11 The Power of Gender Ideologies in Discourse

SUSAN U. PHILIPS

1 Introduction

Shortly after I began my second period of fieldwork in Tonga in 1987, my Tongan research assistant, Amalia, a young woman from the village where I was living, invited me to a memorial gathering for her grandmother. "A memorial gathering?" Siale, the head of my own Tongan household, was puzzled. He had never heard of such a thing. Perhaps it was a new Mormon invention, certainly not something the Free Wesleyan Church ever sponsored. Siale's assumption that Mormonism had something to do with this mysterious event spoke volumes about the salience of Christian religious identities in Tonga. I knew huge resources were being poured into the event in terms of money for food and labor for the food preparation. I wondered, was it ego-centric for me to fear that my own pumping of cash into the local economy through my assistant's wages, in a context in which cash was not easy to come by, was altering cultural practices? When I got to the home where the event was being held, I was hooked up with a friend of the family who I was told would translate for me during the speeches. I needed more people to work for me and I knew that this woman's skills at translation of Tongan texts were being put on display. And translate she did, almost word for word as one person after another got up and tremulously remembered the woman being honored by this event.

   The testimony with the greatest impact on me was that of the deceased woman's husband. He tearfully recalled how much love she showed for her family. She cooked for them, she washed clothes for them by hand, since they had no washing machine, and she always made sure none of her children left the house for school unless they were wearing immaculately clean clothing, freshly ironed without a wrinkle. I was startled by this testimony. It sounded as if the man's marriage came right out of a 1950s American family television program, like *Father Knows Best*. What did it mean? Was this a recent Mormon

importation? Had Tongan marriage pervasively been influenced by Western imagery? Or was I attributing too much power to European colonialism and failing to recognize the local Tongan elements in what was being expressed?

When I got home that night, following the feast that concluded the event, Siale asked me how things had gone, what the memorial had been about. "Oh, they talked about what they remembered about her – people like her husband, her children, and friends of the family." He seemed slightly offended. "We remember things about the people we loved too," he said, "but we don't have to talk about it in public." I knew the "we" had to do with Mormons versus Free Wesleyans. But I was also aware that he had lost his own wife of forty years only a short time before, too, like the husband of the woman remembered at the memorial. So I was not surprised when he then went on to say, "When my wife was alive, she always made sure that any of us who left the house had on clean ironed clothes with no holes." He laughed, but he misted over a little as he laughed. I felt a little misty myself that this "Old Testament kind of a guy," as one American described him, or any man for that matter, should still have tender feelings for a wife after so many years together.

At the same time, inside I registered a small astonishment. Siale had talked about his wife in exactly the same terms as the man remembering his wife in the memorial event! And it was not because I had told him the specifics of what had been said at the memorial, because I had been careful not to – I had felt a little guarded in giving an account of my evening's experience because I did not know the possible consequences of anything I might report, and I was being deliberately vague; indeed, I did not know Siale well at that time. Regardless of where these ideas had come from (how Tongan, how European), I felt I was witnessing a conventionalized Tongan representation of the wifely role that had earlier appeared in a formal public event, but that was now appearing in an everyday private conversation.

In truth, the American feminist in me was mildly appalled. Was *this* what a woman was valued for? Ironing? I could hardly think of an activity I valued less myself. I had certainly systematically organized my life to avoid ironing as much as possible. I remembered my own aunt ironing all her sheets – what a waste of time! And wasn't this valuing of women as housewives precisely what presented a trap for them in American society? In order to be regarded, and to be seen as showing their regard for others, they were expected to choose mind-numbing, repetitive tasks over other more open-ended, creative, and interesting ways of showing that same regard. And here it seemed that young Tongan women like my research assistant were being exposed to the same kind of gender ideology in discourse.

Clearly I had brought feminist concerns about the nature and impact of gender ideologies into the field with me, but this was just the beginning of my effort to take what I learned about gender ideologies in Tonga and relate that knowledge to broader issues in feminist anthropology.

My purpose in this chapter is to show how an interest in the power of gender ideologies in discourse developed in linguistic anthropology, and to

locate what I went on to learn about gender ideologies in Tonga within that tradition. I first take up how gender ideologies emerged as a factor in men's domination of women in the political theory of the women's movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Then I discuss how feminist anthropologists took up the topic in cross-cultural research. This work emphasized men's control over the public sphere and women's exclusion from the public sphere as an exercise of power that was bolstered and justified by negative gender ideologies about women. Cultural and linguistic anthropologists documented women's resistance to this domination in specific ideologically laden genres of discourse. Awareness of such opposition in turn encouraged more general documentation of diversity in gender ideologies and of the way these were ordered into relations of domination and subordination. The final major section of the chapter focuses on the need to re-locate relations of ideological domination and subordination not just in discourse, but in the institutional contexts in which discourse occurs. Such a situating is desirable in part because of the *practical* need to better understand which ideologies are more powerful and why, so that we can enhance their positive effects for women and ameliorate their negative effects.

2 The Political Roots of the Interest in Gender Ideology

The Women's Liberation Movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, which started in the United States and then spread to Europe and other parts of the world, was an important stimulus for cross-cultural research on gender ideologies, and the politics of the movement significantly influenced this research as it emerged in the early 1970s. The most general political position of the Women's Liberation Movement that shaped the study of gender ideologies was the view that women are not equal to men in American society. They do not have the same control over their own lives and the lives of others that men have. They are dominated by men in their family life, in the workplace, and in other social domains as well, particularly religion and politics.

This domination, it was argued, is bolstered by patriarchal gender ideologies that provided justification for men's domination of women. The term "patriarchal" was used to refer to ideologies that either assumed or asserted that men should dominate women, have authority over them, and tell them what to do. The use of the term "ideology" in this context had Marxist connotations. It suggested that the dominant view was one that served male interest in keeping women subordinated, without women necessarily recognizing that this was the case. Here women were seen as dominated by men in the way Marx had argued the working class was ideologically dominated by the bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Europe. And, just as Marx had argued that an ideological critique of bourgeois ideology was needed to help the working class recognize that the present order was not necessarily in their interest and

that they should resist it, so too feminists argued for the need for ideological critique of patriarchal ideology. In replacing class with gender, feminists deeply undermined the privileging of class as the primary relation of domination and subordination of interest to the social sciences, and made power central to the study of women and gender.

The American patriarchal ideology that received the greatest attention in the women's movement was the view that women are biologically inferior to men – less intelligent, physically weaker, less aggressive, and more emotional – in ways ultimately explained by differences in their biological make-up. But this was and is not the only patriarchal gender ideology in the United States or elsewhere. Biological differences between women and men are not always involved. Nor is women's inferiority always asserted. Neither is necessary for a patriarchal gender ideology. What is necessary is that there be a cultural understanding that men should have power and authority over women that women should not have over themselves or men. And some would argue that the more implicit and taken for granted this assumption is, the more powerful it is.

