

GENDER AND DISCOURSE ON AN ACADEMIC INTERNET COMMUNITY

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my children: Lee, Yuri, Richard, Tyler, Katie, as well as our dog Monty who kept my feet warm through many a cold, long winter night.

Most importantly., this work owes its fruition to my husband Harold, without whose love, understanding, support and forbearance it would never have been written.

ABSTRACT

Do men and women write differently and if so, do these stylistic differences represent differing world views and/or do they indicate divergent decisions that are made by the gendered individual with respect to the positioning inherent in the interactive communicative process?

In this thesis I consider how men and women write and interact, as well as the topics of their conversations, by examining the postings that characterize a specific semiotic Internet site: Anthro-L@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu. Created solely by and through language, a net community is the ideal environment in which to conduct a field study which examines the use of gendered language. In cyber 'public' space, where social interaction is largely stripped of bodily cues, net participants rely on the power of discourse to convey the 'self'.

I shall show that men and women make different choices as to how they will represent themselves in net public space, and that these choices are conveyed through the preference of specific styles of writing. Although conceptualizations of public space, academic praxis, and individual socialization all contribute to stylistic differentials, I illustrate through my methodology that Gender is the master status that primarily informs communicative decisions. 'Legitimate' language in our culture is constructed on the rational paradigm which characterizes public institutions; this paradigm is the fundamental principle which informs our system of [male] Langue. Posting acts on Anthro-L offer evidence that those who do not 'speak', or choose not to speak within the framework of this model, are conceived as 'other', and are silenced through desertion, by - play and trivialization.

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1. CHAPTER ONE: THESIS INTRODUCTION

This thesis represents a convergence of my interest in computer culture and how a 'self' is constructed and presented on-line with a desire to test whether claims that men and women read and write differently could be upheld or negated by empirical data. My interest in gendered writing/reading styles had been precipitated through my participation in an upper level theory class where I had become aware of feminist literary criticism characterized by the work of scholars such as Elaine Showalter and her concept "Gynocriticism".¹ Although I had instinctively responded to the idea that women are socialized into world views distinctly different than those that framed the lives of men,² I simultaneously noted the lack of 'empirical' evidence for these claims.³ Discussion of men and women's reading and writing styles was largely theoretically rendered, in this Literary class no "on the ground" studies were presented.

¹ Showalter, Elaine (1985) *The New Feminist Criticism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

² see for example the work on early childhood and socialization by theorists such as Chodorow, Nancy (1978) *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press. That this socialization process is ongoing and leads to a distinctly different [gendered] decision making process is found in the work of Gilligan, Carol (1982) *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

³ In fact literary feminist criticism focuses on women in texts and the 'muted' voice/characters of women in canonized literature. While Post-colonial literary theory has rectified the emphasis on canonization somewhat, and while scholars like Kolodney consider the reading role of the reader, there is no attempt to incorporate the viewpoint of embodied readers. For a study that takes into account women's response to textual material see: Radway, Janice (1984) *Reading the Romance*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press.

I wondered if men and women really did write and read in divergent ways, or if the perception by scholars that this was so was colored by a theorist's own interface with the gendered texts under his/her consideration. Reasoning that if men and women wrote differently it should be possible to find evidence for this claim in gendered texts, I began to design a study that would test for [posited] gender linked divergent reading and writing patterns in a systematic way. Upon entering my masters program I incorporated these preliminary investigations into a full fledged study by posing the question, "do men and women write differently"? Derivatively, I also researched two affiliated questions, "do some writing styles appear to draw more legitimacy in terms of response?", and "do divergences in writing style hold true in a significant number of cases?" These queries form the foundation of this thesis.

I integrated my research into gender writing styles with my ongoing studies of on-line computer cultures. This synthesis of my academic preoccupations grew naturally out of an act of reflexivity. During my initial tenure on a number of diverse net communities I had begun to notice that I responded emotionally to the texts of some writers while others left me indifferent. At times I felt like a net member was speaking directly to me, at times I felt myself withdrawing or distancing from a text. Curious about my reactions, I kept track of who wrote the postings I read and quickly became aware that many of the messages to which I felt 'drawn' were presented on the net as written by women. By paying close attention to the postings to which I responded with empathy, I began to discern writing

patterns that were said to be gender specific in the scholarly literature that dealt with masculine/feminine narratives.⁴ Combining these observations with the fact that a net is constructed entirely through language I reasoned that an Internet community, where dialogue between participants is largely stripped of bodily cues, would be an ideal environment through which to test theoretical claims that have been made with respect to the difference in male and female perceptions and styles of reading and writing. Thus I made the decision to test my question, "Do men and women write differently" through net postings.

Once the decision was made to test my thesis question through net messages it became imperative to decide which net community would represent my database source. I chose Anthro-L, firstly because I found it strange but satisfying that I would be studying those people whose life work it is to study 'others', and secondly because I was curious about the impact of anthropological theory on Anthropologists. Were net members reflexive? Were they people who applied the theory with which they studied the discourse of others to the communal Anthro-L self? Would their academic insights inform the way in which net members constructed intra-group relationships? Did gender roles within my own discipline mirror aspects of 'real life' male/female roles, or was gender identity within the anthropological academe differently configured?

