		So are you saying that or am I saying….	expand	entertain
262	Nicole	**I am saying**, that child needs to be exposed to, they need to see that mommy and daddy are sharing roles, they are helping one another. They have to see that hand in hand relationship, they have to see that.	expand	entertain
		I don't want the child to see that, I hope they won't think that uhm, daddy is stronger than mommy, mommy is weaker than daddy. Mommy's weak and daddy strong. They just have to have this mutual understanding.	expand	entertain
		They just **have to** have Jesus to understand uhm, ja,	expand	entertain
		there was something else that I wanted to mention ….	expand	entertain
263	Rob	**So it's**, it's more from the children's perspective?	expand	entertain
		Uhm, like **what is** good for them?	expand	entertain
		And **what they perceive** as it relates to the functioning of the parents.	expand	entertain
264	Ross	**I think** the parents have to teach them,	expand	entertain
		Uhm, **I think** maybe I'm gonna use a soccer illustration, a soccer example.	expand	entertain
		If there are 10 defenders on a team, no one will be able to score goals or there's not gonna be forwards in front, or if you have 10 forwards there's not gonna be any defenders.	expand	entertain
		So what I'm basically trying to say is that there are people who's got different functions but who play for the same team for the	expand	entertain

|		same goal.		
		But there are different functions within that.	contract	disclaim
		So if, if, a mother and a father does the same thing there might be a lacking in the other part of the children's life.	expand	entertain
		But the parents need to teach the children, listen the mother is doing this and the father is doing something maybe something different but they are working towards the same goal. For the better of the children.	contract	disclaim
		They should be that that at the early stages of their life.	expand	entertain
		Just because they are not doing the same thing, **doesn't mean that** one is more important and the other is less important. **But** both of them are doing equally important things….	contract	disclaim
265	Nicole	**I agree** with you on that, and **perhaps** I didn't uhm, explain it, not explain, preferably,	expand	entertain
		but I mean, I didn't mean equality in the sense that mommy and daddy is in the same thing.	contract	disclaim
		They function independently **you know**, according to what a guy does you know, don't know	contract	proclaim
		If you are bringing in the gender type of thing, a man suppose to do this and suppose to do that,	expand	entertain
		but what you just said now they function with, uhm,	expand	attribute
		you know what I'm trying to say.	expand	entertain
		Not necessarily that they suppose to do the same thing **but** function in such a way that uhm; the one isn't more overpowering than the other.	contract	proclaim
		Does it make sense?	expand	entertain
[Pause 1.5 sec]				

266	Nicole	**That's what I'm trying to say**,	expand	entertain
		not necessarily doing the same thing **but, but**…	contract	disclaim
267	Rob	Ok, uhm, coming back to the house, then, **is it possible** that a mother can be stationed at home and, and, uhm, work with the children for her children and the father can be working outside the home for the children and family?	expand	entertain
		Uhm, **is that possible** and can that be seen as also equality?	expand	entertain
268	Nicole	That depends on how she feels about it and how he feels about It.	expand	entertain
		If they feel fine with that agreement then so it is. **If** she feels that she wants to take care of the kids **if** she wants to be at home and do the things, whatever she wants do, and then let it be.	expand	entertain
		That's not gonna rob her of herself, of her human being, of her being skilled in some way for her to survive.	contract	proclaim
		If daddy passes away, **you know** then she can still continue looking after the kids.	expand	entertain
		If she maybe thought that far, **I don't know**, uhm, how dependant she is of her husband then so be it.	expand	entertain
269	Rob	And the other girls, **what** are you saying concerning your children?	expand	entertain
		And **how** to handle your family and work?	expand	entertain
[Pause 2.0 seconds]				
270	Nicole	**Can I just add one last thing** that is on my mind…uhm, as long as she's not entirely and solely dependent on the father that his way of bringing the income you know.	expand	entertain
		You have to be skilled in some way to earn a living **you know** as	expand	entertain

		a woman, regardless if there are children or not. …		
271	Rob	**Any other girls?**	expand	entertain

[Pause 94.0 seconds]

272	Nicole	**Are we done?**	expand	entertain

In the above extract, Nicole, who is a new female participant to the group, makes up a total of nine turns out of the total of 19 overall turns. Although she only contributes nine times to the conversation, her turns are very long and extended. She is the only female participant who contributes to the discussion with the exception of Amber who has one turn. The males on the other hand take up a total of ten turns with Rob and Craig as the dominant speakers in the group. More than half of the discussion is made up on the subject on whether women should work or not. The discussion specifically explores Nicole viewpoints, as she is a new member with no prior knowledge of previous discussions (in Chapter 4). The rest of the females in the group, are shown to be very quiet within this interaction, and this is indicated through their recurrent pauses.
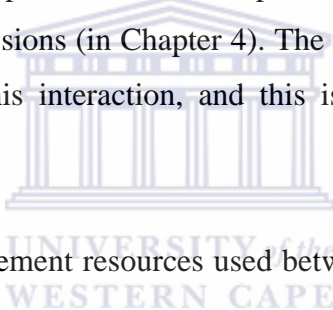
The table below reflects the engagement resources used between Nicole, Rob and Craig as well as the amount of turns taken.

Participants	No. of turns	Total number of Expansion	Total number of Contraction
Rob	5	13	0
Craig	3	3	1
Nicole	9	27	7

Table 5.4: Engagement resources and turn taking in Extract 5.3

The above table shows that Nicole makes up a total of nine turns in the discussion, with Rob at a total of five and Craig three. The table reflects that Nicole draws mostly from the resources of

contraction and expansion. The analysis below will show how these engagement resources allow participants to either align themselves with the dominant position or counter the dominant position. The men on the other hand, are much more expansive than they have been in the rest of the discussions.