The role of language in expressing gender ideologies and in maintaining ideological domination over women was also articulated in the Women's Liberation Movement from its inception, and awareness of that role rapidly moved from women's consciousness-raising groups into the university along with the interest in gender ideology. While Lakoff's (1973) analysis of the ways in which particular semantic and morphological processes conveyed negative attitudes toward women marked the beginning of a tradition of analysis of such processes in linguistics, a separate tradition focusing on gender ideology in discourse emerged in anthropology, our concern here.

3   Gender Ideology in Anthropology

Anthropology's response to these ideas emerged in the early 1970s at a time when ideas were passing rapidly across the boundary between grassroots political activity and the university. The testimony to this rapid boundary crossing is the number of papers in which similar ideas about the sources of men's greater power emerged in the anthropological literature. I will focus on five such papers here that can be viewed as both pivotal and representative of these ideas.

Central here is Sherry Ortner's (1974) paper, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" In this very Lévi-Straussian structuralist analysis, Ortner argued that in all cultures women are seen as closer to nature than men by virtue of their involvement in the biological reproduction of the species, while men are seen as closer to culture. Culture, in turn, is more highly valued by humans in their efforts to distinguish themselves from the rest of the animal world. This provides a basis for the assertion of male superiority over women. Ortner's

view was quickly taken up, empirically examined in a range of cultures, and found to have a basis in many societies (e.g. Ortner and Whitehead 1981; MacCormack and Strathern 1980). But it was also quickly criticized by others, most obviously on the grounds that not all gender ideologies are of this sort. Even within American society, while men may have controlled the arts and sciences historically, and in this sense are more associated with what is thought of as high culture, they are also symbolically associated with an animal-like aggressiveness, as in such familiar male images as the Big Bad Wolf and the Wolf Man.

The influence of Ortner's article was bolstered by the even more influential Introduction to the volume it was published in, by Michelle Rosaldo (1974), who incorporated Ortner's views into her own. Rosaldo argued that cross-culturally, and apparently in all times and social orders, both women and men have authority in the domestic sphere, but overwhelmingly men have authority in the public sphere. Like Ortner, Rosaldo saw this asymmetry as based in women's reproductive roles, which kept their activities tied to the domestic sphere. And she argued that this arrangement was also bolstered by the kind of gender ideology Ortner described, which associated women with nature and men with culture, an association that gave men superiority over women and justified their control over the public sphere.

Almost simultaneously, in a paper entitled "Men and Women in the South of France: Public and Private Domains," Rayna Reiter (1975) similarly argued that men have power by virtue of participation in the public domain that women lack in being limited to the private sphere. On the one hand, Reiter carefully documented what she meant by this in the context of a French Alps village, describing in detail the social geographies that segregated the sexes. The public sphere meant public institutions such as government and church, as well as the world of cafés where men socialized. And she also noted exceptions to her own generalizations. For example, it was predominantly women who went to church, even though men controlled the church, and women went to shops during hours when men were scarcely seen in public. On another level, Reiter limited her generalizations about the greater power of men by virtue of their control of the public sphere to societies in which state formation had taken place. She argued that the tendency in kin-based societies for men to be more involved in politics was greatly elaborated and institutionalized through state formation. She really did not give attention to gender ideology as such.

In an article in the same volume, Susan Harding (1975) reinforced Reiter's message by discussing the consequences of a sharp division of labor between men and women that placed women in private and men in public for their talk and their exercise of power in a Spanish village. Like Rosaldo and Ortner, she saw the division of labor as fundamentally determined by women being involved in reproduction, and like Reiter, she saw men's power as far greater than women's by virtue of their activity in the public sphere.

Close to this same time, in a paper many see as the beginning of the contemporary study of gender and language in linguistic anthropology, Elinor (Ochs)

Keenan (1974) similarly focused on the ways that women's language use was different from men's in a paper entitled "Norm-makers, Norm-breakers: Uses of Speech by Men and Women in a Malagasy Community." Like Ortner and Rosaldo, Keenan/Ochs had gender ideology squarely in the center of her argument. She talked about how the ideal norm for socially appropriate speech among the Malagasy was one of indirectness. Men were seen as approximating that norm, while women were seen as woefully direct in their speech. For this reason, men controlled *kabary*, the ritual speech appropriate to inter-village events such as funerals. Women did not have access to *kabary*, but rather were limited to the everyday speech of *resa* appropriate to talk within the village, which men of course also controlled. Once again gender ideology, in this case gender ideology about language use, was given a central place in justifying an allocation of roles that looked familiar, such as the greater power of men by virtue of their control of public talk. This is true even though Keenan/Ochs did not frame her ethnographic example in terms of a public–private dichotomy.

The group whose views on public and private I have been discussing really meant rather different things by the distinction. Rosaldo wasn't that specific about what she meant, but the others were ethnographically concrete. Reiter's concept of the public–private distinction was similar to that of sociologists working in Western European societies; in this concept, there were links between local manifestations of public institutions such as churches and schools and their larger institutions which transcended the local scene. Like Reiter, other anthropologists generally made a distinction between kin-based and state-based societies. But in the 1970s and even 1980s, many of us treated non-European societies as if nothing in the way of social organization existed above the village level. This entailed a setting aside of histories of colonialism and nationalism and their penetration to the village level that is no longer accepted in anthropology. At the village level, any social gathering that involved people of the village coming together could qualify as a public gathering – a rather different idea from what Reiter had in mind.

This male–female public–private dichotomy which gave power to men, bolstered by gender ideology that found women lacking in whatever was required for public participation, has been very important in feminist theory in the social sciences. Yet as soon as the idea was put forth, it was attacked. Among the key critiques launched against this view were the following: first, it is simply not true that women are not in the public sphere. They work outside the home in many societies, and in the ways public and private spheres were defined, this would put them in the public sphere. In the early twentieth century in the United States, middle-class women played a major role in social reform – in the temperance movement, in the development of child labor laws, and in the emergence of state-sponsored social welfare programs. Second, there is no basis for claiming any universality for the public–private dichotomy. It is a Western concept, indeed a particularly American concept which has been reified in law in the establishment of the limits of state penetration into

the privacy of the home. Third, it is too simple to say that the power in the public sphere is greater and of a different order than that in the private or domestic sphere. Power, influence, and ideas move across the boundaries between private and public, as does the influence of women.

These critiques of the public–private distinction have had consequences for the later treatment of gender ideologies. Some, though not all (e.g. McElhinny 1997) feminist scholars dealing with Western societies regrettably drifted away from the use of this very important distinction. But many linguistic and cultural anthropologists continued to use a predominantly village-level concept of public and private in talking about gender ideology and language use (e.g. Brown 1979; Lederman 1980; Philips, Steele, and Tanz 1987). And for good reason. It simply was and still is true that men dominate public talk, and not just in village-level politics, and not just in non-Western societies. Even if this talk has been influenced backstage by women, whatever is accomplished by its production, in activities conceptualized as public ideologically, men are talking and women aren't. It is true that the particular idea of public versus private which is most salient in the United States is not universal. Indeed no *particular* idea of this distinction is. But it is still the case that in all societies there is some conceptual differentiation of social domains that is closely related to the public–private distinction.

