

Creating Gender Identity in Two Different Languages (English and Arabic): A Case Study of Lebanese AUB Students

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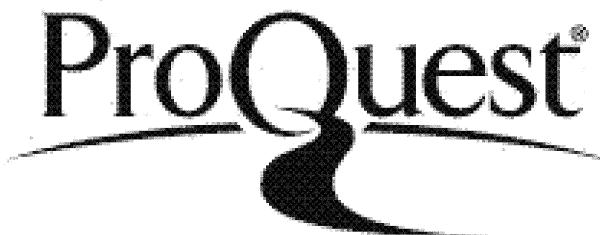


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Abstract

This thesis sought to explore, how Lebanese, specifically AUB, males and females create their gender identities in English and Arabic in a multicultural society, Lebanon. I attempted to explore the relationship between, gender, culture (ideology) and linguistic practice. My research aims to answer the following questions: (1) To what extent does what we say reflect our ideology and affect our gender identity? (2) Do we perform gender according to the cultural norms (ideology) of the language we are speaking? (3) Does learning or speaking a foreign language affect our gender performance in the native language? I.e. does the ideology of the foreign culture affect our performance of gender in the native language or vice versa? I decided to use non-probability purposive sampling. Moreover, I administered an open-ended questionnaire to gain background information about the participants. To establish trustworthiness, credibility, transferability and dependability, I employed methodological triangulation and data triangulation. The study used semi-structured individual interview, single sex friendship focus group interviews and mixed sex friendship focus group interviews. The previously mentioned conceptual framework was the first planning stage of the process of data analysis. The second stage involved first, description and reduction of the data, second, displaying and classification and, third, interpretation and drawing conclusions. To analyze the data, I referred to three analytic concepts of discourse psychology: interpretive repertoires, ideological dilemmas, and subject positions.

Findings of the study revealed that (1) through discourse, males and females perform different feminine and masculine identities. (2) There is not one way of performing masculinity or femininity but there is a range of masculinities and femininities even when speaking the same language because different interpretive repertoires imply different subject positions: (3) When people learn and use a foreign language in the mother country, they might either undergo different degrees of transformations in their understanding of gender or might use the foreign language only as a means of translating their native language culture i.e. find words to express gender ideologies of their native language culture. Participants whose gender performances undergo transformations when they learn a FL, may have either reached a level of social and cultural awareness that is in harmony with the foreign language culture or is living a duality (an ideological dilemma).

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Abbreviations

I I: Individual interview

SSGI: Single-sex friendship group interview

MSGI: Mixed-sex friendship group interview

NC: Native culture

TC: Target culture

SS: Single-sex

NLC: Native language culture

TL: Target language

TLC: Target language culture

NL: Native language

FL: Foreign language

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Introduction

According to Pavlenko (2001), although many feminist researchers have started talking about “performing” gender (Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1987) and have come to view language and gender as rooted and jointly constructed in communities of practice (Eckert McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Holmes and Meyerhoff, 1999), one shortcoming of most studies is the monolingual bias in the treatment of language and gender. Multilingualism has important implications for the relationship between language and gender. A new interdisciplinary field has thus been established- multilingualism, second language learning, and gender - which investigates the relationship between gender, ideology, and linguistic practices in bi-and multilingual communities (Pavlenko, 2001). The mentioned studies give rise to the main ideas that I am addressing in my research. To discuss the research problem I will attempt to explore the relationship between gender, culture (ideology) and linguistic practices in a multilingual setting (Lebanon). Given the arguments presented below (which shed light on the relationship between language, gender and ideology) I can make three hypotheses that help pose the main questions which my research aims to answer.

Based on the popular cliché that “language is a living thing”, Bodine (1975) argues that “language is not only a cultural edifice but also an every day practice”. Wersch (1995) also believes that people speak their culture as they communicate. Along the same line the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggests “that language functions, not simply as a device for reporting experience, but also, and more significantly, as a way of defining experience for its speakers” (Hoijer, 1991, p.245). Eagelton (1991) argues that when people speak, they use terms which are culturally, historically and ideologically available. Ideology is the common sense of society. In addition, Althusser (1971) talks about the ways that ideology creates or constructs ‘subjects’ by drawing people into particular positions and identities. Levine (1993) also claims that both exposed and hidden culture affect behavior, gender, personality etc.. Consequently, Pavlenko (2001), Teutsch-Dweyer (2001) and Ohara (2001) show that in the process of geographic, cultural, and linguistic transitions, individuals may undergo drastic transformations in their understanding and discursive performance of gender. Although the participants of my study do not move from NC to TC to learn the FL, like Pavlenko’s, Teutsch-Dweyer’s and Ohara’s, it is worth investigating whether the individuals undergo any change in constructing their identities in the two different languages. To answer the research question, I will try to

find whether (1) gender is fixed or a process, (2) gender is a social construct i.e. it is constructed in communities of practice; consequently, it differs from one culture to another and (3) discourse plays a major role in the production of social actors.

If it is true that (1) gender is a process, (2) we perform gender through discourse and (3) language is part of the culture i.e. when we speak or learn a language, we will learn or communicate the culture, then I can pose the following questions which my research aims to answer:

- (1) To what extent does what we say reflect our ideology and affect our gender identity?
- (2) Do we perform gender according to the cultural norms (ideology) of the language we are speaking?
- (3) Does learning or speaking a foreign language affect our gender performance in the native language? I.e. does the ideology of the foreign culture affect our performance of gender in the native language or vice versa?

Context of the Study

A- The American University of Beirut (AUB)

B- Lebanon

A. AUB

The American University of Beirut is a private, independent, non-sectarian institution of higher learning, founded in 1866. It functions under a charter from the state of New York and is administered by a private, autonomous Board of Trustees.

Dr. Daniel Bliss, the first president of AUB, expressed the guiding principles of the college in these words:

“ This college is for all conditions and classes of men without regard to color, nationality, race or religion. A man, white, black, or yellow, Christian, Jew, Mohammedan or Heathen, may enter and enjoy all the advantages of this situation for three, four or eight years; and go out believing in one God, in

many Gods, or in no God. But it will be impossible for any one to continue with us long without knowing what we believe to be the truth and our reasons for that belief' (AUB catalogue, 2003,p.5).

B. Lebanon: A Socio-political Background

Established in the 1940s, the Lebanese state was founded on a colonial basis. It was the Sykes-Picot Treaty between Great Britain and the French government that brought it to existence. With It came along the formulation of a "modern" ideology about the concept of Lebanon as a country, Lebanon being the Christians' state in the East and being based on a variety of civilizations and cultures. The Treaty went back in history farther than the Arab Muslim Conquest in the VIIth century, to the old Phoenician civilization, in an attempt to relate it to Christianity (new European one) in order to differentiate it from the surrounding Arab Muslim countries. In this context, the direct French colonialism had a great impact, preceded by the intensified activity of Catholic missions since the XVIIIth century (with the decrease of Ottoman power in these regions) and the Evangelical missions in the XIVth century. The French colonialism, along with both missions, played a great cultural role by building schools and universities and spreading both French and English languages. English and French schools have been founded in the different regions of the country (Daher, 1978). Foreign languages, English and French, have been the medium of instruction in such schools. Consequently, these schools helped to a great extent in spreading the English and French cultures. These schools have attracted many Lebanese. They have been considered only by the middle and high classes since they were expensive private schools. The lower social classes sent their children to Lebanese public schools which are of a much lower academic standard. This distribution has led to the growth of different subcultures. The former has been introduced to the foreign cultures through the foreign languages, foreign teachers, textbooks. Moreover, all the subjects, such as maths, science, social studies etc. are taught in the foreign languages replacing Arabic. Moreover, using foreign textbooks, studying French or English history instead of the Lebanese may facilitate exposure to the European foreign culture and leads to development, social awareness, exposure etc.. On the other hand, the later groups have access only to Lebanese public (government) schools which are poor and exposed to limited experience and use local textbooks. In the long run, we might have generations of different mentality i.e. of different cultures. Hence, the former group will be introduced to the 'new' world of technology while the latter one will not.

Given the situation, many questions might be raised. To what extent are students of foreign

private schools affected by the culture they are being exposed to? How does that affect their cultural concepts generally and their gender ideologies specifically? Are they going to have positive or negative attitudes towards the foreign language culture? Are they going to reject their native culture? Are they going to perform gender or any other construct because they developed gradually and they experienced a real change in ideology? Are they using the foreign language, technology, etc. because they are in harmony with the culture associated with it or are they using it for certain purposes or interests? Is there a discrepancy between the culture they experience at AUB, for example, and the culture they live at home or in their neighborhood? All these questions are answered through the analysis and discussion of the participants' discourse.

Ever since it was created, the political structure of the Lebanese state embodied the duality of the state and the religions. The Lebanese Constitution is a secular one, focusing on citizenship and individuals' rights. Parallel to that, there is a sectarian agreement establishing sectarianism in the political representation as well as absolute privileges for the different religious groups regarding marriage, divorce and inheritance ('sect' is used to denote a religious group without any negative connotations). Therefore, the religious institutions have more power than the national institutions. The religious educational and cultural institutions outnumber the national ones. These religious communities do not answer to the state as their higher authority. Each has its own authority abroad, culturally and politically. The Christians have the Vatican and Europe, the Sunni Muslims have Egypt's Al-Azhar as well as Saudi Arabia, whereas the Shiite Muslims have Iran and Najaf in Iraq (Daher, 1978).

As a result of historical, cultural, ethnic, and religious factors, along with economic relations, Lebanon's socio-political structure has become so complex and has been reflected in the nature of concepts that constitute a criterion for social relations and moral values. Since the religious authority has a 'divine background', the people belonging to different religious groups would automatically accept anything issued or justified by their respective authorities. Needless to say that these authorities are established in different countries with different socio-political structures and socio-economic relations, attempting to impose themselves on Lebanon's environment, which is supposed to be unified and homogeneous (common Lebanese identity).

That is why, I think, I can not talk about 'a Lebanese culture'. Each area has different cultural concepts. What is a taboo in one region is 'normal' in the other, even among two neighboring villages.

In one village, for example, girls do not pursue their education or work because they can not move on their own to the city. However , girls of a neighboring village accept that as the only solution because there are no high schools in villages and girls have the right to continue their education. The only reason for the difference between the two is that each is affiliated to a different authority and has to abide by different ‘norms’ in different cultures.

Even in the capital, Beirut, there are different sub-cultures. People in different areas are affiliated to different higher religious authorities. That is why to talk about a ‘neutral’ Lebanese culture is difficult and might lead to generalizations or judging others. I will leave it to the readers to discover more about the Lebanese ‘cultures’ in chapter three since I present lots of extracts that show the participants’ interpretive repertoires of different concepts, such as femininity, masculinity, marriage, virginity etc. and their interpretive repertoires of the stereotypical ones in society.

Because of all these factors, some of the Lebanese citizens live a daily ‘duality’ and always search for an internal coexistence (within himself/ herself), before searching for coexistence within the broader Lebanese society. In a well-balanced way, the Lebanese society saw the formation of an elite respecting the religious environment, unequally influenced by modernity concepts –it is influenced by the French Revolution ideas, by Descartes, Marxism, Sartre, etc.. With the technical progress, was also formed a rather wide class of technocrats, advanced on both technical and professional levels, and not on the level of social awareness. The western cultures are reflected on the scientific and technical levels, but not at all on the social awareness level.

In my opinion, this is due to the fact that ‘modernization’ has not been the normal and historical outcome of the progress of the society we live in, but it came as an answer to the necessities of the industrial countries’ commercial and economic interests. Despite the attempts to compensate with the help of educational institutions and western diffusion of ideas through media networks, cinemas, books, news agencies, cultural centers etc, the cultures of these Lebanese sub-cultures have not yet reached a stage where there is harmony between their ‘lived’ ideologies and modernity since they use technology and foreign languages only for educational, professional, etc. reasons.

All the briefly introduced arguments are presented in detail in the review of the literature (chapter one). More and more studies, that discuss key issues related to the research questions, are also reviewed. Chapter two presents the research methodology. The chapter starts with a brief justification

why the interpretive approach was used, and what type of sampling was chosen. Next, ‘credibility’, ‘transferability’, ‘dependability’ and ‘confirmability’ were discussed to show how reliability and validity were established in such a qualitative research project. To construct trustworthiness, methodological and data triangulation were then discussed. Before collecting the data, different codes of ethics were taken into consideration. Data were gathered using semi-structured interviews, single-sex and mixed-sex friendship group interviews. The chapter ends with a chart that represents a sample of how data were analysed.

Chapter three is the longest chapter in the thesis since the presented findings of the study are grounded in the data. Lots of extracts selected from the data were used to show how ‘meaning making’ was possible. The last chapter discusses the findings tied together in three categories: (1) Gender identity is a ‘social construct’, (2) manifesting gender in gendered speech and (3) bilingualism, gender and ideology. The conclusion includes a summary of the answers to the research questions posed earlier, limitations of the study, and suggestions for further research.

Chapter One

Review of The Literature

Gender as a Process

To investigate whether the language we speak affects our gender performance, I need to find out in the first place whether gender identity is fixed or a process, since the argument between the essentialists (gender is fixed) and the anti-essentialists (gender is a process) is still going on. If gender is fixed, the participants' gender identity is going to stay the same regardless of whether it is being expressed in one language or the other or whether the person is being exposed to and in contact with different cultures. On the other hand, if gender is viewed as a process as a result of continuous interaction with the culture(s) being exposed to, people may construct their gender identities differently when they speak different languages.

A- Models of Language and gender

Feminist linguistic approaches since 1973 would distinguish three main models of language and gender. The first is the 'deficit' model in which women are seen as disadvantaged speakers because of being restricted earlier to the private domain and lacking the skills needed in the public realm. This model could be exemplified by Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* (Lakoff, 1975). The second is the 'dominance' model that interprets linguistic differences in women's and men's communicative competence as a reflection of men's dominance and women's subordination. The obvious examples are Zimmerman and West (1975), West (1984) and Pamela Fishman's studies of heterosexual couples' talk (1980; 1983). Fishman argues that women are neither insecure nor lacking linguistic skills, as Lakoff believes, but they are subjugated to men's power. The third model is the cultural difference model that emphasizes the idea that women and men belong to different subcultures; the differences in women's and men's communicative competence are interpreted as reflecting these subcultures. That is the segregation of the sexes during childhood and adolescence produces marked differences in their conversational goals and styles. Maltz and Borker's (1982) work as well as Tannen's (1986) exemplify it. While the dominance approach emphasizes inequality, the difference approach, on the other hand, emphasizes misunderstanding. That is men and women are undeniably equal but their different ways of talking, which may lead to

misunderstanding, are the result of ethnicity and segregation of the sexes and the solution to this problem is greater awareness and greater tolerance on both sides (Tannen, 1986).

The ‘difference / cultural’ approach is based on Gumperz’s (1982) framework for studying problems in interethnic communication. Gumperz (1992) argues that when people of different cultures interact with each other, they sometimes face problems understanding each other because each is carrying to the interaction a different set of norms and values that is not applicable in cross-cultural communication. As a result, misinterpretation of each other’s intention occurs. Maltz and Borker (1982) maintained that the same thing happens in communication between the sexes. The two researchers assert that women and men learn different conversational patterns in their childhood since they interact with same-sex peers. This difference is carried on to their adulthood which, in turn, creates conflict and misunderstandings when they engage in mixed-sex conversation. Hence, they conclude that this cross-cultural miscommunication is the cause of problems of sex differences. Tannen sums up the gist of this view claiming that boys and girls misunderstand each other when they interact because each tends to apply what they have learned in their different ‘worlds’ (Cameron, 1990).

B- Criticism of the cultural difference approach

The cross-cultural miscommunication view gained ground during the 1980s but the public became more aware of it with the publication of Tannen’s best-seller *You Just Don’t Understand*. However, other feminists such as Aki Uchida and Deborah Cameron responded critically to Tannen’s work.

In her article “When Difference is Dominance”, Uchida (1992), criticized both the Dominance and difference approaches arguing that it is illogical to separate dominance and difference frameworks when we talk about gender relations. Uchida believes that even if girls and boys acquire different conversation styles and goals, the social and cultural context in which they are both learning and practicing such activities is dominated by men. Moreover, Uchida argues that Tannen’s justification of misunderstanding in communication between men and women is more ‘inter-cultural’ than ‘cross-cultural’ where people from different cultures and who are unfamiliar with each others’ culture have to negotiate meaning and to accommodate to one another. In such a case, Uchida asserts that it is women who accommodate to men and this is surely not a ‘neutral’ difference but has the effect of power (Uchida, 1992).

Cameron (1995) also criticizes the cross-cultural view which considers that different speech styles acquired by boys and girls in their childhood and adolescence should be treated as ‘equally valid’. That is members of different cultures come together to interact as social equals. Cameron (1995) argues that, in reality, men and women are not equal but because we are used to the idea that males are superior we tend to look at it as ‘normal’. Cameron adds that inequality results from ‘intolerance of difference’. The important point Cameron is trying to make is that difference arises in a context of unequal gender relations. Unequal since men and women are encouraged to undertake different activities and develop different personal characteristics. That is girls seek intimacy and boys seek status which help empowering some groups at the expense of others. This could be training girls for private life and boys for public life; in other words, to train men to gain status and power and women to be subjugated by that power. Cameron asserts that this is not a ‘neutral’ difference since the social practices they are allowed to participate in give them different social positions. Cameron argues that that is one of the problems of Tannen’s *You Just Don’t Understand*. According To Cameron, “Tannen looks at gender difference as a natural phenomenon rather than inflicted by the society” (Cameron, 1995, p 41).

C- Performative Approach

Although the ‘dominance / difference’ argument is still going on, I am more interested in the notion of ‘performance’, in the feminist postmodernist context. In contrast with the essentialist assumption that gender is a fixed characteristic of every individual and that ‘becoming a woman’ is something accomplished once and for all at an early age, recent feminist theory builds on what Simone De Beauvoire proposed in 1949: “One is not born but rather becomes a woman” (cited in Cameron, 1996, p. 45). Cameron argues that to the antiessentialists, “gender is a process and one which is never finished”; moreover, “we never actually finish or perfectly accomplish, ‘becoming a woman’ (or a man) but must continually bring our gender identity into being by performing various kinds of feminine or masculine behavior. It is evident that one could treat gendered ways of speaking as part of the performance individuals put on” (Cameron, 1998, p. 218).

Many sociolinguists believe that people use language to mark their class, gender, ethnicity or membership in a social network. That is, how you act depends on who you already are (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). On the other hand, Butler believes that the individual’s performance is the main criterion in labelling one’s identity (Butler, 1990). In his article, “Analysing masculinity”, Nigel Edley (2001, p. 192) argued that “discourse psychology insists that gender is neither something into which we are born nor something that we eventually become” (p. 192). Edley

clarified that difference in the beliefs of essentialist and antiessentialist in an expressive simile. The former group believes that people are not born masculine or feminine but they become gendered as they grow older. Edley compared this with the making of the jelly; people's gender identities are fluid in the beginning stages and they later solidify taking the shape of the container they are poured into. In contrast, the anti-essentialists insist that this jelly never sets; it remains fluid since gender identities never become fixed but are capable of adapting to any context at any moment (Edley, 2001).

Which theory is the data of my study going to support is a question to be answered later. Are the participants' gender identities going to stay the same or are they going to change as they are being exposed to other culture(s)?

Gender as a Social Construct

Both groups of scholarships, the anti-essentialists and the essentialist who assume that the gender is an effect of socialization are constructivists. However, in relation to the argument presented earlier (whether gender is fixed or a process), it is worth discussing whether gender is something we have or something we perform through the use of language. In other words, do men and women speak different languages (i.e. there are specific 'men's style' and 'women's style')? Or do they use them interchangeably showing their gender in gendered speech since gender is not the only factor that contributes to their choice but there are several other factors such as context, participants' characteristics, background etc.?

In the following section, I will present examples that support the following arguments: women's discourse is cooperative while men's discourse is competitive, women's language is powerless while men's language is powerful and men 'silence' women in mixed sex discussions. On the other hand, other studies conducted by anti-essentialists show that males engage in cooperative floors and do gossip. Moreover, males and females can use language to defy or adopt hegemonic notions of gender.

A-Gender Performance through the Use of Language

According to Kramarae (1986a), the categories of female and male are seen as 'prelinguistic variables'. Kramarae argues that at birth, we are assigned to one or the other gender according to our genital organs. Then, we learn female rules because we are socially labeled

‘female’ and we become female through learning and obeying those rules. The consequences of our behavior must always be seen in the context of the society that defines gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Uchida (1992), on the other hand, argues that gender is a ‘social construct’, something we do in interaction and not something that is based on nature or biology. Moreover, it does not exist independently of other social factors, such as class, race, ethnicity etc. which are also constantly in interaction. No matter whether sex differences in discourse are analysed according to the dominance / power based approach and /or the difference/ cultural approach, “gender should be seen as a dynamic concept which we ‘do’ or ‘perform’ through the use of language as opposed to something we ‘have’” (Uchida, 1992, reprinted in Cameron 1998, p. 291).

In “language, gender and career”, Coates (1995) argues that “gender differentiated language use” contributes to a large extent to the marginalization of women in professional life. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that male speakers are socialized into a competitive style of discourse, while women are socialized into a cooperative style of speech (Aries, 1976; Coates, 1991). Gilligan et al. (1988) and Belenky et al. (1988), support Maltz and Borker’s (1982) justification that boys and girls internalize different conversational rules because of same sex play in childhood. In relation to these separate cultures, Tannen attributes misunderstanding between men and women to the fact that each sex interprets the other’s verbal strategies “through the lens of their own” and this, Cameron argues, gives a distorted picture. Cameron (1995) claims that it is wrong to oblige people to give up their ways of speaking or to judge them by sexist norms. Cameron focuses on the descriptive / prescriptive distinction; it is wrong to advise women to adjust to masculine norms. Cameron criticized Lakoff’s and Tannen’s sexism. Cameron argues that Lakoff suggests that certain characteristics of female speech, such as tag questions, rising intonation, whiny, breathy or high-pitched voices, must be avoided. Moreover, Lakoff’s negative interpretation of them is presented as a fact; for example, US Cosmopolitan ran an article in 1990 entitled “Why not talk like an adult? (Which means “why not talk like a man?”)” (p. 38). Tannen’s covert sexism, as Cameron referred to it, in *You Just Don’t Understand* lies in the indirect suggestions to women to change their linguistic behavior. Tannen herself argues that women care more about interpersonal relationships; thus avoiding or resolving cross-sex misunderstandings becomes women’s responsibility. Consequently, Cameron argues that such approaches result in overgeneralizations such as men do this, women do that and in stereotyping such as men are competitive and women are cooperative. However, Cameron claims that different discourse strategies are needed in different social contexts and they are used to perform different verbal tasks, instead of doing the same task in different ways, as Tannen argues (Cameron, 1995).

In the case of gender, Cameron finds that Tannen in *You Just Don't Understand* simplifies gender differences i.e. she deals with a socially produced difference as a simple fact of life while Cameron believes that it is produced by inequality and works to keep unequal relations. Cameron claims that girls seek intimacy and boys seek status is not done by chance, but it is the result of social structure that prepare boys to be in power and girls to give up their personal freedom(Cameron, 1995).

Goodwin (1980) also supports the argument that gender is something we 'have'. Goodwin's study of children's directives in two Philadelphia peer groups relates directive usage to the gender-specific subcultures that are formed in childhood play. Findings of the study show that men have an aggressive and competitive style whereas women tend more to a cooperative style. On the other hand, Cameron et al's (1990) findings of two case studies of tag-question form reveal that when women use a particular linguistic form more than men this can be traced not only to gender but also to a number of variables such as the participant's role in interaction, the purpose of the interaction, the participants' status etc. The specifics of the situation are very important because women do not form a homogeneous social group; the context of the situation is extremely important.

Once more Deborah Jones's paper, "Gossip: notes on women's oral culture" (1980) argues that linguistic differences might be the result in part of sub-cultural differences rather than a reflection of dominant-subordinate relationship. This is also supported by Maltz and Borker (1982), Tannen (1982, 1987), Aries (1976), and Goodwin (1980). Jones supports the notion that all female interactions are cooperative. In "Gossip revisited: language in all-female groups", using the qualitative approach to analyse a 135 minute conversations between women friends, Coates (1990) wants to see whether the evidence she has got supports Jones's claims. Coates asserts that on the basis of the four formal features typical of gossip (topic development, minimal responses, simultaneous speech and epistemic modality) analysed, it is possible to infer that women's talk can be described as co-operative. However, Coates made a very strong argument that linguistic forms have many functions depending on the contextual factors. Moreover, since single-sex female discourse aims at maintaining social relationships and consolidating friendship they should be looked at from that perspective. Nevertheless, when women interact with women they interact with equals while when they interact with men they interact with superiors. Research on interruption and overlap in mixed and single-sex pairs has shown that men use interruptions to dominate conversation in mixed interaction, but it is rarely used in single sex conversation (Zimmerman and West, 1975; West and Zimmerman, 1983). Consequently, in the analysis of mixed interaction, dominance and oppression has to be taken into consideration. Gumperz (1982) stresses

the fact that sociocultural factors are very important in explaining speakers' conversations. Thus, according to Coates (1990), the language women use in mixed sex interaction should not be generalized as the language women use in any context. Consequently, they should be analyzed in different ways taking into consideration the different contexts.

Different responses have been given in relation to the amount of background information needed to analyze a particular piece of discourse. For example, Hall (2001) in "The Spectacle of the other", which talks about the representation of black people in the media, claims that to understand that material, one needs background information about the history of slavery and colonization. In comparison, in "The construction of 'Delicate' objects in counseling", Silverman's (2001) analysis focuses on the organization of talk itself. He provides additional information about the setting but did not give background about the wider social context. Schegloff (1991) also stresses the importance of relating talk-in-interaction to 'contexts' - linguistic, cultural, institutional and social structural contexts. The last is of greater significance since it includes a concern with power and status. Who the people conversing are in relation to one another makes a big difference and tells a lot about them. Schegloff (1992) makes a distinction between two kinds of context; 'distal' context which includes things like social class, ethnic composition of the participants, the site where discourse occurs and the regional, cultural settings are. The second is what he calls the 'proximate' context which includes the immediate features of the interaction such as genre of interaction, sequence of talk etc. Schegloff argues that analysts should focus on the proximate context. Sacks (1972) argues that the characterization of the participants is relevant to a characterization of context in which they talk and interact; this will allow us to make a direct connection between the context formulated and what actually happens in the talk. Hence, unlike the essentialists who believe that men and women acquire and speak 'different languages', the above mentioned researchers argue the importance of context and other factors in justifying that males and females may use what is referred to as different languages interchangeably.

Gal (1991) gives an additional example to show that silence might not be a characteristic of 'women's style' and that the meaning of silence is more complicated than relating it to powerlessness. Silence can be a strategy of resistance to oppressive power or, on the other hand, it can be a 'weapon of the powerful' (male power). Gal argues that women's powerless position obliges them to develop distinctive verbal features such as politeness, well-timed supportive minimal responses, style shifting and code-switching. Showalter (1989) acknowledges that what silences women is not the language but the pressures exerted on women which restrict their access to all verbal features.

Once more Cameron (1998) argues that “gender is not something we have but we perform through language” (p. 17). In “Rethinking language and gender studies”, Cameron (1995) claims that feminist theory emphasizes that ‘one is never finished becoming a woman or a man’. Every male and female should discuss the behaviors, discourses, rules etc. that determine masculinity and femininity in a specific society at a certain time in history. Instead of saying that he is a man or she is a woman because they use particular speech styles. Cameron suggests, we could say that “the styles themselves are produced as masculine and feminine, and that individuals make varying accommodations to those styles in the process of producing themselves as gendered subjects....cooperation and competition need not be forever mutually exclusive, feminine and masculine principles of speech” (Cameron 1995, p. 43).

In “Performing Gender Identity”, Cameron (1997) argues that ‘social actors show their gender in gendered speech and stresses the role of stereotypes and expectations in attributing meaning to the communicative strategies when used by males and females’. Cameron studies how five male students perform their heterosexual identity by enaging in a conversation exchanging their opinions about other men as ‘gays’. Cameron finds that through ‘gossip’, the five males showed their hostility to gays, indirectly showing in a male context, their preferred version of masculinity. However, in other contexts, for example, at a party with their girlfriends present, the same males might show their masculine identities in totally different ways. Cameron also finds that the five men engage in a stereotypically female verbal activity, gossip, to show solidarity and belonging to a friendship group. Nevertheless, they used gossip as a way to defy the masculine norms and engage in a stereotypically non-masculine conversation discussing their bodies like females and gays. Moreover, the five students engage in a cooperative floor rather than a competitive one which is more likely associated with female talk; females tend to display conversational features such as joint discourse production through interruptions and overlapping talk. Cameron “warns against gender-stereotyping that cause us to miss or minimize the status-seeking element in women friend’s talk, and the connection-making dimension in men’s” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p. 453).

B- Language Use to Adopt or Defy Hegemonic Notions of Gender

To support the idea that gender is performed through the use of language, it is worth referring to a few studies which examine ways in which women as producers of language resist and

subvert hegemonic notions of gender. The following studies present women as agents who may defy or embrace gendered expectations of language behavior for their own purposes.

As a challenge to earlier studies that have defined gender relations in terms of static oppositions, Gal (1995), in “Language, Gender, and Power: An anthropological Review” asserts that ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ are culturally constructed within different social groups; they change through history and are related to the other factors such as the nature of persons, of power etc. Borker (1980) also supports this idea saying that in some cultures verbal skills are seen as essential for political power while in other cultures it is quite the opposite; for example, directness and bluntness are perceived as styles suitable for men , elsewhere for women. Borker asserts that the link between gender, status and linguistic practices are not ‘natural’ but culturally constructed, unlike speakers who relate difference to the different ‘natures’ of men and women. Gal(1995) thinks that “historical analysis shows that much ideological work is required to create cultural nations that link forms of talk to social groups in such a way that speakers come to think the relationship is natural” (p. 171). To support the mentioned idea, Gal takes silence as an example. She says that the silence of women in public life shows their passivity and powerlessness while the total opposite in religious confessions, police interrogation and oral exams i.e. the silent is more powerfull than the one speaking (who is in a weak position) (Foucault, 1979). Gal asserts that silence like any other linguistic form, such as interrupting, r-dropping etc. has different meanings and effects in different institutional and cultural contexts and within different linguistic ideologies. Gal adds that these meanings can be changed. Gal gives an example which was described by Dorinda Outram (1987) and Joan Landes (1988) as the ‘dilemma of elite women during the French Revolution’. Gal mentions that during the French Revolution elite authors honored male writings and attributed the influence of women to the old regime’s system of patronage, sexual favors and corruption in which women participated. In other words, the revolutionary wants to exclude women from public speaking and the exercise of power. Hence, the powerful political participation of women is replaced by a new concept: the female political activists are the target of attacks; for a woman to be politically active, she has to be bad. Therefore, if a woman wants to be respectable she has to remain silent. Gal’s example shows that in addition to male superiority and power, the meanings societies associate with certain behaviors is of great importance. Gal adds that the revolutionary theorists tried to make some restrictions on women’s speech to look natural.

In the same Anthropological review, Gal refers to an example to clarify Lila Abu Lughod’s (1990) argument that cultures have no separate male and female cultures but there are linguistic practices that differ even among women of different class, culture etc. who accept or defy the

hegemonic, ‘natural’ cultural norms in different degrees. The example is from Abu-Lughod (1986), on the oral lyric poetry performed among intimates by the Bedouin of Egypt’s Western Desert. The dominant ideology of the Bedouin, Abu-Lughod stresses, is one of ‘pride, independence, individual strength and sexual modesty’, the poems express the opposing views which are not accepted by the culture. On the other hand, the poetry as what Abu – Lughod refers to “a dissident or subversive discourse” (p. 177) is used by marginalized groups such as women and youth as a means of expressing their refusal of the social, cultural norms. Gal thinks that the oral poetry portrays the real picture of the Bedouin social and political life and the problems that are the result of inequality between the different families and genders. The oral poetry of women and youths shows the contradictions of the dominant ideology which Abu-Lughod calls ‘public language’. Hence women tried in their every day talk to express their resistance to rejection of coercive, hegemonic cultural norms. Hence, Gal stressed the importance of linguistic detail, context of performance, and the nature of the dominant forms in expressing the rejection of the dominant and trying to subvert it.

Sutton(1995), Okomoto(1995), and Mc Elhinny(1995) also challenge the notion that gender is something we have and males and females acquire different languages or styles at an early age. They demonstrate how hegemonic notions of language behavior that differ from one culture to the other, may be made suitable, changed, or resisted in the way one presents one’s self in dealing with others.

In “Bitches and Skankly Hobags:The Place of Women in Contemporary Slang”, Sutton (1995) argues that although the insult terms used by men against women outnumber the ones used by women against men, women use such insulting words as terms of endearment. They are trying to take a subversive role. Sutton tries to show that extremely insulting words like bitch and ho (whore) may be used not only as insult terms by women or men but also as terms of solidarity among close female friends. According to Sutton, there are some interesting developments in the terms that women use for women although the ‘ugly names’ men have for women have not changed much. Penelope (1977) found two hundred expressions and Schulz (1975) another one hundred that men use as insult terms addressing women as sexual objects; these were primarily male slang. Supporting Penelope, Whaley and Antonelli’s (1983) note that women are referred to as pets i.e. they are delicate, loving and easy. However, there are some women who are wild, shrewd like a fox or wildcat.

Sutton used two sets of slang data. The first group of data is the Munro (1989) list and the second, which shows much the same result, is the one collected by undergraduates at Berkeley.

Both lists show that there is a higher percentage of negative words for women than positive and the positive words all focus on the attractiveness of men to women as sexual partners.

Sutton notes that several of the women reported that ‘ho’ (‘ho’ itself and not for any of its other forms hobag, skank ho etc.) and ‘bitch’ were used between women as terms of affection. To prove this, Sutton conducted a small survey in her linguistics class in which she asked her students if they used ‘bitch’ and ‘ho’ and if the terms had positive connotations. Twenty of the thirty girls that responded, said that they did not use them but if any of their female friends did they would not be insulted because they are friends. “No offence will be taken just teasing” (p.288). Six of the remaining eight said that they used bitch to their female friends as ‘joke insults’. But all of the eight used ‘ho’ as a neutral word that does not mean anything. Sutton asserts that the mentioned findings confirm the information in the Munro and Berkley lists in which women used ‘ho’ but not ‘bitch’ as a term of endearment among friends. As one woman put it, “When talking about women it’s negative, but when talking to women it’s a joke” (p. 288).

Sutton argues that the slang used by female friends is part of their search for identity as individuals and as a group (women) in a male-dominated world. Sutton compared using ‘ho’ and ‘bitch’ to show solidarity, to using ‘nigga’ between African Americans. Sutton adds that such women are not “talking like men” but they are trying to be different from the stereotypes, taking subversive roles i.e. constructing an alternative model by using language that does not match societal expectations of women’s behavior.

Both Okomoto’s(1995) informants and the women Sutton(1995) surveyed are trying to construct a new societal identity that does not conform to traditional definitions of femininity. In contrast, Mc Elhinny(1995) shows that the female police officers she studied are redefining femininity and masculinity through their use of language and behaviors usually linked with men in their profession. She concludes that through resistance comes redefinition.

In “‘Tasteless’ Japanese: Less ‘Feminine’ Speech Among young Japanese women”, Okomoto(1995) investigates the use of negatively valued language by young women. Okomoto argues that speakers can creatively use speech that is marked as ‘male’ without being labelled ‘masculine’. This explores the basis of linguistic ideology, the different forms women use to show their rejection of definitions of gender categories and of women’s speech. Okomoto reminds us that individual linguistic forms do not only carry the assigned social meanings but speakers can manipulate language depending on the context i.e. scornful lexical items can be put in a new form

to show solidarity. Okomoto's sample of Japanese college women show linguistic diversity in the use of forms usually associated with 'masculine' speech.

Okomoto used five tape-recorded informal conversations, each between two close friends, to investigate the meanings of the linguistic choices that young Japanese women make in specific socio-cultural and historical context. Ohara (1992), Ide (1990) and other researchers find that the Japanese language has been characterized as having distinct female and male speech registers or 'languages'. Compared to 'Japanese men's language' (Otoko-Kotoba or dansei-go) 'Japanese women's language' (onna-kotoba or Josei-go) has been described as polite, gentle, soft-spoken, nonassertive, and empathetic (Smith, 1992b). Nevertheless, examining the discursive styles of young Japanese women, Okomoto points out a generational shift among Japanese students from Tokyo, whose speech includes forms that are traditionally referred to as harsh, less gentle and masculine and, consequently, oppose what is used by older married women. i.e. Japanese women's language is innovative. The females use stereotypical masculine language forms with their friends as a way of expressing their freedom from hegemonic expectations of gender and to show their agreement or common interest in constructing a 'new' group identity.

In an interview with the Los Angeles Times during the same year, a board member of the international community association in Tokyo attributed the success of his match making firm to this same assertiveness, declaring that "Japanese women today are not like women" (p. 313). Therefore, Japanese women try to construct their identities and relationships by selecting strategies, regardless of whether they are marked or unmarked, that they find appropriate. Okomoto asserts that what maybe occurring, then, is a shift in cultural stereotypes of women's speech and men's speech, so that the linguistic forms previously identified as feminine, masculine, or neutral no longer convey the same meanings among modern day speakers (Kobayashi, 1993).

The mentioned studies call into question the essentialists' notion of gender identity and language and argue that gender is performed through language.