Amber initiates the question and is eager to know Nicole's position on the given subject. She poses her question in the following turn:

| 252 | Amber | Nicole are you gonna stay at home? |

[Pause 1.0s]

In Extract 4.1 (in previous chapter), it was argued that females tend to be less challenging towards the dominant ideology. It is as if the females have accepted the position of the dominant discourse, that is, that women are supposed to be workers in the home and the care-givers to their children. So, by now, Amber, Amy and Leah are fully aware of the dominant position in the group. Nicole however, being a new member to the group and to the discussions, takes on a different position.

Nicole responds to the opening question in turn 253 expansively. She starts off trying to think through what she wants to say and how she wants says it. This is indicated by the words "uhm". In her turn, Nicole replies to Amber with seven markers of modality. She uses words and phrases such as "maybe", "uhm", "kinda", "I think" and so on which reflect in some way her uncertainty on the subject matter. It is clear that her statements are modalised. Her hesitation is seen in the phrase, "I would like to" as opposed to "I will". What is also interesting is that within her turn, Nicole is not only expansive, but also tentatively contractive.

| 253 | Nicole | Uhm, for the primary developmental stages of their life I would like to, uhm, |
| | | [expand: entertain] |

but, uhm,

[contract: counter]

maybe as soon as they start going school or

[expand: entertain]

maybe when they just settle themselves in primary school,
I think that's when I'll start working.

[expand: entertain]

But, other than that I kinda, I have to work at…

[contract: counter]

It is important to note that the countering "but" is not contradicting someone else's claim but simply countering a previous statement. The overall effect is expansive. It is thus a balanced statement of future intentions. Nicole uses predominantly expansive resources (entertain) to express her position: out of a total of nine turns, 24 propositions are expansive in nature.

This can be seen in the following turn:

| 254 | Nicole | Uhm, where was I, yes**, I will have to work, I will have to work so that** my child will also be expose to mommy working, uhm, that mommy also has responsibility to work and to earn a living |

[expand: entertain]

so that they can see that mommy contributes to their survival

[expand: entertain]

So that they can also comprehend that and not to only form a conception that mommy stays at home and that is where she supposed to be you know.

That also get into their mind that mommy also have skills and that mommy can also do that kind of things you know

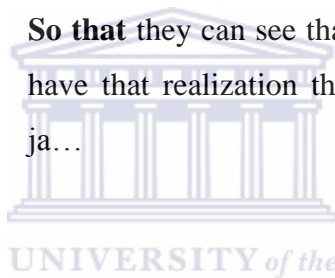**So that** they can establish that there is some kind of equality between mommy and daddy you know. That daddy work, mommy works, daddy earns money, and mommy earns money.

So that they can see that partnership man, so that they can have that realization that they are working as a team. So ja…

The above turn includes six instances of the resource expansion (entertain). The statements introduced by "so that", provide reasons for her statements of intention. Thus, it can be seen as strongly heteroglossic. Nicole's stance is that both men and woman as equal in all respects. This is indicated by the following turn (254):

"**So that** they can establish that there is some kind of equality between mommy and daddy you know."   [expand: entertain]

Here she provides a reason as to why she sees it important to work, namely for the purpose of "equality". Furthermore, her turn provides four more reasons as to why she feels the need to work outside of the home. Firstly, to contribute financially, secondly, to be a role model to her children concerning females and the work place, thirdly, to show that females also have capabilities and lastly, to show the possibility of an equal partnership between a man and a

woman. All of these reasons serve as a means to index her underlying ideology which is contrary to the dominant view.

As seen above, Nicole presented her statement allowing for alternative positions; however, she concludes her thoughts on motherhood and work in turn 256 with the contraction:

256   Nicole   So ja, they **have to** be exposed to that. [contract: proclaim]

So while she has opened up the dialogic space for alternative views in turn 254, here she closes it down with the marker "have to". This is a modal statement of necessity or obligation but it is not presented as negotiable. In other words, she presents the obligation "they have to be exposed to that" in a categorical way.

After Nicole turns (254 and 256), Rob contributes for the first time to the discussion, and does so by means of a question, specifically directed to the female interlocutors.

257   Rob   Who supports this, who supports Nicole?
                                                    [expand: entertain]

Rob, who is the youth pastor, tries to include the rest of the participants in the group to respond to the turn Nicole just made. However, his attempt to do so fails in that the females remain silent. Throughout the entire extract, only one female contributes to the discussion other than Nicole and that was Amber who merely initiated the discussion by asking the question which leads to Nicole's response. It is interesting that there is approximately three seconds of silence from the females after the question posed by Rob. Although short in length, silence or the lack of response from the females is significant. It could mean three things: Firstly, it could be seen as a strategy for diplomacy, bearing in mind that all the females besides Nicole are already aware of the male stance. Secondly, silence or unresponsiveness from the females could also give the impression that the females are not in agreement with Nicole, thus being silent brings affirmation to the rest of the males. Thirdly, remaining silent or unresponsive to a question can be viewed as a way of showing solidarity with Nicole. Rob again exercises his leadership role and fills the pause with the following:

258	Rob	All of the females **probably** supports you, not to say that the males won't,

[expand: entertain]

but who? **Who is thinking** that that seems balanced?

[expand: entertain]

How do we settle such an issue?

[expand: entertain]

Is it necessary, uhm, you **obviously see it** as important that the children view you in that aspect of that as well. Uhm, in a working class aspect as well and to contribute to family as well financially.