Accordingly, it is not surprising that the distinction as applied to the local level persisted in the linguistic anthropological research looking at the relationship between gender ideology and gendered patterns of language use. In the 1980s, the distinction figured in some interesting claims about common cross-cultural patterns in gendered organization of language use. Sherzer (1987) suggested a number of cross-cultural similarities in the relations among gender, patterns of language use, and language ideology. The strongest or most unqualified pattern he described was one in which gender ideologies and gendered speaking patterns were closely related: "First, differences in men's and women's speech are probably universal. Second, these differences are evaluated by members of the society as symbolic reflections of what men and women are like . . . [S]pecific, recognized features distinguishing men's and women's speech are interpreted and reacted to by members of a society as valued or disvalued, positive or negative, according to the norms, values and power relationships of the society, in particular of course those concerning men and women" (Sherzer 1987: 116–19). Note that this is a quite different position from Ortner's, in that it allows for significant variation cross-culturally in both gender ideologies and the status of women.

Even so, for the cultural group that Sherzer was working with, the Kuna Indians of Panama, he still noted, "There is no question that men's ritual, formal, and public speech is more diversified and complex than women's and that men have more access to and control of political authority through such speaking practices" (Sherzer 1987: 110). Among the Kuna, Sherzer pointed out that women's most public contributions to the life of language were lullabies and tuneful weeping, a type of lament, one genre near the beginning and one

near the end of the life-cycle. He suggested that these were genres in which women were commonly involved cross-culturally, and argued that this was due to women's intimate connection to the reproductive process. He also noted that lament sometimes entailed protest, a point to which we will return.

Note the strong tendency for gender differences in language use to be conceptualized in terms of speech events and genres, a tendency characteristic of much of the cross-cultural linguistic anthropological literature on gender, language, and power, from Keenan/Ochs' aforementioned paper up to the present (Kulick 1998). There were also other uncanny claims about widespread cross-cultural gender-and-genre patterns in the anthropological literature of this period. These included women's widespread involvement in religious spirit possession even where they were excluded from other religious roles (Charles Ferguson, personal communication), and a common ideological view of women as more emotional than men that warranted their exclusion from performance in events calling for lack of emotional intensity (Irvine 1982). Using a distinction between modern and traditional societies of which anthropologists have recently been quite critical, Sherzer (1987) suggested that gender in modern societies that are less gender-segregated is expressed through stylistic differences, while gender in traditional societies is constituted more through gendered verbal speaking roles and discourse genres.

As the linguistic anthropologists became caught up in efforts to identify broad cross-cultural patterns of gendered language use in the 1980s, mainstream feminist scholarship in the United States in the social sciences and humanities had already developed a critique of universalist claims of the sort I have been describing. Such work was said to essentialize women, by which it was meant that women were not only being written about as if they were everywhere the same, but also in a way that implied that this was their natural condition and could not be changed. Universalizing was also labeled as racist and classist, as coming out of a very middle-class women's movement that had failed to either embrace women of other backgrounds or address their concerns. These criticisms led to studies in which women were carefully and explicitly conceptualized as intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation, some of which I will discuss in the following section. In this process, so-called third world women were often grouped with and conceptualized as analogous to women of ethnic minority background in the United States.

In the discussion so far, I have tried to carefully represent the seminal and foundational works that gave a place to the role of gender ideologies and language use in the effort to characterize and understand the power of men over women. To me these papers come across as a constant tracking back and forth between ethnographic particularities and general theoretical frameworks rather than as an unexceptioned universalizing (see also Holmes 1993 on gender and language universals). To my mind there was a careless and in some ways deliberate misunderstanding and misrepresentation of what the first generation of feminist cultural and linguistic anthropologists were doing. They were trying to demonstrate how very general and cross-cultural the problem

of male power over women was and is. They also aimed to invoke a commonality among women that women from different cultural backgrounds on local levels understand and draw on when they meet one another and attempt to establish rapport with one another. While a great deal was gained by the new feminist conceptualizing of women as intersections of various aspects of social identity, a great deal was lost too. The rhetorical force of the focus on the universal key problem of a very broad male power over women, rather than the particularities of problems such as domestic violence and rape, was obscured, and really has not regained center stage in feminist writing since.

4   Diversity in Gender Ideology

Generally speaking, the early work on gender ideologies was written as if there were only one gender ideology for each society. This was a problem, because the actual existence of multiple gender ideologies in all societies made it easy to counter claims of any one such position. Moreover, while there was some documentation of the content of gender ideologies, particularly in the empirical examination of Ortner's claim that nature is to culture as woman is to man, neither the substance of gender ideologies, nor the linguistic expression of gender ideologies in discourse was given much attention by linguistic anthropologists (though see Sherzer 1987).

In this section, we see how work on gender ideologies took up the issue of ideological diversity. As earlier, the concept of speech genre continues to be of importance. Now more pointedly in some of this work, we begin to see that the actual content of gender ideologies is different in different discourse genres within a single society. Here I should emphasize that the human capacity for discourse structure, that is, the human ability to both produce and recognize *units* of discourse, is a key source of the differentiation of ideas one from another in human communication. In this context, speech genres can be thought of as *containers* of gender ideology. Speech genres are named forms of talk with recognizable routinized sequential structures of content–form relations, sometimes referred to as scripts. Laments and lullabies are examples. Speech genres are experienced and represented as bounded, as having recognizable beginnings and ends, and as continuous within those boundaries. It is this boundedness that gives them a container-like quality, so that it becomes possible to speak of one speech genre or one instance of a speech genre as entailing a gender ideology that another speech genre or instance of a speech genre does not.

In the discussion to follow I will talk about two general ideas concerning gender and ideological diversity and their variants. The first idea is that women and men have different ideologies, or different ways of looking at the world generally. The second idea is that within a given society, there is diversity in gender ideologies, a diversity that need not be conceptualized as organized

along gender lines, but may be so conceptualized. While the first idea is not so central to the theme for this chapter on gender ideologies, it arguably created the climate in which the second idea could flower.

4.1   The idea that women and men have different ideologies

The idea that women and men think differently is certainly not new, and wasn't new to the women's movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. But central to the women's movement was the idea that women's views are not heard and therefore cannot have an influence. Women are silenced. In the first section, we saw how feminists of the 1970s focused on the idea that women are silenced in the public sphere. But in a broader context, that idea can be seen as a special case of the more general idea that women are silenced generally and regardless of whether one thinks about the social organization of domains for speaking at all. Ardener (1978) is credited with bringing this idea into anthropology.

Now why did feminists think this silencing mattered? It mattered for the simple injustice of it from within a broadly liberal political perspective that values people being able to have their say. It also mattered because of a disvaluing of women's words that could be harmful to their sense of self-worth. But whether implicitly or explicitly, it also mattered that women were shut down because what women had to contribute to social or cultural discourse in their point of view was different from that of men. Men would not say the things that women wanted to have said. This was one reason why anthropologists were thought to be missing a great deal of the culture of a group of people if they were talking only to men and not to women (e.g. Keesing 1985). Women's words stood for women's consciousness, and men's words for men's consciousness. Whether women are literally silenced or not, with an ideological valuing of men's words over women's, men are able to make others accept and enact their representation of the world and women are for all practical purposes silenced (Gal 1991; see also Lakoff 1995).