In "Challenging Hegemonic Masculinities: Females and Male Police Officers Handling Domestic Violence" (1995), which contrasts with Sutton's and Okomoto's studies, Mc Elhinny discusses how women working as police officers in the Pittsburgh police department have learned to project a masculine gender identity in their interaction with the public. Mc Elhinny argues that in such jobs, females do not project the same character as they do in any job which is considered a 'female' domain; for example, if she is a teacher or a nurse, she has to be sympathetic, kind, etc.

while if she is a police officer, she has to be less emotional, more rational and tough. McElhinny claims that such a job does not need physical strength as it is known because when there is a serious call, they deal with the problem as a group. Hence, what is needed is an institutional force rather than individual physical power. Who is suitable for the job and in what domain is all determined by cultural norms and interpretation of gender. Moreover, Mc Elhinny argues that women should be judged as individuals not as a homogenous group because “there are frightened, weak, do-nothing men on the job” (p. 223). Mc Elhinny adds that females are better because they stay cool while men become angry easily and this may be dangerous for them and their group (Mc Elhinny, 1995).

Mc Elhinny, then moves on to a detailed analysis of the interactional performance of gender in police work focusing on the construction of emotionlessness and objectivity. The emotional requirements of policing which Mc Elhinny termed “an Economy of Affect” is exemplified in the interview with Janie who describes how she adapted to workplace interactional norms:

Mc Elhinny; “Do you think women who come on this job start to act in masculine ways? Like what are some of the things you see?

Janie : Your language. I know mine changes a lot. When I’m at work I always feel like I have to be so gruff.... And normally I’m not like that. Sometimes I try to be like such a hard ass. I don’t smile as much....I think its mostly language...” (p. 225).

In two similar situations involving domestic violence, Mc Elhinny tried to show how a male and a female officer dealt with a situation in the same way. Both, the male and the female, on different calls acted seriously without fear or empathy. However, after report taking was done, they gave the caller some advice and made personal comments. Hence, in both cases the female police officer, just as the male behaved and spoke in the same way. As the two examples show, the police officers did not depend on physical power but they acted as, what Mc Elhinny called ‘bureaucrats’, “facelessness in face-to-face interaction”(p. 229).

As a result, Mc Elhinny notes that because more and more women are becoming police officers they changed the cultural meaning associated with the job. It is more based now on ‘emotionless rationality’ than physical power. However, according to Lutz (1990), rationality and emotional control are still gendered masculine in contrast with the emotionality associated with women. Mc Elhinny concludes that female police officers constructed a gendered identity to defy the hegemonic cultural norms of such a work place.

In conclusion, several researchers argue that gender is fixed, males and females acquire in their single sex play in their childhood different languages or styles. However, studies that have been conducted by anti-essentialists have shown that males and females can perform gender through gendered speech i.e. men can do what is referred to as women talk and vice versa. Findings of my study will either show that male and female languages will not change and their gender will specify which languages they should speak or males' and females' gender identities may be performed in different ways through language. Consequently, through language, they may adopt or defy hegemonic notions of gender in the culture.

C- Language and Culture

What is gender identity? How is one's identity affected by the culture? Does what we say tell about our identity? Do we perform the same attitude in different contexts? How does language affect our gender identity? Are the ways people construct their gender identities affected by the culture? Answers to these questions will help in analysing and interpreting the participants' interpretive repertoires which reflect their ideologies. Finding out more about the relationship between language, culture and gender identity will also help in exploring how males and females will construct their gender identities in two languages.

According to Gee (1999), the primary functions of language are: (1) To scaffold the performance of social activity, i.e. we use language to belong to different cultures, to perform who we are and things we do, and to perform gender, social identity etc. (2) To scaffold human affiliation within cultures and social groups and institutions.

All the previously mentioned arguments support a popular cliche that "language is a living thing" (Cameron, 1998, p.13). But as James Milroy (1992) has pointed out: " It is far more helpful to consider languages as cultural edifices, regulated by the norms we find..." (cited in Cameron, 1998, p.13). Anne Bodine (1975) makes an argument that historically, the norm-makers have been men and this has affected what the norms are. Bodine also notes, "language is not just a cultural edifice but also an every day practice, and experience shows we should not overestimate the ability of norm-makers to dictate the terms of every day usage" (p.13). Cameron (1998) asserts that the language stays the same while people's attitudes change, linguistic terms gain different meanings. Eherlich and King (1992) add that meaning changes continuously in different social contexts. This view is also supported by Mc Connell-Ginet who argued that words and phrases gain different

meanings in different contexts depending on the social values and attitudes. A (non-sexist) neutral term can be sexist if uttered by people who belong to a sexist culture.

Potter and Wetherell (2001) emphasize that different ‘attitudes’ may be adopted for different purposes in different contexts i.e. if a certain attitude is expressed on a certain occasion, it should not necessarily lead us to expect the same attitude on another occasion. According to Potter and Wetherell (2001), ‘People use their language to construct versions of the social world’ (p. 198). They used the word ‘construct’ because construction involves three key elements: when people express themselves in a certain way this means that they have to (1) use the available linguistic material, (2) choose what is suitable to be used in that situation and (3) they have to build one layer on top of the other i.e. what they say should be in sequence. They summed up saying: “accounts ‘construct’ reality” (Potter and Wetherell, 2001, p. 187).

Wetherell (1998) assumes that ‘when people talk, they do so using a repertoire of terms which has been provided for them by history’ (p. 190). Speakers usually talk about or construct an object or event by choosing from the variety of choices available in the language culture; nevertheless, some options are not all equally ‘available’. Some are more culturally dominant or ‘hegemonic’ to an extent that they become normal (Shapiro, 1992). According to Billing (1991), “critical discursive psychology aims to capture the paradoxical relationship that exists between discourse and the speaking subject. It acknowledges that people are, at the same time, both the products and the producers of discourse” (cited in Edley, 2001, p. 191). In other words, Edley (2001) asserts that critical discursive psychology is interested in researching not only how constructing one’s identity is affected by the culture(s) exposed to but also how the cultures are influenced by such performances. This highlights the productive role of discourse in performing our identities and showing who we really are.

To focus more on the relationship between language and culture, Eagleton (1991) also argues that when people talk, they express themselves in linguistic terms which are “culturally, historically and ideologically available”. One’s ideology is reflected in one’s discourse i.e. ideology presents one’s beliefs, concepts, customs etc. It is worth mentioning that in every culture there are different ‘hegemonic’ constructs. People tend to practice such dominant performances to an extent that they are even accepted as ‘normal’ (Edley, 2001). This idea is backed up by Butler (1990) who notes that although people are not forced to abide by pre-set acts, they are not free to choose whatever they prefer since there are certain cultural pressures that ‘police’ what is allowed and what is forbidden so it looks normal i.e. people might act in certain ways only because they are

hegemonic and expected in a culture, not because of personal preference, to avoid being the ‘odd man out’. In their investigation of sexist discourse, Edley and Wetherell (1995) show how speakers think that what they say is ‘common sense’ but actually they are reflecting their own as well as the society’s ideology.

In relation to what has been mentioned, Billing (1997) stresses the fact that the immediate contexts as well as the ideological history should be presented when investigating discourse, in order to see how this history shapes and is continued by the local practices. “... ideology embraces the common-sense of each social period” (Billing 1997, p. 219). Billing (1999) also elaborates on the idea that ‘thoughts reflect the traces of social contexts and historical struggles over meaning’. Along the same line, for Bakhtin and Volosinov, the meaning of words derives not from their place in a structure but from “accumulated and dynamic social use”. That is why when we speak we express what we share with others in our society, culture or community. Wetherell (2001) also argues that both language and social interactions carry the traces of each other. According to Billing (1999), “Minds and selves are constructed from cultural, social and communal resources” (cited in Wetherell et al., 2001, p. 187). Further, Wetherell (2001) claims that Bakhtin and Volosinov reinforce Billing’s point that ‘discourse is dialogical’(cited in Wetherell et al., 2001, p. 188). In this view, Wittgenstein (1953) shows that utterances and statements have different meanings in different contexts.

Following Foucault, Shapiro (1992) argues that social reality is affected to a large extent by the way we choose to present concepts and make meaning. Shapiro also takes up the arguments of J. Derrida who argues that when we speak we think we are expressing what we mean by the words and phrases that we utter but actually they gain different meanings in different contexts and cultures.

To relate the previously mentioned idea to gender, Butler (1990) argues that “gender has constantly to be reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing particular acts in accordance with cultural norms which define ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’” (cited in Cameron, 1997, p.49). Cameron (1997) notes that although Butler insists that the way we perform gender is affected to a large extent by cultural, social norms, males and females can perform gender in a rebellious way rather than just abide by what is hegemonic.

It has been agreed by researchers from different disciplinary fields including anthropology (Cornwall and Lindnisfarms, 1994), sociology (Connell, 1995), linguistics (Johnson and Meinhof,

1997) and Cultural Studies (Berger et al., 1995) that “language lies at the heart of understanding men and masculinity with many writers now insisting that masculinity (and gender more generally) is something constructed in and through discourse” (Edley, 2001, p. 191). Discursive psychology highlights the role of language in talking about or constructing attitudes, memories etc. (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Discursive psychologists believe that when people express an attitude, such as telling a past event they have stored in memory, they show that the way they produce the accounts is affected by the context to a large extent and through these different forms of talk speakers can be seen to accomplish a wide variety of social actions (Edley, 2001).

D- Role of Discourse in the production of social actors

A varied tradition of work on discourse which has come to be known as discursive psychology is exemplified in Potter and Wetherell (1987) which is one of the first attempts to explore discourse analysis in a psychological context. Potter and Wetherell focused on three key terms in their approach to discourse analysis: ‘function, construction and variation’(p. 199). It is stressed by speech act theory that people use their language to do things: to order , persuade, accuse etc. and the analysis of function depends on the context; consequently, a person’s account will vary according to its function i.e. according to the purpose of the talk. To clarify what has been mentioned, Potter and Wetherell gave the following example: if a person wants to describe another to a close friend on one occasion and to a parent on another, s/he will describe the person in different ways i.e. what will be picked up for description will vary depending on the occasion. This means that through language two different versions are constructed (Wetherell, 2001).

To elaborate more on the previous arguments that discourse plays a major role in performing gender and expressing one’s ideology that bears the marks of a culture, it is worth referring to discourse psychology that makes use of three analytic concepts: interpretive repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions . In their book, Discourse and Social Psychology, Jonathan Potter and Margaret Wetherell defined interpretive repertoires as “basically a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate actions and events” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p. 138). The main point about interpretive repertoires is that they are relatively coherent ways of talking about objects and events in the world. They provide a basis for social understanding. They are committed or tied to the concept of ideology (Edley, 2001).

Edley’s (2001) research project is a perfect example that what we say reflects our ideology. Focusing on the general topic of discussion, feminism and social change, Nigel Edley used three

questions in interviews with teen-age boys. What is a feminist? What do you think of feminism? What do feminists want? From the data collected in the interviews, there are quite different ways of talking about feminists. There are two distinctive interpretive repertoires. In one, the image of a feminist is very simple and straight-forward. She is portrayed as a woman who just wants equality with men. By comparison, the second interpretive repertoire is completely different where feminists are given a negative image such as being, ugly, aggressive, lesbian,etc..

Billing et al. (1988) notion of ‘lived’ ideology explains the ideological dilemma used in discourse psychology. He drew a conceptual distinction between ‘intellectual’ ideologies (Marxist notion) and ‘lived” ideologies which are the beliefs, values and practices of a given society or culture. They are its ‘way of life’ (Williams, 1965), its common sense. Billing et al. argued that they are characterized by changeability, disconnection and opposition. To relate what is mentioned to two of Edleys’(2001) teen age boys, Paul and Phil, we find that Paul’s talk is oriented, in one part of the interview, around the dilemma of work versus family whereas in another part his proposal is based upon compromise; both the father and the mother work and fulfill their duties as parents. On the other hand, Phil finds this difficult and impractical; people can not do both easily. The father and mother come back from work very tired. However, they cannot rest because they have lots of other duties at home. Moreover, they need time for themselves away from any obligations. Here is the dilemma. They want to lead successful careers but they should be at home; in a sense, that Phil and Paul are struggling between two opposing ideals. The way they conduct their own lives will depend on how they position themselves within these different ideologies (Edley, 2001).

According to Edley (2001) subject positions can be defined quite simply as “locations within a conversation. They are the identities made relevant by specific ways of talking” (p. 210). Speakers tend to change the way they talk about things; consequently, their identities change accordingly. Thus, who we are, claims Hall (1988), always relates to what we say. Identity, he says, is formed “at the unstable point where the ‘unspeakable’ stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of a culture” (p. 44). In other words, whatever we might say and think about ourselves and others as people will always be in terms of a language provided for us by history.

Goffman’s (1981) notion of ‘footing’ suggests “the ways in which discursive practices fragment, multiply and decentre the self; the ‘real me’ is the character one constructs for himself as s/he tells a story of some event in her / his life”. Goffman argues that identity is not a collection of fixed characteristics but of performances that are available in the culture (footings). As mentioned earlier, not all ways are equally available because some are more hegemonic than others.

In “The Multivoicedness of Meaning”, Wertsch (1995) draws on Bakhtin’s (1980) notion of ‘ventriloquation’ to discuss issues concerning selves and identity and more specifically to answer two questions: (1) ‘Who is doing the talking? And (2) who owns meaning?’ Wertsch shows how Bakhtin’s theory of meaning follows the more collectivist orientation of Russian culture. Bakhtin rejects the view that an individual is free, independent, can act on his/her own without any interference from an outside authority. He rejects the idea that isolated individuals create utterances and meanings (that is why he posed an important question: Who is doing the talking?). Concerning ideology and sense-making, Billing (1997) argues that since opinions and beliefs are dilemmatic in nature, social actors are not passive members that can be easily controlled by political, religious, parental etc. authorities but they are active participants. They use interpretive resources to fit the puzzle of their identities or of social reality. Billing stresses the role of debates and arguments in social life so people can engage in constructing their own world views.

Bakhtin(1981) believes that when an individual has a thought, s/he will look for suitable words to express the idea and get the message across (encoding); on the other hand, when the listener hears the words, s/he decodes them into thoughts. Bakhtin argues that the individual is not detached from the social world but bound to it. Whatever one says has the ‘voices’ of others because it carries the traces of the culture. Hence, as Bakhtin said, the speaker is ventriloquating i.e. speaking the culture as s/he communicates. The utterance is a link in the chain of communication. Interference and subordination are clear in the process of ventriloquation.

To clarify these points Wertsch presents an example of a dialogue between a mother and a child. To show that although the mother’s utterances generate new meanings for the child, the influence does not go in one direction; however, the main change is in the child’s speech and thinking. Moreover, it “demonstrates how discursive and other activities which occur first on the inter-mental plane of functioning between people can be then taken in by the child to form the intra-mental plane of functioning as they make their culture and the voices of others part of their own mental apparatus” (Wetherell, 2001, p. 191). The meaning of a child’s utterances reflect what Taylor (1985a) terms as ‘outside interference’ or ‘subordination to outside authority’. That is why Bakhtin claims that “the word is half someone else’s.”

Wetherell asserts that when people are expressing attitudes, they are giving responses which “locate objects of thoughts on dimensions of judgment” (Mc Guire, 1985; p. 239). That is when

people speak they are taking or accepting some and rejecting others. Moreover, Wetherel believes that if an attitude is expressed on one occasion, it should not necessarily lead us to expect that the same attitude will be expressed on another. This agrees with the discourse analytic perspective which claims that when different purposes or contexts are given, different attitudes are adopted (Wetherell, 2001).

Along the same lines, Gergens (1994) argues for the centrality of discourse, specifically narrative, to self-experience and the performance of identity. He argues that through narratives and stories, people know who they are and communicate their identities to others. For White and Epston (1990), “persons give meaning to their lives and relationships by storing their experience” (p.13). Gergens claims that by narrative account, social actions become visible. We realize and express our identities through self-narratives which are continuously changing and in interaction. Narrated identities are interknitted into the culture.

Elaborating on the framework of the discursive self-sketched out by Gergens, Davies and Harre (1990) argued that narratives and stories position people and such positions construct character. Positioning, moreover, is mutual and reciprocal i.e. when we speak, we position people and when they address us, they, in turn, construct positions for us. Davies and Harre referred to this type of positioning as “interactive positioning” which is different from “reflexive positioning” in which one positions oneself. Since an individual expresses one’s identity through social interaction, his/her identity is not going to be a fixed product but continuously changing. One’s identity is always susceptible to change depending on the positions one is situated in by one’s or others practices. Through these practices we realize ourselves and make sense of others’ lives (Davies and Harre, 1990).

Like Davies and Harre, Hollway (1984) is interested in positioning or the identities each discourse of sexuality offers to those who adopt it. Hollway argues that discourse is not neutral but produces power relations as people are positioned in talk. Hollway focuses on sexuality and gender differentiated ways of talking about sexual relations to demonstrate this point. She uses three discourses concerning sexuality: “The male sexual drive discourse, the have / hold discourse; and the permissive discourse” to analyse the effects of gender difference in positioning subjects. Not only Hollway but also Davies and Harre, Gergens and Billing share a common theme, in the previously mentioned references, that “meanings are multiple, people are constituted from many contradictory discourses and this alone gives considerable flexibility, reflexivity, dialogue and scope for interrogating one position from the perspective of another” (Wetherell, 2001, p. 279).

The presented arguments directly relate to the research topic and the main questions my research aims to answer. The arguments discuss how (1) speakers use language to perform gender and belong to a certain culture, (2) different attitudes and different cultures affect the meanings of utterances and statements, and (3) gender identity is affected by culture and culture is affected by gender performance. In conclusion, the importance of an utterance in constructing or representing the self cannot be denied. Through language individuals construct different versions of identities in different contexts. Are the participants of my study going to be passive and construct their gender identities according to the hegemonic norms of the culture i.e. what is imposed on them? Or are they going to be active, although affected by ‘outside authorities’, and engaged in constructing their own versions of identities? Are they detached from society or do they speak the culture (ventriloquation)? Are the voices of others going to be ‘heard’ through their utterances? Are their interpretive repertoires of the images of masculinity and femininity, for example, going to be similar to or different from the stereotypes in the culture? Do the interpretive repertoires of the participants tell us about their ideologies, dilemmas and, consequently, their subject positions?

E- Identity Expressed and Constructed through Interaction with Others

According to Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet (1995), through life, every individual continuously belongs to different groups at any time, be it a family, friendship group, sports team, social association etc. Whatever the type of one’s participation in what Eckert and Mc Connell referred to as ‘communities of practice’, a person’s experience of gender emerges as s/he participates as a gendered community member with others in a variety of communities of practice. Language, gender and class are all produced through social practice. The two researchers warn against taking gender as ‘neutral’; they highlight the importance of studying social and linguistic practices since they play a major role in identity construction.

Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet studied some social and linguistic practices in a few communities of practice in a public high school in suburban Detroit. Data were collected through three years of participant-observation and the subjects were 600, a graduating class, who had been observed through the sophomore, Junior and senior years. In this study, the researchers drew on 80 individual interviews examining students’ talk about social categories and socially relevant attributes.

To put the topic in context, Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet provided some background information about the situation under study. In public high schools students do not only get academic instruction but also students are expected to participate in extracurricular activities that control their social lives and build their character. Many students base their activities, friendships and identities in the school corporate community while others who refuse the school as basis of social life seek relationships and networks in the neighborhood. The former group were called the ‘jocks’ while the latter were called the ‘burnouts’.

In this study, Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet tried to show how hegemonic construction of gender is imposed upon girls’ lives and how the meanings of such labels have positive social connotations. The researchers mentioned that generally, a ‘jock’ represents a male (since sports is more a ‘male domain’) although ‘jock’ is used to refer to networks of boys and girls who participate in all school activities. Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet assert that the name ‘jock’ is one important way in which the school culture helps in constructing male superiority and power. Moreover, girls receive more recognition if they participate in student councils or musical or dramatic activities or any ‘behind the scenes work’ rather than administrative ones. Although girls’ athletics is increasing in importance at high school as elsewhere, the researchers found that it still has not achieved the same institutional importance as boys’. They think that physical strength remains prominent in constituting heterosexual masculinity. Thus, it is problematic for an athletic girl to refer to herself as a ‘jock’ because of the ‘unfeminine’ image that the label implies.

In addition, Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet argued that the way these groups are constructed and the meanings associated with them, affect the construction of gender identities and relations. Jocks seek power at school while being free from the power of any of their peers. The difference between both presents the range of identities in the high school. The researcher asserts that gender and social category are continually co-constructed during daily practice. Labels are not created independently of the social activities. Labels come up in relation to people in real situations. Hence, according to Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet, the labels ‘jock’ and ‘burnout’ play a major role in constituting categories and identities. For example, girl jocks are seen as sham and obsessed with popularity. For the jocks, girl burnouts are seen as impolite. The conflict leads us to question which practices are normal and which are deviant?

In sum, as Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet put it: “construction of social category and gender is indeed intimately connected to the construction of institutional power, a power in which girls and boys do not share equally” (Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet, 1995, p. 483).

In relation to what was previously discussed, Giddens, through his reference to “the reflexive project of the self” (1991), also conceptualizes identity as a process rather than a state; identity is not a set of fixed personal characteristics but a person continually chooses what s/he prefers whether in relation to one’s self or lifestyle; moreover, identity is constructed through interaction with others.

The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through the abstract systems. In modern social life, the notion of lifestyle takes on a particular significance (Giddens, 1991, p. 5).

Nevertheless, Giddens shows that living in a world of late modernity, the new conditions of life make individuals restless and anxious trying to adapt to, choose from or catch up with the wide variety of choices. To preserve a ‘coherent narrative of self-identity’ Giddens (1991) suggests that such tensions should be settled by understanding them as dilemmas: “unification versus fragmentation, powerlessness versus appropriation, and authority versus uncertainty” (cited in Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p. 409).

According to Giddens, modernity fragments as well as unites. It unites since identity is protected and reconstructed against the enormous modifications imposed by modernity. On the other hand, fragmentation relates to the diversification of contexts of interaction. Giddens argues that in many modern settings, individuals are involved in different ‘milieux’ each of which asks for a different form of ‘appropriate behavior’. Consequently, whenever an individual moves from one context to another, s/he has to adapt the ‘presentation of the self’ to fit the demands of the new situation. Hence, according to Giddens, an individual is said to have as many selves as there are various contexts of interaction. This diversity does not cater to fragmentation of the self but promotes its integration. A person may make use of diversity to create a distinctive self-identity which merges elements from different contexts into an integrated narrative. As a result, as Giddens asserts, on one hand, some people, who are the rigid traditionalists, construct their identity around fixed norms that act as a filter which will hinder their exposure to or acceptance of different social environments. Hence, such people refuse any relativism of context. On the other hand, the others are the adaptive type which E. Fromm has characterized as striving towards ‘authoritarian conformity’ (Fromm, 1969). Fromm expresses this in the following:

The individual ceases to be himself; he adopts entirely the kind of personality offered to him by cultural patterns; and he therefore becomes exactly as all others are and as they expect him to be This mechanism can be compared with the protective coloring some animals assume. They look so similar to their surrounding that they are hardly distinguishable from them (Fromm, 1969, p. 160).

In the second dilemma, ‘powerlessness versus appropriation’, Giddens asserts that in modern society, “the individual experiences feelings of powerlessness in relation to a diverse and large-scale social universe”. In contrast to the traditional world, in which it is supposed that the individual controls the influences that shape his/her life, the control in modern societies has passed to external agencies. Giddens argues that in pre-modern contexts, individuals were more powerless than they are in modern settings. In the former, people hold to unchallengeable traditions and do not dare to change or escape from their surrounding social circumstances while in the latter the individual’s sense of security is achieved through what Giddens referred to as ‘a fantasy of dominance’.

Authority versus uncertainty is the third dilemma that Giddens discussed. In pre-modern times traditions and specifically religion was the source of authority that controls many aspects of social life where religious authorities made individuals always feel that they were surrounded by threats and dangers. According to Giddens, although religion, the traditional authority, continues to exist in modern times, it is no more the only authority but part of an indefinite number.

Giddens adds that the mentioned continuing dilemmas can be worked out if the individual engages in an ideology that manifests his/her position. The ‘sites’ of such position-taking are to be found in interaction between the self and the contexts in which s/he operates. Consequently, discourse can be seen as able to form not only identities but also social relations and other aspects of social lives.

In a way which is not different from Giddens’s ‘reflexive project of the self’, Cameron (1997) views gender identity as social performances. She repeats after Butler (1990) that “gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a rigid regulatory frame which congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a ‘natural’ kind of being” (p. 33).

Since the participants of my study live in different subcultures and belong to different religious sects, it is worth asking to what extent each individual's gender identity is affected by the group they are living with. Does modernity play a positive or a negative role in constructing their gender identities? Will the conservative groups protect their traditions against modernity? Will some groups reconstitute their identities according to global norms and reject the stereotypical images in the culture?

Performing Gender in a Multilingual Setting

Recently, researchers focusing on the relationship between gender and language have begun to examine the issues and dilemmas faced by people who cross national and cultural boundaries as adults and reconsider their gendered identities in the face of the expectations and constraints of their target language and culture (Ogulnick 1998; Pavlenko 2001; pierce 1995; Price 1996; Siegal 1994). According to Okomoto (2001), unlike people who grow up within a culture socialized to adopt certain linguistic practices appropriate to their gender in that society, second language users attempting to develop proficiency in the language and gain acceptance in the culture must often decide for themselves how willing they are to follow practices used by native speakers to express gender in the target culture.

If gender identity is a process and a social cultural construct, gender ideologies are expected to differ from one culture to the other. The following three studies by Pavlenko (2001), Deutsch-Dwyer (2001) and Ohara (2001) show the relationship between gender identities, culture and second language and how males' and females' gender identities are questioned as they 'reinvent' themselves to 'fit' the 'new' situation.

Using autobiographies by female second language learners, Pavlenko (2001) shows how gender performance changes in the process of second language learning and use. Second language users question gender ideologies which were accepted as 'natural' before the transition to the second language or culture while they reject or adopt new gendered practices. Pavlenko finds that private relations-such as intimate, family and friendship – as well as the public ones such as the workplace are areas in which gender performance occurs most often. Pavlenko argues that successful second language learning may necessitate change of one's gender performance, what she referred to elsewhere (Pavlenko 1998) as the 'self-translation to guarantee validation and legitimacy' in the target language and culture. As Burr (1995, p. 142) claimed, "The person can only be a meaningful entity, both to himself or herself and to others, by being 'read' in terms of the

discourses available in the society". Out of this discursive reconstruction of identity, Pavlenko (2001) addresses transformations of gender performance in the context that language learning is a social process and the interaction between the learner and the learning context is dynamic and constantly changing (Peirce, 1995).

Since gender identity is a social and cultural construct, the accepted social concept of femininities and masculinities may differ from, one culture to another and lead to changes in the previous models to suit the new situation. This work is informed by feminist poststructuralist perspectives that emphasize the constitutive role of language suggesting that "it is the speech communities that produce gendered styles, while individuals make accommodations to those styles in the process of producing themselves as gendered subjects" (Cameron, 1996).

According to Pavlenko (1998), when an individual moves to another culture, s/he views and performs gender in a different way. A person may choose from a limited available range of subjectivities that exists in the foreign language culture. Pavlenko asserts that border crossers may find out that their subjectivities, in the native culture, do not fit in the 'new' one while they resist or produce new social identities through repeated performances of various acts that constitute a particular type of identity (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 1996; Pavlenko, 1998).

This dilemma is illustrated in a memoir by Eva Hoffman (1989), 'Lost in Translation: A life in a New Language', where she is informed by her fellow classmates: " This is a society in which you are who you think you are. Nobody gives you your identity here, you have to reinvent yourself every day" (p. 160). Pavlenko argues that it is critical, however, to underscore that one's subjectivities are not entirely a product of one's own free choice and agency: They are co-constructed with others who can accept or reject them and impose alternative identities instead. Often, depending on the power balance, it is others who define who we are, putting us in a position where we have either to accept or resist and negotiate these definitions.

Pavlenko used positioning (Davies and Harre, 1990) as the main analytic concept to analyze the data. Because the data is a collection of narratives, each narrator signalled a subject position. According to Pavlenko, this self positioning shows how the hegemonic ideologies of language and gender affect the participants' subject position and how the narrators accept or reject such positionings. In the study, Pavlenko focused on two aspects of positioning, (1) individuals can have different positions in different contexts at different moments, and (2) subject positions are temporary since gender identity is an ongoing process.

Pavlenko argues that different individuals may go through different stages in the negotiation of gender identities. At the same time, many women seem to think of and spend time in considering the difficulty of facing gendered subjectivities already provided for them by their native culture and the gendered subjectivities provided by the target culture. Pavlenko claims that when females compare between the two cultures, they will be able to make a decision whether they are going to resist, or assimilate to the second culture. They might even decide to be ‘gender free’. Pavlenko noticed that “those who decide to, or are forced to, assimilate may have to undergo a painful process of naming and renaming, which may invalidate some of their previous subjectivities and position them in undesirable ways” (p. 166).

Moreover, Pavlenko tried to pinpoint a number of areas of ‘linguistic indexing’ of gender which are part of the process of ‘discursive assimilation’. The means of indexing or performing gender that influence decisions include pitch and overall voice quality (Mori, 1997; Watson, 1995), forms of politeness (Alvarez, 1998; Ogulinck, 1998), gendered rules of turn-taking in conversation (Mori, 1997, Rosario, 2000) and identity options afforded by particular speech communities (Mar, 1999; Ogulnick, 1998; Saine, 2000).

In conclusion, through narratives Pavlenko examined how gender identities formed by ideologies of language and gender, may be questioned, defied, negotiated, and reshaped in the process of second language socialization.

Pavlenko’s findings are based on autobiographies by female participants, while Deutsch-Dwyer (2001), who recognized that language and gender research focuses more on female learners, based her research results on an ethnographic longitudinal study of the acquisition of English in a natural setting by a Polish man.

According to Faludi (1999) and Johnson and Meinhof (1997), men’s identities have become more problematic because of the modifications in the different cultures. Assuming that, as discussed earlier, males and females perform their gender identities through discourse and that masculine identity is not fixed but a process, Deutsch-Dwyer questions whether men who move from their native to the ‘new’ target language culture will be exposed to the same or different kind of pressure. To what extent does foreign language acquisition affect gender relations and masculine identities? Deutsch-Dwyer argues that the way a male learner acquires a foreign language in the foreign language culture is affected by his image of masculinity and the daily circumstances he lives in the

‘new’ culture environment. For example, the Polish man’s relationship with his American girlfriend and other female friends who used to help him ‘linguistically’ may have positively affected his way of performing masculinity in the target language and simultaneously may have slowed down his acquisition of the foreign language (Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001).

Johnson (1997, pp. 1-2) advocates a view which sees “masculinity and femininity as mutually dependent constructs in a dialectical relationship”. As has been mentioned earlier referring to other researchers, Teutsch- Dwyer argued that masculinities may differ in the same individual, among group of individuals, and from one culture to the other. Hence, she asserts that we can not talk about ‘prototypical masculinity’, but rather a range of masculine identities. Since identities are in continuous interaction with the dynamic societal values, speakers tend to perform their identities depending on the societal context (e.g., Goodwin, 1999). Or they may perform their masculinity and femininity according to the gender norms in the culture (Ehrlich, 1997; Goldstein, 1995; Hill, 1987). Freed (1996) shows that the sex of the speaker affects language practices much less than the setting and communicative tasks speakers engage in. According to Teutsch-Dwyer, “It has become known that conventional sex-role theory is not able to explain the use by both sexes of linguistic forms traditionally assigned to either men (De klerk, 1997) or women (Johnson and Finlay, 1997)” (Teutsch-Dwyer 2001, p. 177).

People perform certain kinds of gender identities through what they say and through the stories they tell about themselves and others (Cameron 1997). Since gender, according to Cameron (1997, p. 60), is a “relational term and the minimal requirement for ‘being a man’ is ‘not being a woman’”. However in many cases, men are obliged to use linguistic terms which are associated with masculinity and to avoid certain linguistic forms because of their association with femininity. Teutsch-Dwyer (2001) comments that masculine behavior is evaluated depending on what is expected and accepted in the culture where this behavior is formed. Hence, any practice is unstable, and males and females perform gender differently in different contexts: mixed versus single sex company, public versus private settings etc..

As discussed earlier, since males and females may perform gender differently in different contexts, this means that women may do talk associated with men and vice versa. Johnson and Finlay (1997), for example, found out that men sometimes do engage in gossip although this practice is associated with women. Moreover, Coates (1998 a, b) also showed that men use ‘small talk’ as a means to show their belonging to the same group. Pilkington (1998) found that although both males and females engage in gossip for the same reason mentioned earlier, they perform that in

different ways. Women use polite ways while men use aggressive ones. Similarly, Cameron (1997) found that young males in her study engage in talk that is associated with females such as clothes, fit bodies, etc.. Moreover, they did gossip not as, what she called, ‘report talk’ but to show solidarity, ‘rapport talk’.

Teutsch -Dwyer (2001) claims that access to foreign language practice plays a major role in successful acquisition. Because of the change in the social and cultural conditions to the learner in the foreign country, the way a learner perceives his/her identity may change. Following the notion that males and females perform gender through discourse, the learner’s foreign language will be a very significant tool for constructing one’s identity in the ‘new’ environment. For example, in an extensive study on the gendered nature of narratives, Pavlenko (1998; 2001) shows that although cultural and social restrictions of gender affect to a large extent the way males and females learn and use a foreign language, not all individuals are affected equally by the pressures of the different environments. In another study on how second language settings may create restricted exposure to target language, Cumming and Gill (1991) show that the accepted social norms especially those related to husband – wife relationship and family roles restricted women’s access to the target language. Male’s roles accomplished in the public domain facilitated males’ access to the culture and to their achievement of higher levels of language competence. Following Peirce (1995), Weedon (1987) and Woolard (1998), Teutsch-Dwyer (2001) concludes that “learners create their own language and their own communicative strategies based on their perceptions of their positions as male or female in the social reality imposed on them in the new cultural, social and linguistic environment” (p. 170).

Siegal (1994) has noted the possibility that females learning Japanese as a foreign language may refuse to use syntactic forms that are associated with female speech register. Research has shown that for a Japanese female to sound polite (Loveday, 1986), cute, gentle, weak (Ohara, 1993, 1997) and modest (Van Bezooijen, 1995, 1996), she has to use a high voice pitch. Some learners of Japanese who have different concept of gender may reject using a high pitched voice when speaking the target language. Using the previously mentioned research that has shown that a high pitched voice is a crucial element in constructing femininity in the Japanese culture, Ohara (2001) has tried to show how important this aspect of the Japanese language was to female L2 learners as they were acquiring Japanese and performing their identities in the target culture. Ohara found that learners who have never been to Japan and were still at beginning levels did not employ high pitched voice. However, English –Japanese bilinguals are aware of the link between projecting femininity and using high pitched voice. In fact, it became clear that “the female English-Japanese

Bilinguals' decisions about their voice pitch were deeply entrenched in their perceptions of gender and femininity in the Japanese culture" (p. 248). Consequently, Ohara confirms that voice pitch is one of the key resources for performing a female gender identity in Japanese society. This finding suggests that the pitch of one's voice may serve as a cultural means for highlighting and emphasizing gender. It is also clear that the second language learners may be obliged to make decisions concerning the way they perform their gender identity in the target culture which they have never thought of as first language speakers.

Ohara (2001) argues that in contrast to Japanese, speakers of English are not under the same kinds of cultural constraints regarding the pitch of their voice. As Mc Connell-Ginet (1978, p. 549) stated the following about American culture, "men lose by sounding woman-like, whereas women do not lose (perhaps they even gain in some contexts) by sounding manlike". Thus it is evident that employing a high or a low pitched voice has a different meaning in different cultures. According to Ohara, what pushes Japanese to speak in a high pitched voice does not apply to English speaking females. The results confirm those of previous studies which have indicated a difference in the cultural expression of gendered identities. Ohara (2000) examined naturally occurring speech of Japanese employed in businesses located in Hawaii. She conducted a longitudinal case study of two female and two male employees. The results showed that the females employed a much higher pitched voice in their conversation with the customers than when talking casually to acquaintances. The female employees used high pitched voice to express politeness.

Ohara (2001) explored the relationship between pitch, culture and gender identity. Ohara conducted a phonetic analysis of the performance of 15 female participants on three different tasks and carried out ethnographic interviews to determine whether female L2 learners were aware of the relationship between voice pitch in Japanese and performing femininity and how much this knowledge affected their choice of voice pitch. The participants were divided into three groups. The first group were Americans learning Japanese at the beginners stage (L1-L5). The second group were Japanese / English bilinguals (J1-J5). The third group were English / Japanese bilinguals who were enrolled at the university of Hawaii (E1-E5). Participants were recorded on three tasks: Reading of isolated sentences, performance of a scripted conversation with the researcher and the production of a telephone message to both a professor and a friend. All the participants performed tasks in both English and Japanese; however, the order of languages in which the tasks were performed was randomized. After performing tasks each male and female was interviewed and asked to relate any interesting experiences she had when speaking Japanese.

Ohara found that voice pitch meant nothing to beginning level learners who have never been to Japan while English / Japanese bilinguals have given considerable thought to the link between pitch and identity. The three participants in Ohara's study showed awareness of the fact that, through using high pitched voices, they were trying to express their gender identity differently i.e. according to the target culture. For example, one of the participants, E3, Stated the following :

When my mother called me in Japan, she did not recognize my voice, not because I answered the phone in Japanese but because of the way I said moshi ['hello' high pitched] . There were times my friends and relatives from back home called me and thought I was some other Japanese girl. I know I sound very different in Japanese (cited in Pavlenko et al., 2001, p. 243) .

another one of these 3 participants discussed her use of voice pitch in terms of a 'search for her Japanese identity'.

I was always conscious of how many Japanese friends saw me. I didn't want to sound too aggressive or direct. I can remember practicing at home in front of the mirror so I could find the right voice and the right facial expressions and body language (cited in Pavlenko et al., 2001, p. 244).