[expand: entertain]

After the three second silence, Rob makes the assumption that the rest of the females "support" Nicole. However, he uses an expansive marker as indicated by the word, "probably". This is not to say that he believes the rest of the female participants stand in agreement with Nicole, but he appears to be expansive in this instance to help him to come across as less threatening towards Nicole who is the new female participant in the group. Interestingly enough, Rob tries to present himself as less challenging and attacking as he not only makes his own assumptions about the females' sentiments, but he also alludes to the fact that the males might even agree with her view on motherhood and work. This is seen in the following: "not to say that the males won't". It is interesting that although Rob is fully aware of the position taken by the male participants, he continues to portray them as supportive towards a different position, a position they have strongly contested in other discussions.

Furthermore, Rob continues to be expansive in his turn through the use of questions. For instance "How do we", "Is it", "Who is" which open up the dialogic space for the other participants.

Nicole, in turn 268 responds to Rob's request in turns 267. However, her response once again appears to be expansive in nature. This is indicated in the following:

| 268 | Nicole | That depends on how she feels about it and how he feels about it**.** |
| | | [expand: entertain] |

If they feel fine with that agreement then so it is. **If** she feels that she wants to take care of the kids if she wants to be at home and do the things, whatever she wants do, and then let it be.

[expand: entertain]

That's not gonna rob her of herself, of her human being, of her being skilled in some way for her to survive.

[contract: proclaim]

If daddy passes away, you know then she can still continue looking after the kids.

[expand: entertain]

If she maybe thought that far, **I don't know**, uhm, how dependent she is of her husband then so be it.

[expand: entertain]

Throughout Nicole's turn, she uses a succession of conditional clauses to expand her stance. On five instances she uses the conditional clause "if" as a way of making careful statements. At this

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point, is it evident that Nicole's perception on motherhood and work is framed by a feministic paradigm, whereby females are perceived as equally capable of working outside of the home (see turns 254, 256 and 262). At this stage, Nicole could also be aware of the dominant ideology in the group. She could have deduced this from turns 264 and 265 when Ross provides an illustration using soccer to point out that both males and females are equal in person, but distinct in roles. His illustration causes Nicole in turns 265 to express agreement "I agree with you", and then reasserts her position through careful countering, introduced by the word "but".

At this point, Rob tries once again to draw the other female participants into the discussion.

| 269 | Rob | And the other girls, **what are you saying?** Concerning your children and how to handle your family and work? |

[expand: entertain]

All six of Rob's turns are indicated as expansive, in that he poses questions specifically directed to the females in the group (turns 257, 258, 263, 267, 269 and 271). Rob tries to generate debate among the rest of the females with respect to the given topics, as seen in the turn above. But these attempts are met with a lack of response from the females. There are three instances of silence usually after a question is posed by Rob (see after turns 257, 265, 269 and 271). The longest period is a silence of 94 seconds after turn 271. This indicates the reluctance of the females to engage with this debate and to take up the challenge to the dominant male ideology.

Richmond and McCroskey, (2003, cited in Damron and Mormon, 2011: 185) define silence as "not the absence of communication; instead, it has the potential to provide great insights into human thought, emotion, relationship, attitudes, and behaviors". In this particular context and setting, it appears that the role of silence is much more than just a lack of urgency to respond. In this context, silence could suggest topic avoidance due to the threat is sets up to the female friendship bonds as well as the overall coherence of the group which requires an acceptance of the dominant male ideology.

Summary

Extract 5.3 illustrates the one instance in both data sets where a strong counter discourse is introduced. Nicole, who is a new female member of the group, with no prior knowledge of previous discussions, presents her views which are feminist in nature. Although expansive in nature, her underlying position on the subject of women's work and mothering is clearly stated. The data indicates that Nicole believes in full equality between husband and wife in all aspects of life. The extract also shows that the male interlocutors do not contest Nicole on her ideologies so directly. This is indicated by the expansive statements made towards the group and specifically towards Nicole. The extract also shows the significance that silence played in the interaction, particularly between the females. Silence or the lack of response from the females in this context was consequently viewed and interpreted as a strategy to enable the females to remain supportive towards Nicole, yet, still keep the alliance with the males in the group.

5.4 Conclusion

From the analysis of the three extracts in this chapter, it is clear that the male interlocutors still hold strongly to the dominant discourse of male authority. For example, Extract 5.1 shows that when expressing views about masculinity, judgements of normality are the preferred choice for females. This kind of judgement is a softer form of judgement thus positioning the males' behaviour as 'normal'. This is a softer form of judgement than judgement of propriety (social sanction). On the other hand, when comparing Extract 5.1 to Extract 4.1, the patterns of judgement in 4.1 shows that the men prefer judgements of capacity and propriety when discussing the role of women. Propriety are judgements of social sanction, a much harsher form of judgement than these preferred by women in 5.1.

Extract 5.2 also shows that it is the male interlocutors who dominate the discussion through strong forms of proclaiming and disclaiming. The data also shows that although the females in Extract 5.2 appear to be more vocal in their position, it is evident that this patriarchal view of woman's role cannot be contested.

Finally, Extract 5.3 displays the feminist counter position of Nicole. Nicole who is unaware of the dominant position held by the males, presents her statements as expansive. Although expansive in nature, she asserts her position on the equality between a husband and wife, and the rest of the female interlocutors are silent in this extract and do not respond to the questions posed by Rob. Finally, this extract shows how expansive and entertaining the male interlocutors are towards Nicole. Although the male interlocutors appeared to be very expansive in the final extract, this was merely so as to accommodate Nicole. Overall, the dominant patriarchal position still stands and cannot be contested, especially because it is filtered through the Bible, with which no person can argue. This point is further explored in the final conclusion to this Thesis.