It is important to note that the point of this line of thinking is *not* that particular specific ideas of women are not having their just due. Rather, the point is that women have a different perspective, and *whatever* that view is, its impact is not felt in society in the way men's view is. Now there are some scholars who have also tried to characterize the specifics of how women's culture or women's world-view is different from men's, or to otherwise describe what they bring to experience that is different from what men bring. Probably the best-known example of this is Carol Gilligan's work (1982), in which she described her understanding of how women's moral perspective is different from men's. But I think it has always been easier to put forth the general idea of a difference in perspective than to characterize that perspective, without falling into unsatisfactory statements that are easily criticized as overgeneralizations, or as essentializations, as, for example, in the views that women are

more nurturing and more concerned about interpersonal relationships than men.

Some scholars have offered explanations for differences in perspective between women and men. The most common explanations refer to the gender-segregated nature of early childhood (Maltz and Borker 1982; Tannen 1998) and to gender segregation in adult life (Reiter 1975; Harding 1975). However, male domination in itself is seen as a causal factor in interpretive differences too, so that the things women think about and the way they think about them are affected by their subordinated position (Gal 1991).

Scholars who posited general ideological differences between women and men, and men as ideologically dominant, have increasingly also documented women's ideological resistance against male ideological domination. The idea of women's ideological resistance has been present from early on in feminist academic writing (e.g. Reiter 1975). This should not be surprising, given the fundamental concern in the women's movement with the need for women to resist patriarchal ideological domination in a manner analogous to the Marxist concept of a need for the working class to resist ruling class ideological as well as material domination. If anything, it is surprising that this idea only really began to take hold in the late 1980s.

Analytical reliance on some notion of speech genre has been important in discussion of resistance. The most developed work on women's resistance that uses a concept of speech genre is Lila Abu-Lughod's (1986) *Veiled Sentiments*. In this book, Abu-Lughod focuses on a genre of poetry performed by Bedouin women in private contexts. In this genre, feelings of strong emotion and suffering are expressed that run counter to dominant public Bedouin values of honor, autonomy, and emotional restraint. When the words of songs can be connected to a woman's individual circumstances, they can be understood as her protest, however veiled, against those circumstances.

Other documented forms of women's protest encoded in recognizable bounded genres have this similar quality of intense emotion in the context of personal suffering. Both Feld (1982) and Briggs (1992) have documented situations in which women have used their own public laments in the context of funeral mourning for the dead as opportunities for political critique of activities going on in their communities. Following Sherzer (1987), who noted the frequent involvement of women in lament, as discussed earlier, Briggs makes it clear that Warao women regularly use one of their few rare opportunities for performance in the public sphere to raise their voices in opposition to dominant community practices or policies. Hirsch similarly characterizes women's rare opportunity to "tell their story" in Muslim courts in Southern Africa (1998) as an opportunity to raise their voices against men. But whereas the other work mentioned here suggests that the opportunity for protest comes through some specific genre associated with oppositional meanings, Hirsch focuses on a situation where women and men both get to tell their stories in public, but they do so in different ways. This is in a cultural system where women would almost never otherwise have a speaking role in a public forum. Coplan (1987)

similarly finds Lesotho women workers' resistance songs to be of a different order from men's.

The logic of recognizing gender-based ideological differences has also given rise to discussion of ideological contrasts *among* women, as well as between women and men. In other words, women who are positioned differently within a society also interpret the world differently, although not necessarily in opposition to one another. One study in which bounded instances of a genre are used to tease out such differences is Shula Marks' (1988) *Not Either an Experimental Doll*. Here Marks uses letters written by three different women in early twentieth-century South Africa. These letters, particularly those by and concerning the fate of a young Black African girl, reveal gendered power dynamics of this racially segregated society that were very specific to their time. Other studies that deal specifically with different women's gender ideologies, as opposed to general ideological or interpretive differences, will be discussed in the next section.

An important development in the study of gender and ideological diversity, then, was diversity conceptualized primarily in terms of a dualistic gender system of males and females. In this development, it did not matter so much *how* they thought differently, but rather that in the context of male ideological domination, women were argued to have resisted that domination in specific genres of language use. Ultimately, then, we have a picture of ideological diversity that is organized into oppositional relations, yet seemingly in an undeniably static arrangement. Thus while one might expect that the idea of resistance could be inspiring, and its availability a comfort in the face of a vision of ideological domination, this was in some respects cold comfort indeed because the kinds of resistance described did not lead to any transformation of women's situations.

4.2   The idea of intra-societal diversity in gender ideology

As interest in ideological diversity within societies emerged in the 1980s, a second important theme in addition to that just discussed was the idea that there is more than one gender ideology within a given society. The earliest expressions of this idea typically did not ground or locate the diversity in gender ideologies within society: in other words, specific ideologies were not attributed to particular social domains or social categories (e.g. Bloch 1987; Sanday 1990). And when the view that some gender ideologies are dominant over others was expressed, the dominant and the subordinate were likewise not necessarily conceptualized as socially contextualized, or were only partially conceptualized in this way (e.g. Schlegel 1990; Fineman 1988; Kennedy and Davis 1993).

Indeed, it is common I think, both in American society and in other societies, to experience gender ideologies, and other kinds of ideologies as well, as

floating free. However, sometimes we *can* locate them socially, and the literature on gender ideologies does also abound with examples of ideologies that belong to or are about people in specifiable social categories. It is in this work that we again find genres of discourse in which specific gender ideologies can be located. And here, in addition to socially occurring genres, by which I mean those that would be performed whether or not a researcher was present, I will also include analysis based on interviews. Interviews are arguably socially occurring too, but they do raise questions about where the ideas expressed in them exist outside the interviews.

There is less work delineating how men's gender ideologies differ from those of women than one might expect, possibly because gender ideologies are thought to be widely shared within societies. However, Emily Martin's (1987) book *The Woman in the Body* is a major work that has located gender ideologies in specific forms of discourse which Martin ties in part to gender differences, but her story is more complex than that. She describes how medical books that represent women's reproductive processes treat the body metaphorically as if it were a machine, and she does view such a representation as male and patriarchal. Then in interviews with American women from both middle- and working-class backgrounds, she shows how middle-class women embrace this same medical textual rhetoric, but women from working-class backgrounds, both Black and White, do not. There is definitely the sense in this that the medical images have become dominant, while the other representations are subordinated and resistant.

A second very useful and insightful example of differences between men's and women's gender ideologies comes from Holly Mathews' (1992) work on different tellings of the popular Mexican folktale "La Llorona," which glosses as "weeping woman." La Llorona is a ghost often seen along riverbanks who is thought to try to lure men to their death by drowning in rivers. Mathews shows how men and women in a Mexican village tell the story behind this ghostly figure differently. In the men's version, La Llorona violated marital expectations. She neglected her children, gossiped, and was out on the street. Her husband turned her out of the house, so she committed suicide. In the women's version of La Llorona the man violated the expectations of marriage. He was unfaithful, he stayed away from home, and spent all their money. In her distress over her inability to feed her children, La Llorona committed suicide. Here we begin to see where there is commonality culturally and where there is difference in male and female ideas about gender roles. In this example, it is not even clear that men and women have different ideas about what men and women should do in a marriage, although clearly each is elaborating the other's role ideologically. But clearly women hold men responsible for marital failures, while men hold women responsible. However, while Mathews does not discuss which view is dominant, other work on La Llorona stories does. Limon (1986) suggests that the male view is the dominant view, so that women's marital failings are more imprinted on the public consciousness than those of men.