Thus as these comments suggest, the three participants considered the pitch of their voice as a means of 'doing' their gender identity.

In comparison to these three participants who showed how they embrace the Japanese culture, two other female participants felt the need to stick to their native culture. Although the latter group were aware of the importance of employing a high pitched voice in projecting a feminine Japanese identity, they did not feel the need to use it. E1 remarked:

I just don't want to sound like them. They sound too unnatural, fake, because their tone is too high. I just use my natural voice (cited in Pavlenko et al., 2001, p. 244).

the other participant E5 was even more critical

Sometimes it would really disgust me seeing those Japanese girls, they were not even girls, some of them were in their late twenties, but they would use those real high voices to try to impress and make themselves look real cute for men. I decided that there was no way I wanted to do that (cited in Pavlenko et al., 2001, p. 244).

Thus, according to Ohara, the mentioned comments demonstrate that these two participants did not change their voice pitch levels when they expressed themselves in the two languages. Their decision was based on their own perceptions of the language habits of Japanese women and their greater social implications. Ohara confirms that the female English / Japanese bilinguals' decisions about their voice pitch were deeply entrenched in their perceptions of gender and femininity in Japanese culture.

Conclusion

The essentialists-constructivists through the three models of language and gender argue that gender is fixed but is an effect of socialization while the anti-essentialists through the performative approach argue that gender is not fixed but a process. Assuming that language is used to perform an activity or to belong to a certain culture, the anti-essentialists believe that discourse plays a major role in the production of social actors and identity is expressed and constructed through interaction with others. Since gender is performed through the use of language, males and females may use language to adopt or defy hegemonic notions of gender. Following the anti-essentialists, Pavlenko, Ohara, and Teutsch-Dwyer proved through different studies that gender identities formed by ideologies of language and gender may change when males and females learn a FL in the FLC. The males' and females' perception of gender affect their decision on what to adopt or reject of the target culture.

Chapter Two

Research Methodology

Introduction

This study explores how the participants, males and females, construct their gender identity in two different languages. The purpose of the study is exploratory and descriptive and was conducted in a natural setting (Lebanon, specifically AUB) which I know very well and I am a part of. I decided to use non-probability purposive sampling because the study investigated how each respondent from his/ her own perspective explains how and why they behave, talk etc. as they do, and how they are affected by the culture(s) and to what extent. That is, whether their image of being ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ reflects that of the culture and how close or far each one is from the local culture’s stereotypical image of ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’. Moreover, I administered an open-ended questionnaire to gain background information about the participants. To establish trustworthiness, credibility, transferability and dependability, I employed methodological triangulation and data triangulation. Before collecting the data, two codes of ethics were taken into consideration: The concept of ‘negotiating access’ and the concept of ‘informed consent’. Being an AUB faculty member, I had no gatekeepers. Moreover, the participants were my students, with whom I have a very good relationship based on trust and respect. At the time when I met the volunteers I orally made the participants fully understand the nature of the research and assured them privacy and confidentiality. The study used semi-structured individual interview, single sex friendship focus group interviews and mixed sex friendship focus group interviews. The previously mentioned conceptual framework was the first planning stage of the process of data analysis. The second stage involved first, description and reduction of the data, second, displaying and classification and, third, interpretation and drawing conclusions. To analyze the data, I referred to three analytic concepts of discourse psychology: interpretive repertoires, ideological dilemmas, and subject positions. Being a holistic and inductive study in which I was testing out a theme and developing patterns, grounded theory fitted in well.

Why the Interpretive Approach?

One method can never be inherently superior to its supposed alternatives, but a particular method is likely to be more useful in some contexts than others. The research method must fit the problem at hand. I decided that the interpretive approach was the appropriate method for the

research question mentioned earlier because the topic entails a ‘discovery-oriented’ , ‘exploratory’ , ‘expansionist’, ‘descriptive’ and ‘inductive’ method rather than an ungrounded, verification oriented and hypothetico-deductive method such as the positivist. Hence, I hope that this research will open up new leads and avenues that the quantitative researcher according to Shaffir and Stebbins (1991) is unlikely to hit upon.

The word qualitative implies an emphasis on processes and meanings that are not examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied and the situational constraints that shape inquiry (Golden-Bridle & Locke, 1997). In a similar fashion, I cannot ‘measure’ gender identities which are dynamic. Since gender identity is a social construct, the participants are continuously interacting with the culture(s) they are exposed to. Human behavior, unlike physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities. Consequently, instead of assuming that there is a singular and objective reality, I referred to the viewpoints of the people I was studying. I emphasized each male’s and female’s concept of ‘masculinity’, ‘femininity’ etc., i.e. the meaning they assign to such notions and how such notions become part of ‘common sense’. This is unlike the positivists, who emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. They are concerned with discovering natural and universal laws regulating and determining human behavior (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). In conclusion, this study is more concerned with the process, with an emphasis on meaning and the transformation of meanings, (the process of gender identity construction which is ‘never finished’) rather than the outcomes or products.

Because I was concerned with understanding behavior from the actor’s own frame of reference, I strove to be close to the data and get involved in fieldwork to understand the context very well to be able to explain meanings employed by the participants. Consequently, to take the ‘insiders’ perspective (what Erickson (1990) referred to as the ‘emic’ view). With reference to the relationship between gender identity, language and ideology, as I have mentioned in the previous chapter, the researcher cannot generalize since each participant is expressing his/her subjective way of performing gender. Moreover, ideologies are not fixed but change continuously. Consequently, the researcher focused on the process rather than the outcome (as the positivists). It would not have been appropriate to use a positivist approach. Positivist approaches assume a stable reality, in that they look at events from the outside (what Erickson (1990) referred to as the ‘etic’ view) i.e. less fieldwork involvement is needed. They use fixed measurements and test hypotheses.

Consequently, data collection methods within the qualitative paradigm such as interviews, photographs, video-interactive transcripts, open-ended questionnaires were considered the most appropriate in this case. Quantitative methods such as experiments, surveys, structured interviews, systematic observations and structured questionnaires can not help at all. Through the interpretive methodologies, I was hoping to make the strange familiar by trying to understand why people behave in a certain way, and the familiar strange. Since I aimed not to impose my views but tried to see what the participants meant, with different eyes (Brown and Dowling, 1998).

Sampling

Sampling in the interpretive paradigm, is normally *non-probability sampling*. It is used when the sampling frame is not available i.e. it is useful when the population is so widely dispersed that cluster sampling would not be efficient (Tuckman, 1994). Non-probability sampling is often used in exploratory studies; for example, for hypothesis generation and in some research not interested in working out what proportion of the population gives a particular response but rather in obtaining an idea of the range of responses on ideas that people have. Non-probability sampling is of four types. First, *purposive judgmental sampling* which is one that is selected by the researcher subjectively. The researcher attempts to obtain a sample that appears to him/ her to be representative of the population and will usually try to ensure that a range from one extreme to the other is included. Second, *convenience sampling* is used when you simply stop anybody in the street who is prepared to stop, or when you wander round a shop, a theatre asking people you meet whether they will answer your questions. There is no randomness and the likelihood of bias is high since the sample comprises subjects who are simply available in a convenient way to the researcher. Third, *snowball sampling* in which the researcher contacts a few potential respondents and then asks them whether they know anybody with the same characteristics that s/he is looking for in his/her research. Finally, *self-selection* is perhaps self-explanatory. Respondents themselves decide that they would like to take part in his/her survey (Trochim, 2002).

Since the research at hand is exploratory and not hypothesis testing, I was unable to use *probability random sampling* of the positivist paradigm. By choosing the sample at random the researcher's aim is that all the natural variations within the chosen population will tend to even out so that the sample reflects the population from which it came. For that to happen, the researcher needs fairly large numbers (Silverman, 1997). However, I chose a very small sample, three males and three females out of 80 students (44 males and 36 females) who attended my Advanced Writing course. Each male and female was asked to choose two of his/her good friends to participate in the

single and mixed sex friendship group interviews. Hence, the sample became nine males and nine females. I chose a small sample because these participants did not represent the population from which they came. Moreover, I can probe in depth and have a richer description. Gender identity is a process that is affected to a large extent by the cultural ideology in a certain society (Cameron, 1998). Each participant might construct his/her gender identity differently depending on lots of factors, some of which are the culture(s) they are exposed to directly or indirectly and the range of harmony between his/her awareness of the ‘new’ ideologies and the ‘lived’ ideology (Billing et al., 1988). Two people might be living in the same family, yet they construct their gender identities differently. Consequently, no one can be a representative of the people in his / her small society. In the following chapter, I do not intend to even out all the natural variations within the chosen population.

To know more about the sample, I used an open-ended questionnaire which would help me know more about the background of the participants. All the questions were of the informative type in which participants describe rather than explain why things are the way they are. Different questions were designed to tell me whether the participants belonged to a conservative group who abide by the norms of the culture, convinced with it and would not accept change or to a more open group who was exposed to the foreign cultures and had been affected by them in different degrees.

Before I gave the participants copies of the questionnaires by hand, I explained the purpose and the importance of filling it out. They were assured that the information would be confidential and their names would be replaced by false names to guarantee anonymity. They were asked to bring the completed questionnaire at the time of the interview.

Establishing Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research

The major difference between quantitative and qualitative research methodology is to be seen in their research strategies. Witt (2001) describes quantitative research as ‘linear’ and qualitative as ‘circular’. Both research strategies have different research goals, and they make use of different kinds of data and different sample types. According to Pretty (2002), qualitative data is referred to as ‘second rate’ or of lower quality than what is called the ‘real data’ provided by quantitative research. It is, therefore, vital that the ‘trustworthiness’ of qualitative methods be demonstrated. Conventional research relies upon four criteria ‘internal validity’, ‘external validity’, ‘reliability’ and ‘objectivity’. These concepts draw their meanings from positivism and can be meaningless if applied to qualitative research. Alternative criteria, which were developed by

Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp. 294-301), can be used to demonstrate ‘trustworthiness’: ‘*credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *conformability*’. Sandelowski (1986) also shows how “qualitative research can be made rigorous without sacrificing its relevance” (p. 27). If a range of techniques and principles are followed (e.g. triangulation of sources, methods and investigators), the previously mentioned criteria will be high, and we can be confident that the research is trustworthy (Pretty, 2002).

Credibility

According to Melloy (1994), qualitative designs and analysis procedures typically have greater external validity, at the expense of some internal validity. Due to their ‘real-life’ setting and context, qualitative studies are more ‘reality-based’ than the more traditional tightly controlled experimental-type designs. The latter may therefore be said to possess greater internal validity. We think that things happen in the way they did because we controlled all variables. However, this greater internal validity often comes at the expense of external validity because real life is different from a lab. What can be controlled and manipulated in a lab cannot by any means be done in real life. Thus, there is little or no certainty, in many cases, that what held true in the laboratory will ‘happen the same way’ in the uncontrolled field setting. Trochim (2002) argues that the *credibility* criterion implies confirming that the results of qualitative research are believable from the participants’ perspective. The participants are the only ones who can truly judge the credibility of the results because the aim of qualitative research is to understand the phenomena under study from the participants’ perspective.

Because the study at hand, as mentioned earlier, is an interpretive one, I tried to implement several suggested techniques to enhance credibility: (1) First, prolonged involvement which is the devotion of enough time to learn the ‘culture’, test for misconception, build trust and generally practice very well the procedures central to case study design (Morse, 1997). Living on campus for seven years as a student, I was part of that ‘culture’. Later, as a faculty member living off campus, I have become even more involved looking at things from different perspectives. Hence, I am not an intruder who has to familiarize himself/herself with the culture, but I am at the heart of it. Second, I used evidence from different sources (individual males and females and their friendship groups) and different methods of collecting data (II, SSGI, MSGI). Last, I shared the data transcripts and then the findings with the participants to make sure that they believed them from their several perspectives.

Transferability

In Lincoln and Guba's (1985) use of the term, *transferability* refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to some other contexts (settings, situations, populations, circumstances etc.). From a qualitative viewpoint transferability is primarily the responsibility of the one doing the generalizing. The qualitative researcher can enhance transferability by doing a thorough job of describing the research context and the assumptions that were central to the research. The person who wishes to 'transfer' the results to a different setting or context is, consequently, responsible for making the decision whether the transfer is logical or not. Transferability is the construct corresponding to external validity or generalizability in quantitative research. Marshall and Rossman (1989) stress the need for a complete identification of the theoretical framework on which the study is based. This then helps those designing studies to judge whether or not the reported cases can be transferred to other contexts.

To overcome the transferability problem, I have tried to provide a 'thick description' (Denzin, 1989) in which I have specified everything that a reader may need to know in order to understand and evaluate the findings. I have aimed to provide a thorough description of the context (Lebanon and AUB), participants (background information about the sample) and procedures (method triangulation and data triangulation). According to Le Compte and Goetz (1982), qualitative researchers boost the external reliability of their data by identifying and coping with three major problems: Researcher's role, informants choices, and social situations and conditions.

The Researcher's Role

No qualitative researcher can replicate the findings of another because "the flow of information is dependent on the social role held within the studied group and the knowledge deemed appropriate for incumbents of that role to possess" (Wax, 1971). For example, in my case, being a former teacher then friends with the students and the students' friends on campus I was in a position to obtain different information about student images and values from those who had little or no access to students and who would have had to rely on reports from teachers (Fuchs, 1969). Such a research process is individualistic; no researcher works just like another. That is why I have tried to specify precisely what was done. Failure to mention exact researcher status position may create serious problems of reliability.

Informants' choices

Closely related to the role the researcher plays is the problem of identifying the informants who provide data. Different informants represent different groups of constituents. They provide researchers with access to some people, while they exclude others. For example, the male and female who were chosen at the beginning were asked to bring their friends to be another source of data (friendship groups). Threats to reliability posed by informant bias are handled most commonly by careful description of those who provided the data. Informant bias was avoided by the researcher by collecting the needed background information about the participants through the questionnaire.

Social situations and conditions

A third element influencing the content of the data is the social context in which they are gathered. What informants feel to be appropriate to reveal in some contexts and circumstances may be inappropriate under other conditions. In Oglu's (1974) study of education in an ethnic neighborhood of a big city, he distinguishes carefully between the information parents reveal when they enter the school context and what they reveal in their home neighborhood. Oglu's experiences highlight the necessity for researchers to specify the social settings where data are collected. To this end I tried in the previous part to portray the physical, social and interpersonal contexts within which data were gathered.

Dependability

Melloy (1994) argues that the traditional quantitative view of reliability is based on the assumption of replicability or repeatability. Essentially, it is concerned with whether we would obtain the same results if we could observe the same thing twice. While experimental designs are focused on control and 'keeping things constant', in the 'real world', which is the naturalistic setting for qualitative research, change is to be expected. The idea of *dependability*, on the other hand, emphasizes the need for the researcher to account for the ever-changing context within which research occurs. The researcher is responsible for describing the changes that occur in the setting and how these changes affect the way the researcher approaches the study. Lincoln and Guba advise us to look for accurate and adequate documentation of changes, surprise occurrences and the like, in the phenomena being studied.

Confirmability

Confirmability, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), is synonymous with objectivity. Qualitative research, in contrast, tends to assume that each researcher brings a unique perspective to the study. Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed by others. Evidence for this quality may be established either via credibility or via some evidence of absence of researcher bias such as for instance, doing ‘member checks’ and running findings and conclusions past third parties (key informants from the same or similar field setting as the original study, etc.). Marshall and Rossman (1989) (in their interpretation of Lincoln and Guba (1985)) argue that what has been mentioned serves as an extra cross- check of overall ‘logic and soundness’ of the qualitative study design.

Constructing Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

According to Fischer (1999), a key issue for qualitative research is developing a shared understanding of appropriate procedures for assessing its credibility or trustworthiness. In a broad sense, trustworthy qualitative research, like quantitative research, needs to be based on systematic collection of data, using ‘acceptable’ research procedures, leaving the chance for others to analyze them critically. The following particular methods can be used to assess the trustworthiness of qualitative research. First, *triangulation* refers to the comparison of findings obtained from data collected through different methods. Consequently, through triangulation, inconsistency in the findings obtained from different sources can be assessed. This issue will be discussed further below. Second, *transparency* refers to the extent to which the researcher clarifies how raw data were gathered, how the analysis was carried out and how the findings were inferred from the data analyses. A related concept is the *audit trail*, providing a clear and justifiable link for each step from the raw data to the reported findings. Links to the raw data are important in qualitative research. A good practice is to report the findings so they are ‘grounded’ in the raw data, through the use of quotes. Fourth, *replication*, the repeating of the research (especially by different researchers in another location) to see if the same findings emerge, is a very good technique for verifying trustworthiness. Replication requires transparency in reporting of original research methods. Last, *stakeholder checks* refer to showing the draft findings to research participants or any person interested and asking them to comment on the extent to which the findings are consistent with their experiences, and whether the findings help them understand the issue being investigated (Eliot, Fisher and Rennie, 1999).

Importance of Methodological Triangulation and Data Triangulation

In interpretive research there is a need for triangulation since sociological methods are used to investigate topics that deal with unfixed realities. The social world is socially constructed and its meanings, to the observers and those observed, is constantly changing. As a consequence, it is impossible that any research method will apprehend all of the changing characteristics of the social world under study. Each research method involves a different understanding of the world and offer different ways of moving on in the research process. The meanings of methods are constantly changing and each researcher brings different understandings to relate the research methods being used. For those reasons, triangulation strategies are the best to ensure sound understanding of the real world. Interpreted actions that are built upon triangulation are much stronger than those that rely on a narrow framework of one method.

According to Denzin (1994), “ A triangulated interpretation reflects the phenomenon as a process that is relational and interactive”. The interpretation includes all of what the researcher’s varied methods display about the phenomenon. Triangulation is the appropriate way of entering the ‘circle of interpretation’. The researcher is part of the interpretation.

In interpretive methodologies, such as the one at hand, data source triangulation properly refers to data deriving from various stages of fieldwork, and accounts of different participants involved in the study. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) stress that the point of triangulation is not a mere combination of different kinds of data; rather, the aim is to relate different types of data in ways that really work against possible threats to validity. Flick (1992, p. 195) also argue that “triangulation, conceived in this way, becomes an alternative to traditional criteria like reliability and validity”.

Silverman (1985) argues that any social experience or behavior is unique and changing continuously. Consequently, it cannot be observed twice. The interpretation that the researcher seeks to build might be different on different occasions. Moreover, since each person’s experience may be different from the other, the researcher seeks to collect data from different sources to cover the multiple sites and levels for the study of the phenomenon in question.

Patton (1980, p. 331) has correctly noted that the comparison of multiple data sources will “seldom lead to a single totally consistent picture. It is best not to expect everything to turn out the same.” Patton goes on to argue that different types (and levels) of data show the different

perspectives of the experience being investigated. What is important is that such differences should not be overlooked but should be understood and interpreted. Lincoln and Guba (1984, p. 282) extend this point while stating the general principle that “no single item of information should ever be given serious consideration unless it can be triangulated”. This means that the researcher must have multiple occurrences or representations of the processes being studied.

In conclusion, I tried to make the study trustworthy by methodological triangulation and data triangulation. Using the previously mentioned data collecting methods (individual interviews and group interviews) and the different sources of data (individual males and females and their friends), which will be further described below, helped in making ‘meaning making’ possible and in overcoming the intrinsic bias that is bound to come from single method or single source of data.

Ethical Issues in Qualitative Research

In educational research, ethical issues can arise out of each stage of the research process. They might be foreseeable, but they can arise suddenly as a result of some line of action the research has taken. Thus, ethical issues must be considered at each stage: (1) the selection and definition of the research topic itself; (2) the research setting; (3) the procedures/methods to be used; (4) the participants; (5) the type of data collected; (6) widespread of the findings (Cohen et al., 2000).

Pring (2000) identifies an ethical framework for researchers arguing for the respect of the dignity and privacy of the research subjects, and the search for truth – it is problematic because the researcher should try to find precise information (which should be confidential), but also the right of society to know. It assumes that an increase of accurate information is beneficial to society (Chadwick, 2001). Bridges (1999) argues that it is essential to educational research, even if it is only to try to uncover what people understand to be truth through the interconnectedness of their beliefs; however, other authors disagree (e.g. Hufton, 2001).

The researchers’ dilemma is that between the search for truth and the effects of that search on their subjects’ lives. Cohen and Manion (1996) use the notion of the ‘cost-benefits ratio’ to help resolve this dilemma: Essentially weighing the benefits of the findings of the research to society as a whole against the costs to the individuals involved. However, if the researcher has to uncover any information, s/he should inform the participants and ensure their agreement. Cohen and Manion draw attention to the principles of ‘informed consent’ and ‘negotiation of access’.

One significant element in the code of ethics is the concept of ‘informed consent’ by which the subjects of research have the right to be informed that they are being researched and to know about the nature of the research. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) stress the need for a professional code of ethics as a guideline that alerts researchers to the ethical dimensions of their work, particularly prior to entry. They are not arguing that the fieldworker should abandon all ethical considerations once s/he has gotten in but rather that informed consent is unworkable in some sorts of observational research. In general, there is a strong feeling among fieldworkers that settings and participants should not be identifiable in print and that they should not suffer harm or embarrassment as a consequence of research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). The major shield against the intrusion of privacy is the promise and guarantee of confidentiality. The more sensitive the information is, the more protection of the privacy of the research participant is needed. As Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) say, the researcher is obliged to protect the anonymity of the research participant and to keep research data confidential is all-inclusive. It should be fulfilled at all costs unless arrangements to the contrary are made with the participants in advance.

According to Bell (1993), negotiating access is an important stage in investigation. It refers to obtaining permission to carry out the research, and acceptance by those who will take part. The first stage is to request official to carry out the investigation as soon as the researcher has the project outline. Second, s/he should speak to the people who will be asked to cooperate. After that the researcher should decide whether participants will receive copies of the report or/ and see drafts or interview transcripts. In addition, participants should be informed what is to be done with the information they provide. Finally, the researcher has to be honest about the purpose of the study and about the conditions of the research (Cohen and Manion, 1996).

Informed consent

This is the right of the participants to an explanation of the aims, procedures, purpose, likely publication of findings and potential consequences of the research and the right to refuse to take part or to withdraw at any stage. To guarantee informed consent, four elements are identified: *Competence, voluntarism, full information and comprehension*. In the case of the research at hand, all of the participants are adults who were mature enough to decide for themselves whether they felt comfortable participating in the present study (competence). The participants were free to choose whether to take part or not without any risk that they would be unwilling to disagree with me because of my ‘powerful’ position (their former teacher). To avoid this situation, I did not talk to the participants about the research while they were taking the course with me but a month after the

grades were posted (voluntarism). Furthermore, participants were given full information about the proposed research and they understood the nature of the project (full information). I met with the group on campus and explained in detail the aim and the purpose of the research, the procedures and methods to be used and type of data to be collected. I made it clear that all participants would be offered the opportunity to remain anonymous and that the information they provided would be treated with the strictest confidentiality (comprehension). I allowed them a two-week period to consider and respond to the request to participate.

Gaining Access

Being a faculty member at AUB and the participants being my former students, I did not have any problem gaining access to the fieldwork. There were no gatekeepers with whom I had to negotiate over the setting and information that they control. I had a direct relationship with the participants.

Data Collection Methods

Because the study at hand is discovery - oriented, descriptive and inductive, I was not able to use experiments, systematic observation, structured questionnaires or structured interviews. Thoughts and perceptions cannot be measured. Since each person constructs his/her view of the world based on his/her perceptions of it, I needed to use data collection methods that give the participants the chance to express themselves. The semi-structured individual interview and the Focus Group interview are the best two methods to elicit meanings from the participants' own frame of reference.

Preparing the semi-structured Interview Questions

The purpose of the interview was to discover what the participants were experiencing, how they interpreted their experiences and how they themselves structured the social world in which they lived. This leads me to writing questions concerned with behavior and with beliefs and attitudes. I wrote semi-structured questions that provided self-report data from respondents about issues related to the image or concept of (1) 'feminine', 'masculine', (2) girlfriend, boyfriend relationships, and (3) marriage and family life. All the items about which information was required gave me a clear idea about the participants' gendered identities. Each person's answers would reflect his or her perceptions and interests. Because different people have different perspectives, a

reasonably representative picture of the occurrence and absence of phenomena might emerge and thereby provide a basis for their interpretation.

The questions were written in an as straightforward, clear and non-threatening way as possible because if people were confused or defensive, I would not get the information I was seeking. I avoided long questions, double-barreled questions, questions involving jargon and biased questions. I avoided the first because the interviewee may remember only part of the question and respond to that part, the second since it may cause some confusion, the third in order to keep things simple and to avoid confusing the interviewee, and the last because neutrality was called for. I also tried to avoid appearing to share, reinforce, or welcome any of the participants' views in the interview (Robson, 1996).

Carrying out the Interview

I met with the participants on campus and explained the purpose of the semi-structured interview. I assured confidentiality and asked permission to take notes and tape-record the interviews because recordings can be played and replayed and this would be more reliable than note-taking during the interview. Talk can be transcribed for close analysis. Transcripts provide a permanent and readily accessible record of spoken language. Consequently, the answers would be recorded exactly with no cosmetic adjustments, corrections or fabrications. No specific transcription code was used. Since the words are the most important in such research no symbols were used to indicate stops, pitch, intonation etc. The participants and I tried to match our free time and come up with an interview schedule that fits everybody. We scheduled the English and Arabic interviews and I informed them about the setting I chose which was private, quiet, comfortable and non-intimidating. We scheduled the six English individual interviews first to be done in one week. The same individual interviews were repeated in Arabic after two weeks.

As the exact wording and sequence of questions were determined in advance, all interviewees were asked the same basic questions in the same order, with the same meaning, and as far as possible in the same words, and same sequence. These are ways of making the questions mean the same for each respondent; thus, increasing comparability of responses. To put the participants during the interview at ease, there would have to be a relationship between the interviewer and interviewee that transcended the research. There was a friendly relationship between me and my former students. They became friends who often drop by for coffee where they share with me their experiences (Cohen and Manion, 1996). In the present situation where the

interviewee and I knew each other very well, we did not need to ‘break the ice’ but we got down to business immediately.

I tried to establish what has been called ‘balanced rapport’. I aimed to be, on the one hand, casual and friendly but, on the other hand, directive and impersonal. I tried to be an interested listener that rewarded the respondents’ participation but did not evaluate responses (Fontana and Frey, 1994). I never suggested an answer or agreed or disagreed with any. I did not give the respondents any idea of my personal views on the topic of the question because I was not interested in data collection but ideas collection. I was interested in what is inside the respondents’ head without the desire to create a favorable impression.

Although I was their former teacher, I did what I could not to let them feel any hierarchical relation. I tried to ‘come down’ to the level of the interviewee and engage in a ‘real’ conversation with ‘give and take’ and empathic understanding. This, according to Daniels (1983), makes the interview more honest, morally sound, and reliable because it treats the respondent as an equal, allows him or her to express personal feelings and, therefore, presents a more ‘realistic’ picture.

Sometimes I probed the interviewee (1) to be more specific, asking for examples of points that had been made, (2) to ask for clarification when the interviewee mentioned something that seemed unfamiliar using phrases such as “what do you mean?” “I’m not sure I’m following you”, or “could you explain that, please?”(3) Some people being interviewed had a tendency to offer a quick run-through of events. I tried to encourage them to elaborate or to expand on a response when I intuited that s/he had more to give; for example “anything more?” or “could you go over that again?” Sometimes when an answer had been given in general terms, I used a probe such as “What is your personal view on this?” to seek personal response.

In addition, I employed active listening techniques such as *paraphrasing*, *reflecting* and *summarizing*. Paraphrasing was done to accurately communicate an understanding of the participant’s thoughts, experiences and feelings. Reflection was implemented both on content and feeling. Summarizing was done to try to synthesize and convey the underlying meaning of the participants’ conversation over the previous ten minutes or so. For example, the strength of the participants’ reply ‘yes, yes’ seemed to confirm the interviewer’s interpretation, thus closing that section of the interview. However, McCracken (1988) argues that active listening strategies should not be used because they are intrusive. They prevent interviewees from telling their story in their own terms. He argues that “such attempts to ‘neutralize’ the stimulus are artificial”. Moreover, they leave the

researcher to try to construct the meanings of the data only afterwards, rather than checking them out, to some extent at least, during the interview itself. Although I employed active listening techniques, my role as a researcher was not evaluative or interfering. I always reminded myself that the purpose of the research was to learn about perspectives, not to instruct the subjects. Even when I felt value conflicts with the views I heard, I encouraged the respondents to say what they felt. I was not there to change views but to learn what the subjects' views were and why they were that way. In some cases, when any participant was reluctant to talk. I tried to create an atmosphere where they could feel comfortable expressing themselves.

At the end of the interview, I thanked the participants for being willing to take part and assured them that they would remain completely anonymous and no records of the interviews would be kept with their names on them. In some cases, when the interview was over and the tape recorder was switched off, some interviewees came out with a lot of interesting comments, which I wrote down right after he or she left.

I transcribed all the interviews to facilitate looking into the subject's way of viewing the world.

Focus Groups

What are focus groups?

The term *focus group* has various different definitions, but features such as organized discussion (Kitzinger, 1994), collective activity (Powell et al., 1996), social events (Goss & Leinbach, 1996) and interaction (Kitzinger, 1995) present the functions of focus groups in social research. Powell et al. define a focus group as: "A group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research" (1996, p. 499). Focus groups depend on discussion and communication between members of the group concerning the topic specified by the researcher (Morgan, 1997, p.12). Hence, the key feature that distinguishes focus groups is the data produced by the interaction between participants. Focus groups bring out a variety of opinions, feelings and impressions within a group context and makes it possible for the researcher to collect a larger amount of information simultaneously. Usually, the researcher follows an interview guide (Morgan and Krenger, 1993).

The Role of focus groups

Focus groups can be used either as a method on its own or as a complement to other methods, especially for triangulation (Morgan, 1988) and validity checking. Focus groups can help to explore or generate hypotheses (Powell & Single, 1996) and develop questions or concepts for questionnaires and interview guides (Hoppe et al., 1995; Laukshear, 1993). They are, however, limited in terms of their ability to generalize findings to a whole population, mainly because of the small numbers of people participating and the likelihood that the participants will not be a representative sample (Race et al., 1994).

Potential and Limitation

Kitzinger (1995) argues that interaction is the most significant characteristic of focus groups because the interaction between participants reveals their view of the world, the language they use about an issue and their behavior, attitudes, values and beliefs about a situation. Moreover, through interaction the participants will ask each other questions, know more about each other and even understand themselves better through re-evaluating their own experiences. Another advantage of focus groups is that they bring out information in a way that helps researchers to discover why an issue is important, and what is important about it (Morgan, 1988). As a result the researcher will be able to see the difference between the talk (what people say) and the walk (what people do) (Lankshear, 1993).

Although focus group research has many advantages, as with all research methods, there are limitations. The researcher, or moderator has less control over the data produced than in either quantitative studies or one-to-one interviewing. The moderator has to allow participants to talk to each other, ask questions and express doubts and opinions, while having very little control over the interaction, other than generally keeping participants focused on the topic. By its nature, focus group research is open-ended and cannot be entirely predetermined.

The Practical Organization of Focus Groups

The recommended number of people per group is usually six to ten, but some researchers have used up to fifteen people (Goss & Leinback, 1996) or as few as four (Kitzinger, 1995). Numbers of groups vary. Some studies use only one meeting with each of several focus groups (Burgess, 1996), while others meet the same group several times. Focus group sessions usually last from one to two hours. Neutral locations can be helpful for avoiding either negative or positive associations with a

particular site or building (Powell & Single, 1996). Otherwise, the focus group meetings can be held in a variety of places, for example, people's homes, rented facilities etc.

It is not always easy to identify the most appropriate participants for a focus group. If a group is too heterogeneous, whether in terms of gender or class, or in terms of professional perspectives, the differences between participants can make a considerable impact on their contributions. Alternatively, if a group is homogenous with regard to specific characteristics, the chance of having a variety of opinions and experiences will be missed. Participants usually feel more comfortable meeting with people who share similar features and level of understanding of the issue being discussed (Burgess, 1996).

In addition to the semi-structured individual interview, I had decided to use focus friendship groups. The males and females who were interviewed individually in English and Arabic would engage in a discussion (in English) with their friends to gain more information about their views and experiences of a topic. Moreover, I could gain insights into their shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which they were influenced by others in a group situation. Because I did not intend to generalize findings and the participants would not be a representative sample, I chose a small number of males (three) and females (three) in the single sex group interviews and in the mixed sex group interviews (six). The participants formed homogenous groups. They were all of the same age group, similar social and economic level. Being students at the same university and some of them were friends, they had similar experience and knowledge.

Single Sex Friendship Group Interview

A week after I interviewed individually the three males (Riad, Baha'a and Nabil) and the three females (Rima, Lara and Marwa) in Arabic, I conducted single sex friendship group interviews in English in English in the same place. The single sex groups were the already interviewed males and females with their two male and two female best friends respectively. Each group was interviewed separately for about an hour and encouraged to discuss photos that represented stereotypical and non-stereotypical 'feminine' and 'masculine' images in the culture. Participants were given three questions to help focus the discussion:

Q1: Which one(s) of the photos is an image of a 'feminine'/ 'masculine' or not 'feminine' not 'masculine' in this culture? Why?

Q2: Which one, do you feel, reflects your concept of being 'feminine' or 'masculine'?

Q3: How close or far do you think you are from the local culture's image of 'masculine' or 'feminine'?

The participants were given the choice to sit on whichever seat they wanted (there were a sofa, an armchair and four chairs). The photos and the question paper were spread on the table in the middle. The photos were accessible to everyone.

I took the same role as discussed in the individual interviews in addition to three specific skills needed by a group interviewer. I was not only aiming to be flexible, objective, empathetic, persuasive and a good listener as in the individual interviews, but I also (1) tried to keep one person or a small coalition of persons from dominating the group. (2) I tried to encourage shy respondents to participate, and (3) tried to obtain responses from the entire group to ensure the fullest possible coverage of the topic.

Mixed Sex Friendship Focus Group Interview

To find out whether the participants performed their gender identity differently in different contexts, I intended to investigate how each of the males and females would express himself or herself in English and behave in the single sex group in comparison to the mixed sex one. Each of the groups handed me a suggested time schedule showing when the three friends were available at the same time. I tried to match the suggested free time of every male group with a female group and came up with the final schedule of the mixed sex group discussions. I called each one of them and informed him/her about the assigned date. The three MSGI were scheduled two weeks after the SSGI.

The sessions lasted between one hour and one hour thirty minutes. The participants discussed a different set of photos which were chosen for the previously mentioned purpose. They were conducted in the same place. I used the same questions and took the same role as in the SSGI.

All the sessions of the SSGI and the MSGI were videotaped. I put the small camera at the side to obtain a suitable angle and to keep the apparatus unobtrusive. I made sure that the camera had all I wanted in view and the camera microphones produced good sound recordings. After I had made each recording, I made a note of the date, time and context. I videotaped the group interview because if they had been only tape-recorded they would have been difficult to transcribe and,

consequently, the interviews would have been difficult to reconstruct. Recognizing who is speaking and the likelihood that several people will speak at once contributes to making transcription difficult (Morgan, 1988). Because video recordings can be played and replayed, the observations are likely to be more reliable than those made at the time.

Photography

Because the research was exploratory and sought to investigate the males' and females' interpretive repertoire of femininity and masculinity, two sets of pictures from magazines were chosen for the same purpose. The first set was used in the SSGI and the second in the MSGI so as not to use the same pictures in two different contexts. The photos were used as a stimulant for data gathering. Moreover, as Schwartz claims, photos give clues about what people value and the images they prefer. Photos can also be used to probe how people define their world. They can reveal what people take for granted, or what they assume is unquestionable (Schwartz, 1998).

A copy of the photos I used in the SSGI and MSGI are presented in appendix C. However, below is a miniature of the pictures with some captions to clarify what each photo represents. Pictures two through seven were used in the SSGI. There is no picture number one. Pictures one (a) through eight (a) were used in the MSGI.



Picture number two: Gipsy man non-stereotypical masculine image in the culture.



Photo number three: A working woman, a scientist, a non-stereotypical feminine image in the Lebanese culture.



Picture number four: The baby sitter father ; non-stereotypical masculine image in the culture.



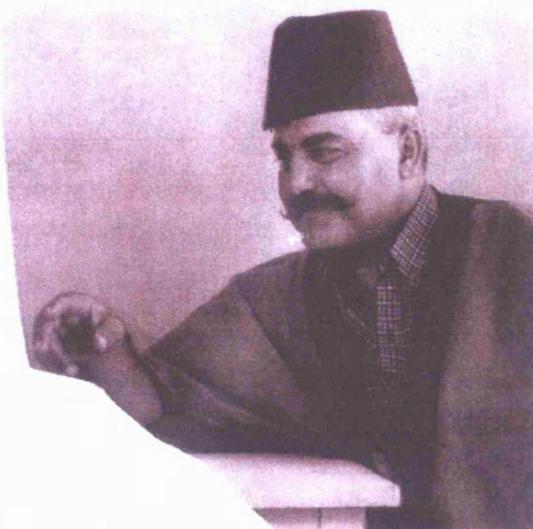
Picture number six: Lady in pink; a stereotypical feminine image in the culture.



Picture number five: The arrogant man; the stereotypical masculine image in the culture.



