

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<i>Transcription Conventions</i>	xix
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Overview and Aims	1
1.2 Language, Gender and Politics	4
1.2.1 Theoretical Approaches to Language and Gender	4
1.2.2 Women and Language in the Public Sphere and in the Workplace	9
1.3 Women, Men and Politics	16
1.4 Summary and Structure of the Book	21
2 Gender and Language in Political Institutions	24
2.1 Introduction: Linguistic Research into Gender in Parliamentary Contexts	24
2.2 Feminist Linguistic Methodology	29
2.3 Ethnography in the ‘Community of Practice’	30
2.4 Discourse Analytic Approaches	34
2.4.1 Conversation Analysis	34
2.4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and Gendered Discourses	39
2.5 Case Studies	41
2.6 The Mixed Method Approach	42
3 Women’s Linguistic Participation in a Traditional Male-Dominated Forum – The UK House of Commons	47
3.1 The House of Commons as a Community of Practice (CoP)	47
3.2 Floor Apportionment in the House of Commons	50
3.3 Adversarial Language	60
3.3.1 Introduction	60
3.3.2 Identifying Adversarial Features in PMQs	62
3.4 Changing the ‘Key’ of Debates	79
3.4.1 Introduction	79
3.4.2 Humour in House of Commons Debates	80
3.4.3 Irony and Rule Breaking – Filibustering	86
3.5 Discussion – Gender and Rule-Breaking in the 1998–2001 House of Commons Corpus	91
	vii

viii Contents

4	Women's Linguistic Participation in the New Devolved Assemblies of the UK	96
4.1	The Devolved Political Assemblies as Communities of Practice	96
4.1.1	Introduction	96
4.1.2	Description of the Northern Ireland Assembly (NIA)	98
4.1.3	Description of the Scottish Parliament (SP)	102
4.1.4	Description of the National Assembly for Wales (NAW)	105
4.2	The Analysis of the Debate Floor	108
4.2.1	The Quantitative Analysis of Debate Turns Across the Four UK Parliaments	108
4.3	The Close Analysis of the Debate Floors in the Scottish Parliament, the Northern Ireland Assembly and the National Assembly for Wales	117
4.3.1	The Debate Floor of the Scottish Parliament	117
4.3.2	The Debate Floor of the Northern Ireland Assembly	121
4.3.3	The Debate Floor of the National Assembly of Wales	123
4.4	What Makes a Political Institution More Egalitarian?	124
4.5	Women's Progress in the New Institutions	131
5	Barriers to Women's Participation in Politics	138
5.1	Stereotypical Views of Women's Professional Behaviour	138
5.2	Adversarial Politics, the 'Different Voice' Ideology and the Burden of the Civilising Difference	142
5.3	Sexist Language towards Women Politicians	147
5.3.1	Forms of Sexist Language	147
5.3.2	Sexist Language and Sexual Harassment in the UK House of Commons	150
5.4	Hegemonic Masculinity, Homosocial Bonding, Fraternal Networks and the 'Boys' Club'	161
5.5	The Representation of Women Politicians in the Media	164
5.5.1	The Under-representation and Framing of Women Politicians in the Media	164
5.5.2	Gender and Mediated Representations of Speech and Voice	169
5.5.3	Linguistic Analyses of Gendered Representations in Media Texts	171
5.5.4	Why Does It Matter? How Does Gendered Mediation Affect Political Representation and Participation?	174
6	Case Study: Theresa May	178
6.1	Introduction: Rationale for the Selection and Inclusion of Case Studies	178
6.2	Theresa May	180
6.2.1	Introduction	180
6.2.2	Theresa May: Adversarial Language in Prime Minister's Question Time	183
6.2.3	Theresa May: Language, Sexism and Fraternal Networks	194
6.2.4	Theresa May: Gendered Media Representations	202
6.2.5	Summary	206
7	Case Studies: Julia Gillard and Hillary Clinton	211
7.1	Julia Gillard	211
7.1.1	Introduction	211
7.1.2	Julia Gillard: Adversarial Language and Sexism	213
7.1.3	Julia Gillard: The 'Sexism and Misogyny Speech'	218
7.1.4	Julia Gillard: Gendered Mediation and the 'Gender Wars' Backlash	222
7.1.5	Summary	226

Contents	ix
7.2 Hillary Clinton	227
7.2.1 Introduction	227
7.2.2 Hillary Clinton: Critical Gendered Moments in the US Presidential TV Debates with Donald Trump, 2016	227
7.2.3 Hillary Clinton: Gendered Stereotypes and Media Representation	236
7.2.4 Summary	241
8 Women, Language and Politics: Gains and Losses	243
8.1 Introduction	243
8.2 Taking, Holding and Yielding the Floor	243
8.2.1 Turn-Taking on the Official or ‘Legal’ Debate Floor	243
8.2.2 Turn-Taking on the Unofficial or ‘Illegal’ Debate Floor	246
8.3 Adversarial Language and Ideological Beliefs about Gender and Speech Styles in Politics	247
8.4 Gender, Language and Institutional Change	249
8.4.1 Progress and Change in the UK House of Commons	249
8.4.2 Progress and Change in the UK’s ‘New’ Devolved Institutions: What Makes an Institution More Egalitarian?	252
8.5 Future Directions for Research into Gender, Language and Politics in Institutions	256
8.5.1 Interdisciplinary Research and Parliamentary Reform	256
8.5.2 Interdiscursivity and the Construction and Strengthening of Homosocial Bonds across Events	257
8.6 Case Studies of Women Leaders and Barriers to Political Participation	260
Appendix A: Description of the House of Commons Data Corpus 1998–2001	267
Appendix B: Description of the Devolved Parliaments Data Corpus 2009–11	271
Appendix C: Adversarial Language in the May–Corbyn Prime Minister’s Question Times	275
Notes	277
References	283
Index	315