In Mathews' work, the stories were elicited in interview sessions, but the method is quite like that of Hirsch (1998), discussed in the last section, who compared men's and women's stories about marital conflict in a Muslim court. Both Mathews and Hirsch tape-recorded men and women producing exactly the same genre, and then identified the ways in which the male perspective is different from the female's. Hirsch too found women dwelling on men's failings while men dwelt on women's, but again the difference was that men's voices tended to dominate the public consciousness, and women's voices were rarely heard in public in the way that they were in court.

Mathews also makes the important point that a great deal of gender ideology is organized in terms of gender dyads, a point to which I will return.

The climate of the 1980s, and to some extent the 1990s, was influenced, as I noted earlier, by the critique of feminist writing that it was "essentializing" women, treating them as if they were in all times and places the same. This led to a good deal of writing that compared women in different social positions within a given society, usually American society, and this trend has included documentation of variation in women's gender ideologies in comparable forms of discourse.

Luker (1984) and others have carried out careful comparisons, based on tape-recorded interview data, of the differences between pro-abortion and anti-abortion women in the United States in their views on the proper roles for women in general and women as mothers in particular. Yanagisako (1987) has compared parallel interviews with first- and second-generation Japanese women in their views on women's roles. Both Silberstein (1988) and Kennedy and Davis (1993) have looked at the gender ideologies of women in different generations, extrapolating changes in gender ideologies through time from comparable data, also based on interviews.

Finally, there are also many fine individual works on diverse gender ideologies tied to variation in gender identities and produced in highly specific ethnographic and/or historical circumstances and forms of talk. For example, Lubiano (1992) describes the gender ideology of the Black woman on welfare that she feels underlay the treatment of Anita Hill in the Thomas–Hill hearings, where Hill had accused Clarence Thomas, a candidate for the Supreme Court, of sexual harassment, and was treated very badly for having done so. In another more recent and extended example, Lata Mani (1998) has examined specifically positioned variation in gender ideologies constituted in colonial-era written discourse genres on whether or not to ban widow-burning in India. Other fine examples include Krause (1999), Kray (1990), and Besnier (1997).

Discourse analysis has made important contributions to work of these kinds on ideological diversity. Specific discourse genres were shown to be associated with specific ideological positions, displaying the way in which discourse genres can function to create boundaries and framings for interpretive perspectives. Methodologically, the focus on speech as data in the analysis of multiple gender ideologies grounded claims about gender ideologies empirically that otherwise would not have had an empirical grounding. This body of work, however, still

leaves us with some important theoretical gaps in our efforts to understand social configurations of gender ideology in discourse and to intervene in some of those configurations where they contribute to the subordination of women. While we have done reasonably well in connecting ideological stances with particular gendered social identities, our sense of other ways in which culture and social structure contribute to the social ordering of dominant and subordinate gender ideologies is relatively underdeveloped. The lack of development of the early ideas about the power of the ideologies in the public sphere as opposed to the private sphere has created a situation where theoretically we do not have a well-developed sense of institutional complexes, and of how these potentiate and constrain gender ideologies in discourse. Happily there are notable exceptions to this generalization (e.g. Hirsch 1998; McElhinny 1997).

There has also been a loss of a broader practical political perspective. While feminist concerns with women's subordination are typically still present in all of the works that have been discussed, they are often implicit, rather than explicit. And while inspiring, visions of resistance against domination that have been documented seem to be meant more to raise the idea of resistance than anything else, because the examples of resistance are often themselves pre-political, individual, or routinized in a way that does not appear to be transformative. Then too, the meanings of the terms "domination," "subordination," and "resistance" have not been closely interrogated or theoretically examined.

5   Institutional Contexts for Gender Ideologies in Discourse

We see, then, that the content of gender ideologies is different in different discourse genres within a given society. And different gender ideologies are perpetuated by women and men, and by women in different social positions and with different gender identities. There is a relationship between genre and social identity in that control of genres and their associated ideologies is gender-organized. Male power and authority are such that men achieve ideological domination over women through this gendered organization of ideology, which women resist through their production in and of specific genres of language use.

With the multiplicity of gender ideologies and their discourse manifestations, then, come ideological conflict, opposition, and struggle.

What is most apparently lacking in this way of thinking about gender ideology in discourse is some broader concept of social organization within which gender identity systems can be located and grounded. Anthropological research on gender ideology did begin with a concept of social organization within which gendered relations of power were embedded. I refer here to the ideas that societies are organized into public and private domains and that the ideological support for male control of the public domain sustains men's power

over women. But as I noted earlier, the conceptual vision of society as ordered into public and private domains was severely criticized by feminists in a way that seems to have led to the fading rather than the transformation of this broad vision of societal organization.

In recent years an important domain distinction that has emerged in the language and gender literature is that between home and work (e.g. Tannen 1994; Holmes and Stubbe, this volume; Kendall, this volume). This is quite fitting, because as at least middle-class American women experience the social world, the home–work distinction is probably the most salient domain distinction, as at least middle-class women struggle in their own minds with how to have both in their lives in satisfactory ways. In actuality, research in this area has focused more on work situations than on a home–work contrast. And an important theme of the writing on women in the workplace has been how much both women and men vary in their deployment of interactional strategies that feminists have long argued were gendered in power-laden ways. Gender ideologies have not been in the foreground in this work as such until recently.

However, there are recent promising developments on gender ideologies in relation to interactional strategies in workplaces. Holmes and Stubbe (this volume) discuss the concept of "masculine" and "feminine" workplaces, as this is experienced in New Zealand. McElhinny (1995) analyzes the ways policewomen developing identities as police officers must address the hypermasculinity of police departments in their work. Both of their approaches resonate with the relatively recent emergence in the social sciences and humanities of the idea that we can speak of the "gendering" of massively complex sociocultural processes such as the military (Enloe 1989), the state (Philips 1994a), the nation (Delaney 1995), and international relations (Peterson 1992). "Gendering" is to my mind a concept similar to gender ideology, but it has stronger connotations of an implicitness and diffuseness of widely shared meaning than the concept of gender ideology.

Another promising approach that grounds diversity in practice and diversity in ideology in some concept of social organization is the recent feminist linguistic interest in communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Eckert, this volume; McConnell-Ginet, this volume). These are groups that engage in interaction and share interpretive orientations. Examples of communities of practice include unions, bowling teams, tennis clubs, secretarial pools, and aerobics classes. Communities of practice have relations with each other, and institutional links. People who are positioned differently in the broader sociocultural systems within which interactions occur will participate in different communities of practice. People of different genders, ages, and class positions will predictably participate in different communities of practice. One can expect to find gender ideologies that are specific to specific communities of practice and that are manifest in their discourse practices.