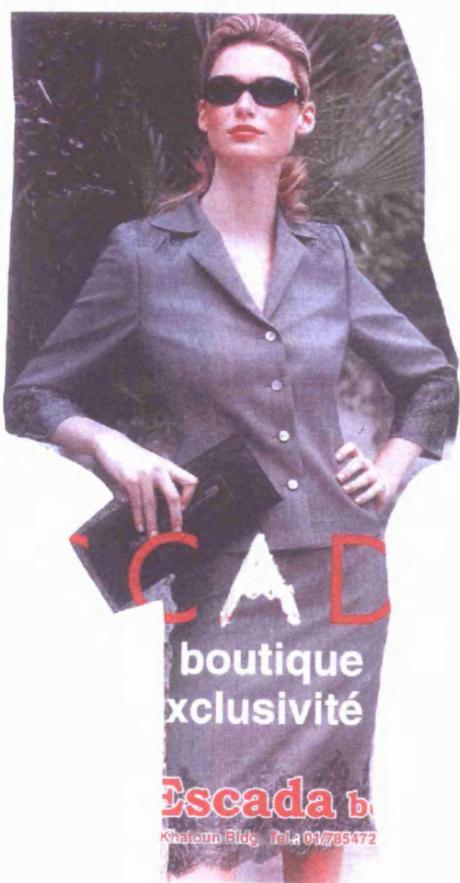
Picture number seven: The biker; a non-stereotypical image of the culture.



Picture number 1a: The authoritative, traditional man; a stereotypical image of men in the culture .



Picture number 2a: the weak submissive girl; a stereotypical feminine image in the culture.



Picture number 3 a: Look like a business woman; a stereotypical female image in the culture .



Picture number 4: unespected masculine behavior; a non-stereotypical image of masculine behavior.



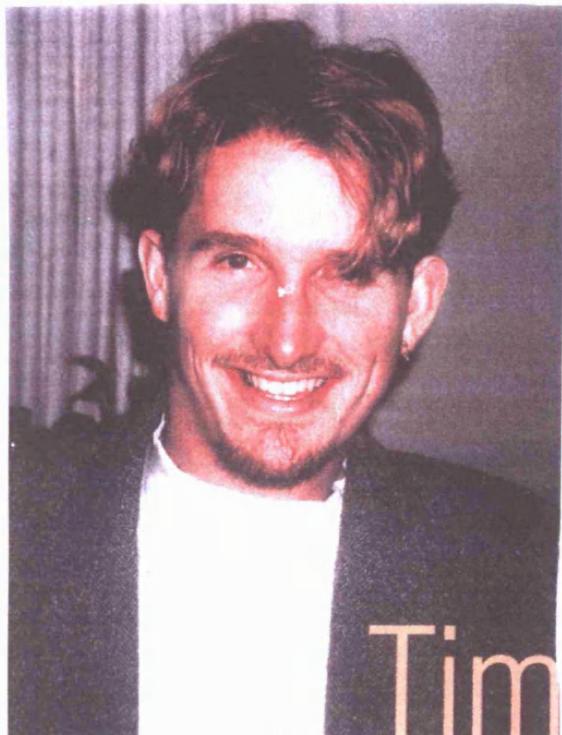
Picture number 5 a: The racer; a non-stereotypical feminine image in the culture.



Picture number 6a: Arrogant, authoritative man; a stereotypical masculine image in the culture.



Picture number 7a: Stylish western clothes; a non-stereotypical feminine of the culture.



Picture number 8 a: A man with earrings; a non-stereotypical masculine image of the culture.

Qualitative Data Analysis

As mentioned earlier, qualitative researchers tend to analyze their data inductively. They do not start out to find evidence to prove or disprove theory already formulated - rather theory emerges from the bottom up', from many disparate pieces of collected evidence. Moreover, meaning is of essential concern to qualitative analysis (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Consequently, Dey (1995) argues, qualitative data analysis is a logical sequence of steps, from our first encounters with the data through to the problems of producing an account. "It is a series of spirals as we loop back and forth through various phases within the broader progress of the analysis" (p. 265). Thus qualitative data analysis tends to be an interactive process. Through analysis, Dey adds, the researcher can progress from initial description, through the process of breaking data down into bits (classify it), and seeing how these bits interconnect, to a new account based on our 'reconceptualization' of the data. Categorization is a process of "funneling" the data into relevant categories for analysis. This can help in classifying the data and making comparisons. This in turn will help in making new categories, new connections between different bits of data (clustering units of relevant meaning). Then themes are assigned and put back within the overall context. Consequently, regularities, variations or singularities will help in identifying patterns or variations which may lead to fresh perspectives (Dey, 1995).

Patton's (1987) 'summary narrative method' overlaps with Dey's. Patton's plan of action to help researchers get organized and ready for the analysis can be summarized as "reread, distill, summarize". After reading the transcript several times, the researcher annotates summary comments in the margin. Such comments would reflect the key overall themes or categories into which the responses are being placed i.e. the raw data are being pile sorted under general "umbrella-type" categories or labels. To 'condense and make meaning', Patton defines two general ways of going about identifying a 'framework of labels': *Indigenous typologies* (that already exist for the researcher) and *Analyst-constructed typologies*. Following that is the challenge which Miles and Huberman (1994) referred to as the process of 'making meaning' i.e. "to distill down these volumes of qualitative data and 'meaning making' in terms of answering your research questions, identifying key response themes, ideas, variables and constructs".

The following chart is a brief example of how data collection and data analysis went on hand in hand in the present study. It also shows how I applied qualitative data analysis as suggested by Dey, Bogdan and Biklen, Patton, and Miles and Huberman (previously mentioned). Moreover, I have tried to clarify how I made use of the three key concepts of discursive psychology: Interpretive

repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. I transcribed the data, read and reread to make the data more familiar. While reading, summary comments were annotated in the margins. Next, the data were coloured according to different categories such as, femininity, masculinity, sexuality etc. Looking at each category separately made summarizing interpretive repertoires much easier. Reading every participant's interpretive repertoires, subject positions (same or different from the culture) were annotated. Any spotted ideological dilemmas were marked. Finally, interpretive repertoires, subject positions and ideological dilemmas were classified and compared in English and Arabic.

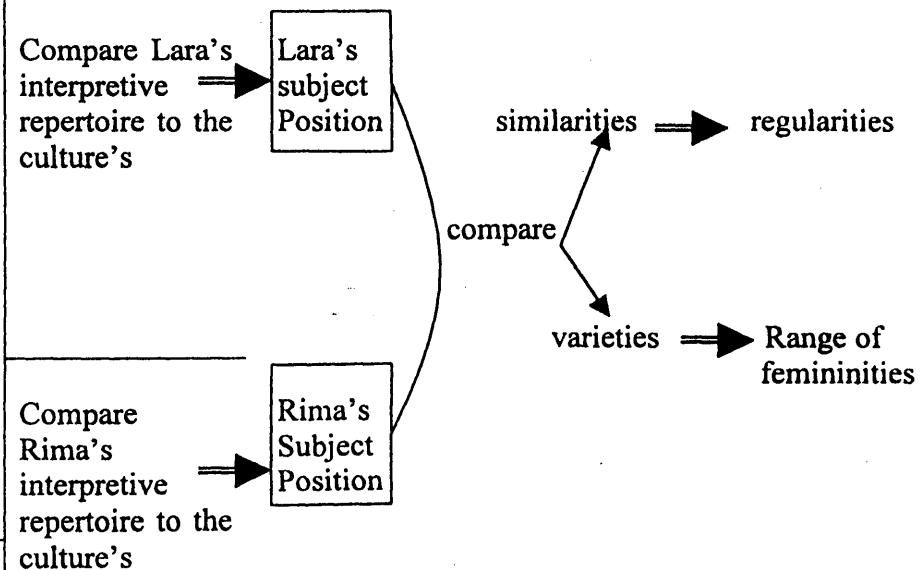
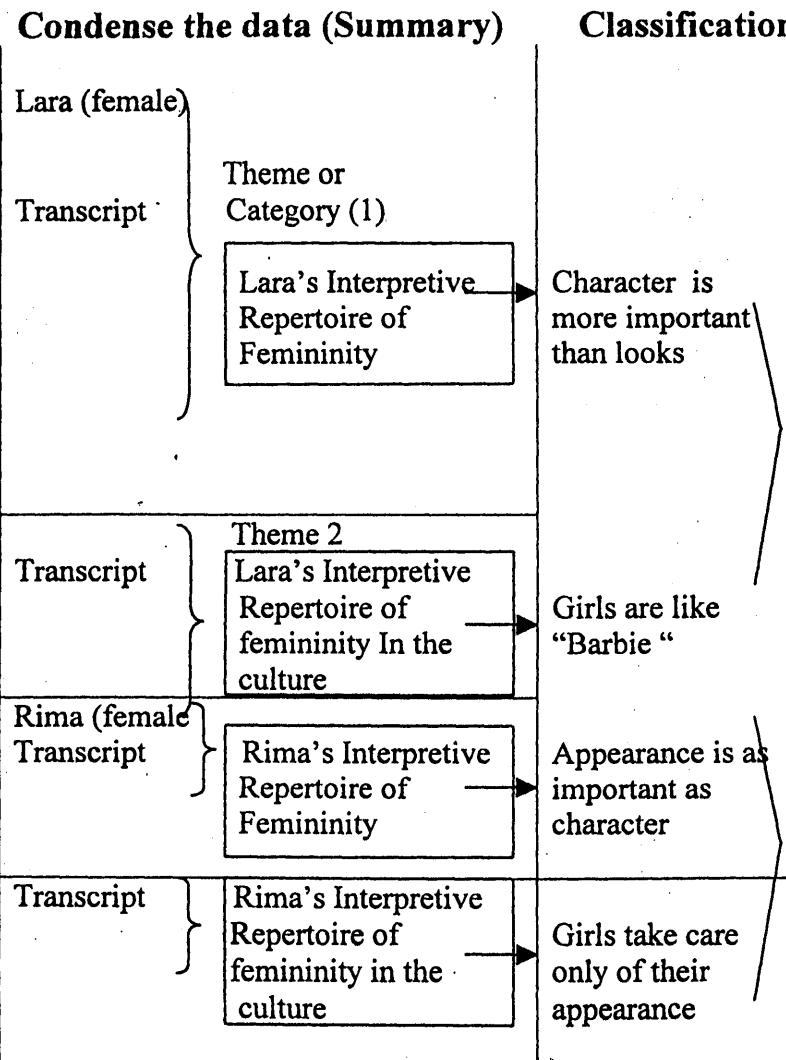
Individual Interview

- Q1 : How do you describe a female to label her as 'feminine'?**
Q2 : What do you associate with femininity?
Q3: What are symbolic activities, practices or characteristics of 'feminine' woman?

Q4 : How do you think you differ in what you said from the culture you are living?

Same Q1, Q2, Q3 as above

Same Q4 as above



Chapter Three

Findings of the Study

Introduction

In the following chapter I will present a list of findings through an analysis of different representative extracts chosen from the data. Most of the extracts are from the English transcripts; however, Arabic transcripts are used to compare how interpretive repertoires of masculinity and femininity expressed in two languages will help in positioning subjects and, consequently, work to construct different identities.

The following findings will be presented and discussed:

Finding 1: 'Masculine' and 'feminine' images change due to socio-cultural interaction.

Finding 2: Some males and females try to perform certain forms of masculinity and femininity not as they prefer but according to what is accepted in the culture they are living.

Finding 3: Through a comparison between the interpretive repertoires of the stereotypical feminine image of the culture and that of the participants, I found that there is not one way of performing masculinity and femininity. Some people (Baha'a) choose what is socially acceptable in the culture, i.e. they conform with the stereotypes. Some others conform partially (Riham). Others (Lara, Nabil, Riad and Marwa) are unconventional i.e. against the stereotype.

Finding 4a: The three females discursively constructed their gender identities differently in the two languages.

Lara's interpretive repertoire of femininity expressed in English had the same content as her interpretive repertoire in Arabic; in both cases she rejected the NC and embraced the TC. However, when she spoke Arabic she tried to emphasize the appearance at the beginning while when she spoke English she emphasized the character.

Rima portrayed the same image in English and Arabic. In both she was eclectic in presenting the femininity she tried to construct. In Arabic she tried to highlight what she thought should be borrowed or transferred from the target culture. In English she

highlighted what she preferred about the NC (appearance) and what she thought should be transferred to the target culture.

Marwa presented different images. In English she tried to be critical of the TC. In Arabic she tried to be critical of the Lebanese culture.

Finding 4b: Of the men, only Nabil constructed his masculinity in different ways in the two languages. Baha'a and Riad constructed their gender identities in the same way in English and Arabic.

-Nabil expressed himself differently in the two languages; the effect of the native culture was clear when he spoke Arabic and the effect of the FC was clear when he spoke English.

-Baha'a constructed his gender identity in the same way in the two languages showing his rejection of the TC.

-Riad constructed his masculinity in the same way in the two languages rejecting the NC.

Finding 5: Males and females perform their gender identities differently in different contexts.

-Males and females were engaged in a cooperative floor in the SSGI and MSGI.

-One group of girls dominated the floor in a MSGI and ‘silenced’ the boys.

Gendered Identities: “The ‘Jelly’ Never Sets”

I would argue that the following eight extracts support the first finding that ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ images change due to social cultural factors.

Lara felt that her feminine identity changed through the different phases of her life as demonstrated in extract one below.

Extract 1: (Part of an II)

Lara: I remember when I was small, I was very... I wasn't like the other girls. My mother used to bring me dresses and I used to throw them. It was totally... I was very different but when ... then, it changed. And, I remember when someone told me that I wasn't feminine when I was small I used to cry. I used to suffer because I'm not the stereotype.

In extract one, it seems that when Lara was a child, she was not interested in girls' toys, activities or clothes. She rejected them. Perhaps she was not instinctively attracted to playing with dolls, kitchen utensils and make-up, but she preferred boys' toys, games and outfits. She used to be labeled as 'not feminine' because of her activities. Everybody wanted her to practice feminine stereotypical activities to be labeled 'feminine'. However, she has not stayed like that all her life. Certainly not, because her mother as well as the society has tried to shape her personality. Her mother used to buy her dresses trying to tell her that you are a girl and that is what you should wear. Friends and relatives used to embarrass her and make fun of her; consequently, they were trying to mold her character imposing on her some gendered patterns of behavior. As if they are trying to culturally construct her feminine identity within these friendship and family social groups. This proves that Lara's gendered behavior varies and changes; it is not fixed; Lara does not accomplish her femininity at an early age but her feminine identity is performed differently at different stages of the gender process. This idea is also supported by Lara's Arabic extract when she is asked whether she prefers a baby girl or a baby boy and how she will deal with both of them.

The SSG discussion of figure 7 (a girl sitting on a motorbike) among the three friends (Rima, Manal, and Grace) presented in extract two shows that the accepted feminine image evolves with time and differs from one culture to the other.

Extract 2: (Part of a SSGI)

Grace: Picture seven, a women wearing jacket and pants can be a lady, she doesn't have to have a dress.

Manal: But in our culture a girl has to wear a dress or skirt to church, for example, there are occasions when you have to wear decent clothes. Dress or anything. I think a dress is associated with being a girl. Not the dress itself but there are things that differentiate a woman from a man. Picture seven is wearing like a man, I don't know. She's a tomboy, driving a motorcycle.

Grace: Because she's wearing pants she's like a man!

Manal: No! Of course. Not anymore. I'm wearing pants but I'm not a man; it's the way you act. She's opening her legs, driving a motorcycle. From childhood, people learn like being a girl is different from being a boy. Even the toys. They make you learn that being a girl is different from being masculine. Even the role you should take. She's taking a different role. The role she is talking is not related to femininity as driving a motorcycle is masculine, for

example, we as girls we don't go to the mechanic or imagine I'm fixing a car! Is it logical? Possible? !

Rima: But it is not the case in other cultures. In other cultures it is different. If I want to be a taxi driver, I will.

Manal: No! Even in other cultures if you wear like guys and do stuff like them you are called a tomboy. They train you from childhood that your role has to be feminine. From childhood they train you. You are told to play with dolls not with cars.

Manal argues in extract two that the lady in picture seven is not 'feminine' maybe because she is not acting like a woman or not taking the right role. Manal labels her as 'not feminine' because of her acts: driving a motorbike, opening her legs, and being dressed like a man. It seems she felt that the style is not feminine. Manal is not against wearing pants, 'not any more'. She thinks that the lady in picture seven does not act or take the role of the stereotypical image of a 'feminine' women in the culture; perhaps she has changed; she seems to practice her femininity in her own way, differently. While Rima feels that the case is different in other cultures. Femininity is practiced differently. As if she is trying to say that wearing pants used to be masculine but nowadays it changed and girls can wear pants and still be labeled feminine. I think ten years ago, driving a motorcycle used to be only for men, but gradually it started to be practiced by women who, like the one in picture seven, challenge conventions because they are exposed to such new images in a different culture. Perhaps, Step by step, more and more women would probably ride motor bikes and if it becomes more familiar, it might be accepted by the society as 'feminine'; consequently, girls driving motorbikes will not be labeled 'not feminine' any more. Therefore, gender is not fixed. It is a process because it undergoes change through social and cultural interaction.

In the following two MSGI the participants discussed the change in the image of masculinity. They demonstrated in extracts three and four that change can be gradual and it looks partial rather than complete.

Extract 3: (Part of a MSGI)

Lara: Picture one(a) and picture six(a) are the same but they have different appearance; in the head, they're the same. There is an evolution in the appearance but not in the head.

Salim: No! In the head there is evolution.

Rola : There is change between the 60's and now in Lebanon .If you look at picture six(a) you say he's not as modern in his head as his physical appearance.

Salim: I don't think to be modern is to be like this or to wear an earring but it has to be in his head.

Hamdi: Once one sticks to traditions in his way of clothing, he sticks to tradition in his ways of thinking.

Zeina: He can't be modern in his way of thinking and wear like this.

Extract 4: (Part of a MSGI)

Riad: Picture one(a) is a man who is rather traditional.

Rima: He represents the masculine figure in our culture.

Riad: Not anymore

Rima: Some yes. It is changing somehow but some still consider him.

Riad: The minority

Rima: Still there are many.

Riad: Look at the moustache! Our parents time.

Karim: This is no more the image that corresponds to masculinity because of the concept of globalization and everything is americanized so this is not suitable at the time.

Rima: He's not the real man for me but for many people in our society he is.

Grace: Maybe they still think of the characteristics of this man.

Rima: Maybe.

Grace: He's more traditional in what he does.

Riad: He's more traditional in action.

Although the two extracts three and four are produced by two different mixed sex friendship groups, most of the participants, except Hamdi and his friend Salim, have the same interpretive repertoires of the stereotypical masculine image. They believe that this image is that of a traditional mind in a modern body. Karim feels that because of globalization and the easier contact among the different cultures, the Lebanese masculine image has changed in shape but not in content. Grace, Rima and Riad argue that the man in picture six(a) is very well dressed according to latest western style. He is modern in the looks but his mentality, way of dealing with others etc. has not changed and this will be clear in his actions. As a result, of such practices, I can infer from the discussion that the masculine identity has changed only partially. The only difference between the masculine images in picture one(a) and six(a) is the physical appearance i.e. the masculine identity changes depending on the cultural interaction through time; it does not stay the same.

Through a comparison contrast between two different masculine images, Lara in extract five tried to highlight the role of education and exposure in the development of masculine identity.

Extract 5: (Part of an II)

Lara: Very few men in our culture who are simple, stay themselves.... Calm. Boys who are different from the stereotypes for them the girl must be different. They like her when she talks, when she is impulsive and when she says what she thinks. These men respect women, of course. But most men in Lebanon who like complicated women, they don't respect women. I have some friends of mine. Its very shocking... like for me it's a matter of nurturing and education and social interaction. The more you're educated, went out and you traveled the more you have a different opinion about women. And most of the men treat their wife as their father and mom does, you know, its this relation. And, like, this boy, this friend of mine who says "Let her be pretty, this way I will enjoy her physically and everybody will say wow! He's got a beautiful woman". She must be a bit 'stupid', not talk, not cause him any headaches, stay home, take care of the children; that's it.

Extract five also supports the argument through presenting two different interpretive repertoires of 'masculinity'. The first one which reflects the 'new' or 'different' masculine identity and the second which is the stereotypical image in the culture. Lara prefers the former group of men who are themselves, not authoritative or bossy, genuine, respect women and think of them as real humans. While the latter group are those who try to show off; they care about appearance rather than real values. They do not respect women but deal with them as sexual objects that they can possess and exploit. I think Lara's interpretive repertoire of masculine images in this individual interview relate directly to the mixed sex group discussion of the masculine images in pictures one and six(a). The latter group's characteristics that are mentioned above are represented in picture six who pretends that he is modern, educated, and refined although he is so traditional in his way of thinking. On the other hand, Lara tries to show that the way these men think, act and deal with women is affected by different factors such as education, nurturing, social interaction, social milieu and traveling. Their gender identities are changed. Affected by different local as well as foreign cultures, well read and widely exposed, their gender identity has been remolded and reshaped. Their gender behavior has changed and its going to continue to be shaped by external social , psychological, economic etc. factors depending on the culture and society they are exposed to.

In two different SSGIs (presented in extracts six and seven) the participants shared the same opinion that males who were brought up abroad or affected by the western culture take a different role at home. Even the concept of marriage has a different meaning and established on different basis from the stereotypical one in society.

Extract 6: (Part of a SSGI)

Lara: The man in picture four is not a representative of a man in this culture because he is taking care of his son.

Zeina: But we see this more often these days.

Rola: He's like a mother; in Lebanon, you see this as an image of a woman not a man.

Zeina: But if a young couple and they love each other, he does this.

Rola: If a man has lived outside, maybe. But if he grew and brought up, lived all his life in Lebanon and has seen his mother taking care of him as other mothers he is just used to see his mother taking care. Maybe modern men do this in their homes and we don't see it.

Extract 7: (Part of a different SSGI)

Manal: We don't see men like in picture four in our culture. The hugging and taking care of the baby is for the mother.

Rima: Yes

Grace: But in our generation we can see men taking this role

Manal: Because we are copying from the western culture.

Rima: Some fathers, guys of our generation feel happier if they take care of their babies. They don't have this thought that they have to present authority in the house.

Grace: Maybe they have to share the love

Rima: And affection.

Extracts six and seven also support the finding that gender identity is an ongoing process. Taken from two different female friendship group discussions, the two extracts present the same interpretive repertoires. It seems that both female groups agree that in our culture taking care of a baby is the mother's duty and if a father takes this role he will be labeled as 'not masculine'. He will be acting a 'feminine' role which is not the stereotypical 'masculine' image in the culture. Nevertheless, Rola suggests, that the men who live in other countries and are exposed to other

cultures decide to practice their masculinity in a different way. Manal, from a different group, thinks of the same reason as Rola. Affected by the western cultures, and because of globalization, the Lebanese masculine behavior is changing. Zeina and Rima also touch on the same issue of gender practices suggesting that the husband-wife relationships are based more on love and equality than they used to; consequently, couples share and enjoy taking care of their babies. As presented, I can infer that extracts six and seven give additional evidence that gendered identities are susceptible to change.

Once more, Lara touched on the change in the feminine image in certain sub-cultures within the Lebanese boarder as demonstrated in extract eight.

Extract 8: (Part of an II)

Suha: You said you don't mind losing your virginity and any girl shouldn't. What about the culture?

Lara: We don't have a Lebanese culture about this topic. We have a Christian, I think, and a Muslim point of view. For my part as a Christian, at the beginning it wasn't allowed... it was a taboo. Now I don't think that a Christian boy will say, "It's written in the bible, you must be a virgin and if you're not a virgin, I won't take you". Even girls, actually all the persons who are having a long relationship, my age, are having sex. Most of them; most of them won't accept the boy who is going to be the macho and say 'you're a whore! I want to be the first one... I want to be the only one'. You won't find these people anymore. I won't find these people anymore. I won't go out with someone who thinks like this.

In extract eight, Lara presents a new interpretive repertoire of sexuality and virginity. She thinks that pre-marital sex and losing virginity is no more a taboo to some Christians as it is still to Muslims, but it has changed and it is being accepted more and more. She thinks that the girls are no more obliged to practice sex secretly and if they have lost their virginity, they do not have to feel weak and rejected because their chances of starting a serious relationship or getting married are minimal. The society, especially males, do not react negatively anymore. Even if they do, girls do not really care and are no more ashamed of practicing their sexual lives freely. Hence, I think, gender behavior, 'masculine' and 'feminine', changes and continues to change as a result of social intercultural etc. interaction. Girls who are not virgins used to be labeled as 'whores' because of their 'immoral' behavior; they used to be labeled as 'not feminine' but gradually, as Lara says, some Christian girls are practicing free , sexual lives and they are more accepted. The same case

with some Christian boys; they are accepting the idea of non-virgin girls more and more. As Lara said, a virgin girl is no more a male's top priority.

As presented, the eight extracts produced by different participants in different kinds of interviews show that gender identities keep on changing depending on the social settings or contexts in which people find themselves.

“The historical reproduction of certain forms of ‘masculinity / femininity’ is not so much a matter of ‘doing’ what comes naturally as doing what works best”.

The second finding which can be inferred from the data is that males and females try to “perform” certain forms of masculinity and femininity not as they prefer but according to what is accepted in the culture they are living. In the following seven extracts, some of the participants present their criticism of males and females because their attitudes contradict with their ideas or beliefs. If, as the first finding shows, gender identity is a process and a social construct, i.e. men and women are affected by the culture they are living, many of them feel that there are certain forms of masculinity and femininity that should be performed according to the socio-cultural norms regardless of whether that is what they prefer or not. In the following seven extracts, participants have shown, through the different situations they discuss, that men and women are not free to construct themselves as they wish, to some extent it is their cultural history which determines the kinds of identities they can assume. That is why we cannot analyze any text without referring to the socio-political and cultural context it belongs to.

As presented in extract nine below, Rola and Lara felt that girls in Lebanon perform their identity in a way which is not in harmony with what they want; however, they sacrifice their preferences to do what works best.

Extract 9: (Part of a SSGI)

Rola: Picture number three is not representative of women in Lebanon because she is a woman who is engaged in a real cause and defend it.

Lara: She doesn't get credit for what she's doing.

Rola: Not all women engage in their causes and fight for them because they are scared they won't be accepted and they are not viewed as feminine.

Extract nine contains the traces of a significant theme that women are not themselves; they do not practice activities which they enjoy or which they feel are the best for them to prove

themselves as better individuals or to build a better future. However, they abide by the stereotypical image i.e. do what the society expects them to do instead of what they really want to be accepted and labeled ‘feminine’. In the extract at hand, Rola and Lara argued that picture three is of an ambitious woman who has set a goal and is working hard to achieve it. Perhaps they are trying to say that such caliber of women are very few in our society not because they are not qualified but because their work will not be appreciated and might reflect negatively on them since they will have assumed a different kind of identity than what their cultural history determines.

Lara, Rola and Zeina showed their concern in extracts 10 and 11 that women’s gendered identities in Lebanon are in conflict. They are not practicing all the forms of their feminine identities in the way they think it is the best for them, but they are practicing these forms in a way that looks “normal” in society.

Extract 10: (Part of a MSGI)

Lara: Most of the girls on campus wear a lot to school.

Zeina: As if going to a wedding.

Rola: They lack simplicity.

Zeina: Girls in Lebanon lost their identity. All in tight Jeans or pants, high heels, nails, same make-up, big lips with tattoos.

Rola: They’re like a marketing product. They’re easy to use in marketing. If you want to advertise a product its very easy to make it work. You can take Miss Lebanon to advertise something then you see all girls on campus wearing or doing the same thing the next day.

Lara: As if there is a turmoil in them.

Zeina: They all look alike because girls are afraid to look different. They have to follow the trend. If you look different they ask you what’s wrong? What happened?

Lara: They don’t let you go out of the stereotype. No freedom.

Salim: All are the same; from appearance you can’t differentiate. One might be good on the inside but wearing like the bad. All look the same.

Extract 11: (Part of an II)

Suha: What are ‘feminine’ characteristics in this culture?

Lara: Not like the looks which is complicated and sophisticated. From inside she has to be not aggressive, not impulsive, weak, must not say what she wants, she must hide her emotions.

She's not herself. She's not 'sincere'. She goes home and she's sincere. In front of the society she's another person. She acts. She takes the role they like her to act. You step out of your home, you're another person. You're the woman that all... I mean she doesn't bother people.

Suha: Why does she do that?

Lara: To be 'normal'. To go with the flow. Don't be different! Be just like the other women. Women in Lebanon are not free in their head. If she wants to be a taxi driver she will feel she's doing something against society. It is the looks of the others; what they will say? It's the others' reaction. It's funny.

"Girls in Lebanon lost their identity", "they're like a marketing product", and "As if there is a turmoil in them" are all expressions taken from extract ten presented above. They present the three friends' criticism of girls in this culture who are not convinced with what they are doing, who are not expressing themselves or showing their true identities for fear of being excluded from the group or being rejected by society. They are not free to express their choices unless they are ready to suffer the consequences. I think in extracts 10 and 11 Rola, Zeina, and lara are trying to say that girls live in conflict between what they want to do and what they 'can' do. As if we can see here two interpretive repertoires of femininity: The culture's and the three females'. To be accepted as 'feminine' in this culture, a girl has to be very well-dressed, wearing make up etc. "if you look differently they ask you what's wrong? What happened?" "They don't let you go out of the stereotype. No freedom". These quotations reflect the second interpretive repertoire which emphasizes simplicity, freedom of expression and self-presentation. At the same time, it justifies the other interpretive repertoire and the reason behind performing their identity in that way.

Rola, Zeina, and Lara feel that whether in their looks, appearance, careers, or personalities, girls in Lebanon seem to play a double role. In the single sex group (extract 9), the participants discuss how females avoid being "businesswomen" so they will not deviate from the norm. Similarly, in the mixed sex group, (extract 10), the same participants present the 'Barbie' image that women have to look 'normal'. In extract 11, women are also presented acting double personalities: the sincere, authentic, strong one when she is alone, and the weak, fake, not impulsive, 'introvert' when she is dealing with others. This is all not in order to act 'naturally' but considering what looks best. These three extracts (9-11) are parts of a jigsaw puzzle that work to construct a familiar feminine identity that is indirectly imposed by the culture.

Rima in extract twelve presents herself as an example of a female who has to do what she is convinced with secretly so she will be accepted. On the other hand, Lara in extract 13 shows her self-confidence and ridicules and makes fun of those who ‘fake’ their beliefs to look ‘normal’.

Extract 12:Part of an II)

Rima: I don't mind, I don't have any problem with having sex with my boyfriend if we're getting married later we've been together for a long time. I love him and I don't even mind losing my virginity.

Suha: What about your parents? Do you discuss such issues with them?

Rima: No! Not at all! They don't know I have a boyfriend. Nobody knows. Even if they opened the subject talking about any girl I pretend to be against the idea and emphasize that she shouldn't do that at all. It's shameful!

Suha: Why?

Rima: Because it is a taboo. I have my point of view and they have their point of view and none of us will accept the other. Most of the girls are like that. They do everything secretly. Even some who lost their virginity and unfortunately their boyfriends gave up on them they do stitches because they're afraid that if they want to get married later there will be a scandal. They always feel weak and scared but that's what they should do to be accepted.

Extract 13: (Part of an II)

Lara: For the Christian side, premarital sex was a taboo; it's no more now. But let's talk frankly, the girls because they want to look ‘innocent’ they used to have sex, hidden, and they used to have ‘sodomie’ because they were afraid to lose their virginity. It's ridiculous! Why do such disgusting thing?

Suha: Why?

Lara: Because otherwise they'll be called whores. They always have to hide; remember what I told you everything is false! They false things to give a good impression.

Although girls are not happy with the roles they have to act, it seems many do not dare to ‘break the rule’. On the other hand, according to Lara, some practice what is ‘taboo’ secretly and pretend to be ‘innocent’. Lara is trying to say that no matter to which group females belong, they are not themselves and do not have the courage to be proud of themselves. Girls who lost their virginity have to lie to themselves and to others that they are still virgin through immoral, illegal

acts. They act like hypocrites to do what looks best in the society. To avoid being labeled as ‘whores’, they are forced to practice deceit. What Lara said: “They false things to give a good impression” is the best sum up of the feminine image as exemplified in popular culture.

In extracts 14 and 15, Lara and Rima showed that men also do not ‘do’ what comes ‘naturally’, but try to abide by what looks acceptable.

Extract 14: (Part of an II)

Lara: When we were in Canada, we spent 3 years, my dad used to do the dishes. Anybody who is free can do the work. It’s not a woman’s job. I remember he used also to change diaper for my sister.

Suha: while your mother was at work?

Lara: No, she never worked, but he used to help her although she doesn’t work. But that was in Canada. When we came back to Lebanon, he never does anything; she has to serve him everything. When she’s out with her friends she has to come back when it is time to serve him dinner.

Extract 15: (Part of a MSGI)

Riad: Is being a gentleman a masculine characteristic? Is being a gentleman more masculine?

Rima: No! but if you are a gentleman its not less masculine as they do think in our culture. For example, if a boyfriend or a husband kisses his girlfriend or wife or hugs her in public or opens the door for her, the other guys will think he’s less masculine and may point it out to him later (شو أكلتو راسو) (This is an idiomatic expression which means that she is the dominant one, not the man as it is supposed to be.). Men avoid doing this so they won’t be seen as less masculine’.

According to Lara, not only women but also men try to avoid what is not accepted (Extract 14). Living in Canada, it does not matter whether the child is cared for by its mother or its father, or whether the mother or the father will do the dishes. Coming back home, Lara’s father probably does not dare to take the same role as he used to in Canada. Not because he does not want to help his wife anymore, but he avoids perhaps because he would be labeled as ‘less’ masculine’; he might not be respected and might be the object of ridicule among neighbors, friends and relatives especially if his wife does not work. Hence, Lara’s father tries to perform that form of masculinity in the way

that is accepted in each culture. Similarly, as Rima mentioned a husband or a boyfriend will avoid hugging, kissing etc. his wife or girlfriend in public because he would be made fun of as if she is the boss, and he is at her service. Maybe because he might lose the authoritative role which he should normally act to be ‘masculine’. Since showing their love or emotions in public does not look normal, men might try to avoid it not because they are tough but to avoid being ridiculed.

In conclusion, the previously presented seven extracts (9-15) show that males and females are not absolutely free to construct their gender identities in the way they like; there are certain forms of masculinity and femininity that are performed in conventional ways just to be accepted. This inference, actually, prepares for the following finding which is going to be supported by extracts that present a range of conventional and unconventional masculinities and femininities.

A Range of Femininities and Masculinities

Another very important finding which can be supported by the data is that speakers discursively construct their femininities and masculinities in different ways. Males and females seem to make choices. Through the different discourses produced in I I, SSGI and MSGI, male and female participants present their own interpretive repertoires of femininity and masculinity as well as their own interpretive repertoires of the stereotypical ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ image of the culture. Through these different forms of talk, participants give a sense of some of the range of masculinities and femininities available to men and women in Lebanon today. Some participants choose out of this range what is socially acceptable because it has become the ‘norm’, others conform partially with the stereotypes, and, yet, others may be unconventional i.e. against these stereotypes. I mentioned a range because different interpretive repertoires imply different subject positions.

A Range of Femininities

By looking at the different ways that people can talk about women and femininity, we come to see what is possible to say about women and what by implication is not. By referring to the different extracts it becomes fairly clear that there is not just one but different ways of constructing femininity.

Lara’s stereotypical ‘feminine’ image of the culture and her own interpretive repertoire of femininity work to construct two different feminine identities or subject positions. Lara’s

interpretive repertoire of the stereotypical ‘feminine’ image of the culture is demonstrated in extract 11 presented earlier and 16-18 below. In the three kinds of interviews, the same image is portrayed, women as the inferior sex who are ‘weak’, ‘innocent’, ‘complicated’, dressed up and with full make-up. In other words, women who care only, for appearance to impress. Perhaps she intends to be critical and say that they are never themselves, independent, career-oriented or simple because that contradicts the ‘hegemonic’ or accepted ‘feminine’ image in the culture.

Extract 16: (Part of an II)

Suha: What is the stereotypical image of a ‘feminine’ woman in our culture?

Lara: The more she dresses, the more she’s ‘feminine’. She must be complicated; a girl must wear high heels and make-up and she must feel inferior to the man or let him feel that she’s inferior. If she looks simple, she is not feminine.

It seems that Lara is being critical of the stereotypical feminine image of the culture. She is expressing herself as if she is an outsider and the way the girls construct their identity is not applicable to her. Living in a patriarchal society, women do not feel they are free individuals but subjected to men’s power. Consequently, they try to act their role in a way to please the ‘boss’ even if they are not happy with it. Living in a society that mostly looks at feminism in a negative way, feminism is completely rejected by most men because maybe they think it threatens their ‘throne’. Perhaps many women, unfortunately, are not aware of the goal feminists are aiming at; they might not dare to talk about change although, I think, they might be aware of men’s oppression.

Extract 17: (Part of a SSGI)

Lara: Picture number six is the stereotypical image of a feminine’ woman in Lebanon.

Zeina: Yes, she’s very well dressed.

Rola: Even on campus there are many girls like that.

[Holds picture 7 in her hand] Number 7 cannot be because men in Lebanon are afraid of this kind of girls. They prefer beautiful dumb girls, they can not control intelligent ones.

The females agreed in the SSGI that the girl in picture six reflects the stereotypical feminine image in the culture and in the MSGI they agreed that picture three (a) portrays the outer image but not the character. The character of picture two (a) is the accepted one because ‘innocent’, ‘dumb’ girls are preferred to intelligent independent ones.

I think Rola's comment that picture seven can not be the stereotypical feminine image in the culture justifies or backs up Lara's description. What is significant about Rola's is the reason behind constructing their femininity in this way. A concern expressed by Rola is that women are being fooled by men. Women present themselves in this image to 'please' men; women sound very naïve in doing this because they do not think that this is the best image in which they can present their femininity but because it keeps them 'safe'; as if she is trying to say that men prefer such women because they will have no competitors, no equal or threatening power to face them but an armless, weak army that they can easily subject and control.

Rola: Lebanese women look like picture 3a and have the character of 2a.