Chapter 6

God's Higher Purpose

In this thesis, I have argued that the way in which these participants interact is shaped by a religious context, namely, a Christian youth group. In analyzing the linguistic choices, I have drawn on the Appraisal theory as it has enabled me to explore how participants reproduce certain ideologies; position themselves and how they construe identities for themselves and for others in the interaction.

The Appraisal analysis has served in identifying the kind of evaluations and judgements participants typically make during these interactions. For example, the analyses showed how this Christian youth group expresses different kinds of evaluations and judgements depending on the topic discussed. In Chapter 4 for instance, the participants hold strongly to the dominant discourse of male authority, where females are positioned as less powerful and more prone to immoral behaviours. For example, the dominant ideology expressed in Chapter 4 is that women ought to be the home-makers and not have too many responsibilities outside of the home, while the male participants should be the providers for the family and should thus take on the responsibility of working outside of the home. In addition, the male participants argue that this position is a biblical one and accords with the injunctions of the Gospel. When talking about the role of females in the home, the males tend to use judgements of capacity (social esteem) and judgements propriety (social sanction). Along with this, the males have a tendency to support their position through the frequent use of biblical discourse. Their intention is that what they say will be seen as authoritative and absolute. On the other hand, the females address the same topic on the role of women through the use of affect and in some instances appreciation and judgements. The choice of these attitudinal resources limit their response to emotional or personal reactions to the ideological position asserted by the males and does not allow them to develop a coherent counter ideology.

Even when the topic shifts to one about which women can assume greater authority, such as shopping and needs and wants, the males continue to dominate with their ideological position. Although the data reflects an equal use of the engagement resource contract by both males and

females, the male interlocutors still dominate the discussions and construe the females as 'weak' and 'immoral' in giving in to their 'wants'. Extract 4.2 also shows how the men insist that the difference between genders regarding the topic of needs and wants is merely a preference (therefore open to change) but continue to insist that male and female differences with respect to the position of women in the home are not a preference but a matter of incontestable 'right' and 'wrong'. In this data, the women do not seriously challenge the male position in any way, except to raise a few questions or express feelings of dissatisfaction with the way it limits their role in society.

This patriarchal discourse is carried on into Chapter 5 where the male interlocutors still take on the dominant position, making use of biblical discourse to support their position as authoritative and to position the female interlocutors as subordinate and less powerful. However, this ideological position is challenged by a new female participant in the group. Here, the data in Chapter 5 shows a shift with the addition of a feminist counter voice and this is reflected in the number and extent of the turns of the female participants as well as the kind of engagement resources they draw on in these turns. Firstly, the female interlocutors use more of the resource contract (disclaim/proclaim) as Nicole, the new female participant, argues for a view of men and women in all respects. For her, men and women are equal contributors to the home, are equal in that both can work outside the home and are equal in how they contribute to the upbringing of their children. On the contrary, the males reject this position and assert the ideology that males and females are 'equal but different'. They argue that males and females are equal with respect to humanity as they are both created in the image of God and they are equally significant; however, they are different with respect to the male/female roles they ought to take on.

Even though the males appear more open to Nicole's position as reflected in the greater use of expansive engagement resources, this 'opening up of the dialogue' is short lived. By the end of the youth group meeting, both Rob, as the youth pastor, and Craig, as the youth leader, have reasserted the dominant male position as 'God's higher purpose for men and women'. The following extracts from the end of the transcript presented in Appendix B are given as illustration:

| 424 | Craig | **And I think** there is even a much higher purpose than that. |

[expand: entertain]

I mean, why did God create families, and why did He create males males and females females, why did God make them for each other

[expand: entertain]

and **we have been hearing** that it is to show off his glory.

[contract: proclaim]

Marriage is a picture of what he is like and uhm, and there is only one type of family that is going to mirror what God is like
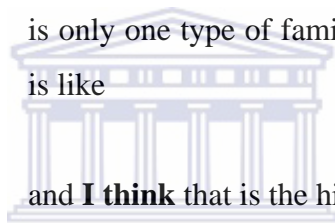
and **I think** that is the higher purpose,

[expand: entertain]

when we go against clear biblical instructions. We are not gonna live up to our purpose which is to mirror to the world what God is like, to show off His glory, to bare the image that we are supposed to bare.

That is why God created sex and marriage and families and all of those things,

[contract: proclaim]

So ja, **that is why** we live according to the Bible because God's glory is at stake.

[contract: proclaim]

There is a possibility that the world can see God clearly or the possibility that the world can see God dimly.

[expand: entertain]

We don't want the world to see God dimly, but we **want them to see God clearly which is why** we best follow the method which is clearly instructed in the bible.

[contract: proclaim]

[…]

| 449 | Rob | **Look, here is the thing,**if the reason why they don't want to have kids is because they are career orientated, well then **I think** they are being idolatrous |

[expand: entertain]

because their career is being their **god and that is like evil.**

The concluding remarks on the subject of womanhood are illustrated by Craig and Rob. The engagement patterns are similar to what we have seen throughout the data. Craig begins by being very expansive in his turn. He uses markers of modality such as "I think" to open up the dialogic space and presents his statement as subjective. Thereafter, he endorses the proposition by what others have been saying ("we have been hearing") thereby closing down the dialogical space as he draws on statements of proclamation. He raises questions concerning creation of mankind, families and marriage. In addition, he draws on biblical language such as "God", "higher purpose", "glory" and so on to support his position. He argues that there is a much higher purpose and significance to life itself. He proclaims to the group that God's design for a man to be a man and a woman to be a woman is to display His glory. He states that marriage and

sex was instituted by God Himself, thus it suggests that whatever we do is for Him and because of Him. Anything contrary to that is walking in disobedience.