But I still do think that we need to work with a concept of institutions in the sociological and anthropological sense, so that one can speak of gender

ideologies in religion, education, law, and family, and in their prototypical public scenes of the church, school, court, and household.

Institutions are by definition linked, interdependent, and creating of some whole. Contexts of interaction participate in broader ideological and behavioral systems that we call institutions. Thinking in terms of institutions allows us to ask the following useful questions: How are gender ideologies in different institutional settings similar and different? How are these gender ideologies shaped by their institutional contexts? Are some institutional complexes more ideologically powerful, influential, and/or hegemonic in shaping gender ideologies than others? From a Gramscian (1971) perspective, one would argue that state institutions (e.g. law, education) are the most powerful and are hegemonic and dominant in ideological struggles with civil institutions such as churches and political parties. At the same time, a Gramscian vision of state–civil articulation would also recognize that state institutions derive their hegemony in part from their ideological articulation with popular cultural ideologies in civil society.

Thinking about contemporary nations (and the whole world is organized into nations) as ideologically organized in terms of a state–civil articulation has some advantages over earlier ways of conceptualizing the contextualization of gender ideologies. It sidesteps the private–public dichotomy, without precluding the recognition of a range of kinds of public spheres (Hansen 1993). It recognizes the interconnectedness and interpenetration of different institutional contexts, allowing for the flow, or replication, of ideological representations across domain boundaries (McElhinny 1997). And a Gramscian approach still allows for recognition of such lower-level organizations as villages as social units within which ideologies flow. It is just that now the village is understood to be articulated ideologically with much more encompassing structures that may or may not be penetrating into its heart, depending on the actual situation that we are considering.

In this final discussion to follow I will try to show how the accumulated traditions for the study of gender ideologies in discourse have contributed to my thinking about gender ideologies in Tonga, taking into consideration the issues I have just raised.

In Tonga, which is a small country in the South Pacific, with one of the largest Polynesian populations, the most salient gender ideologies are encoded in three rather general gender dyads: the sister–brother relationship, the husband–wife relationship, and the sweetheart–sweetheart relationship. Mathews (1992) has argued that gender dyads are an important form of cultural model for the transmission of cultural gender systems. In saying that these three dyads and not others are key, I am saying that other kinds of dyads which might be more familiar to Americans, such as the mother–son or the father–daughter dyad, are much less often talked about and depicted, if at all. Meanwhile, the sister–brother relationship, which Americans do not elaborate, as "in story and song," is talked about and depicted all the time. Furthermore, as we will see, these dyads are depicted differently in Tongan than in American

culture. This does not mean that *individual* figures are not also represented as models for women, as the Virgin is in Mexico. For example, Queen Sālote, who ruled Tonga for over forty years in the twentieth century, is a revered figure. But the dyads are more pervasive.

For each of these three dyadic representations, the concept of dominance has relevance in more than one sense. The sister–brother relationship should be considered the culturally dominant image of gender relationships in Tonga. Verbal representations of this relationship abound, and they are often highly stereotyped, but also specialized and differentiated. They are also prominent in the public sphere (Philips 1994a, 2000). This relationship is one in which the sister is represented as dominant, in the sense that her brother should subordinate himself to her, particularly through semiotic expressions of respect, but also through submission to her will, particularly the will of the oldest sister. The obligation of the brother to so submit is highlighted in images of this relationship. The brother goes to the sister to give her the privilege of naming his children. A sister goes to the US mainland to find her brother with whom the family has lost contact, and draw him back into the fold.

The husband–wife relationship, in contrast, is much less often depicted and talked about. It is a more private relationship. When it is talked about, the emphasis is not so much on the dyad itself, that is, on marriage, and the relationship between husband and wife, as it is in the United States. Instead the emphasis is on the role of the woman in relationship to her husband and children. The role of the wife is to take care of the family as a whole, much as this is said of husbands in American culture. Recall the Tongan wife being remembered fondly for her ironing in the example of gender ideology at the beginning of this chapter. A woman's ironing in that example is a conventionalized sign of the way she takes care of her whole family. The idea that she should take care of them is more important, enduring, and pervasive than any particular sign of that care. It is also the wife's job to facilitate the relationship between children and their father, to make sure they get along. In loving and ideal depictions that focus on the wife, she is neither exhorted to obey her husband, nor praised for doing so, in the way that brothers are exhorted to subordinate themselves to their sisters. However, the wife's normative subordination to her husband is understood to be part of the relationship in some sense. Her ordering of him around is depicted in humorous representations of marriage, and his beating of her can be justified on the basis of her failing to do what he thinks she should do (Kavapalu 1993; Philips 1994b).

Representations of the sweetheart–sweetheart relationship, like those of the other two dyads, also involve images of domination and subordination, but here who is dominated and who is dominating seems to flip-flop. Love poetry and love songs typically are written and sung from the perspective of a lover bereft of his or her loved one. The loss of the loved one can be due to a physical separation, an infidelity, a social gulf between the two, or other factors, but in any case it yields a rhetoric of what is essentially suffering in the voice of the lover. Love songs are canonically written for and to women by

men, but there are examples of high-status women who compose songs known to be to and about men. The songs themselves are composed in such an allusive way that many, if not most, can be "heard" to be from the point of view of either a man or a woman, and they are sung by both women and men. This gender dyad is the one of the three that is most stereotypically represented in public discourse. It is dominant in the sense that it is the dyad evoked in the most pervasively performed and heard genre in the country, love songs.

Each dyad is very widespread in its representations. Each is portable, in that it can be produced and talked about in a wide range of circumstances. Each can appear or be talked about in formal, routinized, institutionalized contexts, both Western and Tongan in origin. Each can also appear in everyday forms of talk. Each appears in structured, bounded discourse genres and in less predictable conversation. At the same time, each dyad can be said to have a distinct configuration ecologically, that is, to occur in particular social environments, domains, or institutional complexes that remain predictable, in spite of the pop-up-anywhere potential of representations of all three dyads.

Sister–brother representations are part of official nation-state governmental representations. The king's daughter and *her* daughter are the most ritually prominent women in the country because she is ritually superior to her brothers, one of whom will some day be king. The fact that one of the brothers will be ruler and not the sister shows the real limits of sisterly power at this level of political organization, yet the sister's authority cannot be dismissed. If she had no brothers, she could be queen, as in the case of the earlier-mentioned Queen Sālote. The sisterly role is also celebrated in official histories of the country that explain how the high status of the sister has contributed to political configurations of the past. The sister–brother relationship is held up as the model for cross-gendered relationships in court cases involving women taking men to court (Philips 2000). In one of the best-known traditional stories a brother kills his sister over his jealousy of her preferred treatment in the family, but her supernatural powers enable her to be brought back to life (Fānua n.d.). In everyday life, the treatment of sisters to brothers and brothers to sisters is constantly an issue.