Lara: Not the character of 3a; she seems independent, active, business woman.

Although mentioned in two separate interviews, Rola (extract 17) in the SSGI and Salim (extract 18) in the MSGI express the fear of men of strong, intelligent women. As it is the case that not many women are aware of what Rola said, very few men, like Salim, will admit it in the company of women. I think men might discuss such issues when they are talking to each other but not when females are around.

Extract 18: (Part of a MSGI)

Salim: The best accepted in this culture is picture 2a.

Rola: Because she is sweet, innocent, weak.

Baha'a: We are living in different sections that have different subcultures so to say which one is stereotypical image depends on the area.

Salim: But all subcultures accept 2a. Simple, modern wearing Jeans

Hamdi: Yes 2a.

Salim: I think men will be afraid of picture 3a, they think she might be stronger.

Baha'a: It seems her beauty comes in the first place. Caring for her appearance is more important than anything else.

Zeina: The appearance of picture 3a is stereotypical of the culture but not the character.

Lara: Yes, Lebanese care for their clothes, hair, make-up, sunglasses...

What Baha'a mentioned seems of great importance because he is trying to confirm that there is more than one stereotypical image of femininity. It differs from one subculture to the other. As if he is trying to say that there are various ways of constructing femininity. Baha'a, Hamdi and Salim

are friends and live in the same neighborhood. They seem to prefer picture two (a) whom they referred to as ‘simple, modern wearing jeans’. It is worth mentioning that the girls who are also friends did not seem to favor picture two (a) to represent their feminine image. On the contrary, they felt sorry for her ‘sweet, innocent, weak’ character. It can be inferred that there are three interpretive repertoires of femininity running through this extract: the image that Baha'a, Salim and Hamdi seem to prefer is the innocent weak girl who does not think of looks and appearance as top priority. The second image portrayed by Zeina, Lara and Rola is that of a modern independent woman. The third is that of the culture. The one that is very well-dressed, takes much care of her appearance and who is weak in character.

Lara in extract 19 presented below gives more details of the feminine image she and her friends tried to portray in extract 18.

Extract 19: (Part of an II)

Lara: She must be comfortable with herself and be sincere. She must be herself, like she feels. Even if sometimes she feels like a man e.g. want to hit somebody. Mature, self-controlled, she doesn't have to be complicated in the ways she dresses or make-up and high heels, hairdo all the time. She has to be simple, clean, tidy, ‘un soin’. She doesn't have to impress all the time “Look at me” for e.g on the weekends I dress, I wear heels... but when you see me at the university you don't think that I might wear this dress on weekend. I come with tennis shoes, jeans etc. because I feel comfortable. I'm not going to climb steps with tight clothes and high heels to impress!

Through discourse, Lara constructs an opposing feminine identity to that of the native culture. She criticizes the way they look as well as the ways they think or act. According to Lara the idea that she is a woman is not haunting her all the time. That is she can be herself, a human being; she is not obsessed by the idea that she is a women and she has to think of how she can impress others in the way she talks, walks, dresses etc. Lara thinks that she is a human being that has meaning not only when fulfilling roles that are significant for men. She has the right to feel comfortable with herself, to live as a ‘normal’ human being who can be independent, pursue a career and practice her femininity in her own way. Hence, I think Lara is constructing a different sort of femininity. She is trying to present herself as a gender non-conformist or rebel who is comfortable in being an equal human.

Although the next three extracts (20-22) are produced at a different time and belong to a different group, Rima and her friends co-construct an identical interpretive repertoire about the stereotypical ‘feminine’ image of the culture as that of Lara and her friends.

Extract 20: (Part of a SSGI)

Rima: Picture 6 is the stereotypical ‘feminine’ image in Lebanon. The looks are very important in our culture; how she looks, how she’s dressed, if she takes care of her appearance.

Grace: we all take care of how we look but not to be an extreme like 6 they over do it here. They forget about the inner side and are obsessed with how you look.

Maral: picture 6 matches the culture.

They co-construct a world in which the being well - dressed and wearing make-up is an essential part of doing femininity, and looking nice/ looking good is the important goal. It is worth mentioning that Rima and her friends are not against the idea that women should take care of their looks but they touch on an important point that going to the extreme is negative. Moreover, they criticize the stereotypical image because such women tend to forget about their being human that is they are not silicon dolls but have brain and psyche that need fostering and nourishment not just their bodies.

Extract 21: (Part of an II)

Rima: she has to take care of herself and her body, she has to be clean, well-dressed, wear make-up, has her own style; she can wear a short shirt or a baggy jeans but she has to be presentable. There should be a little of seducing way of talking, walking and dressing, not an excessive way, just a little is feminine.

Suha: what about her character?

Rima: She has to be strong, self confident, high self-esteem, depend on herself.

Extract 22: (Part of an II)

Rima: women generally are in need of security, support and care. It’s the personality of women, in general. She always needs someone to take care of her. That’s what women are. I think that’s a negative thing in a woman. But, this is by nature. She always needs somebody to take care of her; otherwise, she will have a problem. She always needs that...him

Nevertheless, Rima in extracts 21 and 22 constructs a different feminine identity which has part of it in common with the culture (appearance) and another part that she shares with the identity Lara and her friends tried to construct (character). Rima seems to be eclectic in constructing femininity. She does not deny the fact that women should take care of their looks and appearance and be somehow seductive in their way of walking, talking and dressing, in addition to having a strong personality, high self-esteem and confidence. However, she believes that, unfortunately, women by nature ‘suffer’ from their need for support and care from the other sex. I think there is a kind of an ideological dilemma in Rima’s subject position concerning femininity. She wants to be the independent, strong, confident woman who, in other words, does not accept men’s power and authority. However, she at the same time thinks that she has to be seductive which clearly shows her conflict. I suppose she contradicts herself; deep inside, she is the stereotypical feminine image in which being accepted by men is of crucial importance. Moreover, she thinks that women are weak and need to be taken care of, especially by men. Such kind of women cannot have the personality traits she mentioned. That is what she admires, maybe, but it is not really the case. A woman who feels inferior to men cannot be independent of their power.

I think the difference between Lara’s subject position and that of Rima’s is that Lara’s is a mature, clear cut position of an independent girl who is decisive of what she wants and is herself. On the other hand, Rima is half way through where she partly rejects the culture and partly accepts the feminist image of femininity.

In the previously mentioned extracts, the male and the female participants tried to present their different interpretive repertoires of femininity and the stereotypical feminine image in the culture. Not unlike Lara and her friends, Marwa and her friends seem to reject the stereotypical feminine image in the culture. However, they tried to portray a distinct feminine identity.

Extract: 23: (Part of an II)

Marwa:I think it is important for a girl to be decent. Her actions should be normal, not too soft and too harsh. The same is associated with her voice and clothes. Because of the high status Islam gives to a girl, females must act in certain ways that depend on the occasion. For example, a female must be decent with her only girl friends and family, but when stepping outside the house in a society filled with ‘non-marham’ men, it is recommended for her to act pride fully and seriously as not to allow men take advantage of her. It is important for

her to keep limits when speaking to men, mentioning only the necessary words to them and not be flirtatious. Her clothes must also not be flaunty, amongst girls. When men are around she wears a ‘chador’. It is recommended to be clean and decent eliminating fashionable clothing and only to maintain an impression that makes her personality more important than her material qualities. In the society, she is to be fully dressed wearing unattractive colors, covering her hair and the curves of her body. This is to be done which allows ‘non-mahram men’ to judge her not by her looks, but by her thoughts and action. It is the ideal way regardless of the time women live in.

Marwa and her friends have also rejected the stereotypical image in the culture. They feel she is too shallow and all her concerns are centered around her looks and appearance. Nevertheless, Marwa tries to construct a different feminine identity which is resistant of the culture but for a different reason from that of Lara and Rima. For Marwa, the ideal feminine image is what the Islam dictates. A woman should be decent, respectable and conservative. She mingles only with females; however, if she has to be in contact with males, she has to be very cautious and serious. She should cover her hair and body when she is in the company of ‘non-mahram’ men. Moreover, she should be educated and should attract people not by her physical appearance but by her intellectual abilities and behavior. Marwa thinks that a woman’s priority should be raising her kids well and taking care of her house and family. She does not have to work unless she is in need financially. She is not against working women but work should not be at the children’s expense. Furthermore, Marwa thinks that women’s situation was much better before they started working because they are being exploited.

Suha: What about work or activities?

Marwa: women are able to do exactly what men can do just as well as men (and even better).

However, this does not mean women must do what men do because of their ability. It all depends on the situation of the individual; women must also work in accordance to her situation. If she is not able to provide for her children because of certain reasons such as her being windowed or that her husband is not making enough. A mistake women make is that they work for pleasure or to gain a high status in making an impression that she is liberated. Many have children being raised by maids and media while neither of their parents have time for them.

Marwa emphasizes that women can do anything men can do even in a better way. Nevertheless, women have restrictions; she cannot do everything even if she is able to. She has to

do only what is suitable and maintains her dignity. She gives the example of a woman being a taxi driver. Although a woman can be the best driver, this is not a suitable job for her. It seems that according to Marwa , “earnings” and “advancement” are more important for men than women . She thinks “earnings” and “advancement” are a means of physical survival rather than a means of success; she said that women should work only for financial reasons: either to support the family or when she is widowed. Going to the extreme saying that “it is even a mistake” if a woman works because she wants to be an active member in society or wants to actualize herself.

Being religious, Marwa, in extract 24, presents a negative attitude towards ‘ liberated’ women.

Extract: 24: (Part of an II)

Marwa: My opinion differs a great deal from the culture, from the people around me. Although many people agree with Islamic ideas concerning gender roles, they consider it hard to practice them due to the social pressure. Although the idea being spread that women are now liberated more than ever, women are actually worse off than before. Nowadays, she carries the burden of working outside while caring for the children and housework at the same time. Today, women believe that housework is cheap because they are not being paid for it by the hour. She is to do her duty in the house first, just as the man must do his duty in the workforce. Many studies have proven that both the father and mother are important in raising a child; however, the mother always has greater effects.

It is clear in extract 24 that she is against working women and she thinks that women’s situation before they started to work outside was much better because they have been exploited. Marwa thinks that they are not liberated; on the contrary, they are enslaved; they are obliged to work outside as well as inside. They are rejecting their main role as being housewives. Marwa seems to reject the idea that women should be given the chance to pursue a career to actualize themselves and have an active role in the society. She missed the fact that any person cannot be free unless s/he is economically independent; she thinks that in that way she feels cherished and respected. Perhaps she believes that women should be convinced with their roles as housewives because that is where they belong.

In extract 24, Marwa mentions that many muslims believe in the Holly Koran but do not dare to abide by it because of the “norm”. She thinks that what is culturally dominant or hegemonic

is different from what Islam dictates. Some people conform with what is socially acceptable, with the stereotypes, while others, like Marwa and her friends, reject these stereotypes and practice their identity in an unconventional way, in accordance with their religious beliefs .

All the mentioned examples show how these girls construct their femininities. They present themselves as different kinds of women. The talk we do in our daily lives gives us access to these different modes of being, these different versions of femininity. This is because language plays a crucial part in structuring our experience. It is clear through the different discourses presented how language helps the girls construct different versions of femininity: some accepting what is culturally hegemonic, and others rejecting the stereotypes by being unconventional. Riham's and Lara's goals in life differ from that of Marwa's. They attach different priorities; for example, for Marwa, family comes before work. This difference has something to do not only with their personalities but more to do with the different cultures in which they are born, grow, and live. It is worth mentioning that there is a big difference between Lara's and Rima's (partial) rebelliousness and Marwa's attitude. Marwa seems to belong to a different culture where she is living. The habits, traditions, and the mentality of the culture she lives at home and in her neighborhood seems to be different from the Lebanese culture of her day-to-day activities.

Range of Masculinities

Not only did females present different femininities through the different discourses but also males through the different extracts try to construct a range of masculinities.

Riad, in extracts 25 and 26 presented his interpretive repertoire of masculinity which is different from that of the culture.

Extract 25: (Part of an II)

Riad: A masculine man is a gentleman i.e. someone who knows what other people need, and he acts taking into consideration those things. Although the way of dressing is not a criteria there is appropriate dress and inappropriate dress ; all this does not make a guy less of a man. The voice does not have to be hard, but it doesn't have to be thin and low to be feminine. We have the wrong idea of masculinity in our society. When a guy is a gay, he loses every single masculinity trait in his character.

Extract 26: (Part of a SSGI)

Riad: I identify with picture four. He represents the image of the man I like.

Karim: pictures three and four are very much alike.

Riad: you can see them as a couple. You can see that easily.

Fouad: pictures five and six are stereotypical images of our culture.

Riad: I agree in picture five you see arrogance.

Riad does not only in presenting the preferred feminine image focus on the personality traits rather than the physical appearance, but also in presenting the ‘masculine’ one. In the individual interview, Riad tries to summarize the personality traits of a masculine man in a word “gentleman”. Moreover, he does not think that appearance is one of the criteria that should be looked at when evaluating masculinity; however, he had some reservations concerning looks and voice.

Even in discussing the pictures with his male friends, in the SSGI (extract 27), Riad presents his concept of masculinity emphasizing personality traits rather than physical appearance. Moreover, Riad stresses that there is nothing wrong with being handsome, presentable, rich etc. but money and material things do not make a man more masculine as, unfortunately, is the case in Lebanon.

Extract 27: (Part of a MSGI)

Riad: In Lebanon, people decide on masculinity from appearance, money and reputation.

Everything that relates to appearance and showing off is very important.

Suha: How? Can you give an example?

Riad: If a person is driving an expensive car and wearing designer clothes or has a driver and ... he'll be much more masculine and respectable than any other.

Fouad: We can match picture four and picture three as a couple. The husband is at home taking care of the baby and the woman is outside working.

Riad: You won't see it normal in our culture. They won't accept it

Karim: That's not true

Riad: Do you see that acceptable in Lebanon? People won't respect a guy like that.

Karim: You don't?

Riad: I'm talking about the culture in general. I didn't say I don't accept that, I said the culture won't. They won't respect him as they do of picture five. They respect the guy in five way more than four.

Karim: If he's staying at home and taking care of his kid, he doesn't care about what they think or say! Does he?

Riad: NO! Just like us

Hence, Riad thinks that a masculine man is not the arrogant, handsome, well-dressed, bossy, and authoritative who is in control of his wife and family, takes the decisions and makes money to support his family, but the simple man who does not mind taking care of a baby anytime or babysitting while his wife is at work. In the SSGI, Riad tries to relate, once more being a gentleman to being masculine. He adds that a male who has the courage to be himself even if it is not stereotypical of the culture will not be less masculine. It is not surprising that Riad's image of a masculine man is completely different from that of the culture.

Undoubtedly, even in the MSG discussion Riad has a different definition of a masculine man than that of the culture.

Extract 28: (Part of a MSGI)

Karim: The way he is treating her in picture 4a shows that he is being masculine.

Grace: I think being a gentleman with a woman is part of being masculine.

Karim: Maybe he's faking it and if he's faking it that doesn't mean that he's masculine at all.

Rima: But in our culture it is masculine. Don't you see a guy or hear a guy telling his friends I went out with a girl and did so and so showing-off his masculinity.

Riad: Yes, unfortunately, in our culture this is all masculine, especially faking and cheating.

Manal: How you treat someone is very important in whether you're being masculine.

As Riad and his friends mentioned in the single sex group discussion that the man who is babysitting (picture 4) while his wife is at work is less masculine and less respected by the culture. They agree in the mixed sex group interview that a man who is a gentleman, shows his love to his wife or girlfriend and cherishes her in public may also be judged negatively by the culture. Riad tried to show his rejection of the image of masculinity in the culture by referring to 'faking' and 'cheating'. Perhaps I can infer that there are at least two different ways of constructing masculinity: Riad's as well as the culture's.

Through Riad's discourse we are able to describe his masculinity. He does not practice the stereotypical masculine image in the culture, but chooses to deconstruct conventional stereotypes.

Like Riad, Nabil in the following two extracts (29-30) tries to construct two different masculine identities.

Extract 29: (Part of an II)

Suha: What is the stereotypical masculine image of the culture?

Nabil: When people look at him they should feel somehow sort of power; he has moustache, sometimes beard, tall well-built body, has short hair. Authoritative and impose his ideas on mostly his wife. Cunning maybe, if he can manage things and manipulate people's minds. He is self -confident and in charge of the family. He treats women as inferior. They think they don't need their wives as much as she needs them. They can dumb her whenever they want. Some think a man should have many off-marriage affairs to prove his virility. But women can't have any relationship before they get married , and never after they're married.

In extract 29, Nabil's interpretive repertoire of the stereotypical masculine image of the culture is opposing to his own interpretive repertoire of masculinity. In extract 29, the image he portrays is that of a physically strong and well-built person who is bossy and authoritative, especially with his wife. Moreover, he does not respect women and shows his virility through simultaneous off-marriage affairs. Nabil's description of this type of masculinity is a familiar one in a patriarchal society where women are subjugated by men.

On the other hand, Nabil in extract 30, tries to construct a different masculine identity from that of the culture but is similar to that of Riad.

Extract 30: (Part of an II)

Nabil: A masculine man has to be courageous, when you have the chance to prove yourself, you should. High self-esteem and self-confidence because you can not achieve anything you desire, or you dream of if you don't have self-confidence. He should rely on himself in everything. He has to build himself and earn his living even if his father is rich. He has to respect women and deal with them as equal.

Nabil believes that a masculine man is not the one who imposes himself on others by power but who has earned what he is, has got a strong personality, is confident, hardworking, independent and who respects women and deals with them as equal. Although male identity has been tied up with patriarchy and its rule, where men are brought up in a way they are told to conceal their weakness, (not to cry, and not to show their love or emotions) i.e. they are told to fake their behavior and dominate others. Nabil's male identity seems to be affected by feminism, acting against patriarchy. It is clear in extract 29 that Nabil criticizes men in the culture who feel powerful by trying to dominate others. They think they can fool everyone but they are fooling only themselves.

Last but not least, Baha'a is the only participant among males and females who has an identical interpretive repertoire of masculinity with the stereotypical masculine image of the culture; What is worth looking at is the stereotypical masculine image of the culture which is portrayed by Riad and Nabil in comparison to that presented by Baha'a in extract 31.

Extract 31: (Part of an II)

Suha: What is the stereotypical masculine image of the culture?

Baha'a: He has to have a strong personality. If he is the only human living on earth, he can live.

Knows how to control and solve problems especially the emergencies or the unexpected. He should have physical strength in appearance as well as in character. He doesn't have to imitate how they dress in other cultures and his hair shouldn't be long like the west; they look like females.

Baha'a emphasizes that a masculine man is one who has a very strong body and character. He is independent to the extent that he can manage living on his own on Earth. Baha'a has reservations against imitating the western appearance. Baha'a looks as if he is trying to express his concept of masculinity rather than that of the culture. Perhaps because he identifies with the Lebanese culture showing his rejection of the western ones.

Having strong personality and being independent are common characteristics which Riad and Nabil portray as their interpretive repertoires of masculinity but not that of the culture. Unlike Baha'a, Riad and Nabil do not think that appearance, especially the way of dressing or hair style will make a man more or less masculine. Moreover, Baha'a might not have mentioned any of the

negative qualities Riad and Nabil mentioned because he might not be against patriarchy and the means of constructing male dominance.

It is clear from what Nabil, Riad, and Bahaa said that their choice of the talking about masculinity gives them different subject positions. Bahaa chooses to conform to what's socially hegemonic while Nabil and Riad reject the stereotype and try to perform their masculinity in different ways. Hence, we might not be able to describe a homogeneous masculinity but we can describe different masculinities because of the different subcultures they live, their different personalities, and the different tasks they are involved in. (I will elaborate more on "different masculinities" when I discuss "Manifesting Gender in Gendered speech).

To wrap up this part about constructing their gender identities in English, we can assert that a culture supplies a whole range of ways of constructing femininity and masculinity and speakers have to make choices. In the following part I will present how the same participants tried to construct their gender identities in Arabic to infer whether they construct their gender identities in the two languages in a similar or a different way.

Comparing the participants' English and Arabic interpretive repertoires, I found that three females and one male construct their gender identities differently in the two languages. Two males construct their gender identities in the same way in the two languages.

Lara who traveled a lot, spent her childhood in Canada and who lived her teen age in Lebanon, specifically in East Beirut, in a subculture which is very much affected by the French culture, rejects the Lebanese culture's beliefs and customs and considers them very traditional. Her interpretive repertoire of the stereotypical feminine image in the culture expressed in the two languages seems to show her pity to the girls for being superficial and controlled by men to a great extent. She talks about femininity, especially, and other categories, generally, as if she is an outsider looking into the society in a cynical eye. This is clearly demonstrated in the extracts (32-33) below.

Extract 32: (Part of an Arabic II)

لارا : بهالمجتمع وخصوصاً بلبنان يعني انو ادما فيها بركي هنّي بلاقوا انوا it's sexy اتوا المرا هيك كلن كثير بيلبسوا وكثير ماكياج وكل شيء كثير او زايد وديماً. يعني مثلاً انا ما بفهم كيف منهن يروحوا عالجامعة مع كعب 10سم ويلطيف كل هاللبس انو شو بفرنك انت اذا رحت سهرتي او رحت عالجامعة ابتنبسي زات التياب. يعني انو في شي ومنو يعني.

Lara (Translation): In this society and especially in Lebanon I mean as much as she can.... Maybe they find that it is sexy that all women exaggerate in being dressed up, wearing too much make up, and everything is too much or over and anytime. For example, I cannot understand how they go to the university wearing 10cm heels and Oh God! With such clothes on. How does it differ if you go out at night or you go to the university. You wear the same clothes.

If extracts 32 and 33, expressed in Arabic, are compared to, previously mentioned, extracts 11,16-19, expressed in English, it would be clear that Lara prefers to construct her gender identity in an unconventional way (in harmony with the target culture) regardless of whether she is expressing herself in the mother tongue or in the foreign language. Nevertheless, if we compare extracts 11 and 16, we will find that when she talks about appearance and looks in English in extract 16, she is very brief and concise. While when she talks about the same issue in Arabic in extract 32 she does that in a paragraph explaining in details and she gives an example to make the picture more concrete: ‘The more she dresses, the more she’s feminine. She must be complicated; a girl must wear high heels and make-up’.

I think this relates to the culture. In Lebanon, as most of the participants have mentioned, appearance and looks are very important even the most important when we talk about women and femininity. That’s why Lara managed to present a real life example. She talks about it very briefly when she expresses herself in English because in the western cultures people do not care much for sophisticated appearance. That is why she mentioned in extract 11: “If she’s simple, she is not feminine” and does not mention it in Arabic. Most women in the west are dressed in plain clothes, dressed in a simple not sophisticated way and, yet they are feminine, even this is the real feminine image. While in extract 11, Lara talks about personality traits focusing on the fact that she does not have identity, she is not herself and what she does is not in harmony with what she is or wants. When Lara speaks in English, she focuses on the identity issue because it is very important in that culture. People are evaluated as persons, what they do, think etc. not with how they look or how much money they have. Who wears designer clothes and who does not. She even gives an example about women taxi drivers because the issue of being yourself is very important in the culture. I think the reason behind expressing herself this way in Arabic is the importance given to appearance and looks in the Lebanese culture and that is what she is critical of. Perhaps she is trying to highlight her rejection of what is of great importance in expressing femininity in the culture. Hence, it is evident how the language is affected by the culture it is expressing.

In extract 33, Lara talks about the same issue but not in the same way.

Extract 33: (Part of an Arabic II)

لارا : الاسو انو بيعملوا هيک تناس تشوفن. لأنو الصبيان بحبوا هيک. لو بيحبوا الصبيان البنات يجوا بالـ Tennis shoes إذا بدنا كانوا اجو بس انو هيک بيتطلعوا فيهن اكثر . اكيد الصبيان رح يتطلعوا ببننت حاطة كعب حتى لو ما بيحبوا. اصلا هي كتير غلط... المرا بلبنان ... كل شي بتعملوا غلط ، يعني بتفكر غلط. لازم بهالمجتمع تكون حلوة واتمشوري وانكزدرى ونحن امنطبع. ما تعبري كثير وما تشارعي.. خلص كوني هيک مثل ما بقاك. مثلا يكونو بالجامعة تدرس شوي تيجي العريس. بس يجي العريس خلص يلا انصبى. ما عندا اي مركز قوي ، فئة ثانية . حتى اذا مرة ما بتجيip اولاد خلص انو شو عازتك انت بطلقها وبيتروح وحده ثانية

Lara (translation): What is worse is that they do this (overdress and wear too much make-up all the time) for the people, because boys like them like that. If the boys like them with tennis shoes, they will do that but the boys will look at them more if they overdress. It is obvious that boys look more at a girl that wears shoes with high heels more than any other even if they do not like it. Anyway, the woman in Lebanon is wrong; everything she does is wrong. I mean she thinks in a wrong way. In society she should be beautiful and do nothing other than hang out and we will look at you. Do not express yourself, do not argue.... Do what I tell you. For example, go to the university get some education until the future husband proposes. When he proposes, you do not need to continue your education. She does not have any strong position. She is second class. Even if a woman is sterile, he will give her a divorce because she is useless and he will remarry.

In Arabic she talks about women's inner characteristics through the submissive relationship with men. She does not use few adjectives to describe women's inner selves but explains that through her behavior which men do control. Her role is minimized to a sex object. She even gives an example of those who think they are defying the stereotypes and go to universities to pursue their education but they are actually doing so because they are waiting for the future husband. Lara asserts that once anyone of them gets the chance to get married, she quits school. What she mentions in extract 16, "she must feel inferior to the man" and in extract 32: "you're useless if you don't bring children" show that women are at the service of men, and for reproduction.

Moreover, in extract 34 she talks about the women's only role which is housework and children.

Extract 34: (Part of an Arabic II)

ولازم ما تشتغل بس تربى الاولاد وتهتم بالبيت بس اذا عايزين. ممنوع تسافر بشغلها وما لازم تربى اكثر من زوجها.

Lara (Translation): A woman should not work but take care of the house and nurture the children.

However, if they are in financial need of her work, she can work but she should not travel on business and should not earn more than her husband.

However, if the husband is in need of financial help he will allow her to work as a teacher or bank employee but she is not allowed to work just to actualize herself or for personal growth. Maybe she touches on this issue because in our culture only recently women started to work and this started because of financial need not because she has the right to. Unfortunately, up till now many men do not allow their wives to work and women have to abide by that. Unlike the west where it is taken for granted that a woman has the right to work, pursue a career, or be economically independent.

Therefore, in extract 33 in comparison to extract 19 she expresses her interpretive repertoire of femininity differently. When she speaks in Arabic she starts with the appearance and looks. While in English she starts talking about what's important to that culture which is personality and identity. Only in Arabic she reemphasizes the point about work / financial problems/ and actualizing oneself. Hence, the previously mentioned shows the different ways in which Arabic and English construct gender discursively.

Brought up in Lebanon, specifically in West Beirut, she accepts the beliefs and customs of the society she lives in. However, being enrolled at the “college protestant” from Grade one to twelve and then joining AUB helped in adding spice to her personality. She does not only care about her appearance, as women are expected to in this culture, but also about her character. When expresses the culture's and her interpretive repertoire of femininity in Arabic, Rima tries to portray the same image as that represented in English. In both cases she was eclectic in constructing her femininity; however, the form of presenting the feminine image in the two languages was different. This becomes clear if we compare Rima's interpretive repertoire of femininity in the culture expressed in Arabic (extract 35) to interpretive repertoire of femininity expressed in English (extract 20).

Extract 35: (Part of an II)

Raham : المرا بمجتمعنا هي شكل ما بتهم الا بشكلا، بتيابا، بجسما، بشعرا، لازم تكون ضعيفة لانو هلق كل النسوان بشوفوا شو بيعملوا Models او الممثلين وبيعملوا مثلن. لازم تكون لابسي آخر موضة، آخر ماكياج واخر موديل ولون شعر. هيدا منيح بسمش لحالو. المرا بمجتمعنا ما بتهم بعلمها وبثقافتها او بشخصيتها اهم شي شكل للتلاقي عريس. لا تعتمد على حالا . ما لازم تستغل الا اذا مضطرة تساعد زوجا. واجباتها هي تهتم بالبيت والولاد وزوجها.

مثلاً بالمجتمع اذا كانت وحده مش لابسة منيح، مش مرتبة مش مزبطة حالها وحاطة ماكياج وضفير بس عندها شخصية قوية وبنفهم، ما كتير حد بيطلع فيها او بيتهتملا بيكولوا انو ليك مثلاً منظر وتياب عشو عمتفلف وشكلها مثل الزلمي

Rima (Translation): The woman in our society takes care only of her appearance, her clothes, her body, and her hair. She should be slim because all the women now imitate the models and actresses. She should wear the latest fashion, latest make-up, and latest hair-do and color. This is good but it should not be the only goal. The woman in our society does not care about her education or personality but only about her looks to find a husband. She does not depend on herself. She should not work unless she has to help her husband financially. Her duties are taking care of her house, children and husband. For example, in this society, if a woman is not dressed up, does not have a hair -do or neat polished nails but she is educated and has a strong personality, no one will care about her and they say: "look! What appearance and clothes and she looks like a 'male'.

Although Rima tries to take a part from each culture to fit the puzzle of her feminine identity, she constructs her identity in English (extract 21) different from Arabic (extract 36).

Extract 36: (Part of an II)

Raham : المرا بطبيعتها ناعمة ، لازم تكون تهتم بشكلا وبمظهرا. لازم تكون مرتبة تعرف تلبس وتربط شعرا وضفيرا. لازم تكون غنوجة شوي بحكيها او بمشيتها بس كمان مش بشكلا مهم لازم تكون منقفة ، متعلمة، شخصيتها قوية تعتمد عحالا. لازم تستغل وتحقق حالا وتكون بتنفع المجتمع.

مثلاً بتحس اذا قاعدبي مجتمع وين ما كان مع رفقاتك او مع اهل وفي مرا نظيفة ومرتبة ومزبطة حالها وحديثها مهم بتعرف تتعاطى بتعرف تفرض حالها، تفرض شخصيتها بتكون مرا اكتر وأحسن من وحدة نظيفة ولا بسي وحاطة ماكياج بس ساكتة ما حكت وما تعرف تناقش وتعرض شخصيتها يعني مش بش بالشكل ، الشخصية مهمة .

Rima (Translation): The woman, by nature, is delicate; she should take care of her shape and appearance. She should be neat, wear suitable clothes, fix her hair and polish her nails. She

should be a little seductive in her way of talking and walking. Nevertheless, she should not take care only of her looks and appearance but she should be educated, independent, have a strong personality, work and actualize herself to play an active role in society. For example, if you are anywhere with your friends or parents and there is a well-dressed, clean, neat, woman, who is educated, knows how to deal with people, and how to express herself I can say that she is more feminine than a woman who has the same appearance but opposite content. I mean not only appearance but also the personality is important.

When she expresses her interpretive repertoire in Arabic, Rima starts as the English with the appearance then in both she mentions that women should be a little seductive. Unlike Lara, Rima tries to highlight what she prefers about the culture and transfers from the TLC what she thinks her native culture lacks. In English, she mentions three adjectives to talk about her personality. While in Arabic Rima mentions that she should work to actualize herself and benefit the society (what the native culture lacks). Then she gives a detailed example to show the importance of personality traits in ‘feminine’ women not only the physical appearance and looks. This shows that she transfers to English what she prefers about the NC (sophisticated looks) and in Arabic she focuses on and gives an example to highlight, in her opinion, what should be shared with the TC (personality; self-actualization). She is being eclectic in constructing her gender identity.

We may infer that when she talks about the culture in English (extract 20) she talks briefly about appearance. While in Arabic (extract 35) she talks about female’s role only as a housewife who takes care of the kids and do housework. In addition, she gives a detailed example showing how a plain woman who does not look sophisticated is never heard and people in the Lebanese culture refer to her as ‘masculine’. Hence, although Rima presents the same concept of femininity in the two languages, she expresses herself in different ways trying to emphasize in each language what is practiced in each culture. I think the mentioned extracts show once more the differences in the way in which the two languages construct gender discursively.

Like Rima and Lara, Marwa does not try to construct her gender identity in the same way in the two languages; nevertheless, she constructs it in a completely different way than Rima and Lara. Marwa seems to be bicultural; hence she criticizes the stereotypical feminine image in the culture perhaps because it contradicts with the image in the other culture she is living. Living in the south suburb of Beirut and being brought up in a “multazim” (i.e. abide by the Koraan) Muslim home and culture, Marwa is a “multazima” muslim girl.

Marwa's interpretive repertoire of femininity in English (extract 23) in comparison to Arabic demonstrated in extract 37 below, shows that she constructs her gender identity in a different way from both, the Lebanese culture and the target one. Therefore what collocates with femininity in Marwa's discourse is different when she uses different languages.

Extract 37: (Part of an II)

مروة : المرا لازم تكون محترمة. لتكون هيكل لازم تعرف تتصرف تصروفات لايقة . تكون محتشمة ثلبي عراسا وتنعطي شكل جسما بوجود رجال محرمين عليا ولا تختلط بهؤل الرجال ولكن اذا في ضرورة بالجامعة او بالشغل او بالمجتمع لازم تكون جدية ولا تقول إلا اللازم. لازم تكون متعلمة وبتقهم وبتعرف الشريعة لتعرف تربي او لادا. لا تهتم بالظاهر لأن الانسان يحكم عليه بافعاله وآرائه مش بشكله. مع انوا المرا فيها بتشتغل وتعمل أي نشاط مثل الرجال بس مش لازم تعمل لأنوا بتقدر، حسب وضعا. اذا عندنا اولاد صغرا لازم تربين وتضل معن مش تتركن وتروح عالشغل لأنو هي مثل الرجال لازم تشتغل.

Marwa (Translation): A woman should be respectable. To be respectable, she should behave decently. She should be conservative, cover her hair and the lines of her body when 'mahram' men (any man whom she can get married to) are around. She should not mingle with these men unless she is at the university or at work. If they are around in any social activity, she should be very serious and say only the necessary minimum. She should be educated and knows the Islamic rules to nurture her children accordingly. She should not care about appearance because a human being is judged by his ideas and deeds, not by his shape. Although a woman can work and do any activity just like any man but she should not. It depends on her situation. If she has young kids, she should stay with them to take care of them, instead of leaving them because she wants to work just like men do.

Whether in English or in Arabic, Marwa portrays the stereotypical feminine image of a muslim ' multazima' girl because that seems to conform with the culture she is living.

Nevertheless, when she talks in English (extract 24) about the stereotypical feminine image in the Lebanese culture, she is critical of 'liberated' working women (TC). On the other hand, when she presented her interpretive repertoire of femininity in the Lebanese culture in Arabic (extract 38), she tried to be critical of the stereotypical image in the culture.

Extract 38: (Part of an II)

مروة : مع انوا اكثرا من نص لبنان إسلام بس ما الكل بيتقيدو بالقرآن الكريم. المظاهر هي المقاييس اذا مرا بتلبس وبتضبط حالا بتكون مرا. بيطلعوا عالمظاهر. ما يسألوا عن فهمها، تفكيراً، مسلكاً. مع الاسف ممكّن يحترموا وحده اكثرا من الثانية لأنّه مظهر احسن بيتأثر بالشكل مش بالمضمون. ما بيهمن اذا كانت متعلمة او متقدة بس اذا حلوة او معا مصاري.

Marwa (Translation): Although more than half the Lebanese are Muslims, they do not abide by the Holy Koraan. Appearance is the most important criteria. If a woman is well-dressed and takes care of her looks, she is considered a real woman (feminine). They look at appearance. They do not ask about her intellectual abilities, education, or behaviors. Unfortunately, they might respect a woman more than any other because she looks better. They judge by appearance rather than ‘content’. They do not care whether she is educated or not. All what they care about is whether she is beautiful or rich.

In extract 24 she talks about the reasons why women should not work outside as well as about the different activities and jobs that she can engage in. She is trying to be critical of the TC. Marwa criticizes “liberated” women in extract 24 (English) but she does not mention that when she expresses herself in Arabic (extract 38). I think this is because in our society or her conservative subculture, women’s liberation is talked about in a negative way, if mentioned. That is why she does not talk about it, while she does when she speaks English. This is a hot issue in the west, maybe that is why she touches on it. Even her friend in a SSGI presents her negative attitude towards the stereotypical feminine image in the Lebanese culture. Perhaps she is trying to attack the Lebanese image but as if she is blaming the west, especially the liberation movement for the modern way of dressing and lifestyle.

Mona: I hate women like six. They think freedom of women is in the way they dress. To wear what they want, to attract men, to have boyfriends that is: “I am a woman that can do what I want”.

I can say that they might have a misconception of feminism, women’s rights etc. That is how the patriarchal societies try to portray feminists, working women or women who ask for their rights. Men are happy subjugating women who are told that they have all their rights and need not like women in other cultures strive for anything. When Marwa speaks Arabic, she tries to be critical and feels sorry for the muslims who do not dare to abide by Islam and is also critical of the focus on appearance and looks which are all fake.

Lara prefers the gendered identity of the TC, Rima is eclectic and Marwa who seems to be bicultural, rejects both cultures (the Lebanese and the western). What collocates with femininity in the discourses used by the three females is different when they use different languages. Despite the fact that Lara is revolutionary, adopts the gender identity of the TLC when she expresses herself in English and Arabic, when she expresses herself in Arabic, Lara highlights what she is critical of about the culture. i.e. what she hates and rejects. On the other hand, Rima, being eclectic, when she expresses herself in Arabic, she tries to transfer to the NC what she has embraced from the TC. While when she speaks English, she tries to transfer to the TC what she thinks will complete the image. Last but not least, Marwa tries to criticize the TC when she speaks English as well as she criticizes the NC when she speaks Arabic.