In this way, he draws on the biblical idea that marriage should be compared to Christ and the Church. Husbands should love their wives just as Christ loved the church. In addition, husbands are the head of the wives also as Christ is the head of the church. Just as the Church is submissive to Christ, so wives should be submissive to their husbands. This statement and intertexual referencing can be interpreted outside of a 'Christian paradigm' as very patriarchal and sexist. It implies that males should take on a much more powerful and authorial position in the marriage namely as the head, whereas females are commanded to submit at all times. Through this kind of biblical discourse, the female participants in the group cannot challenge the males or Craig.

Rob also presents his final conclusions in turn 449 as unarguable. Rob, like Craig, also draws on strong biblical language by stating that the kind of attitude adopted by females who value careers above motherhood is "idolatrous" and "evil". Similar to Craig, he is expansive as he starts off his turn by using the marker "I think", but ends with a strong assertion: "and that is like evil". The statement that "their career is being their god" is presented as unarguably true and the utterance, "that is like evil" is presented as a bare assertion. Thus, Rob takes on an authoritarian voice in the group and does not invite discussion here.

So, while on the one hand, the second set of data seems to suggest a shift in the male position from 2008 to 2009, these last quotes indicate that this is not the case. While it can be argued that the discourse styles of the participants change a little (men become more expansive, women become more assertive), the core ideological position has not changed. In fact, it is, at the end of the second set of data, strongly reasserted in statements which indicate that any deviation from this position is immoral, evil and against God's higher purpose. Therefore, in order to "glorify God", females ought to be obedient by fulfilling the Scripture quoted below:

"Wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is head of the wife, as also Christ is head of the church; and He is the Savior of the body. Therefore, just as the church is subject to Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything"(Ephesians 5: 22-24, NKJ Bible).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Transcription A (2008): The Place of Women

58	Rob	What about working?
59	Greg	Ja, it's about seeing to the fact that she's looking after her household. She works but uhm==
60	Amber	==Ja, I want to be like aunty Gloria!
61	Angie	No, are you mad!
62	All	[everyone laughing].
63	Greg	My mommy makes sure at night she makes super at night for the next day. Gets up early in the morning, our breakfast is ready and she ==
64	Leah	= So what's wrong with the husband working?
65	Rob	Also like with Greg's mother, em she does not have so a stressful job, like too much responsibility in a sense like where, director or corporate manager or er, or er CEO or something em, even er, journalist like traveling and stuff, like you've got more responsibility.
66	Amber	There goes my dream
67	All	[everyone laughing].
68	Rob	no that is still very much possible. I mean to be journalist is still very much possible. You know journalism happens in various different forms, in different forms.
69	Amber	I wanna go like ==
70	Rob	== well like you can still go but you know, but the argument here is that you tend to your primary responsibility. And we see, we just say, we adding this that it's very difficult to do that em, given the, the amount of work that you will have. You can go on experiencing it

yourselves but we just saying that our argument is from the scriptures, the primary responsibility that er, you can't argue with that. But then this is from us, like Paul says, "I speak from the Lord" your primary responsibility is staying at home and "I", now this is me, I think it would be impossible to do that if you have a full time job.

71	Amy	But like what kind of encouragement is that to the, er, to the youth and to the ==
72	Leah	= = ja, it's like = =
73	Amy	==And to the future people?
74	Rob	Let's get back to Craig's initial statement about guy characteristics and the confusion, I think it is a brilliant and a powerful encouragement to stay true to what God has created, and I ==
75	Amber	== So men must work their butt off?
76	Craig	but that is what God intended, it's even a curse. We will never be released from it until Jesus comes. We will work from the sweat of our brows.

[…]

83	Greg	== I think em, when it comes to shopping, em, my thing is this, if you need it, it's as simple as this.
84	Amy	that's your rule; tell that to your girlfriend [laughing].
85	Greg	I told her so many times, the thing is man if, look, if you can afford it and you sometimes can then you buy it, but if you then you don't buy it.
86	Craig	coz' a lot of the stuff that we say we need is just, you em, I have a friend who's working for a big company and what she earns now at the moment is already sustaining two people. And, I mean I er, even she says no, she has still a lot more ambition and she has already said how many children she wants and she's not gonna have more children than that because of her ambition she has already set for

		her. But she has already the capacity to get what they need==
87	David	==In today's world the enemy attacks us. He comes with the attractions and we get so caught up that we just buy things and we don't realize that the enemy is using that to draw you closer to the things. It causes people to want more…and we move further away from God and what is pleasing too him.
88	Rob	I feel like I should take communion now. [Laughing]
89	Greg	ja, this shopping is a sensitive topic to girls coz, I mean the first time you buy something you buy something you wear it once or twice then you don't wanna wear it again.
90	Amy	But you must also consider the fact that you are a male ==
91	Greg	==no, no no!==
92	Amy	==you guys are different to us. You just don't care what you wear and ==
93	Leah	==I just don't think they care, it's just that if a guy has a jean, a sweater, a jacket er, church pants and a shirt, his got everything he can have. That is all he can have when it comes to clothing. But we different, we have==
94	Rob	==I think, I think that we are going into the line of preference now. You know like what I prefer and what you prefer. You know and that's like a whole days discussions, so em, maybe we should not go there…
95	Greg	Ja, this is about needs and wants.
96	Rob	I think maybe with needs we can connect it back to what David said that the, the false need that we have today causes rise to em, getting more money and then that causes rise for the women to need to now also go and get provisional goedtetjies outside the world. Can link, so em, ja but the point was back to the household, the family structure. That's not preference, you know, we all have to come to one agreement.