As I have already noted, the husband–wife relationship is much less publicly visible in gender dyad representations than the other two. But it too appears in a range of kinds of contexts and genres. In Queen Sālote College, the best-known private girls' high school in the country, a play written and directed by its former principal, Manu Faupula (Faupula 1972) and performed by generations of girls in the twentieth century, instructed them in the proper role of the wife in caring for husband and children. In court cases, the husband's right to beat his wife is affirmed, though only just (Philips 1994b). In a Tongatapu Hihifo District World Food Day song competition, presided over by a noble of the area, the song that won the competition and was later played on the radio depicted a husband and wife. The husband would not go out to cultivate food for the family, and his wife repeatedly exhorted him to get food for them, a depiction people found hilarious because of its violation of norms

for appropriate husband and wife behavior. Schools, courts, World Food Day, the radio – these are all state-directed and state-sponsored organizational contexts in which gender representations are fostered. In a more traditional setting, speeches that are part of the kava ceremony (a ritual involving passing a drinking vessel of kava around the group) at a traditional Tongan wedding invoke gendered stereotypes of proper husbandly and wifely qualities. In everyday life at home, a husband's sisters regularly impose on his new wife their expectations of her wifely role (Bernstein 1969).

The sweetheart relationship, as represented in love songs, is within hearing day and night because of the prevalence of love songs as a musical form. They are heard on the radio all day long. They are sung in men's evening social gatherings throughout the country. They are also sung by women in work parties where bark cloth and mats are produced. Comment on the content of the songs in conversation that follows the singing is often also about the sweetheart relationship. Anywhere where brothers and sisters are not co-present, humorous joking and teasing about romantic relationships is widespread in all adult age groups. In court, there are also silences about the sweetheart relationship. Physical and verbal aggression against women resulting in men being taken to court also occurs in the sweetheart relationship. But here the nature of the relationship will not be explicitly oriented to as an aspect of the case in the way it would be if the man and woman were husband and wife, if it is acknowledged at all. This is apparently because sexual relations between unmarried people that cannot be acknowledged in public are often thought to be involved in such cases. A young woman who has sexual relations before marriage is vulnerable to mistreatment and is unprotected in a way women in other social categories are not (Philips 2000).

These three dyadic gender ideologies are in a complementary relationship to one another. They define each other. One can't really fully comprehend any one of the dyads alone – we see the physical vulnerability of the wife and the sweetheart in a different light when we know how protected the sister is.

These gender ideologies are shared by women and men and are not overtly opposed, even though the wife and the sweetheart may appear in humorous clowning commentaries that acknowledge that ideal relationships are not always the practice. However, clearly women are best off in the sister–brother relationship, when we consider whether women's subordination is countenanced in Tongan gender ideologies.

For all three dyads, there are Gramscian state–civil institutional ideological connections. In other words, for all three, state-funded institutions promulgate the gender ideologies in a way that penetrates people's lives on a day-to-day basis across institutional boundaries, resonating with views of the same kind that people already have. But it is the sister–brother dyad that has received greatest state sponsorship, elaboration, and proliferation. It is accordingly appropriate to speak of Tongan brother–sister gender ideology as hegemonic for Tonga.

In a context where there are multiple gender ideologies, one strategy that is available for transforming women's situation, regardless of what other strategies

may be used, is to enhance, elaborate, and build on the gender ideologies that are most enabling of women. This is what happens in Tonga. There the high status of the sister has in a sense been used by women to enhance the status of the role of wife. In this regard Queen Sālote, the revered former Queen of Tonga, has been an important example for other Tongan women. As Ellem (1999) has insightfully documented, Queen Sālote interpreted her relationship to her husband, the Prince Consort, as one of brother and sister, as a way of creating a model of her partnership with him for ruling the country that would be familiar and acceptable to her subjects. In a similar way Faupula (1972), in her dramaturgical representation of the ideal woman, for the edification of the girls of Queen Sālote College, blends the roles of wife and sister, and shades them one into the other, allowing the image of the sister to dominate the image of the wife. In this way, with a little help from specific state-linked institutional contexts, the sister in a woman empowers her as a wife, and there are many powerful Tongan women in partnership-like relations with their husbands.

6   Implications

Gender ideologies play a powerful role in shaping women's lives. They are used to interpret and motivate behavior and are enacted in socially meaningful behavior. But there is no such thing as a clear one-to-one relation between one gender ideology and one society. Instead there are multiple gender ideologies in all societies. Their nature is and should be of intrinsic interest to social scientists because of the fundamental importance of gender in human life. But beyond that it is of concern to feminists to identify patriarchal gender ideologies in order to ameliorate them and enhance the development of gender ideologies that offer and encourage positive experiences for women. We need ways of thinking about gender ideologies that will enable us to do that.

When we see gender ideology manifest in a bounded speech genre or form of talk, such as story and song, we should think of it not as some representation of a whole. Rather we should think of it as a piece of a larger puzzle, where we need to understand not only the piece, but the entire picture of the larger puzzle. The production of gender ideology in discourse is located in sociocultural systems and is socially organized through those systems. People and the genres they produce are organized into relations of domination and subordination that determine which gender ideologies are powerful and where ideological conflict and struggle are. Ideologies in institutions through which the state articulates with the population it governs are particularly powerful.

There are important roles for discourse analysis of gender ideology in both the general study of gender ideology and in political critique with policy implications. Discourse analysis allows for empirical documentation of the production of gender ideologies, and can reveal in detail how these ideologies are grounded and ordered in discourse.

REFERENCES

Abu-Lughod, Lila 1986: *Veiled Sentiments*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ardener, Shirley 1978: Introduction. In *Perceiving Women*, edited by Shirley Ardener. London: Malaby, pp. vii–xxiii.

Bernstein, Louise 1969: Ko e lau pē (It's just talk): Ambiguity and Informal Social Control in a Tongan Village. PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Besnier, Niko 1997: Sluts and Superwomen: The politics of gender liminality in urban Tonga. *Ethnos* 62(1–2): 5–31.

Bloch, Maurice 1987: Descent and sources of contradiction in representations of women and kinship. In Jane Collier and Sylvia Yanagisako (eds) *Gender and Kinship: Essays Toward a Unified Analysis*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 324–37.

Briggs, Charles 1992: "Since I am a woman, I will chastise my relatives": Gender, reported speech, and the (re)production of social relations in Warao ritual wailing. *American Ethnologist* 19(2): 337–61.

Brown, Penny 1979: Language, Interaction and Sex Roles in a Mayan Community: A Study of Politeness and the Position of Women. PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Coplan, David B. 1987: Eloquent knowledge: Lesotho migrants' songs and the anthropology of experience. *American Ethnologist* 14(3): 413–33.

Delaney, Carol 1995: Father state, Motherland, and the birth of modern Turkey. In *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis*. New York: Routledge, pp. 177–99.

Eckert, Penelope and McConnell-Ginet, Sally 1992: Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice. In Bernard J. Siegel, Alan R. Beals, and Stephen A. Tyler (eds) *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 21. Palo Alto: Annual Reviews Inc., pp. 461–90.

Ellem, Elizabeth Wood 1999: *Queen Sālote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900–1965*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Enloe, Cynthia 1989: *Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Fānua, Tupou Posesi (n.d.): Kuku mo Kuku/The Jealous Brother. *Pō Fananga: Folk Tales of Tonga*. Nuku'alofa, Tonga: Taulua Press, pp. 35–9.