As I have mentioned earlier, two males (Riad and Baha'a) constructed their gender identities in the same way in the two languages. Only Nabil who rejects the native culture performed his gender identity differently in the two languages.

Being exposed to the foreign language culture, and using the foreign language more often, Nabil, like Lara, tries to engage in a kind of critical reflection about the native culture that will allow him to take decisions about identities he wants to construct for himself. For him, the range of subjectivities that exists in the native culture and the foreign culture do not coincide because his exposure to the foreign culture results in change in ideologies, discourse practices and meanings allocated to gender. He might have compared between the gendered subjectivities provided by the two cultures. It is through this comparison that he might have made a choice to assimilate to the foreign culture.

Nabil's discourse practices in the native and foreign language present his interpretive repertoires of masculinity / femininity and family relationships as well as the culture's. Being positioned as resistant and unconventional in the native culture, means he rejects his culture and tries to reposition himself in accordance with the foreign culture.

Extracts 39 and 40 also present Nabil's interpretive repertoire of the stereotypical "masculine" image in the culture and his own interpretive repertoire of masculinity but both are produced in the native language.

Extract 39: (Part of an II)

سهي : كيف لازم يكون الشخص بمجتمعنا ليكون عنده رجولة .
 نبيل : ليكون زلمي ، لازم يحسسو انو الناس بيعترمو وبخافو منه ويقدر يمشيهم بإصبعه يعني فينا اذا شفنا زلمي مرق وواحد ضربله سلام بقولوا هيدا رجال ، شو مكان يعني كيف حصل عمركمه هيدا ما بأثر هون ، ما هي مشكلة . بعدين مثلا رجال كان مهم ولسبب انكسر ، دغري بيحقره ، ما بعود زلمي . يعني مقاييس الزلمي هي المصاري اذا فينا نقول والمركز يلي معه مصاري بيحترموا ويقولو وللازكي وهو ما يكون شي . يعني الزلمي هو لمسيطرا على اللحوليه وخاصة مرته لازم تخضله وما تقوله لا ابدا . واذا كان عنده علاقات مع بنات ولو هو متزوج ، شو Rambo ملحق على كزا وحده زلمي جدع .

Nabil (Translation): To be masculine in this culture a man should feel that the people love him and are afraid of him and he can manipulate and control them. If anyone sees a man passing by and people salute him, people will say he's masculine .How does a man reach a certain position does not matter. If that man for a certain reason is bankrupt, they scorn him immediately .He won't be masculine any more. In short, money and power or position are the only criteria for judging a man as masculine. If a man is rich they say he's masculine although he's nothing. A real man is the one who dominates and controls the people he knows especially his wife; she should submit and never say no. He will be considered a Rambo if he has off-marriage relationships.

In extract 39 Nabil presents the stereotypical masculine man as the authoritative and who gains people's respect by money and position. According to Nabil, the important criteria for judging masculinity is having much money no matter how, subjugating his wife and having many sexual off-marriage relationships.

While in extract 40, Nabil presents his own interpretive repertoire of masculinity which he thinks, is shown in physical appearance and important personality traits.

Extract 40: (Part of an II)

سهي : كيف لازم يكون الشخص لنقول عنده رجولة .
 نبيل : بالنسبة للشكل ، انا بلاقي الطول بساعد يكون عنده طلة وهيبة ، شوارب وهي الصفات يلي قليل تتوارد عند المرا . طول وكثير عضلات بس جسمه قوي بس اهم شي الاحترام ، بيعترم مرته اكيد ، يحترم كل الناس . يكون فخور بنفسه مش انو يحتقر غيره بس يكون عنده ثقة بنفسه ويكون شجاع ومندفع .

Extract 40 (Translation):

Suha: How in your opinion should a man be to be labeled masculine?

Nabil: As far as the shape is concerned, I think the masculine man should be tall because this adds to his looks. He should have moustache, be tall, well - built with muscles. The characteristics which are not feminine. But the most important thing is respect; certainly he should respect his wife, and every body. He should be proud of himself but not scorn others. He should have self- confidence, and should be courageous and impulsive.

Although produced in two different languages, if we compare extracts 29 and 40, we notice that the same image is being portrayed. Nevertheless, in extract 39, expressed in Arabic, Nabil tries to give more details about what he means by “Cunning, can manage things and manipulate people’s minds”; he tries to emphasize that money and position are two very important masculine qualities regardless of the way you get them. He tries to highlight what he’s critical of in the culture.

Similarly if we compare extracts 30 and 40, produced in the native and the foreign language, we notice the same concept of masculinity. However, when he expresses himself in English, he adds few details about being independent and building his future. Maybe because in the foreign culture, children at the age of eighteen live on their own, work, pay their bills, tuition etc. regardless of whether their parents are rich or poor. Moreover, he describes the physical appearance when he expresses himself in Arabic may be because in the Lebanese culture the physical appearance is an important criteria and even more important than anything else. Hence, the effect of the native culture is clear when he speaks Arabic and that of the TC is also evident when he expresses himself in English.

The masculine image Nabil tries to portray in the two languages has a lot in common; nevertheless, he is positively affected by the culture. In both interviews, English and Arabic, he shows his concern about character and personality traits rather than material things. In addition, he touches on respecting women in which he rejects patriarchy. However, when he expresses himself in Arabic he starts by describing the physical appearance, especially the well-built strong body and the moustache.

In conclusion, Nabil does not construct his masculinity in the same way in English and in Arabic. The masculinity he constructs in English is unconventional in the Lebanese culture. He rejects his native culture and tries to construct his masculine identity in a different way as a result of being exposed to the foreign culture. While when he expresses himself in Arabic, he could not but identify partially with the native culture. Hence Nabil's interpretive repertoires of masculinity are different when he uses different languages.

As mentioned earlier, although Baha'a expresses himself in the foreign language, his interpretive repertoire of masculinity conforms with that of the culture. If this is the case, his image of masculinity expressed in the native language (extract 42) is expected to be also identical to that of the local culture (Extract 41).

Extract 41: (Part of an II)

بهاء : ليكون زلمي ، لازم يكون عنده القدرة يفتح بيت ويعمل عيلة يعني يكون معتمد على حالة ويقدر يعيش بدون مساعدة الآخرين .
شخصيتو قوية وجسمه قوي .

Baha'a (Translation): To be masculine, a man should be able to have a house and support a family.

He should depend on himself and should be able to live without any body's help. He should have strong personality and body.

Extract 42: (Part of an II)

بهاء : مثل ما قلت تفكيري هو مثل المجتمع يلي عايش فيه . في ناس صارو مغبرين عن المجتمع وتابعين الغرب بس مجتمعنا بعد عندو عاداتوا ولازم الواحد يكون منسجم مع المجتمع الي عايش فيه .

Bhaa: (Translation): As I told you my concepts are in harmony with that of the culture I'm living. Some people in our culture have changed their concepts adopting the western culture but our society has its own traditions and we should keep them and live in harmony with the culture we're living.

What is worth noticing is his rejection of the foreign culture and his negative attitude towards it. In the English interview (extract 31), he criticizes the men who imitate the west especially in their way of looking and dressing. Moreover, when he expresses himself in Arabic he shows the same reservation towards the Lebanese who are so much affected by western cultures. He stresses the fact that we should be in harmony with the culture we are living.

In conclusion, Baha'a tried to construct his masculinity in the same way in English and Arabic. The masculinity he tries to perform in the two languages is identical to that of the culture.

In the previous part of the chapter, I have shown how Riad is critical of the culture when he expresses his (extract 25) and the culture's (extract 26, 27) interpretive repertoire of masculinity. Similarly, he rejects the culture's masculine image when he expresses himself in Arabic (extract 43, 44). Hence, it is clear that Riad constructs his masculine identity in the same way in English as well in Arabic.

Extract 43: (Part of an II)

رائد : تكون الواحد زلمي اذا بيتحمل مسؤولية قراراته ولما يكون يعني في شغله او مشكلة لازم هو يكون محورا يكون عارف حلو شو عم يعمل مش مقلز . والاحترام كتير مهم احترام الغير واحترام حالي .

Riad (Translation): A man is masculine if he keeps his promises i.e is responsible for his decisions.

If there's any problem he should be involved and take the right decision at the right time.
Respect is very important; he should respect himself as well as others.

Extract 44: (P art of an II)

رائد : بلبنان عنا الشكل والمادية كتير مهمة . اهم من كل شي . المظاهر عنا كتير مهمة . المصاري بتعمل زلمي بهالمجتمع . اذا اخذ قرار لازم يضلووا عليه ... و اذا زبط بنت تكون رجال .

Riad (Translation): In Lebanon the most important things are appearance and money. Material things and appearance are the most important. In this society, money makes a man masculine. If a man takes a decision he shouldn't change his opinion. He will be masculine if he manages his affairs with women.

Both Riad and Baha'a try to construct their gender identities in the same way in both languages. However, Baha'a accepts the culture while Riad prefers an alternative position.

In the first part of this chapter I have given some examples to support the idea that speakers' identities emerge from discourse. Hence, the language of the learner becomes an important tool for establishing one's social identity in the changing reality within which second language speakers need to function. Although the participants in this study do not move from their country to another to learn the second language, it is clear in the extracts, I have discussed earlier, that Lara, Rima, Nabil, and Riad who are exposed to the western culture in different ways try to reinvent themselves

to fit their new realities. While Baha'a who is not exposed to the foreign culture in any way (traveling, movies, music, media) is in harmony with the native culture. Last but not least is Marwa who lives in an area where people are exposed to a conservative Islamic culture as it is practiced in Iran. Marwa, like Lara, Nabil and Riad tries to reinvent herself to fit the different new realities.

Since gender identity is a social and culture construct, the participants, as a result of exposure to the new cultures try to modify the previous models to fit the present ones. That's why most of the participants reject the local culture and are unconventional; exposure may result in changes in ideologies, practices and gender. Consequently the previously mentioned discussion of the extracts shows that what collocates with masculinity and femininity in the discourses used by the respondents is different when they use different languages – English and Arabic.

Language and the construction of different ‘Selves’

Each of us has access to a range of discourses and it is these different discourses which give us access to, or enable us to construct, different ‘selves’ (Coates 1996). To clarify what is meant by discourse, and to demonstrate how discourses can position us differently in relation to the world, I will present few examples taken from the different kinds of interviews. The first two extracts in which Rima and Lara discuss how a woman should look to be feminine, will show how different discourses produced by the two females position them differently. The next three extracts show how Rima, Lara and Marwa construct their femininity differently in different contexts.

Extract 45 draws on an ideology in which Rima insists that women should maintain their bodies at a size which accords with current fashion (these days, this means slim). Rima adopts a discourse which positions her accepting the dominant ideology; she refers to size and appearance. Rima says that “if her body is a little fat and she tried but that’s her body, she has to accept it”. The ideology imposed by this dominant discourse clashes with reality; she has to have the perfect body and this is not the case with most girls, especially women.

Extract 45: (Part of an II)

Rima: The most important thing is that she has to take care of her body; it's not that she leaves herself to become fat and not care about that. She won't look nice with the fashionable clothes. But if her body is a little fat and she tried but that's her body, she has to accept it. It's more feminine to look after herself.

On the other hand, when Lara was talking about ‘feminine’ girls or women, she said: “The more she dresses, the more she’s vulgar”. This discourse challenges the hegemonic idea that women should be dressed up to look more feminine. Hence, Rima and Lara have different discourses, concerning the same issue, which give them different positions, and this is possible because of the existence of alternative discourses, alternative ways of thinking about the world.

When Rima was asked whether, at certain moments during the day, she practices her femininity differently, she answered:

Extract 46: (Part of an II)

Rima: When I’m surrounded by people, I act more feminine than other times in the way I sit, the way I speak, choose my words, the ways, yeah, its different.

Suha: Why?

Rima: To “Be there” may be to attract other people. To be present there; I think ‘femininity will attract other people. That’s it. When I’m with my friends, brothers sisters... I won’t care about all that. I feel I don’t need to be feminine that much. It’s different from when I meet new people. I’d like to dress up and everything. The first impression is important. I don’t feel I need to do that when I’m with my close friends. But also I feel more feminine when I have something important like a date. I take care of how I look more than any other time and I act and feel more feminine.

In this extract, Rima tries to construct a familiar feminine identity or subject position. It is the traditional feminine image in the culture; we see an account of a girl who enjoys attracting people. In other words, her femininity is embedded in the ways she sits, talks, and dresses. While this discourse positions her as accepting the dominant ideology, there is another discourse which is challenging this hegemonic idea; Rima does not feel she always has to dress up or be careful in her ways of talking, sitting, behaving etc. in all situations. Rima feels that she does not have to be the ‘woman’ who impresses others, all the time, especially when she is at home or among close friends or relatives. Thus, she practices her femininity differently in different contexts.

The next example (extract 47) from Lara’s individual interview, draws on the hegemonic ideology that women are not themselves and try to impress others, especially when men are around.

Extract 47: (Part of an II)

Lara: I practice femininity differently at different moments but not like my friends or other girls in our culture; for example, when we go to a restaurant or anywhere to eat out, I'll be shocked with the girls. I know they eat 10 times as much as I do when they're at home but when we're out with the guys, they start eating in an artificial way and very small amounts. I don't usually eat a lot but even when we're out I finish the meal, the plate. I don't pretend as they do "I'm full, I can't eat it all, it's too much". They even don't say what they really think "Its arrondissent les angles"

Lara thinks that the girls do not say what they think and try to pretend things which are different from what they really are or do. They are practicing their femininity differently in this context. They do not eat the usual amount just to attract the boy's attention that they do not eat much, they care about their looks, they want to be slim like models etc. while Lara's discourse challenges that hegemonic idea and prefers to be herself even with the company of boys; she goes out to a restaurant not only to enjoy the company but also the food. She wonders why she should not be able to be herself and eat the usual amount or eat all what she ordered.

In extract 48, two different discourses enable Lara to perform different 'selves' i.e. to perform her femininity differently at different times.

Extract 48: (Part of an II)

Suha: You didn't tell me if you at certain moments practice your femininity differently.

Lara: Yeah! It's different when I come to the university or go out because of the different situations. It's natural for me that I wear tennis shoes, jeans or anything causal and comfortable when I come to the university. I cannot imagine myself like the others who come to school every day as if they have a special occasion. At the university, I don't care whether I look nice or not; I'm here to study and to socialize with some friends not to impress as most of the others do. If I go out or I have any occasion, I like to be well dressed with simple clothes; I'll think of whether I look pretty or not.

She feels the femininity she performs is not the same in all circumstances; she feels a different person in a different situation i.e. the casual girl at school is as feminine as being dressed up on an occasion, two sides of the same coin.

The last example (extract 49) touches on the different ‘selves’ of a ‘moultazimah’ Muslim girl.

Extract 49: (Part of an II)

Suha: Do you at certain moments in every day life practice your femininity differently?

Marwa: Yeah sure! I mentioned that earlier. When I’m at home or with my girlfriends, I’m myself; I can wear what I want, and act freely as I like but when I’m in society with the presence of ‘non mahram’ men, I speak to them seriously; I say only what I have to say directly with no flirting. I speak neither in soft nor harsh voice but normal. No smile on my face, serious big time.

Not unlike Riham and Lara, Marwa produces different discourses which show that she practices her femininity differently at certain moments in every day life. Being a “multazima” muslim girl, Marwa abides by the religious rules. She cannot be herself in the presence of “non mahram” men. She said that she has to be very serious and play a completely different role than when she is in the company of girls. Hence, in the two contexts, Marwa has to behave, talk, walk, dress etc. differently. That is she practices her femininity in different ways.

As presented, through the different discourses people can perform different selves. Since context plays a major role in performing femininity and masculinity, I am going to show in the following part how males practice their masculinity differently in different contexts.

Collaborative Floor to express solidarity

There is a great deal of evidence in the females SSGI which suggest that the three groups of females are engaged in a collaborative floor rather than a single one at-a-time floor to ‘do’ friendship or intimacy as demonstrated in extract 50.

Extract 50: (Part of a SSGI)

[Discussing picture 4; man playing with the baby)

Rima: Picture four cares too much about his baby; he’s got toys around him. He is playing with him. I think in our society, if the father is going to do that

Manal: [interrupts] I don't think in our society we have fathers like that; they care about their work, making money; they don't care about babies, playing with them, hugging. Western cultures have this. Both parents work so the father has to do this sometimes.

Grace: Reflects the European culture, a man should not reflect power and work but also gentleness.

Rima: Father in western cultures doesn't have to be rude or representing power, the authority in the house, he can be the mother in the house taking care of the baby , cooking or doing anything.

Manal: It's weird in this culture in Lebanon; you don't see fathers playing with their babies maybe because they don't have time. By the time they come home they are too tired to take care of the baby.

Rima: But even on Sundays for example you don't see families going out and taking their babies.

Manal: Of course, in most cases the hugging and taking care of the baby is for the mother.

Grace: Yeah

Rima: Yeah

Grace: But in our generation we can see men taking this role.

Manal: Because we are copying from the western culture.

Rima: Some fathers of our generation feel happier if they take care of their babies. They don't have this thought that they have to present authority in the house.

Grace: Maybe they have to share the love.

Rima: And affection. I'd like my husband to be like this father. To take care of his child not only care about his job. I don't like him to be a part from the house. I'd like him to be into, into his relation with the child.

Grace: It would be great if he can play his role as a man, not just to be tough and rude; i.e. he's the power, to be the hard working man. To be tender and to play his role as a human being.

Manal: A child needs both maternal and paternal care, love from the father and mother. Care of the mother is not enough to complete their love for mental psychological, all problems that he might have later, so if he's not close to his father he's going to face many problems and have many gaps he won't be able to share his secrets as he grows older. He'll feel as if he's a foreigner.

Grace: I don't think it's an advantage only for the baby but also for the father. It will be an experience for the father; it will help him later.

In this extract, the speakers choose to establish a collaborative floor that prioritizes the group rather than the individual. The speakers are aware of each others contributions and all

utterances relate to the same topic (the masculine image that picture number four reflects) with particular points being jointly developed.

Rima: Playing with him... father is going to do that/

Manal: Playing with them... western cultures... father has to do this sometimes.

Grace: European culture

Rima: Father in Western cultures....

The female friends involved in this collaborative floor explicitly welcome each other's contribution of talk and incorporate them into general stream of talk by repeating or by accepting the completion by 'yeah'.

Grace: Yeah

Rima: Yeah

Moreover, speakers also add utterances to each other's and these are also incorporated into the jointly constructed text. Meaning is what matters rather than exact words. These friends are collaborating to produce talk and this involves the joint completion of an utterance and, as I have previously mentioned, overlapping speech. Hence, the idea of trying to 'seize the floor' becomes redundant, because the floor is already occupied by all speakers. A collaborative floor is a shared floor.

This is also applicable in the discussion of the same picture by another group of females. In extract 51 although they do not use the exact words, they use phrases that have the same meaning such as Lara: "not a representative of a man"; Rola: "He's like a mother"; "he is just used to see his mother taking care and other examples"; Zeina: "We can see this more often these days"; Rola: "many modern men do this".

Extract 51: (Part of a SSGI)

Lara: I also think that number four is not a representative of men in this culture because he is taking care of his son.

Zeina: But we can see this more often these days.

Rola: In Lebanon he's like a mother. You see this as an image of a woman not a man.

Zeina: But if a young couple and they love each other, he does this.

Rola: If a man has lived outside, maybe. But if he grew and brought up in Lebanon and has seen his mother taking care of him as other mothers, he is just used to see his mother taking care.

Zeina: If the woman is working, this plays a part in allowing him take care of the children.

Rola: I think many modern men do this in Lebanon and may be we don't see it.

Ziena: I would like my husband to take care of the children.

Lara: Yeah

Rola: Number five he's an....

Moreover, these female friends also welcome each other's contribution of the talk and express their acceptance by "yeah"; Zeina: "I like my husband to take care of the children". Rola: "yeah". In addition to what I have previously mentioned about collaborative floor, Zeina, Lara and Rola try to round off the discussion of picture four; Zeina and Lara sum up their general point of view regarding the masculine image they prefer while Rola initiates a new phase of talk by moving to discuss picture five which reflects another masculine image.

In extract 52, a third female friendship group also engages in a collaborative floor. They also try to support each other by using words and phrases that have the same meaning. Mona: "I prefer four"; Marwa: "Number four, I like that".

Extract 52: (Part of a SSGI)

Ola: Let's look at the men's pictures

Marwa: Picture four. He's trying to help his wife, holding the baby; he's doing woman's job.

Mona: No, why taking the job of a woman? He is his father; the baby needs him.

Marwa: But classical fathers don't do this. They don't put their child on his lap and play with him.

Ola: Number five is the stereotypical image. He is the bossy, authoritative; he's got the awesome look.

Marwa: Yeah! He is

Mona: [Interrupts] Number four is the best

Marwa: [Interrupts] Four and five are not contradictory. A man can be both. They may compliment each other.

Mona: If they compliment each other, fine! But number five only I don't like I prefer four; he loves his family and takes care of it.

Marwa: Number four, I like that. In our society they don't show love to their children. I like him to help at home and do women chores. If she's helping outside, he's got to help inside. Loving father. I like number five. I like such type, confident hardworking; he cares about his looks.

Extract 53: (Part of a SSGI)

Mona: I hate women like number six. She has nothing but to attract other's attention. No aim, no purpose. Unfortunately, women in this culture are like her. They think freedom of women is in the way of dressing. To wear what she wants, to attract men, to have boyfriends. "I'm a woman that can do what I want." Number seven is nothing.

Ola: Is very shallow

Mona: She's distorting feminine image. This is not freedom. I hate her. Number seven is the other face of number six same aim in different ways. Number seven represents what many women think and like to be, to be equal to men but they present themselves in the image of number six. Number six is mirror of what number seven represent. Number three expressing what she wants; she has a purpose in her life. She is herself enjoying it. I like number four because he loves his family. I don't like number five; he's arrogant. Number two is the worst. He is a rebel. He's trying to change but he didn't find himself yet. He's like a women wearing earings, bracelets. No aim. Empty.

When speakers participate in such collaborative floor, and when the topic under discussion is well known to all speakers, then who says what is unimportant. What matters is that what is to be said gets said. Although, in extract 53, Mona indulges in a monologue and talks too much, the others do not protest but welcome her contribution and support it:

Mona: Number seven is nothing.

Ola: Is very shallow.

What Mona said is construed as being the voice of the group rather than hers as an individual. Hence, as collaborative talk, the three speakers construct a collaborative floor where Mona plays the main tune, while Marwa and Ola either jointly construct a commentary on what Mona is saying or take it in turns to comment.

Although the extracts are produced at different times by different groups, who belong to different subcultures, the participants prefer the same masculine image which is not the stereotypical one in the Lebanese culture. The nine females showed their preference of a man who shares his wife's duties, taking care of the kids, helping in domestic chores etc. i.e. who does not

keep to assigned roles where he is the bread winner who has to come back home and find everything ready, and she, on the other hand, is the housekeeper whose job is to clean, do all the home chores and take care of the kids. If they are going to be working women just like their husbands, they should not do double work inside and outside. In addition, the girls prefer that the father has a good, affectionate, intimate relationship with the children to express their love to each other and be able to share their problems and enjoy a better life.

Such positions help in shaping their character through linguistic practices; the girls are co-constructing within groups similar identities that are different from the culture. They employ speech forms with their friends to signal independence from hegemonic expectation of gender and to establish solidarity with one another.

Although the dominant discourses in our society are the ‘patriarchal’ i.e. discourses that assume the superiority of males and the marginalization of women, women present their different discourses that challenge the hegemonic ideas. Their talk about the masculine image they prefer plays a major role in constructing and negotiating their feminine identity.

Manifesting Gender in Gendered Speech

Not only in the single sex group discussions do the girls participate in a collaborative floor, but also in the mixed sex ones using the same skills: mirroring, balance, sharing, exchange and mutuality. Using the following extracts (54,55) as a proof, I infer the finding that the girls in the MSGI dominate the floor and ‘silence’ the boys.

Extract 54

[A mixed group of males and females start discussing a set of pictures]

Zeina: Picture 1a, ugly guy who doesn’t reflect masculinity. It represents old man. He’s rude, tough.

Rola: But it represents masculinity in Lebanon. He is more like authoritative father or uncle, the older authority.

Lara: Old fashioned.

Zeina: Picture 6a looks like a politician

Lara: [Interrupts] Macho

Zeina: No, not very masculine

Lara: Yes

Rola: Successful man

Zeina: Picture 4a is masculine , handsome; I like him. He's modern.

Hamdi: But masculinity doesn't have to do with good looks.

Roal: He's not a macho.

Zeina: But when I look at a person, I can easily judge.

Roal: Somehow he's idealistic; he is handsome, gallant, knows how to deal with women and women's feelings. He's rare. You won't find all the characteristics in one. Maybe one who is good looking but he won't be gallant; they are usually arrogant and others gallant but not good looking.

Zeina: In this culture, when they're handsome, they lose their charm; they won't be gallant.

Rola: They're too self-centered.

Lara: Picture 6a is a macho.

Rola: Number 8a is not bad.

Hamdi: What about the earrings?

Rola: Earrings

Hamdi: But we're talking about it in the Lebanese culture.

Rola: You mean they think he's gay?

Hamdi: No! But it is not accepted.

Zeina: Still in Lebanon it is not.

Rola: But we have many wearing earrings.

Lara: But it is not the stereotype of the masculine figure.

Rola: The other two are more stereotypical. We see them most often. Either the successful businessman or authoritative father. Picture 6a is different from picture one in appearance but in beliefs and basics of his way of thinking may be close to 1a. In Lebanon, we tend to hide by the way we wear, we may have a very old fashioned ways of thinking but maybe wearing a modern suit. He may treat his wife as a second class.

Zeina: He may treat his children the girls differently from the guys.

If we look at extract 54, we will notice that the girls dominate the conversation and are discussing the pictures among each other oblivious of the males' presence. The most interesting about this extract is that girls take the initiative to start the discussion and choose to discuss the males pictures first to present their interpretive repertoires and positions concerning masculinity. Not before the girls start to discuss the third male picture that one of the boys gives a comment

(Hamdi: “But masculinity doesn’t have to do with good looks”). He does not argue and his male friends do not help either as if they are dominated or ‘silenced’ by the girls. The girls continue the discussion. Few minutes later, the same boy just poses a question (Hamdi: “What about the earrings?”). Here also he does not speak in an assertive way; even the question he posed starts with “what about” as if he is hesitant or does not dare to make a statement.

To be able to analyse this piece of discourse, it is important, as Schegloff (2000) argues, to discuss the characterization of the participants and the characterization of the ‘context’ in which they talk and interact because the mechanism by which the context is understood has determinate consequences.

The three female friends are themselves, have strong personalities and are unconventional in the culture. Living in the East of Beirut where they went to school and were brought up they are more affected by the French culture. i.e. they belong to a subculture which is completely different from that of the three males who live in a conservative area of West Beirut. The girls enjoy listening to all kinds of Arabic and Western music, speak French and English with their friends and at home, hang out with their friends everyday, go to concerts, pubs and night clubs, traveled to many European and American countries with their friends, go out with their boyfriends and have sexual relationships. On the other hand, the three boys are religious; they pray, they go to the mosque daily, enjoy only classical Arabic music, watch only religious political, documentary and sports programs on TV, hang out with friends once or twice a week, do not go to movies , concerts, pubs or night clubs, do not travel with their friends, have been only to neighboring Arab countries with their parents, speak Arabic with their friends and at home, do not have girlfriends and ,consequently, are unlikely to have any sexual relationships.

AUB is a multilingual, multicultural context where a big percentage of Lebanese and foreign students come from different Arab, European and American countries. Even many of the local students have lived abroad or traveled as tourists. In addition, being an American institution, the context is different from the stereotypical local culture.

Given the context outlined above, it can be assumed that the girls do not have any problem starting the discussion not because they want to dominate the floor or silence the males to show power, but they might do that unintentionally. They are used to dealing with their male friends as ‘equal’, being unconventional in the culture and rejecting the authoritative hegemonic masculinity

of stereotypical males. Hence, we cannot say that there is a specific ‘woman’s language’ but they can use any ‘style’ depending on the situation.

On the other hand, the males do not take the initiative, do not try to dominate the floor or silence the females, maybe because they are surprised by a different style of girls than the ones they usually deal with . Moreover, the three males are not the stereotypes of male students at AUB; they do not feel ‘at home’ while they are on campus. Hence, as Schegloff (2000) notes: “The linkage between features of participants and context help us understand how the interaction proceeds in the way it does, how it comes to have the shape that it ends up having.”

Living in a patriarchal society, we expect the girls to take the boys’ role i.e. to be dominated and silenced by the boys not vice, versa. It is worth mentioning that the males may not ‘perform’ their masculinity in this way in another context or at any other moment but they might ‘do’ it differently depending on the situation. They might have behaved in extract 54 in a way which might be associated with females but this does not mean that they are always going to behave in the same way.

Females dominating the floor and silencing men in a MSGI show that women’s speech’, ‘men’s speech’ and ‘powerful speech’ are not derived from the identity of the speaker but are culturally constructed within different social groups (Gal, 1995).

The following Extract (55) taken from a different MSG discussion where boys and girls are engaged in a collaborative floor.

Extract 55: (Part of a MSGI)

Riad: Which is better 6a or 8a?

Karim: 8a

Rima: In our society??!

Riad: In our society both. It depends on the situation.

Grace: 8a

Manal: What about the hair?

Karim: He’s trying to look cool. Does the earring make him less masculine?

Riad: In our culture, Yes

Rima: In our culture, yes but for me I don’t mind.

Riad: Long hair and earrings make a guy less masculine in our society.

Karim: I prefer to be 8a.

Manal: I don't feel comfortable with 8a. This person, guys like in picture 8a has no aim in life; he's lost.

Riad: He's not lost; he's very confident in what he's doing .He likes what he is

Manal: I don't like neither this nor that.

Grace: Picture 8a seems to be more human and genuine than picture six.

Riad: More free

Grace: More free; close to you

Males are cooperative not competitive and even had the same opinion concerning the masculine image that picture eight reflects. They do not interrupt or attempt to dominate to gain status or power over each other or the others. They do not display the aggressive and competitive behavior allegedly typical of males in a society where patriarchal norms go unchallenged.

The next two extracts taken from a SSG and MSG discussions give additional proof that performing masculinity 'appropriately' does not mean giving exactly the same performance but men can perform masculinity differently in different contexts or situations.

In the SSGI, extract 56, Karim admires the woman in picture seven and shows his preference of and attraction to her and made fun of the stereotypical feminine image in the culture (picture six). His subject position is that of a rebel who does not accept the 'natural', 'normal', but prefers the unconventional.

Extract 56: (Part of a SSGI)

Riad : Picture 7 you see adventure.

Karim: Yeah attraction, illusion

Riad : Yeah, you don't really know what's going on as in pictures 3 and 6.

Karim: If we're going to be attracted to one of these... just for the beauty of it (6) but seven because we want to know more about. The lesser we know about something, the more curious we get. Seven is the most attractive. That's what I like.

Riad: I don't agree

Karim: Which one do you think?

Riad: Three because she's dedicated to what she does.

Fouad: If we try to match them with the males pictures, we will see that picture two matches with seven; three matches with four and five with six.

Riad: Two and seven have the same looks.

Karim: Picture 7 grabbed me more than 6 and 3.

Riad: Which one of the girls' pictures relates more to our culture?

Fouad & Karim: 6

Raed: Yeah 6

Karim: That shows how dumb girls are here.

In the MSGI, Karim comments on picture seven saying that 'she's more like a male' because she is 'sure of herself'. To avoid admitting this, when Manal asks him surprisingly whether being sure of herself is a masculine characteristic, he denies it and replaces it by the word 'powerful'. He even adds that being mysterious is masculine. While in the SSGI, mystery, adventure, and power reflect his preferable feminine image; in the MSGI the same qualities mentioned mean 'less feminine', 'more masculine'.

Extract 57: (Part of MSGI)

Karim: Picture 2a is more feminine than picture 3a.

Riad: Casual / formal

Rima: Picture 2a maybe going to school, casual, but if she's going to work, she will be more formal like 3a but this doesn't mean that 3a is more feminine.

Manal: Why are we stressing on what they're wearing as if only what one wears represent

Grace: [Interrupted] it doesn't reflect what you are!

Karim: It's not the way she's wearing it's the way she is looking. She's more like a male type, sure of herself.

Rima: That's how men in this culture think.

Grace: If she's herself this doesn't mean she's like a male.

Karim: Picture 3a you see she's sure of herself while in picture 2a you just see a girl.

Manal: being sure of herself is a characteristic of a man?

Karim: No, I didn't mean that but she's more powerful.

Manal: What do you think of picture 7a?

Rima: She's feminine.

Grace: She has her own style.

Riad: She's confident, independent.

Rima: Ya but the girl in picture 2a is not confident

Riad: No, she's not.

Manal: (Pointing to picture 7a) Look at the way she's standing with her legs open. I don't think this standing is appropriate for a girl. The way 3a is standing is lady like.

Grace: May be at that time she felt more comfortable that way.

Karim: Picture seven is more challenging. Picture 3a is the typical elegant maybe businesswoman.

The other (7a) you don't know who she is. Mystery means more masculine.

Fouad: We don't really see many of 7a just as picture 5a, for example, she's a woman taking position of guys. She's driving a racecar we never see this in our country. It's masculine.

Karim: I don't see this as feminine

Rima: Don't see that as not feminine. She's just practicing her hobby or maybe job if she's professional but if she does anything else in society I mean her behavior will tell if she's feminine or not. Driving a racecar doesn't change my point of view of her.

Riad: Profession doesn't change your point of view of her? It does.

Rima: Not at all. Maybe she's a car racist and when she goes out she's just like picture 3a or 2a will she become feminine?

Riad: Is clothing the only criteria? Clothing is not the only criteria.

Rima: Clothing is part of the criteria. You can't say she's not feminine just because she is a car racist you have to see her in society to judge.

Riad: Some jobs or activities can make a girl look less feminine in society. A female wrestler is less feminine than a businesswoman.

Maybe because of the effect of gender stereotyping that Karim feels it is difficult for him to admit in the presence of females that power, self-confidence and mystery, which are important masculine qualities in the culture, can be shared with females. It is difficult for a man in a patriarchal society (even if he is unconventional) to grant women characteristics which men boast of as their distinguishing features. Actually, what counts as an acceptable talk for men is a complex matter in which all kinds of contextual variables play a part. Karim tries to construct his masculinity differently in the different contexts.

To wrap up this part, I found that masculinity and femininity do not have pre-set codes of behavior but can be constructed differently in different contexts; consequently, males and females can manifest gender in gendered speech.

Resistant Discourses

I have already discussed the interpretive repertoires of masculinity and femininity, how the participants are positioned in the Lebanese culture and how their unconventional identities are read in their “new” subcultures. However, some discourses and practices become the issue of struggle in the process of transition and internalization of new subjectivities. A good example of such practices are sex and sexuality which I am going to discuss under the heading Resistant Discourses in which I will present the different interpretive repertoires of sex and sexuality at play within the different extracts and the effects of gender difference in positioning subjects.

The girls and boys in the sample have access not only to dominant discourses in the culture but also to resistant ones. Across the extracts, female and male sexuality are talked about in a number of different ways.

In the first example, Lara in extract 58 draws on a repertoire of what Hollway (1984) refers to as permissive sexuality.

Extract 58: (Part of an II)

Lara: It's something very natural. Everybody in his life has someone. When it's sincere from both of them, it's very beautiful. Even though it's not a commitment like marriage, it's just a boyfriend, but when you're sincere in your life, you'll be sincere in such relations. You have somebody special to care about, to go out with... to have sex but they must feel ready both of them and no one should force the other. They should both want it. It mustn't be a ‘weapon’ like ‘I trapped you’ or ‘you trapped me’. You know what I mean “I lost my virginity because of you ...” girls usually do this to get attached to him. They do all this because they are not themselves; I have a boyfriend, OK; I decided that we need to have sex and I'm not virgin ;I don't hide it. Even I don't think it's going to be a big issue if I discuss it with my parents. I don't think they mind. But I don't discuss such personal issues. Every time I get to know someone I have to tell about it, No! I might have many relationships that might not be love ones they might not work. If it works and I had feelings then I'll have sex with him.

Here sex is constructed as a form of a need. It is something that is fun, healthy and should be enjoyed equally by both men and women. Permissive in the sense that she thinks it is a natural

basic need and it is the right of every male and female when they are both ready for it. Her discourse indicates resistance since it is against the dominant cultural norms; it offers her an alternative position, alternative ways of being a woman.

On the other hand, Rima in extract 59 feels that any boy, unlike girls, should have sexual relationships to be masculine. However, he should find a suitable girl, has a relationship then has sex because this way he will respect the girl and does not go out with her just for sexual purposes. He should have some feelings towards her. On the other hand, females should not have sex unless they are involved in a serious relationship which is going to lead to marriage. According to Rima, sex is allowed only with the future husband.

Extract 59: (Part of an II)

Rima: For me it's the same between guys and girls. If a guy goes out with girls and has sexual... I think he's got to ...not just for fun, I mean he's got to have some feelings for her, too! To be willing to go further. Maybe it won't work out but he's got to respect her! It's not only because... just for sexual. He's got to respect the girl he's sleeping with because he can't sleep with a girl if he doesn't have some feelings for her.

Suha: Do you discuss whether its going to be serious right from the beginning?

Rima: Not always, but I think it is very important. I wont' have sex first, then discuss whether we might get married. We have to have the idea of marriage before having sex. Not just for fun. Even later if the relationship stayed for a long time, we love each other and we have plans to get married in the future, I don't mind losing my virginity with that person.

Suha: can you be so sure about the future?