[…]

107	Rob	Ja, no that er, we can indeed address, what we wear. Ja, I think there is definitely boundaries, absolute standards in what we wear and it's more applicable to those who have the most clothes(everyone laughing). So it's obvious, <u>but</u> I'm not picking on girls here <u>but</u> because they just open themselves up and expose themselves for a assault, because of their wardrobe (guys laughing), and em their need…like at times, girls often er, females they dress inappropriate, especially Christian females can dress inappropriately. It's possible for Christian females to dress inappropriately. They dress in a way that would not honour God.
108	Kim	like soes die em… apostolieks!
109	Rob	Appel stokkies
110	All	[everyone laughs].
111	Kim	Ou Apostolieks, em, lyk hulle dollie hulle op soos posers soos my ma altyd sê. kot skirre, en, ok ek is oek 'n female en wat, but die way hulle aan trek is ampe soes hulle, hulle, hetie 'n way hoe hulle an trekkie. Ons sal nou wiet hoe om ons an te trek in n mooi manier en die Apostolieks, hulle het 'n different way hoe hulle an trek.

Translation

(Old Apostolics, em, like, they dress themselves up like Models, like my mother always say. Short skirts, and, ok, it's females but, the way they dress it's almost like they, they don't have a way how to dress. We will know how to dress in a nice manner. But this Apostolics, they have a different way of dressing.)

112	Craig	Dink jy dit is moontlik om, om te dink dat jy nie wiet hoe om an te trekie as jy jou selve compare met mense ==
113	Kim	Is soes like jy, ons as Christians ons kan virrie Hêre enige iets vra, ons kan vi hom vra Hêre wys my hoe om an te trek, guide my in my kas in, wate sokie (everyone laughing). Van hulle is totally weg van die Hêre af, nou hulle dress ienige way. Revealing and whatever, jy wiet. Wys skin everywhere.

| 114 | All | [Everyone laughing] |

| 115 | Leah | I just think ok most of us are going to church so er, for example if I come to church and I know it's not for anybody else but I love to look nice but I mean I know it's not so that people can you know see me rather that seeing Christ in me… |

| 116 | Kim | But, but er, een keer, my broe het gesê dat ek het kyk 'n, 'n ouliker toppie an gehet. Like as ek nou gedagter kry like ou ja ek het nogals die toppie dan trek ek it soema an. But som tyds dan dra ekit tie. Like as ek nou gedagter kry dan dra ek it. So ek het dit een keer aan gehet en almal het vir my admire in die kerk, ma my broe hier het nogals vir my gesê ek moen 'n bietjie op cover. Wan ek het n boob-tube ma is lank, toe sê my broe ek moet opcover. En ek het 'n broek oek an gehet, 'n wit broek. Ma daai broek was oek revealing van my. En ek het nie gewiet nie. En 'n wit pentie was da by. |

Translation

(But, but, er, one time, my brother told me that, look, em, I had a cute top on. Like if I remember now, if I have this top, then I wear it. But sometimes I don't wear it. But if I remember now, then I wear it. So one time I had it on and everyone admired me in church. But my brother told me that I must cover up a bit. Because I had on a boob-tube but its long, but my brother said I must cover up. And I also had on a pants, a white pants. But that pants was also revealing. But I never knew. And I had on a white panty).

| 117 | All | [Everyone laughing]. |

| 118 | Rob | ma, ma Kim, ek het ge appreciate Kim se response. Em da wassie, em obviously da is 'n maneer om te correct. So ja. Ma da was 'n goeie manner hoe sy receive it. So dis die attitude wat ons moet het. |

| 119 | Kim | ja, veral my ma sê vir my trek jou ondentluk an as jy na die huis van die Hêre toe gaan- |

| 120 | David | not only at church but when you go anywhere. |

121   Craig&Kim   Ja, anywhere you go.

Appendix B: Transcription B (2009): Equal but Different

170	Ross	… I'm not quite sure, but I know I want a boy first. But if there was only one chance, I'm not sure if I would want a boy if I had a choice between one. I'm not quit sure anymore. But, err, I don't know man. There's one thing about me, this is just me. One thing that I like the whole protectiveness thing and I feel like I can probably be more protective over a female than over a guy. So, uhm, that's why I would probably have a more, more, more uhm, I would probably be inclined to a girl than a guy.
171	Leah	A guy than a girl?
172	Ross	A girl baby than a guy baby if I only had a choice between one.
173	Craig	Ja
174	Leah	For the protective thing?
175	Ross	Ja, the protective issue. But uhm, I want a boy also…
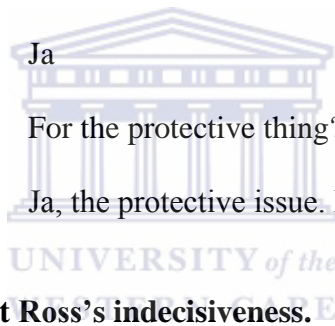
Girls overlapping and laughing at Ross's indecisiveness.