Faupula, Manu 1972: *Mafoa E Ata (Dawn of the Light)*. Mimeograph copy. Nuku'alofa, Tonga: Queen Sālote College.

Feld, Steve 1982: *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fineman, Martha 1988: Dominant discourse, professional language, and legal change in child custody decisionmaking. *Harvard Law Review* 101: 727–74.

Gal, Susan 1991: Between speech and silence: The problematics of research on language and gender. In Micaela di Leonardo (ed.) *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 175–203.

Gilligan, Carol 1982: *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gramsci, Antonio 1971: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International.

Hansen, Miriam 1993: Foreword. In Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge (eds) *The Public Sphere and Experience: Towards an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. ix–xli.

Harding, Susan 1975: Women and words in a Spanish village. In Rayna R. Reiter (ed.) *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 283–308.

Hirsch, Susan F. 1998: *Pronouncing and Persevering: Gender and the Discourses of Disputing in an African Islamic Court*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Holmes, Janet 1993: Women's talk: The question of sociolinguistic universals. *Australian Journal of Communication* 20(3): 125–49.

Irvine, Judith 1982: Language and affect: Some cross-cultural issues. In Heidi Byrnes (ed.) *Contemporary Perceptions of Language: Interdisciplinary Dimensions, GURT 1982*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 31–47.

Kavapalu, Helen Morton 1993: Dealing with the dark side in the ethnography of childhood: Child punishment in Tonga. *Oceania* 63(4): 313–29.

Keenan, Elinor (Ochs) 1974: Norm-makers, norm-breakers: Uses of speech by men and women in a Malagasy community. In Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer (eds) *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 125–43.

Keesing, Roger 1985: Kwaio women speak: The micropolitics of autobiography in a Solomon Island society. *American Anthropologist* 87(1): 27–39.

Kennedy, Elizabeth and Davis, Madeleine 1993: *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The Story of a Lesbian Community*. New York: Routledge.

Krause, Elizabeth 1999: Natalism and Nationalism: The Political Economy of Love, Labor, and Low Fertility in Central Italy. PhD dissertation, University of Arizona.

Kray, Susan 1990: Never cry bull moose: Of mooses and men, the case of the scheming gene. *Women and Language* 13(1): 31–7.

Kulick, Don 1998: Anger, gender, language shift and the politics of revelation in a Papua New Guinean village. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds) *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 87–102.

Lakoff, Robin 1973: Language and women's place. *Language in Society* 2: 45–80.

Lakoff, Robin 1995: Cries and whispers: The shattering of the silence. In Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz (eds) *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*. New York: Routledge, pp. 25–50.

Lederman, Rena 1980: Who speaks here: Formality and the politics of gender in Mendi, Highland Papua New Guinea. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 89: 479–98.

Limon, José 1986: La Llorona, the third legend of Greater Mexico: Cultural symbols, women and the political unconscious. *Renato Rosaldo Lecture Series Monograph* 2: 59–93.

Lubiano, Wahneema 1992: Black ladies, welfare queens, and state minstrels: Ideological war by narrative means. In Toni Morrison (ed.) *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*. New York: Pantheon Books, pp. 323–63.

Luker, Kristin 1984: World view of the activists. In *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, ch. 7. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 158–91.

MacCormack, Carol and Strathern, Marilyn (eds) 1980: *Nature, Culture and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maltz, Daniel N. and Borker, Ruth A. 1982: A cultural approach to male–female miscommunication. In John J. Gumperz (ed.) *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 196–216.

Mani, Lata 1998: *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Marks, Shula 1988: *Not Either an Experimental Doll*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Martin, Emily 1987: *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Mathews, Holly 1992: The directive force of morality tales in a Mexican community. In Roy D'Andrade and Claudia Strauss (eds) *Human Motives and Cultural Models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 127–61.

McElhinny, Bonnie 1995: Challenging hegemonic masculinities: Female and male police officers handling domestic violence. In Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz (eds) *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*. New York: Routledge, pp. 217–44.

McElhinny, Bonnie 1997: Ideologies of public and private language in sociolinguistics. In Ruth Wodak (ed.) *Gender and Discourse*. London: Sage, pp. 106–39.

Ortner, Sherry 1974: Is female to male as nature is to culture? In Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (eds) *Woman, Culture and Society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 67–88.

Ortner, Sherry and Whitehead, Harriet (eds) 1981: *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peterson, V. Spike 1992: *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)visions of International Relations Theory*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Philips, Susan U. 1994a: Local legal hegemony in the Tongan magistrate's court: How sisters fare better than wives. In Susan Hirsch and Mindy Lazarus-Black (eds) *Contested States*. London: Routledge, pp. 59–88.

Philips, Susan U. 1994b: Dominant and subordinate gender ideologies in Tongan courtroom discourse. In Mary Bucholtz, Anita C. Liang, Laurel A. Sutton and Caitlin Hines (eds) *Cultural Performances: Proceedings of the Third Berkeley Women and Language Conference*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Women and Language Group, University of California, pp. 593–604.

Philips, Susan U. 2000: Constructing a Tongan nation-state through language ideology in the courtroom. In Paul Kroskrity (ed.) *Regimes of Language*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research, pp. 229–57.

Philips, Susan U., Steele, Susan, and Tanz, Christine (eds) 1987: *Language, Gender and Sex in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reiter, Rayna R. 1975: Men and women in the south of France: Public and private domains. In Rayna R. Reiter (ed.) *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 252–82.

Rosaldo, Michelle 1974: Woman, culture and society: A theoretical overview. In Michelle Rosaldo and Louise

Lamphere (eds) *Woman, Culture and Society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 17–42.

Sanday, Peggy Reeves 1990: Introduction. In Peggy Reeves Sanday and Ruth Gallagher Goodenough (eds) *Beyond the Second Sex: New Directions in the Anthropology of Gender*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 1–19.

Schlegel, Alice 1990: Gender meanings: General and Specific. In Peggy Reeves Sanday and Ruth Gallagher Goodenough (eds) *Beyond the Second Sex: New Directions in the Anthropology of Gender*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 21–42.

Sherzer, Joel 1987: A diversity of voices: Men's and women's speech in ethnographic perspective. In Susan U. Philips, Susan Steele, and Christine Tanz (eds) *Language, Gender, and Sex in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 95–120.

Silberstein, Sandra 1988: Ideology as process: Gender ideology in courtship narratives. In Alexandra Todd and Sue Fisher (eds) *Gender and Discourse: The Power of Talk*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, pp. 125–49.

Tannen, Deborah 1994: *Talking 9 to 5: How Women's and Men's Conversational Styles Affect Who Gets Ahead, Who Gets Credit, and What Gets Done at Work.* New York: William Morrow.

Tannen, Deborah 1998: *The Argument Culture: Stopping America's War of Words.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Yanagisako, Sylvia 1987: Mixed metaphors: Native and anthropological models of gender and kinship domain. In Jane Collier and Sylvia Yanagisako (eds) *Gender and Kinship: Essays Toward a Unified Analysis*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 86–118.