Rima: I don't know. Maybe I'll feel 'weak' because I know that neither my parents nor the society will accept a girl who is not virgin. Maybe I'll look for the right person. No! Not just anyone because I need someone. My virginity is not something...I don't feel myself weak because I'm not virgin. I won't feel it; why doesn't he have to be virgin? I don't accept this culture? But there is a big difference between a girl who's slept with a guy because she was in love with him because she had an idea of marriage with him and other girls who always do that.

Rima does not attempt to deny the importance of not practicing pre-marital sex and staying virgin until marriage. In a sense, therefore, she can be seen to acknowledge and so reproduce this as an aspect of our lived ideology. Rima's own views seem to be in conflict with

what she acknowledges as socially acceptable because , although she might agree that she should not lose her virginity, she also recognizes that she needs to have sex with someone else she loves and intends to get married to. Hence, Rima's talk is oriented around the dilemma of no-pre-marital sex versus losing virginity (i.e. conforming versus resisting the cultural norms). She does not want to believe that she practices a taboo just like any other girl that has sex with every boyfriend but she tries to base her proposal upon a compromise. She does not have sex with any guy that she likes i.e. She does not do any 'wrong' but will sacrifice only if he promised her of marriage.

Perhaps Rima and other girls of her age do not want or do not dare to rebel openly but pretend to abide by the "rules" openly while resisting them secretly. While Rima seems to be caught in an ideological dilemma, Lara dares to resist the norms of the dominant culture openly as if they have reached different stages in the negotiation of gender identities. Rima seems to be still at the earlier stages. Rima has a dilemma with sexuality where she is between conforming to social norms that pre-marital sex is a taboo and females losing their virginity is immoral and the notion that sex should be allowed if a couple love each other and decide to get married. She emphasizes on the idea of marriage although nothing is certain in life; you cannot control the future! She thinks in a way where the idea of 'marriage' gives her a clear conscience that she is not practicing sex with any man just like 'bad' girls. I feel that she is not clear a decisive of what she wants maybe because she lives in a culture or social context where girls' chastity and virginity is of great value and if a girl loses that, she will suffer the consequences severely. That is why girls have to do it secretly. Here is the effect of gender difference. Being males, Lebanese boys are pushed to have pre-marital sex but they will not get married to a girl who has any sexual relationship. Even if he is committed in a 'serious' relationship with a girl, he might not get married to her because she lost her virginity. Boys think she is an easy target.

On the other hand, Lara, who has reached a later stage in the negotiation of gender identity is resistant to the ideological norm of the general culture and lives in a subculture where pre-marital sex has become accepted and no more a taboo. She practices sex but she is convinced with the idea and she has got nothing to hide. She is mature and she decides to do it if she is at an age where she is ready for it physically and psychologically. It is not restricted to married people or those intending to get married but it is a need when you have sincere feelings towards a person. Lara will encounter less problems and will not suffer the consequences because she is accepted in the small circle she lives in. She can discuss such issues freely with her mother or any other close friend. Even boys in that sub-culture believe that girls have equal rights of practicing pre-marital sex and

losing their virginity. Hence, living in such a subculture that is resistant to the general, traditional culture of the Lebanese society, might lead to change in gender practices.

In conclusion, Lara and Rima are both resistant to the sexist patriarchal discourse but each in a different way. Lara's discourse is that of the sexual revolution while Rima's is half way in between the two discourses. Girls are positioned by patriarchal discourse, to see sexuality as incompatible with femininity and somehow bad, even dangerous. Simultaneously, Lara's exposure to resistant discourses means she also has a sense of sexuality as good, as part of a different type of femininity. A femininity which is distinct from masculinity but not inferior to it.

The following extract (60) presents a third interpretive repertoire of sex and sexuality, that of a Muslim and "moltazimah" girl.

Extract 60: (Part of an II)

Marwa: It is known that men and women are biologically different. Men have stronger sexual desires; they're always hungry for sex. In Islam, having casual sexual relations is forbidden not only for girls but also for boys. Islam suggests solutions for both sexes. In special cases If the boy feels that he needs to practice sex urgently he has either to get married early and he will lose his virginity with his wife or he will have a 'Mota'a' marriage which solves the problem in a legal moral way. To have a 'Mota'a' marriage, the male and the female has to sign a contract at the sheikh's. Usually, males have such marriage for short period of time with either widowed or divorced women (non virgins). Islam gave women equal rights in practicing sex. These widowed or divorced can have sexual relations as long as they signed a 'Mota'a' marriage contract. Nevertheless, there are rules for such a temporary marriage so that if she get pregnant the father of the child will be identified and he has to give custody for the child. A woman can have 'Mota'a' marriage after her period and can not have another with a different person before she gets her next period. However, many women seize the opportunity to get pregnant and oblige the man to hold on to them.

Belonging to a third different subculture and being exposed through the different means to the conservative Islamic culture, Marwa believes in the male's sexual drive discourse but not permissive discourse. Unlike the Lebanese culture that pushes men to practice sex freely and considers their sexuality as the most important criterion of masculinity sex for men is allowed

under certain conditions (mota'a marriage). She has become resistant to ideologies concerning this issue in the general Lebanese culture.

Since the two cultures have a similar attitude towards female sexuality, Marwa is convinced that girls should suppress their desires and should lose their virginity only in marriage. Change is noticed in Marwa's gender attitude since in her sub-culture, girls should not mingle with boys, should not be exposed to the western media, and should not do any action that stimulates the feelings. On the other hand, in the Lebanese culture, girls go to mixed-sex schools, mingle with each other, go to the movies, watch international T V programs etc.

Extract 61: (Part of an II)

Suha: What about you? Do you practice pre-marital sex through a 'Mota'a marriage?

Marwa: No! Never! I won't have it. I prefer to lose my virginity only through marriage with one man. It doesn't occur to girls like me. It's in my subconscious that sex shouldn't occur to me. What helps is that there is no contact with boys, no mingling with them even we don't watch anything of the sort on TV. They mention the crushes they have on boys because of their contact with them. None of these are experiences of a "Multazima" Muslim girl. Through out my experiences, I was astonished with them and when they asked me, they were astonished with how 'squeaky clean' as they would say my mind is. Biologically, of course this feeling exists but it is the responsibility of the youth to erase it from their minds in order not to stimulate it and further acts. For boys, it can be different. For girls, it's possible. Females have a stronger will in keeping themselves from this need.

Belonging to a third different subculture, Marwa has a different interpretive repertoire of sex and sexuality from Riham and Lara. Her subject position and sexist discourse reflect the effect of gender difference. She is convinced that girls, unlike boys, should repress their sexual desires until marriage. In principle, Islam gave males and females the right to have a 'Mota'a' marriage but practically males can practice sex but girls can not because culturally it is drastically rejected.

In conclusion, through language we are able to detect the different degrees of resistance to the ideological norms of the Lebanese culture. Lara who completely rejects the local social norms concerning girl's sexuality has a subject position which is minimally affected by gender difference. The effect of gender difference is more evident in Rima's subject position. She has a dilemma with sexuality because being a girl she does not dare to rebel openly. Marwa's subject position is the

most affected by gender difference since she conforms with local concepts of girl's sexuality giving males biological excuses that justify that difference in dealing with sexuality. However, she abides by the Kora'an which dictates that males can not have pre- marital sex without a mota'a marriage.

Through the different extracts where Riad, Nabil and Baha'a express their interpretive repertoires of sex and sexuality, we can sense the effects of gender difference in positioning them. Although they know that in our culture pre –marital sex is allowed for boys and even considered an indispensable criteria in talking about a masculine man, Riad and Baha'a reject the idea completely and prefer to remain virgin till marriage. Because they are males, society gives them the privilege of enjoying their sexual desires through pre-marital sex, while girls should repress their sexual desires and remain virgin all their lives. The gender difference gives males and females two different subject positions.

As mentioned previously, Lara rejects the idea that girls should only lose their virginity in marriage and gives girls equal rights in practicing pre-marital sex. That is she has a subject position which is not affected by the gender difference. Nabil who can not think of any reason why girls can not have free sexual lives just like boys also takes a subject position which is not affected by gender difference. That is why they both have resistant discourses. They indicate resistance against the dominant cultural norms.

Extract 62: (Part of an II)

Nabil : Having a boyfriend or a girlfriend is part of being a man or a woman Both should experience such relationships..... I think girls just like boys can have free sexual lives and to whatever extent they want. I don't see a reason why boys shouldn't be virgins while girls should I prefer an experienced girl who is not virgin.....

Nabil believes that both sexes have sexual drives which are basic needs that have to be fulfilled. His subject position is different from what the culture dictates.

Extract 63: (Part of an II)

Nabil: It's a catastrophe in Lebanon. Sex is a taboo. In this culture if a girl lost her virginity her fathers or brothers might kill her. Otherwise she's like nobody anymore. They will scorn her and nobody propose to her anymore. Some how 15 % of the boys, our generation have a

different opinion; maybe because they started to have non-native friends or natives who lived abroad during the war.

Nabil tries to clarify the society's attitude towards females and the different and contradictory standards of conduct of men. The discourse of male sexuality is everywhere in common-sense assumptions. What Hollway calls "the male sexual drive discourse" is so familiar and dominant in the production of meanings concerning sexuality; Unlike women, men's sexual desires are so intense and out of control that need to be fulfilled.

Rejecting the 'male sexual drive discourse' as well as the 'permissive discourse', Riad and Baha'a show resistance against social norms but in a different way than Nabil and Lara. Their subject positions are not affected by the gender difference. They do not justify sexuality for themselves and prohibit it for girls but they are both in the same boat. Riad and Baha'a refuse what is given to them for free.

Extract 64: (Part of an II)

Riad: I won't have pre-marital sex. A relationship is a need. Everyone needs someone special to do things together, to trust each other, to go out.... But not to have sex or just have fun.... If I know that a girl is not a virgin, I'll avoid the relationship with her. Girls should not lose their virginity.

Extract 65: (Part of an II)

Baha'a: Before talking about sexual relations, I think having a girlfriend is wrong. I don't prefer to have a girlfriend. I will think of having a 'pure' relationship with a girl when I decide to marry her, we will go out or sit together just to get to know each other or to check if we can get along later. All other relations that we see around are wrong. There shouldn't be such relations especially sexual ones. Girls and boys should stay virgins till they get married.

Conclusion

Masculinity and femininity are not innate but constructed socially in and through discourse. They differ from one culture to the other i.e. gender is not fixed but a dynamic, ongoing process. A culture may supply a whole range of masculinity and femininity and people make choices; some

conform to the stereotypes while others do not. Nevertheless, some forms of femininity and masculinity are performed according to socio-cultural ‘norms’ regardless of whether they are preferred or not but because of the effect of cultural history that plays an important role in determining the kinds of identities males and females can assume.

Since language plays a crucial part in structuring our experience, through the different interpretive repertoires of masculinity and femininity, males and females are able to present themselves as different kinds of men and women i.e. have different subject positions which work to construct different feminine or masculine identities. At this point, when I compare the males’ and females’ interpretive repertoires of femininity and masculinity in the two languages I find that there are differences in the ways in which the two languages construct gender discursively. The females do not construct their identities in the same way. Although they somehow portray a similar image; the emphasis or the form of presentation is different in the two languages. What is worth noticing is that, unlike the females, two of the males try to construct their identities in the same way when they express themselves in the two languages; however, one adopts the key resources of gendered identities in the native culture while the other adopts those of the TC. On the other hand, only one male tried to construct his identity differently in the two languages. Moreover, all the males and females practice their gender identities differently in different contexts. Different discourses enable them to perform different selves. This finding leads to another one in which I argue that males and females manifest gender in gendered speech while engaging in collaborative floors rather than competitive ones. Last but not least, through the different interpretive repertoires of sexuality and virginity, I infer the effect of gender difference in positioning subjects.

Chapter Four

Discussion

Introduction

In this chapter, I am going to try to put the pieces of findings together in the form of meaningful conclusions. I will present the findings in three categories. The first three findings hang together under one interpretation. Findings five, six and seven relate to the same category while the last conclusion can be drawn from finding number four. The integration of the findings as demonstrated below will help us to pull together the theoretical background, literature review and results of the study to extract meaning.

A-Gender Identity is a process

Finding 1: Masculine and feminine images change due to social and cultural factors.

Finding 2: Some males and females try to ‘perform’ certain forms of masculinity and femininity not as they prefer but according to what is accepted in the culture.

Finding 3: There is not one way of constructing masculinity and femininity; there is a range.

B-Manifesting gender in gendered speech

Finding 5: Males and females perform their gender identities differently in different contexts.

Finding 6: Males and females engage in a collaborative floor in the SSGI as well as the MSGI.

Finding 7: One group of girls (Lara’s friendship group) dominate the floor and ‘silence’ the boys in a MSGI.

C- Bilingualism, Gender Identity and Ideology

Finding 4: There are differences in the way in which the two languages construct gender discursively. Three females and one male perform their gender identity differently in the two languages. Two males perform their gender identities in the same way in the two languages.

Gender Identity is a Process.

Gender identity is not fixed but a process since it is affected to a large extent by the changing ideology of the culture. There are certain ‘hegemonic’ constructs in every culture which indirectly

obliges many people to stick to the stereotypes to look ‘normal. However, many others try to defy the gendered expectations because they might have been affected by ideologies of the other culture(s) they were exposed to. Consequently, there is not one way of constructing masculinity or femininity, but a range that includes gender identities that fit the stereotypes.

The first finding of the study overlaps with Simone De Beauvoire (1949) “One is not born but rather becomes a woman” (cited in Cameron, 1998, p. 218). Lara’s refusal to practice feminine stereotypical activities and her attraction to ‘masculine’ ones lead us to question West and Zimmerman’s (1987) argument that we are labeled female or male at birth, depending on the genital organ, and then learn ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ rules. Later, Lara performed her identity in a different way; she may have been affected by her friends and family and decided to change. This finding also challenges the deficit tradition of Lakoff (1975), the dominance model (Zimmerman and West, 1975; West, 1984, and Pamela Fishman, 1980, 1983) and the cultural difference model (Maltz and Borker, 1982 and Tannen, 1990). The mentioned models are dependent on a sex role socialization model in which ‘becoming a woman or a man’ is something accomplished at an early stage of life i.e. involve the idea of a fixed gender identity. As the views expressed by the subject (Manal) riding a motorbike or being a taxi-driver is not an accepted ‘feminine’ practice in our culture , as used to be the case in other cultures. However, due to social change it has become ‘natural’ in other countries and hopefully it will in our culture. This shows that gendered behaviors are not fixed but dynamic. Such data support Cameron’s (1998) argument that “gender is a process and one which is never finished” (p. 218). The first finding, thus, supports the performative approach and challenges the essentialist view point that boys and girls acquire their gendered identities in single-sex groups in childhood. Nowadays due to exposure to western cultures through different means, some men take care of their children or baby-sit when their wives are at work despite the fact that this makes them look ‘not masculine’ in the eyes of the wider society .If gendered identity were fixed, then the fact that these men change is a miracle. Moreover, it is clear that these men did not acquire what they are doing now in their single-sex groups in childhood. They are not practicing their masculinity in the same way as the other men in their culture; they did not stick to what they learnt in childhood. This is consistent with Edley (2001) who focusing on discursive psychology does not only deny the essentialists’ argument that gendered identity is not fixed, but also asserts that it is not even something into which we ‘become’ but gender identity is fluid; it ‘never sets’ i.e. it continues to be reshaped by the social and cultural context. As Davies and Harre put it “who one is is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available within one’s own and others’ discursive practices and within those practices, the stories through which we make sense of our own and others’ lives” (1990, p. 46). This

also supports Uchida (1992) that “we ‘perform’ gender through the use of language as apposed to something we ‘have’” (reprinted in Cameron 1998, p. 291).

The argument can be perfectly summarized by referring to Butler (1990), “Gender has constantly to be reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing particular acts in accordance with cultural norms which define ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’” (cited in Cameron 1997, p. 49). Moreover, Billing et al. (1988) argued that ‘lived’ ideologies which are the beliefs, values and practices of a society or culture are characterized by changeability, disconnection, and opposition. This prepares for the discussion of the second finding that some males and females try to ‘perform’ certain forms of femininity and masculinity not because that is what they favor, but because of the accepted hegemonic norms in society.

Although gender is a process and a social construct, females and males do not feel free to practice the gendered activities they prefer; they feel indirectly obliged to stick to the stereotypical images in the culture to avoid looking different or being rejected. This is exemplified in extracts 10 to 16 that present girls (extracts 10-14) who do not engage in causes and fight for them, all look alike, ‘lie’ to themselves and others and fake things to give a good impression. Similarly, males (extracts 15-16) avoid helping their wives at home, taking care of the kids, or hugging or kissing their wives or girlfriends in public although they might do such hegemonic constructs in other cultural contexts, where they are allowed. This difference between ‘the talk’ and ‘the walk’ i.e. between what they are convinced with and what they do, supports Butler’s (1990) note that although people are forced to abide by pre-set acts, they are not free to choose whatever they prefer since there are certain cultural pressures that ‘police’ what is allowed and what is forbidden so it looks normal. This is consistent with what discursive psychology recognize that when people talk, they use a repertoire of terms which has been provided for them by history i.e. a language culture may provide different ways of talking about an object or event; however, constructs are not equally available i.e. people are not free to construct themselves as they wish but they are affected by what is culturally hegemonic, what has become ‘natural’ (Wetherell, 1998).

Since culture is dynamic and gender is a social construct, what looks best now in this culture might change. Hence, something else might look best later and gendered activities change accordingly to keep up with what is acceptable. Eagleton (1991) referred to ideology as “the common sense of the society”. Because of ideology, people accept unwanted things because they appear natural and inevitable; for example, we accept inequality because of ideology. This supports Billing’s two arguments: “ideology embraces the common sense of each social period”(1997, p.

219) and “minds and selves are constructed from cultural, social and communal resources” (1999). Bakhtin and Volosinov reinforce Billing’s point, “Our minds are structured around collective resources so that when we express ourselves, we will be expressing the hidden voices of others as well.” Moreover, Wertch (1990) takes up Bakhtin’s ideas and draws on the notion of ‘ventriloquation’ – speaking their culture as they communicate. Whatever people say has the marks of the culture. Actually, we think we control meaning when we speak but, according to Derrida, we think we are expressing what we mean by the words and phrases that we utter but actually they gain different meanings in different contexts and cultures (cited in Wetherell et al., 2001).

The best example that can be used to wrap up this argument is Cameron’s Criticism of the difference approach (The cross-cultural view). According to Cameron (1995), since they argue that boys and girls acquire different speech styles in their childhood, they assume men and women interact as social equals but only of different cultures. Cameron argues that men and women are not equal but the whole world is used to the idea of gender inequality as ‘normal’. Moreover, difference arises when there are no equal gender relations, we can describe them as unequal because males and females are pushed to undertake different practices that give them different social positions.

Although Butler (1990) insists that gender is ‘regulated’ and ‘policed’ by cultural, social norms, according to Cameron (1997), she treats men and women as active social beings that are aware of the different meanings of gendered behavior in a culture and try to produce a variety rather than abide by what is hegemonic in the culture. This is supported by the third finding that there is not one way of constructing masculinity and femininity but there is a range of masculinities and femininities. Participants have different interpretive repertoires of masculinity and femininity that give them different subject positions. Some conform to what is culturally hegemonic (accept the stereotypical image in the culture), others conform partially with the stereotypes (electric), yet others are unconventional (rebel against it). Such findings present a challenge to the studies that have defined gender relations in terms of static oppositions. Each male and female chooses to perform one’s identity in his /her way. There is not just one static but different ways of constructing femininity and masculinity. This can be backed up by Billing (1997) who argues that males and females as social beings are not passive members that are easily controlled and manipulated but they are active participants who use interpretive resources to fit the ‘puzzle’ of social reality. The mentioned finding supports studies such as Sutton’s (1995) and Okamoto’s (1995) in which they present women as agents who may defy or embrace gendered expectations of language behavior for their own purposes. Except Bahaa’ and his friends, each of the participants with his/her friendship group construct two different versions of masculinity and femininity, one of the culture and the

other which is different from the stereotype. This applies to Sutton's (1995) female participants who use 'bitch' and 'ho' when talking to women friends as a search for identity as a group; they want to be different from the stereotype. Although they are using negative words men use to talk about women, they do not intend to talk like men but they are trying to take subversive roles i.e. they are constructing an alternative model by using language that does not match societal expectations of women's behavior. In Abu Lughod's (1986) study on the oral lyric poetry performed by intimates of the Bedouins of Egypt's Eastern desert, the oral poetry of women and youths shows the contradiction of their ideas with the dominant ideology which Abu Lughod calls 'public language'. As I mentioned earlier in the analysis of the findings, most of my participants express their rejection of the hegemonic constructs in the culture taking subversive roles aiming at constructing alternative models of femininity and masculinity. Young Japanese females in Okomoto's (1995) study also try to construct a new societal identity that does not conform to traditional definitions of femininity. Okomoto argues that the young women (or any speakers) can creatively use speech that is marked as 'male' without being labeled 'masculine'. They are using innovative language to show solidarity. Therefore, there is a shift in cultural stereotypes of women's speech so what was previously identified as masculine or feminine no longer conveys the same message among modern day speakers. The findings also support Mc Elhinny (1995) in discussing how women working as police officers in the Pittsburgh police department have learnt to project a masculine gender identity in interaction with the public. The study shows how male and female officers approach an interaction in the same way. The female officer displays the behavior of a powerful speaker. Female officers' actions affected the construction of their workplace and of their ever-changing gender identity. In a similar fashion, Lara, Rima, Nabil and Riad construct a range of feminine and masculine identities which are unconventional, hoping to subvert the hegemonic norms towards a more western culture. Although Marwa's interpretive repertoire of femininity and masculinity also shows her rejection of the culture, she has such a subject position for a completely different purpose. She is critical of the Muslims who do not dare to abide by the religious rules because of the hegemonic social norms. Hence, being bicultural, unlike the other participants, she wants to subvert the present norms into Islamic ones. As Lila Abu Lughod (1990) shows, in any culture there are no separate male and female cultures but rather linguistic practices that differ even among women of different social background, ethnic group etc. and range of acceptance, rejection, resistance or remodeling of the hegemonic, 'natural' cultural 'norms'. Gal also asserts that 'feminine' and 'masculine' are culturally constructed within different social groups; they change through history and are systematically related to other areas of cultural discourse such as the nature of persons, power etc.

Because the participants belong to different social groups and participate in different discursive activities, they have different interpretive repertoires of the few images discussed. They use different discourses to position themselves in different categories. This supports Frawer's (1989) argument that males and females discursively construct the way they understand and perform their social identity and the way they experience the social world and their place in it.

Lara said that education, traveling and exposure help a lot in personal development and acceptance of other cultures. It is worth mentioning that learning at least one foreign language (French or English) is a must in schools in Lebanon. The medium of instruction is either English or French. Except for public schools who teach social studies in Arabic, all the subjects are taught either in English or French. Consequently, students read a lot in the FL i.e. a lot more than they do in Arabic. In addition, they use American, English or French books not only to learn foreign languages, but also to learn about hundreds of scientific topics that concern humans and nature (science), to be familiar with the history and geography of the TL country etc. Hence, students will be exposed indirectly to the foreign cultures. As the participants' background information (questionnaire) shows, they have received their formal education in different private schools where the milieux differs depending on the area where the school is located.

Traveling also plays a vital role in being exposed to the TLC. Lara and Nabil who have traveled a lot to many western countries and are brought up in similar backgrounds (East Beirut) question all the gender ideologies accepted as 'natural' by the native culture and adopt the 'new' gendered practices they are exposed to in their subculture which is affected to a great extent by western culture. Riad and Rima who also traveled a lot and lived in similar subcultures, but different from Lara's and Nabil's, also learn what they live. Their experiences and exposure to the TLC through different means has helped in reshaping their gendered identities. While Rima is being eclectic in choosing what she should reject or embrace of the two cultures, Riad, like Nabil and Lara, prefers to adopt the TLC. It seems that Rima's choices are somehow affected by what might look 'natural' in the native culture. In contrast, Baha'a who has traveled only to neighboring Arab countries with his parents and lives in a conservative culture, rejects the TLC and chooses to stick to the gendered practices of the subculture in which he is living. These conform to a great extent with the hegemonic practices of the native culture. Marwa, who just like Baha'a has been exposed to the TLC only at school, lives in a religious setting, a subculture which is different from the native culture and goes by the rules of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Being exposed to the Islamic, Iranian culture, she questions the gendered ideologies of the native culture as well as the TLC, rejects them

both and chooses to adopt the gendered practices of the culture in which she is living with her family.

Consequently, one might pause to think of the reasons behind the participants' different attitudes. Actually, people can not be carbon copies of each other since gendered identity is a process which stays 'fluid' and is affected by many factors, especially, the characteristics of the speaker, the interaction with others in different contexts, the background etc. Since gender is a social construct each of the participants has chosen to construct his/her masculinity / femininity in accordance with the hegemonic gendered practices in their specific subcultures. This supports Burr's (1995, p.142) argument that "the person can only be a meaningful entity, both to himself or herself and to others, by being 'read' in terms of the discourses available in the society." Hoffman (1989) also asserts that one's subjectivities are co-constructed with others who can accept or reject them and impose alternative identities instead. Often depending on the power balance, it is others who define who we are, putting us in a position where we have to accept or resist and negotiate these definitions.

Manifesting Gender in Gendered Speech

All the males and females constructed their gender identities differently in different contexts. Males like females, were engaged in a cooperative floor rather than a competitive one. Moreover, one friendship group of girls dominated the floor and 'silenced' the boys in a MSGI. Consequently, we can infer that (1) 'powerless language' and cooperative floor are not exclusively feminine; (2) amongst others, context and the characteristics of the speakers etc are important variables that influence the way males and females construct their masculinity and femininity.

The mentioned inference supports Butler's (1990) claim that males and females can perform gender in subversive ways to defy the dominant codes of gender. Along the same line, Cameron (1997) argues that the idea of gendered speech that refer to masculinity and femininity as inflexible constructs, where the linguistic forms that males and females use are anticipated, should be reconsidered. This is very well supported by the finding that the participants performed their masculinity or femininity differently at different moments of every day life i.e. in different contexts.

When the females discuss the pictures in the SSGI, they are engaged in a cooperative floor. This supports a wide literature such as Maltz and Borker (1982), Gilligan et al. (1988), Belenky et al. (1988), Goodwin (1980) and Jones (1980). They all believe in the difference approach and argue

that since boys and girls internalize different conversational rules because of same sex play in childhood, girls engage in cooperative floors and boys engage in competitive ones. Nevertheless, the data shows that all of the males in their SSGI are also engaged in cooperative floor rather than a competitive one. This supports Coates' (1991) assertion that speakers engage in a cooperative floor when their purpose is keeping good social relations; however, a more competitive style is needed in other contexts. Coates adds that speakers can engage in either one regardless of their gender because neither is 'better' than the other. This shows that males and females can engage in cooperative floors, but this does not mean that they are always going to and might not engage in a competitive floor in different situations. Since most of the males criticize the stereotypical masculine and feminine images in the culture preferring different ones, one would pause a moment to question whether the reason males and females in SSGI engage in cooperative floors is to show solidarity and to signal independence of hegemonic expectations of gender.

The fact that the males engaging in a cooperative floor challenges Tannen's argument that "men can not do 'women talk'; they do not know how". However, the data shows that they can. Cameron (1995, p.43) argues that males and females can perform their masculinity and femininity 'appropriately' by varying their performances depending on the context. Furthermore, Freed (1996) shows, in an experimental setting, that the setting and communicative tasks the speakers engage in influence language practices to a much higher degree than the sex of the speakers.

Another interesting finding worth discussing is that in one of the MSGI (Bahaa' and Lara's groups) the girls dominated the floor and the boys had a minimal role in the conversation, especially at the beginning. This contradicts Edelsky's (1981) study of different types of 'floor' that an American college faculty were engaged in in their mixed-sex meetings. His findings show that even among people who have equal status (e.g. faculty members), interactional constraints are not 'gender-neutral' but biased to male international strategies. However, what happened in the faculty meeting as well as in the MSGI can be explained if we discuss the context of the situation. This definitely supports Cameron's (1990), contention that if women use a particular linguistic form more than men it cannot be attributed to gender. There are many other variables such as the participants' role in the interaction, the participants' status, their backgrounds etc. The context and specifics of the situation are very important because neither men nor women form homogenous social groups.

As Eherlich and king (1992) mentioned, "the meaning is on-goingly structured in real social contexts" (p. 170). The same idea is supported by Schegloff (1991) who stresses the importance of

relating talk-in-interaction to ‘contexts’ (linguistic, cultural, institutional and social structural) because who the parties are in relation to one another matters a lot and includes a sense of ‘who they are’. That is why Schegloff argues that analysts should focus on what he calls ‘proximate context’ which includes immediate features of the interaction such as genre of interaction, sequence of talk etc. As it is clear in the analysis, I do not only focus on the characterization of the context but also as Sacks (1972) and Goffman argue, the characterization of the participants is equally important to the context in which they talk and interact. This allows us to make direct connection between the context formulated and what actually happens in the talk. A sufficiently specific and detailed description is needed to read the reasons behind the girls’ domination of the floor, the silencing of the boys etc. Maybe the girls did not intend to dominate the floor or silence the boys. If we take a look at the background information about the two groups (the girls belong to an unconventional sub-culture; the boys belong to a conservative one) and consider the setting, we might assume that the girls were not imposing or dominating but they seemed so because the boys were shy and did not participate. It is worth mentioning here that the same group of girls may play a different role with a different group of boys; they all engage in cooperative floors. If we do not take such contexts and characterization into consideration then the argument will be as Tannen’s and Lakoff’s: men’s ‘style’ and women’s ‘language’ i.e. males and females can not use different discourse strategies in distinct social contexts or to accomplish different verbal tasks but they will, as Tannen argues, do the same task in different ways. Cameron comments that it is hardly surprising if the difference in approach produces ‘overgeneralization’ (men do this, women do that) and ‘stereotyping’ (men dominate the floor, women are silenced and use tag questions, rising intonation etc.). However, the mentioned finding supports Wetherell (2001) who believes that if an attitude is expressed on one occasion, it should not necessarily lead us to expect that the same attitude will be expressed on another. This agrees with the discourse analytic perspective which claims that when different purposes or contexts are given, different attitudes are adopted.

In regard to ‘silence’ in the same MSGI, it is clear that the girls are not ‘silenced’ by the boys. They are not the stereotypical but unconventional girls. Hence, the problem is not in the language but in the mentality and the culture in which they are living. This backs up what Showalter (1981) said: “Language is not what silences women, rather it is the restrictions placed on women’s ability and entitlement to use it” (p. 193). The female group defy the stereotypes in the culture and are not ‘silenced’; if many do this, then the stereotypes might change and the unconventional might become hegemonic. Hence, the speakers’ attitudes change, not the language. As Cameron claims: “Language does not change: it is speakers who change their behavior.” Bodine (1975) adds to this

by saying “It [language] is not only a cultural edifice but also an everyday practice” (cited in Cameron, 1998, p. 13).

The males’ group were silenced in the first part of the conversation. This does not necessarily mean that they were ‘powerless’: they might have behaved in that way intentionally to listen to the girls first, to get to know more about them. As Gal (1995) argues, “meaning of silence is more complicated than relating it to powerlessness. Silence can be a strategy of resistance and at the same time ‘weapon of the powerful’. Hence, the above mentioned findings support Cameron’s (1996) argument that “Instead of saying simply that ‘women’s language’ or ‘men’s style’ are produced by men and women as markers of their gender affiliation, we could say that the styles themselves are produced as masculine and feminine and that the individuals make varying accommodations to those styles in the process of producing themselves as gendered subjects” (p. 45). This also applies to the males I have just mentioned.

Karim’s attitude in the SSGI in comparison to the MSGI is another example worth discussing since it supports the finding that males and females ‘perform’ their identity differently in different context. Karim in the SSGI is unconventional, makes fun of the stereotypical feminine image and favors picture seven while in the MSGI, he comments negatively on the same picture (seven) “She is more like a male,” “powerful, mysterious.” Karim in the two different contexts (MSGI and SSGI) ‘performs’ his masculinity differently. As I mentioned in the analysis, this could be attributed to several reasons. As Cameron (1997, p.61) said, “what counts as acceptable talk for men is a complex matter in which all kinds of contextual variables play a part”. What Karim does is consistent with the behavior of Cameron’s (1997) participants in “Young Males’ Talk and the Construction of Heterosexual Masculinity” where she shows how social actors manifest gender in gendered speech. Cameron examines how students perform their masculine identities in a SS informal context by exchanging their opinions about ‘gays’. Showing hostility to gays is a way to present their preferred version of masculine identity. This backs up Eckert and McConnell’s argument that discussion of gender should be located within ‘communities of practice’ i.e. context allows for variability of meanings.

In conclusion, the findings related to the group interviews support Cameron’s (1997, p.60) and Teutsch-Dwyer’s (2001) arguments. Cameron asserts that “Gender is a relational term and the minimal requirement for ‘being a man’ is ‘not being a woman’” (p. 60). We may find that in many cases men are obliged to avoid certain linguistic forms because of their association with femininity.

Teutsch-Dwyer (2001) comments that masculine behavior is evaluated depending on what is expected and accepted in the culture where this behavior is performed.

Bilingualism, Gender and Ideology

The conclusion that can be drawn out of finding number four (three females and one male construct their gender identity differently in the two languages while the two other males construct their identities in the same way in the two languages) is that (1) there are differences in the way in which the two languages construct gender discursively. (2) When people learn and use a foreign language in their mother country, they might either undergo different degrees of transformations in their understanding and construction of gender or might use the foreign language only as a means of translating their native language culture i.e. find words to express gender ideologies of their native language culture.

It is very important to discuss this conclusion in the light of the Lebanese context. Modernity is not the normal and historical outcome of the progress of the society we live in. We are living in Lebanon, in a multilingual society where the western culture reflected itself on the scientific and technical levels but not at all on the social awareness level i.e. only as an answer to the necessities and commercial and economic interests of the industrial countries.

Consequently, the discourse males and females use to construct their gender identity in the NL and FL will either (1) reflect the TLC to a great extent because those participants' level of social awareness is in harmony with the western culture invading our society, (2) reflect the 'duality' people might be living in the context, Lebanon. The level of social awareness of this group is not mature yet. It has not reached the level of social awareness of the former group yet. We might say they have an ideological dilemma. The way they perform their gender identity or ideology partly reflects the NC and partly the TLC, (3) reflect the native culture, regardless of the language used. Such group have cooped themselves up in a subculture that closes the door to any exposure to the FLC. Hence, modernity (western culture) has not reflected itself on their social awareness level but only on the scientific, technical etc. Consequently, they use language not as a 'cultural edifice' but as a means of translation i.e. of finding words in the FL to translate their native ideologies instead of finding a framework to shape 'new ideologies' or (4) be different from both and in harmony with a third culture s/he is living. Nevertheless, this group will be using both the English and the Arabic as a means of translation and finding words in the NL and FL to translate this 'lived' ideology (Islamic, Iranian). This defeats the cultural function of any language.

Since “language is a cultural edifice” and “gender is a social construct”, language and gender are directly affected by the dynamic ideology of the culture(s) they are exposed to. Any change in the ideology, might be reflected in the language and gender practices. As discussed earlier, a range of subjectivities is presented, some accepting and others rejecting the NLC in different degrees. This is due to several important factors. Because of the absence of ‘modernization’ of the Arab culture, the foreign western culture has become the only ‘shelter’. Nabil’s, Lara’s, and Riad’s ideologies became more western. That is why their interpretive repertoires of masculinity and femininity defied the gender ideologies of the NLC. The ideologies they are convinced with are in harmony with the English language culture. The phrasing of their modern ideas are ready in the English language (since they reflect the western cultures). They did not need to translate. However, when they expressed themselves in Arabic, they did not find a ‘new’ language to express their ideologies. Consequently, the phrasing of their ideas in Arabic was deformed (i.e. when they spoke Arabic, their interpretive repertoires were consistent with the target language culture).

When Baha'a expressed his interpretive repertoires in English as well as in Arabic, he expressed his harmony with the Arab culture and his rejection of the western one. When he spoke English he expressed his ideology as it is in Arabic. Maybe because Baha'a lives in a sub-culture which is not in contact with the other culture. He lives in a ‘private’ culture that looks like a ghetto. He has learnt the foreign language and he uses it as an educational, scientific, professional etc. necessity or tool. Consequently, he negates the very important feature which is the cultural interaction. He uses the language as an attempt to find words to translate his ideas and not to phrase the ‘new’ ideologies. The conservative milieux he lives in has put a barrier between him and cultural development.

Unlike the other participants, when Marwa expressed her interpretive repertoires of the different categories discussed in English and in Arabic she showed her rejection of both the native and the target language cultures. The western and the native society reflected themselves on the scientific, technical, professional etc. but not at all on the social awareness level. Her ideologies reflect the ideologies of the Islamic Iranian culture which functioned as an obstacle between her and both societies (the Arab and the western). She dreams of the Iranian Muslim culture as the ideal one.

Riham is the victim of ‘duality’. When she expressed her interpretive repertoires in the two languages, she was eclectic. It seems there is a discrepancy between what she perceives, and what she is aware of and wants i.e. between the culture she is living and the scientific, professional, educational changes occurring in society. The society is underdeveloped, yet, at the same time, it is embracing the western culture to a large extent. Consequently, Riham lives a daily ‘duality’ and always searches for an internal coexistence (within herself) before searching for co-existence within the broader Lebanese society.

Because of the monolingual bias of language and gender studies, Pavlenko et al., (2001) established a new interdisciplinary field which is multilingualism, second language learning and gender. Within this field researchers study the relationship between gender, ideology and linguistic practices in bi- and multilingual communities (Pavlenko et al., 2001). In the discussion of the findings of my study, I referred to Pavlenko (2001) and Ohara (2001) although the contexts are completely different. The participants of my study did not move from the native to the target language culture to learn a foreign language as Pavlenko’s and Ohara’s. To my knowledge there is no literature that discusses gender identity, ideology and linguistic practices in a multilingual setting which is the native country (Lebanon).