176	Amber	[laughing] I want a girl and a boy
177	Craig	That's a postmodern….
178	Amber	An in between [laughing]
179	Ross	[laughing]
180	Amy	Ja, but sometimes if you have a very guy-ish guy and you have a uhm, your first child is a male then the guy doesn't always turn out the way you want. Like for example, Grant, he's a guy-ish guy but hi not into sport you know. The whole sports thing…
181	Leah	Ja, his very different
182	Amy	Like he's into cars and Uncle Donny is into cars, but you

		know like just because you not into sports, that does influence your guy-ishness.
183	Ross	Like my daddy, he's into sports and I'm the first born and I'm not much into sports than he is, but I am into soccer, so …
184	Rob	But you get different types of guy-ishness
185	Ross	Ja
186	Rob	Like you get for example uhm, my neighbours nê, most of them are all guys, but they are more car guys, they don't understand a thing about sports so, I would judge them as do you want… but they are thorough guys. Where I, I like my sports, I would question my [laughing]

Guys laughing

187	Rob	…coz I don't like cars, only when I'm in trouble with the car I would like to know what is happening, but generally I wouldn't want to lay under a car and get dirty and stuff. I mean it's cool, so there's different offshoots of guy-ishness I think you can be a guy that's not interested in the hard, hard things and you can be a guy that's interested in the mild things. I don't wanna say soft things coz soft things are exclusively for girls.
188	Ross	So the cooking aspect, you wouldn't want to cook?
189	Rob	I'll, I'll, wouldn't like to cook…
190	Amber	So you would want to cook?
191	Rob	well not on a regular basis. Like once a while.
192	Amy	You always cook [laughing]
193	Rob	So now and then I would, but I won't want to do it every night….those things just wear off.
194	Leah	I have a question for the guys. Do you have this idea that it's a women's role to cook, to clean and to do all of those things?
195	Rob	Of cause! [laughing]

196	Amber	Craig is saying no
197	Leah	Craig says no
198	Amber	So you would say….
199	Leah	…so you would go into a marriage thinking that already having this preconditioned idea that you gonna be cleaning and that is your primary role doesn't mean that they are not gonna help you with it, but that is your primary role?
200	Craig	That's exactly you primary role yes
201	Rob	I don't think it is exclusively your role but it is, it makes practically sense. The guy is gonna be the one out making the money and the girl is gonna be the one taking care of the kids. So it's just….
202	Craig	It's just our churches girls (laughing)
203	Amy	That's what you would like….
204	Leah	…but sometimes it's just, it doesn't happen that way
205	Amy	It does not have to be in that direction
206	Rob	well, it suppose to happen
207	Amy	It supposed to but it's not!
208	Leah	Ja, coz I mean let's just say that and there's, I work as well, so I come home and I come home a bit later. So do I come home and my primary role still suppose to be to clean…
209	Craig	…No, you leave your job and then tend to your primary role…
210	Girls	No Craig!
211	Amy	No ways
212	Amber	No ways
213	Craig	Or you could just ….

214	Amber	… I will only start applying it when it comes to
215	Rob	Ja, but that's a bad reason not to get married
216	Amy	No I'm saying that if the male will never get married
217	Rob	Uhm why not?
218	Amy	coz he is looking for a female to it at home
219	Craig	Males will be sure to find a ….
220	Rob	No, I find that…
221	Amber	…no the only time I will consider staying at home is when I have children. And it not gonna be like…soon you know. So I'm gonna go work…

[…]

249	Craig	No, I would want her to work, but I would want her to the work that she is suppose to do (laughing) that is also work…ja, I think… A lot of the things we think we need or the things we don't need. And I think a lot of reasons why both husband and wife is working because they are pursuing those things that they don't really, that they think they need. And um, uhm, I want to sound overtly biblical and we believe in absolute truth and there are no conditions to that. Ja, so, ja. So even if we are to work, we would want to please the Lord.
250	Amber	No exceptions?
251	Craig	Absolute!
252	Amber	Nicole are you gonna stay at home?

Pause

| 253 | Nicole | Uhm, for the primary developmental stages of their life I would like to, uhm, but, uhm, maybe as soon as they start going school or maybe when they just settle themselves in primary school, I think that's when Il start working. But, other than that I kinda, I have to work at… |

Distraction

254	Nicole	Uhm, where was I, yes, I will have to work, I will have to work so that my child will also be expose to mommy working, uhm, that mommy also have responsibility to work and to earn a living, so that they can see what contributes to their survival. So that they can also comprehend that and not to only form a conception that mommy stays at home and that is where she supposed to be you know. That also get into their mind that mommy also have skills and that mommy can also do that kind of things you know. So that they can establish that there is some kind of equality between mommy and daddy you know. That daddy work, mommy works, daddy earns money, and mommy earns money. So that they can see that partnership man, so that they can have that realization that they are working as a team. So ja…
255	Craig	[laughing]
256	Nicole	So ja, they have to be exposed to that.
257	Rob	Who supports Nicole?

[Pause 3.0 seconds]

258	Rob	All of the females probably supports you, not to say that the males wont, but who? How do we settle such an issue? Is it necessary, uhm, you obviously see it as important that the children view you in that aspect of that as well. Uhm, in a working class aspect as well and to contribute to family as well financially. Who is thinking that seems balanced? How do we settle such n issue? Is it necessary, uhm, you obviously see it as important that the children view you in that aspect of that as well, uhm, in a working class aspect as well and to contribute to family as well financially.
259	Craig	I see that that position that Nushy brought up about equality between a man and a women is seen in what they bring…but do you ….
260	Nicole	Huh, say again?
261	Craig	You spoke about equality between a wife and a husband. So from that I have er, I have derived that you are saying that equality is seen by the fact that they do the same thing. So are you saying that are am I saying….

262	Nicole	I am saying that child needs to be exposed to, they need to see that mommy and daddy are sharing roles, they are helping one another. They have to see that hand in hand relationship, they have to see that. I don't want the child to see that, I hope they won't think that uhm, daddy is stronger than mommy, mommy is weaker than daddy. Mommy's weak and daddy strong. They just have to have this mutual understanding. They just have to have Jesus to understand (missing) uhm, ja, there was something else that I wanted to mention ….
263	Rob	So its, its, more from the children's perspective? Uhm, like what is good for them? And what they perceive as it relates to the functioning of the parents.
264	Ross	I think the parents have to teach them, Uhm, I think maybe I'm gonna use a soccer illustration, a soccer example. If there are 10 defenders on a team, no one will be able to score goals or there's not gonna be forwards in front, or if you have 10 forwards there's not gonna be any defenders. So what I'm basically trying to say is that there people whose got different functions but who play for the same team for the same goal. But there's different functions within that. So if, if, a mother and a father does the same thing there might be a lacking in the other part of the children's life. But the parents need to teach the children, listen the mother is doing this and the father is doing something maybe something different but they are working towards the same goal. For the better of the children. They should be that that at the early stages of their life. Just because they are not doing the same thing, doesn't mean that one is more important and the other is less important. But both of them are doing equally important things….
265	Nicole	I agree with you on that, and perhaps I didn't uhm, explain it, not explain, preferably, but I mean. I didn't mean equality in the sense that mommy and daddy is in the same thing. They function independently you know, according to what a guy does you know, don't know I you bringing in the gender type of thing, a man suppose to do this and suppose to do that, but what you just said now they function with, uhm, you know what I'm trying to say. Not necessarily that they suppose to do the same thing but

function in such a way that uhm, the one isn't more overpowering than the other. Does it make sense?

[Pause 1.5 seconds]

| 266 | Nicole | That's what I'm trying to say, not necessarily doing the same thing but, but…. |

| 267 | Rob | Ok, uhm, coming back to the house, then, is it possible that a mother can be stationed at home and, and, uhm, work with the children for her children and the father can be working outside the home for the children and family. Uhm, is that possible and can that be seen as also equality? |

| 268 | Nicole | That depends on how she feels about it and how he feels about It. If they feel fine with that agreement then so it is. If she feels that she wants to take care of the kids if she wants to be at home and do the things, whatever she wants do, and then let it be. That's not gonna rob her of herself, of her human being, of her being skilled in some way for her to survive. If daddy passes away, you know then she can still continue looking after the kids. If she maybe thought that far, I don't know, uhm, how dependant she is of her husband then so be it. |

| 269 | Rob | And the other girls, what are you saying concerning your children and how to handle your family and work? |

[Pause 2.0 seconds]

| 270 | Nicole | Can I just add one last thing? That is on my mind…uhm, as long as she's not entirely and solely dependent on her father that his way of bringing the income you know. You have to be skilled in some way to earn a living you know as a woman, regardless if there are children or not. … |

| 271 | Rob | Any other girls? |

[Pause 94.0 seconds]

| 272 | Nicole | Are we done? |

[…]

God's Higher Purpose

424	Craig	And I think there is even a much higher purpose than that. I mean, why did God create families, and why did create males males and females females, why did God make them for each other and we have been hearing that it is to show off his glory. Marriage is a picture of what he is like and uhm, and there is only one type of family that is going to mirror what God is like and I think that is the higher purpose, when we go against clear biblical instructions. We are not gonna live up to our purpose which is to mirror to the world what God is like, to show off His glory, to bare the image that we are suppose to bare. That is why God created sex and marriage and families and all of those things, so ja, that is why we live according to the bible because Gods glory is at stake. There is a possibility that the world can see God clearly or the possibility that the world can see God dimly. We don't want the world to see God dimly, but we want them to see God clearly which is why we best follow the method which is clearly instructed in the Bible.
[...]		
449	Rob	Look, here is the thing, if the reason why they don't want to have kids is because they are career orientated, well then I think they are being idolatrous because their career is being their god and that is like evil.
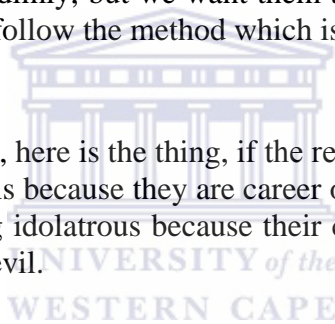
Appendix C: Transcription Key

Symbol Meaning

Symbol	Meaning
.	Certainty, completion
No end of turn	Non-stop; no final intonation
,	Breathing time
?	Uncertainty; wh-interrogative
!	Surprised intonation
( )	Inaudible speech
(Words in brackets)	Transcriber's guess
[Words in square brackets]	Non-verbal data
= =	Overlap; talking simultaneously
…	Short hesitation (less than three seconds)
[Pause – 5 seconds]	Indication of pause length
Dash –	then talk False start/restart

Extracted from Eggins, S. and Slade, D. (1997: 5)

Appendix D: Consent Form

Dear Youth Group Member

I, Grace Afton De Vos hereby request permission to record and utilize all material gained through discussions by the undersigned individual.

The aim of the study is to explore how men and women talk together and how they construct particular identities for themselves and others. For the purposes of my research, I would like to tape-record one or two of your youth group discussions on a Saturday evening.

Your name will not be revealed through the study and any reference to you will use a pseudonym. If you decide to participate, you are free to discontinue participation at any time without prejudice. You are also free to read the transcripts and request that certain statements be 'off the record'. In other words, at all times the research process will protect your privacy and integrity.
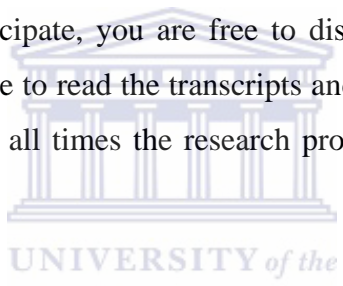
If you are willing to participate please fill in the necessary details below.

Name   …..……………………………………..

Signature   ………………………………………………

Date   ……………………………………………….

Signature of Researcher   ……………………………………………….

Thanking You
Grace Afton De Vos
(University of the Western Cape)