Although the context is different, the mentioned examples show that when the participants expressed themselves in English and in Arabic they adopted or rejected the TLC in different degrees. This supports Pavlenko’s observation (2001) that different individuals may go through different stages in the negotiation of gendered identities; i.e. they compare and make choices. Pavlenko (2001) also claims that “second language users question gender ideologies which were accepted as ‘natural’ before the transition to the second language or culture while they reject or adopt new gender practices.” Pierce (1995) also addresses transformations of gender performance in the context that language learning is a social process and the interaction between the learner and the learning context is dynamic and constantly changing.

The discussed examples also support Ohara’s (2001) claim that second language users can choose from the available options whether to adopt gender practices performed by native speakers in the TC. Using previous research (Loveday, 1986; Ohara, 1993, 1997) which has demonstrated that a high pitched voice is a resource for projecting femininity in Japanese culture, Ohara tries to figure out how important this aspect of the Japanese language is to female learners as they are learning Japanese and constructing their own identities in relation to the TC. Ohara finds out that the female English-Japanese bilinguals’ decisions about their voice pitch are affected to a great

extent by the ways they perceive gender and femininity in the Japanese culture. Similarly Lara rejects the non-verbal ways women are expected to use in Lebanon to highlight their femininity such as make-up, ways of dressing etc. Which are proved by Coates (1986, 1999), Holmes (1995); Mulac (1998) and Tannen (1997) to be part of performing female gender identity. Lara prefers to embrace the key sources for performing a female gender identity in the TC.

The finding that some participants decide to construct their gendered identity according to the TL concepts supports Ohara's (2000) finding that three participants show awareness that their use of high pitched voices when speaking to customers is tied to their attempt to adopt gendered performance of the TLC (Japanese) which are different from their native culture like Lara, Nabil and Riad .

On the other hand, two participants do not change their voice pitch across languages. Being aware of the importance of a high-pitched voice in Japanese, they decide not to change their voice pitch levels across languages just like Baha'a. Hence since identity is an on going process, different individuals go through different stages in the negotiation of gendered identities – they compare gendered subjectivities provided for them by the native and TLC and choose either to adopt the latter or reject it. This is also supported by Pavlenko's (2001) study of narratives biographies of female L2 learners in which she examines how in the process of L2 socialization and due to the 'new' ideologies of language and gender, gender subjectivities are remolded i.e. may be questioned, defied, negotiated or reshaped.

To figure out how the participants constructtheir identities in the two languages, I used positioning (Davies and Harre, 1990) in the analysis of the data. How each participant positions himself or herself is affected by the accepted gender ideologies and the ways s/he internalizes or resists these positionings. Since, as discussed earlier, a range of subjectivities are presented in the native and TC, the participants' construction of their gendered identities differs from one language to the other. This supports Pavlenko's (2001) claim that the assumption that in every culture there is a range of subjectivities justifies why ideologies, gender practices, discourse practices, etc. may change as an individual moves from one culture to the other. In relation to Pavlenko's argument, Lara and Nabil, being aware of the difference in ideologies between the two cultures and having decided to challenge the ideologies of language and gender in the native culture and embrace the TC's, construct their gendered identities differently in the two languages. It is worth questioning for the reason. Actually if we compare the content of what they said in the two languages, it is clear that they prefer to construct their gendered identities according to the hegemonic norms of the TC.

However, the form of the presentation is different when they express themselves in the two languages. The difference is in the way they highlight certain key resources for constructing gendered identities in the two languages according to the different norms. For example as mentioned in the analysis, when Lara and Nabil express their interpretive repertoires of femininity and masculinity in English, they talk about appearance and looks very briefly while when they express themselves in Arabic, they prioritize them and talk about the same issue in much more detail. Hence, the difference is not in the gendered ideologies but in the focus, or in the form of expressing them. This might be the effect of the native culture, of which they are unaware.

However, Nabil did not talk about looks and appearance for the same reason as Lara. It seems he did not escape the effect of the native culture. The fact that the two participants mentioned prefer to perform their gendered identities according to the TC norms supports Pavlenko's (2001) argument that "being exposed to the foreign culture, users of the second language will be able to engage in the kind of critical reflection about the culture that will allow them to make informed decisions about identities they want to construct for themselves". However, I think, the traces of the native culture are still there because Nabil is still living the native culture i.e. he did not move to the target language country to learn the second language.

Nevertheless, Riad chooses to construct his gendered identity in the same way in English and Arabic according to the gendered ideologies in the TC. Although Riad, like Nabil and Lara does not move to the TL country to learn the second language, he does not seem to be affected by the hegemonic norms of the native culture. Even the form of expressing the preferred images of masculinity and femininity is identical (when he expressed himself in Arabic and English) i.e. there are no traces of the native culture.

Although Baha'a also chooses to construct his gendered identity in an identical way in the two languages, unlike Riad, he performs it abiding by the hegemonic norms of the native culture rejecting the TC's i.e. he performs his gendered identity in English in the same way as he performs his gendered identity in Arabic according to what is 'natural' in the native culture. Just like Ohara's (2001) participants who decide not to change their voice pitch levels across languages, Baha'a and Riad choose to perform their gendered identities in the same way according to the native culture.

Different from all the other participants, Marwa performs her gendered identity in a way distinct from the native as well as the target culture. She decides to reject both cultures and express

her identity in a way that matches the culture. She is living in her subculture, which can be considered her native culture.

The range of masculinities and femininities that the females and males construct in the two languages backs up Deutsch-Dwyer's (2001) argument that in the process of learning a foreign language, the way the learner perceives his/her identity may change because of the cultural difference between the two environments. Following the idea that identities emerge from discourse, the language of the learner becomes a significant means of performing one's social identity in the 'new' context they are going to live in. Although as mentioned earlier, the participants do not move to learn the second language in the target language culture, the findings discussed above support Pavlenko's (2001) argument that, "In the process of geographic cultural and linguistic transitions individuals may undergo drastic transformations in their understanding and discursive performance of gender" (p. 6).

I would like to wrap up the discussion with reference to Pavlenko's quotation, just mentioned, and Giddens's (1991) "the reflexive project of the self" and the dilemmas that the author suggests as the solution to the restlessness that people suffer from in a world of 'late modernity'. The chain of findings inferred from the different extracts collected through II, MSGI and SSGI challenge the approaches which assume that gender is fixed and support the performative approach which argue that identity is a process rather than a state. The findings back up Pavlenko's and Giddens' conceptualization that identity is not a fixed set of characteristics but a person continually chooses what s/he prefers whether in relation to one's self or lifestyle. Moreover, identity is constructed through interaction with others (Giddens, 1991).

According to Giddens, due to the modern world of technology, ease of contact, communication, traveling etc. individuals are exposed to and need to interact in different milieux; consequently, different behavior is involved since different behavior is 'appropriate' in different contexts. Hence, a person needs as many selves as s/he needs contexts. When an individual moves from one context to the other, s/he needs to adapt his/her 'presentation of the self' to the new situation (Giddens, 1991). Pavlenko's argument that individuals' gender ideologies and performances may change when they speak a different language or need to function in a different culture or geographical place, is consistent with Giddens' and my findings.

The participants who, being exposed to other cultures, have tried to adopt 'new' gender practices (like Lara, Nabil and Riad) are referred to by Giddens as the 'adaptive type' who interact

'appropriately with people in various situations and contexts. As Giddens mentions, this does not lead to fragmentation of the self but each individual (as the participants of the study) tries to construct his/her own distinctive identity that merges elements from different contexts; that is why each of the participants tries to create his/her gender identity (affected to different extents by the culture (s) exposed to) in his/her own way. Every person has a bank of subjectivities s/he cashes each in a suitable context i.e. functioning in different cultures / contexts or using different languages, different subjectivities are involved.

On the other hand, the others (e.g. who reject 'new' practices like Baha'a) are referred to by Giddens (1991) as the 'traditionalists' who construct their identity around fixed norms that act as a filter that will hinder their exposure to or acceptance of different cultural environments. These people might have been the prey of the dilemma of 'authority' versus 'uncertainty' i.e. looking at religion as the main authority (as Bahaa' and Marwa) unlike the others (adaptive group) who, as Giddens argues, consider religion as an authority among an indefinite number of authorities.

Conclusion

Findings of the study have shown that (1) gender is not fixed but a process, (2) we perform gender through discourse and (3) language is part of the culture. Confirming the mentioned hypotheses helped answering the main questions mentioned in the introduction.

Q1- To what extent does what we say reflect our ideology and affect our gender identity?

Through discourse, males and females construct different feminine and masculine identities. Each male's or female's interpretive repertoire of masculinity and femininity reflects his or her ideology. Through different forms of talk each constructs gender in his/her own way accepting some hegemonic norms and rejecting others in different degrees, depending on the culture(s) exposed to and the level of social awareness of each person.

Q2- Do we construct gender according to the cultural norms (ideology) of the language we are speaking?

The findings have shown that there is not one way of constructing masculinity or femininity but there is a range of masculinities and femininities even when speaking the same language because different interpretive repertoires imply different subject positions: Some conform to what is culturally hegemonic (accept the stereotypical images in the culture) and others conform partially with the stereotypes (eclectic), yet others are unconventional (rebel against it).

Q3- Does learning or speaking a foreign language affect our gender construction in the native language?

When people learn and use a foreign language in the mother country, they might chart differences in the way in which the two languages construct gender discursively. They might either undergo different degrees of transformations in their understanding of gender or might use the foreign language only as a means of translating their native language culture i.e. find words to express gender ideologies of their native language culture. Participants whose gender construction undergoes

transformations when they learn a FL, may have either reached a level of social and cultural awareness that is in harmony with the foreign language culture or living a duality (an ideological dilemma). The way they construct their gender identity or express their ideology partly reflects the NC and partly reflects the TLC. On the other hand, the way participants may construct their gender identity in the NL and FL reflects the native culture regardless of the language being used. In a context like Lebanon, an Arab developing country, where there is absence of ‘modernization’ of the Arab culture, the western culture has become the only ‘shelter’ for many people.

In conclusion, language and gender are affected by the dynamic ideology of the culture(s) males and females are exposed to. There is a direct relationship between gender identity and ideology. Gender identity is affected by the culture(s) males and females are exposed to. Exposed to different cultures in different degrees, males and females made different choices and constructed their gender identities differently.

There is no direct relationship between the language males and females use and the way they construct their identity. All the females and one male performed their gender identities differently in different languages. The other two males constructed their gender identities in the same way in English and in Arabic.

Limitations of the study

Although the study at hand is an interpretive research where the sample does not represent the whole population, it would have been a richer study had the number of participants been larger. Lebanese students at AUB come from different religions, subcultures, ethnic groups etc. However, being a private university with very high tuition fees and located only in the capital, it is restricted to a very small portion of the population. A study that has a much larger sample and done on a wider scale, may introduce us to other different ways of constructing gender identity. Moreover, due to the limited number of males and females in my sample, it was difficult to generalize regularities.

Suggestions for further research

Since the field of gender, bilingualism and ideology is still a ‘baby’ and under - researched, more and more research is expected. In relation to the research at hand, a study on a wider scale to cover all regions (cities as well as villages), will give a more holistic idea of the people’s levels of social awareness, their exposure and interaction with the foreign culture(s) and, hence, how males and

females construct their gender identities in two languages in Lebanon.

Most of the studies conducted in this field are conducted in the advanced countries where people move from one country to another to learn a foreign language. The individuals move from their culture to experience the foreign language culture. However, I think this study might raise awareness of the effect of ideological conflicts and bi-or multi - lingualism on gender construction in a third world country, Lebanon, where you have to learn the second language in your home country. This is the effect of colonization, globalization and the invasion of the western cultures into our societies through the different means, be it foreign languages, educational and cultural institutions, media, etc. This all raises questions of how males and females construct their gender identities in their native language (and foreign language) i.e. research the effect of ideological conflicts and how it affects gender construction expressed in linguistic practice. However, not to fall again in the monolingual bias of researching language and gender, the research at hand raises awareness of other questions worth researching. The conflict or duality in ideologies that people in the third world countries are living or might live and how does it affect gender performance and linguistic practice. Interesting findings might be expected and worth researching because ‘modernity’ is invading these societies at a high speed. Cultures need time and generations to develop. People are bombarded with the ‘modernization’ so they imitate it haphazardly. Their social awareness level did not develop with the ‘new’ culture gradually. Here is the need to study ideology, gender and bi-or multi-lingualism in such third world countries.

APPENDIX A

Individual Interviews

Femininity

- What is feminism?
- What do you think of feminists?
- What do feminists want?
- What do you think of feminism and social change?
- How do you describe a female to label her as ‘feminine’?
- What do you associate with femininity?
- What are symbolic activities, practices or characteristics of a ‘feminine’ women?
- How do you think you differ in what you said from the culture you’re living?
- (only for girls) Are there moments in everyday life when you feel you practice your femininity differently?

Masculinity

- What is typical of a ‘masculine’ man in our culture? In your opinion?
- How should a man look, dress, behave, talk etc. to label him as ‘masculine’?
- What are symbolic activities, practices or characteristics of ‘masculine’ men?
- Is your opinion typical of the masculine mage in our culture?
- (only for boys) Are there moments in everyday life when you feel you practice your ‘masculinity’ differently?

Girlfriend / Boyfriend relationship

- What do you think of having a boy / girlfriend?
- Do you have a boy / girlfriend? Why?
- How often do you change your boy / girlfriend?
- Do you have more than one relationship simultaneously?
- Do your parents know about it?
- How often do you see each other? Where ? Do you hang out?
- Do you have sex?

- With whom? How do you decide?
- Do you have sex off your boy / girlfriend relationship?
- Do you think that men and women have equal chances of discussing or practicing sex?
- Is it OK for girls to lose their virginity?
- Is it OK for boys to lose their virginity ?
- Would you accept the idea that you (for girls) or your girlfriend (for boys) lose(s) her virginity because of your serious relationship (i.e. you've planned to get married in the future)?
- Would you marry a girl who is not a virgin? Why? (for boys).
- Would you marry a boy who is not a virgin? Why? (for girls).
- How do you think you differ in what you said from the culture we're living in?

Marriage

- How should the boy / girl you want to marry be? What's the criteria?
- How do you choose? Who chooses you or your parents? Arranged or love marriage?
- What is the suitable age for marriage?

Family

- What is the husband/ wife relationship based on ?
- Should they have assigned roles at home / outside?
- Do you think a woman should work outside? Why?
- Would you prefer a working or a non working woman?
- (For boys): Do you think you can forbid your wife to work outside? Would you allow your wife to work if you're not financially in need?
- (For girls) would you get married to a man who won't allow you to work?
- Whose duty is looking after the kids and taking care of them?
- You are an ambitious working woman and want to be a perfect mother, do you think you can manage? (For girls).
- Do you prefer to have baby boys or girls?
- How would you deal with them?
- Would you give them equal chances? Treat them equally? No gender discrimination?

APPENDIX B

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name :

Age :

What school (s) did you go to ?

What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university etc.?

Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Where? Circle the right ones

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, How often?

Have you traveled abroad?

Business? Tourism ?

How many times?

How long did you stay/

Where did you go?

With whom?

Do you belong to a religious family?

Do you go to church/ mosque?

If yes, how often?

What kind of TV programs do you watch?

What language (s) do you speak at home?

What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name : Bahaa

Age : 18

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Rawda high school

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Reading, football

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Astronomy, Arabic history and religious books

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, Arabic

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, once per week

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

I always go with my parents when I don't have to study

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Three times

How long did you stay? Few days each time

Where did you go? Syria, Jordan, Turkey

With whom? Family

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

Yes, to the mosque

If yes, how often?

As much as possible

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Football matches, religious, historical and documentary programs

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Bechara

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Chouiefat

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Soccer

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, French books mainly autobiographies

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, novels, newspapers, car magazines

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, most of the day

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Yes, often

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? Yes Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Above 15 times

How long did you stay? Two weeks each time

Where did you go? Jordan, Vienna, Dubai, Cyprus

With whom? Alone or with parents

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Somewhat

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

I go to church

If yes, how often?

Once a month

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Action, comedy, police

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

English and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

English

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Fouad

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

International College

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Fishing, music

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, novels, magazines

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, any kind

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, everyday

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Rarely

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Two weeks each time

Where did you go? France, Italy, Rhodos, Bulgaria

With whom? Friends and family

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

I sometimes pray at the mosque

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Movies, shows, news, sports

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

French, English or Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Grace

Age : 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

College Protestant Francais

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Shopping, swimming and aerobics

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, magazines

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Rap, classical, commercial

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Usually

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? No

How many times?

How long did you stay?

With whom?

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Somehow

Do you pray?

No

Do you go to church/ mosque?

No

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Romance and horror movies, soap operas

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

French and Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Hamdi

Age: 18

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Rawda High School

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Reading and sports

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, social and religious issues

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, Abdel wahhab, Um Kulthoom

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Once a week

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Nightclub

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Twice a week

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Two days each time

Where did you go? Syria

With whom? Family

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

I go to the mosque

If yes, how often?

Daily

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Sitcoms, political and religious programs, games

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12-What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Karim

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

International College

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Music, cinema, reading

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, a lot

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, any kind

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, everyday

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Rarely

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Ten days each time but one year in USA

Where did you go? France, Turkey, Italy, Greece, USA

With whom? Friends and Family

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Do you pray?

No

Do you go to church/ mosque?

No

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Movies, games, documentary etc.

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic and English

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

French, English and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

English

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name : Lara

Age : 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

College Notre Dame de Jamhour.

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Movies, sports and reading

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, French newspapers , magazines and books

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Blues, Jazz, Latin, Tango

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, everyday

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Rarely

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Between two weeks and four years.

Where did you go? Lived in Montereal for four years and one year in Nice. Around two weeks in Greece, USA, France, Spain, Turkey, Columbia, Hungary

With whom? Long ones with family and short ones with friends

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

Church

If yes, how often?

Every two weeks

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Foreign movies, shows, documentary etc.

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic and French but mostly French

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

French and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

French

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Manal

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Rawda High School

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Shopping, reading magazines, browsing the net

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, magazines

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Not that often

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

Evangelical youth club

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, three times a week

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

No

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? three times

How long did you stay? Two months each

Where did you go? Twice to Cyprus and once to USA

With whom? Friends to Cyprus and parents to USA

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

I go to church once or twice a month depending on the studies I have church

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Comedies

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

English and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

English

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Mona

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Nour School

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

reading and TV

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, classics

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, national songs

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

Cultural Club of the South

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Rarely

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Always

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? No

How many times?

How long did you stay?

With whom?

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

No girls don't go to the mosque

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Talkshows

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Mona

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Evangelical school of Zahle

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Basketball

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

No

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

No

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

Cultural Club of Bekaa

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Once a week

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Rarely

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? No

How many times?

How long did you stay?

With whom?

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes, Five times a day

Do you go to church/ mosque?

No

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Sitcoms and basketball games

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Nabil

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Grand Lycee Franco-Libanais

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Swimming, basketball, music

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, newspapers, novels

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, Rock, Hard Rock, 60's-70's

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, everyday

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Once a week

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? Yes Tourism ? War

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Three years

Where did you go? Canada

With whom? Parents

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Not really

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

I go to church every two weeks

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Movies, sports, news

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic and French

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

French, English and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

French, English and Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Ola

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Lycee Abdel Kader

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Basketball, reading

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, religious books

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, it depends on my mood

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, once or twice a week

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Weekly

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism? No

How many times?

How long did you stay?

Where did you go?

With whom?

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes, five times a day

Do you go to church/ mosque?

Yes

If yes, how often?

Rarely

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Movies

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Rani

Age: 18

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Le Lycee National

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Play the guitar, listen to music, basketball, rollerblading, cooking and coaching football

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, sometimes misic and sports magazines

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, Rock

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

All the time except when I'm studying

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Once in a while

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Two weeks to three months each time

Where did you go? Nigeria, Italy, USA, Mexico, Cyprus

With whom? Parents

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

A little

Do you pray?

Not on regular basis

Do you go to church/ mosque?

No

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

News, sports, music, wrestling, sitcoms....

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

English and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Both, English and Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Riad

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

International College

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Fishing, Aquariums

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, Marine Biology

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, Rock, classical, oldies

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, everyday

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

It depends

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Two weeks each time

Where did you go? France, Italy, Switzerland, Greece

With whom? Friends and family

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

My mother is religious

Do you pray?

Yes, three times a day

Do you go to church/ mosque?

I pray at the mosque on Friday

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Movies, Shows, Sport games

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

English and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Rima

Age: 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

College Protestant Francais

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Basketball, dancing, reading

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, any kind

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, Rap, Hip Hop, Soul

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, twice a week

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Whenever I have the chance

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Once

How long did you stay? Two months

Where did you go? Australia

With whom? Family

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Somehow

Do you pray?

No

Do you go to church/ mosque?

No

If yes, how often?

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Music programs, intellectual programs

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

English and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Depends. In some sensitive topics I prefer English

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name : Rola

Age : 19

1- What school (s) did you go to?

College Notre Dame de Jamhour.

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Music, cinema, reading and aerobics

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, French books mainly autobiographies

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, any kind

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, everyday

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Rarely

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Two weeks each time

Where did you go? France, Turkey, Jordan, Italy, Switzerland, Spain

With whom? Friends

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

Church

If yes, how often?

Once every three weeks

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

I don't watch much TV.

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic and French but mostly French

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

French and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

French

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Salim

Age : 18

1- What school (s) did you go to?

Rawda High School

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Computer, football, reading

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, social and political Arabic books

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, Arabic music

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

No

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, min. once a week

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

During studying once a week

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? Parents' Tourism ?

How many times? Once

How long did you stay? Born and lived in Saudi Arabia for five years

Where did you go?

With whom?

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

To the mosque

If yes, how often?

Somehow daily

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Religious, political programs and sports matches

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

Arabic

Open – Ended Questionnaire

Name: Zeina

Age : 18

1-What school (s) did you go to?

College Notre Dame de Jamhour.

2-What are/ is your hobby (s) or any other activities you practice in your leisure time?

Music, sports

3-Do you often read? If yes, what kind of material?

Yes, French books mostly romance

4-Do you listen to music? If yes, what kind?

Yes, all kinds

5-Are you a member of any social organization, club at the university? Etc.

Nop!

6-Do you hang out with friends? How often?

Yes, every single day

Where? Underline the right one(s).

Restaurant café Concert Movies Pub Night club

7-Do you pay family visits with your parents ?

If yes, how often?

Only when somebody dies

8- Have you traveled abroad?

Business? No Tourism ? Yes

How many times? Many times

How long did you stay? Between two weeks and a month each time

Where did you go? France, Turkey, Los Palmas and Canada

With whom? Friends and once family

9- Do you belong to a religious family?

Yes

Do you pray?

Yes

Do you go to church/ mosque?

I rarely go to church

If yes, how often?

Once every four months

10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Documentary, movies, shows anything

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic and French but mostly French

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

French and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

French

SPECIAL NOTE

**ITEM SCANNED AS SUPPLIED
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10- What kind of TV programs do you watch?

Documentary, movies, shows anything

11-What language(s) do you speak at home?

Arabic and French but mostly French

12- What language (s) do you speak with your friends?

French and Arabic

13- In which language do you feel comfortable expressing yourself?

French

APPENDIX C

Pictures two to seven are used in the single-sex friendship group interview.

Pictures 1a – 8a are used in the mixed-sex friendship group interview.

Photo number 2



Photo number 3



Photo number 4

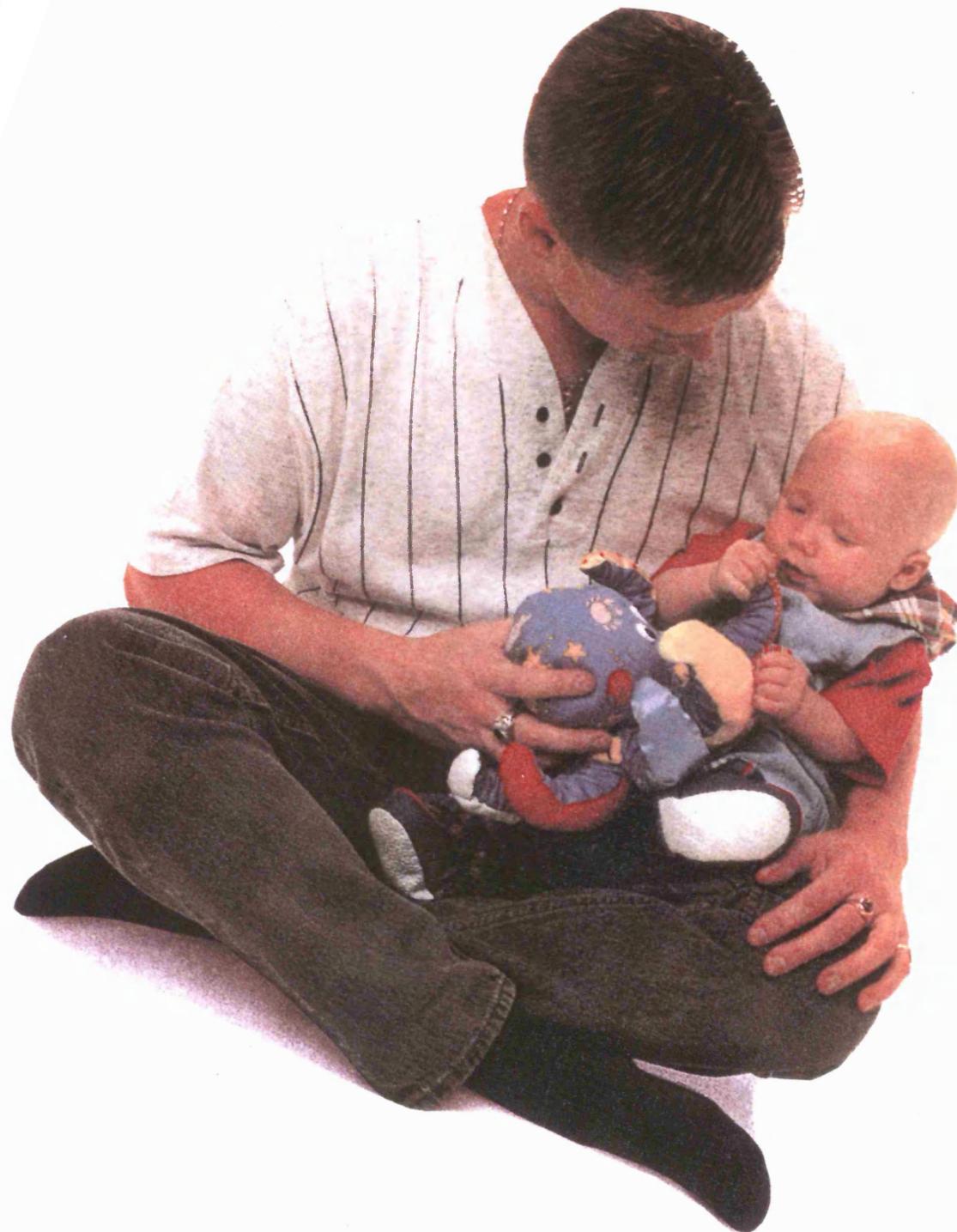


Photo number 5



Photo number 6



Photo number 7



Photo number 1 a



Photo number 2 a

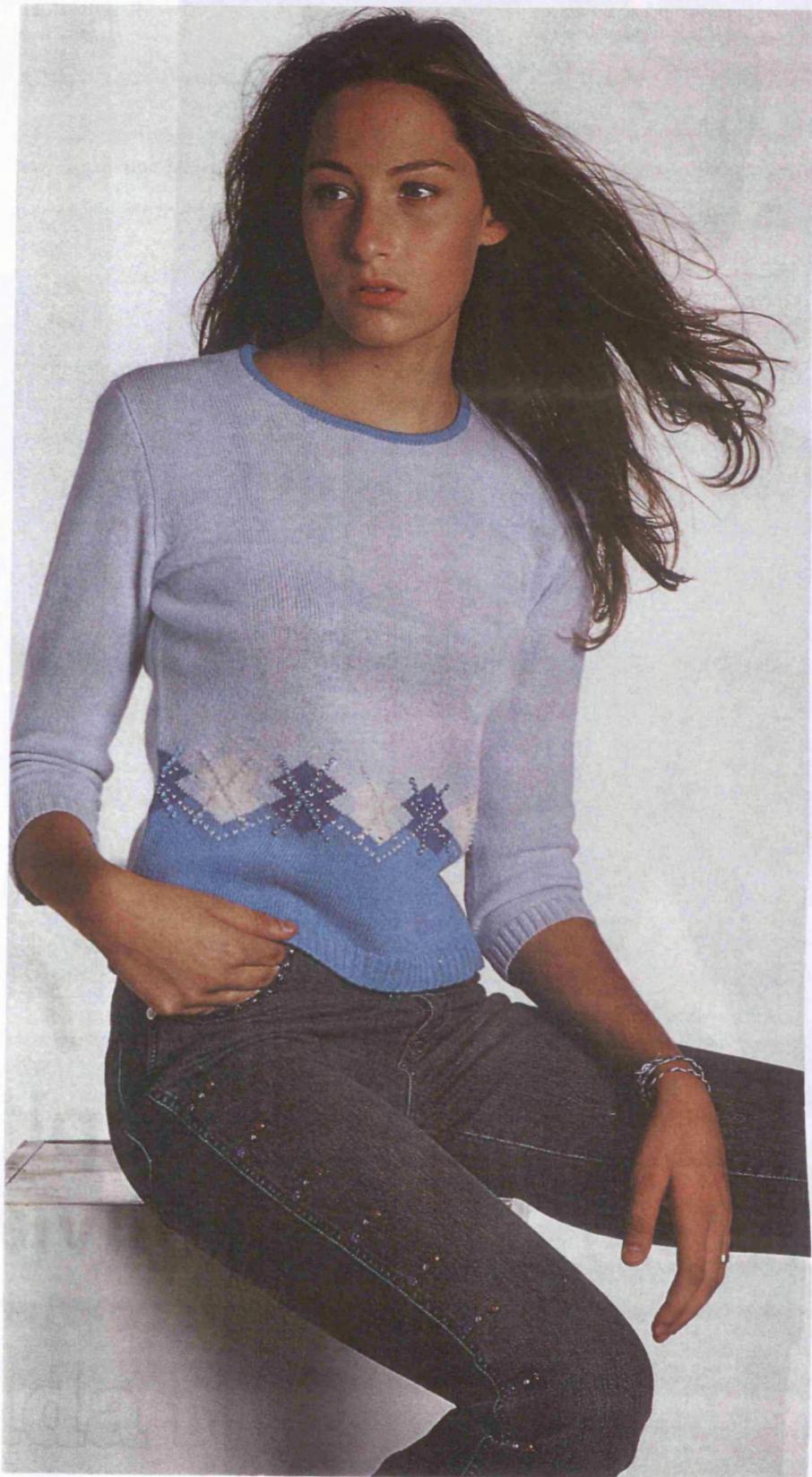


Photo number 3 a
Photo number 4 a

A fashion advertisement featuring a woman in a brown blazer and sunglasses. She is standing outdoors, looking off to the side. The background is dark and textured. The advertisement includes text in French and English.

CAD
boutique
exclusivité

Escada b
Khatoun Bldg. Tel.: 01/785472

Photo number 4 a

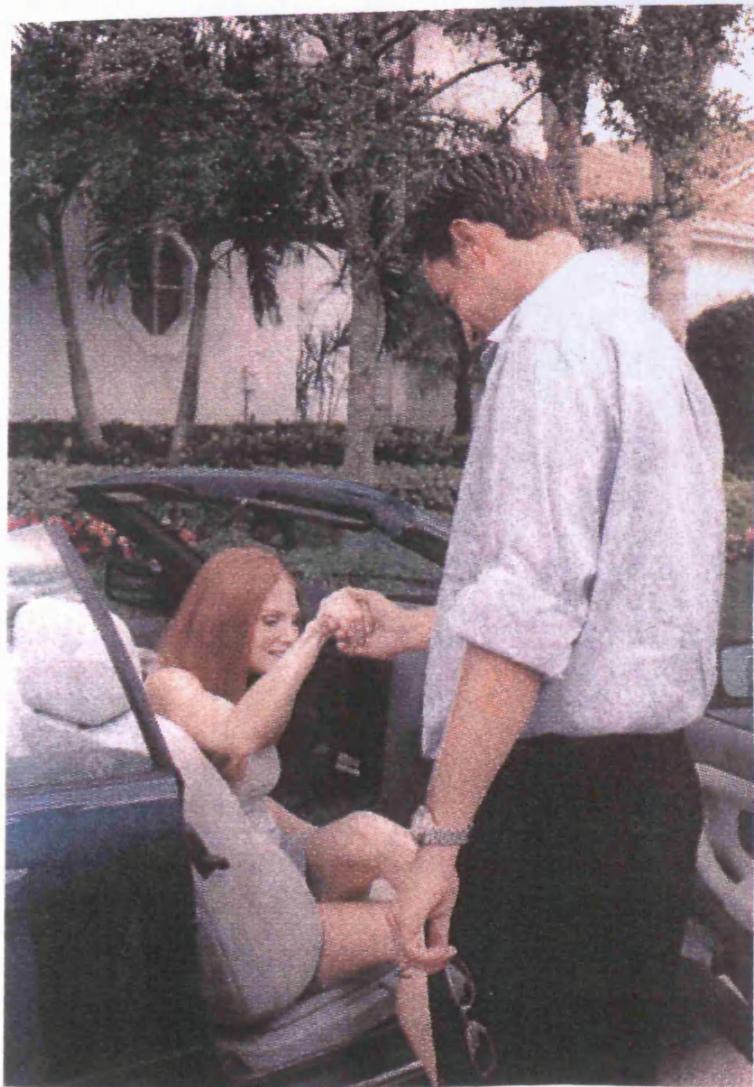


Photo number 5 a

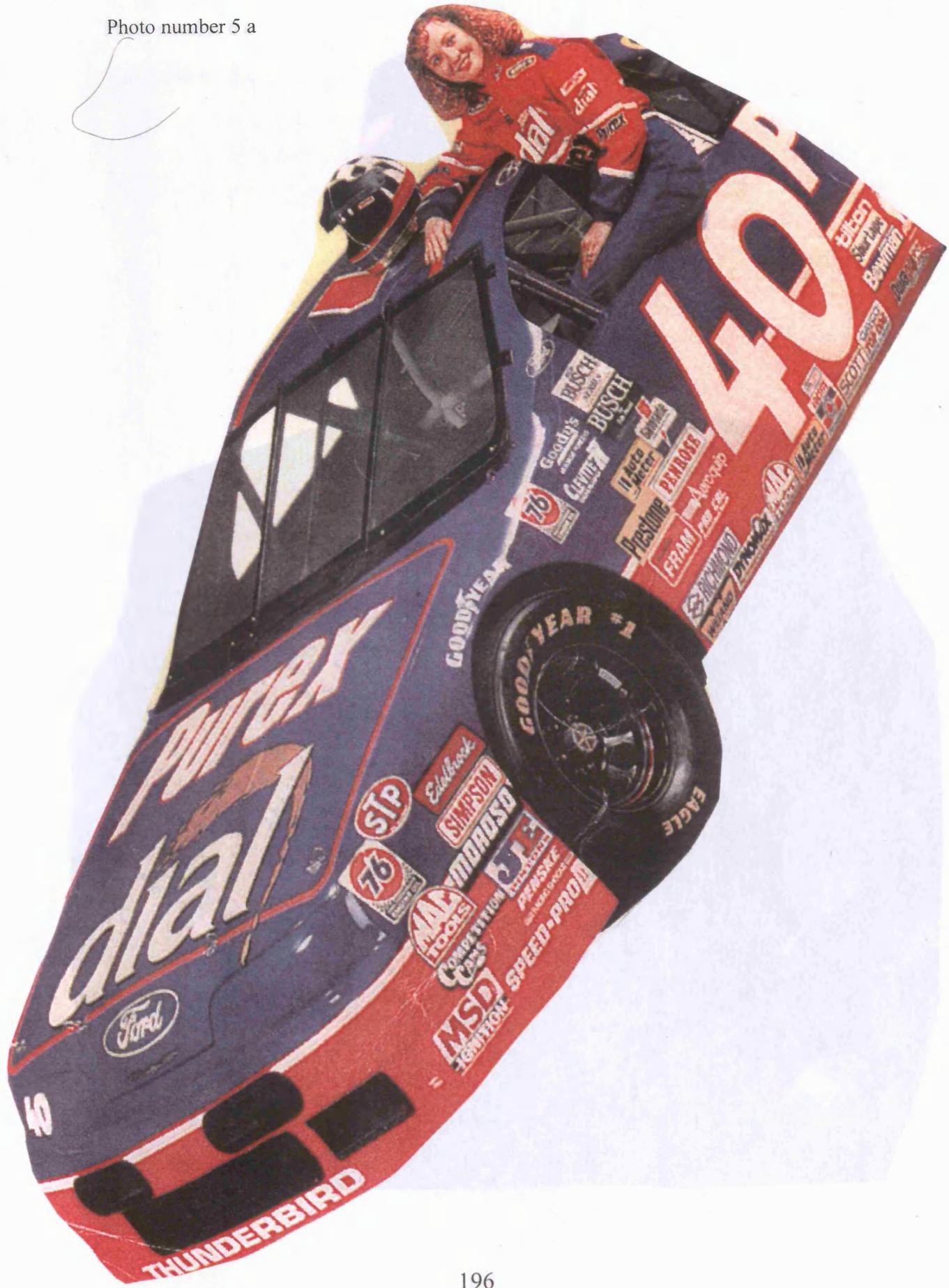


Photo number 6 a

Photo number 7 a



Photo number 7 a

- Photo number 7 a

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