⁴ Gilbert and Gubar, as examples, lay out an explicit 'formula' for women writing.....see: Gilbert and Gubar (1988) *No-Man's Land - The Place of the Woman Writer in the 20th Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

My continuing membership in several net communities led me to another personal observation. List members began to form distinctive images in my mind as I mentally endowed them with hair color, body size, physical characteristics and even clothing. These portraits of net members were created entirely from textual cues and through my response to and empathy for the words I read on the computer screen. Nets and net people are constructed through this interactive process between words and reader.⁵ The writer of a given posting may chose to represent him/her self in a specific way, may even believe he/she has succeeded, but the words they use to position the "self" are always open to interpretation by a reader. No doubt some of the writers who became "real people" for me, would have been amazed at my interaction with their postings!

In this way face to face interaction assumes a new meaning in Cyberspace - a face is "faced" by words on a relatively flat surface. Benedikt refers to this screen/face/words interface as "*simple beholding*".⁶ In actuality the process is far more active than a description such as "*simple beholding*" might imply. A user "sees" the words but 'hears' a message and constructs a personal scenario founded on his/her personal comprehension of what is there 'in' the words⁷ before him/her.⁸ It is with and through words only that

⁵ The exception here of course, is when net members know each other from conferences, or from 'data' that is available through other channels. For example, two colleagues in a department, or when one of one's department colleagues "knows" a net members IRL.

⁶ Benedikt, Michael (1992) *Cyberspace: First Steps* Cambridge, Mass. The MIT Press. page 2.

⁷ As Lakoff and Johnson note in their discussion of the conduit metaphor and its centrality to western thought and language concepts, we treat words as if they were containers filled with meaning. A writer sends these containers, and a reader's job is to "take" the meaning "out" of them. For example: "next time you edit this include stronger ideas", "I didn't get the meaning of that paragraph", or "John's sentences are always filled with meaning", or even: "insert that thought into the following paragraph. See: Reddy,

interaction and comprehension takes place. Both depend on what the reader understands the words as 'containing', as well as on how the container⁹ is "wrapped", that is the style in which words and sentences are presented.

I have now been a member of Anthro-L for over three years. During that time I have grown to recognize many other net members by their writing style and through the expression of their [often anthropological] ideas. Once I had made the decision to utilize Anthro-L as my research net on gender narratives, I became a "lurker" on the net.

"Lurking" is the standard computer term that is used to describe a net member who does not actively participate in the community's discussions through posting - he or she "reads" the community but does not engage in communicative interaction.

I made this decision for a number of reasons. Firstly, I was concerned about my own reflexivity. Prior to making the decision to undertake this research I had posted to the Anthro-L net and found it an unnerving and emotional experience. In order to create some personal distance from net members and their posted texts, I decided to remove myself from participation in on-going discussions in order to attempt to maintain a more objective stance when reviewing my data. Had I continued to be involved in ongoing threads I am

Michael J. (1979) *The Conduit Metaphor in Metaphor and Thought*. Oortney, Andrew [ed] Cambridge; London: Cambridge University Press. pages 284-324. see also: Lakoff and Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. page 46 forward.

⁸ Indeed, it could be said that this is where the whole concept of "Cyberspace" also 'lives'. No one "sees" Cyberspace, it is a conceptualization which no doubt, is different for every user. It is a collection of personal images, a user specific fantasy place.

⁹ I will shortly note that a posting, or as I call it above, the total container, is an 'act' of speech that results in a variety of possible impacts on a reader. Impact is style related.

sure that my ability to view the discourse dispassionately would have been further compromised.

Of course I am aware that my interface with the community even as a 'lurker' is a priori, subjective. I bring the sum total of 'who I am' to the Anthro-L experience. I am a woman, white, older and an anthropologist. These facts frame both my response to the data and the observations derived from that data. The "talk" of Anthro-L is "my-speak"; I am white, hence privileged no matter what my gender; being older I am somewhat fixated in some of my opinions. Studying gender narrative construction intimately reflects and impacts how I view and structure my own writing; more my own gender affiliation can cause me to read "into" the data. All of these concerns became important factors in my choice of methodologies for this study.

I was also somewhat concerned with possible "performances for the researcher" by net members. Reasoning that through their exposure to theoretical literature Anthro-L students and scholars would be more aware than participants of most other nets that the self is presented and constructed through discourse, I was concerned that staged discourse for the watching ethnographer would complicate an analysis of the network's discursive topography. I preferred, as much as this was possible, to allow constructions of self to manifest through the interactive process of self/other net relationships. Adding a complication by creating a situation whereby net members positioned themselves towards the lurking researcher was, I felt, unwarranted. Thus I chose not to announce my research intentions to the net-at-large.

A concern for a possible lack of reflexivity on my part, was also a motivating factor behind my research strategies. I reasoned that I could not ignore the fact that I, given my own socialization, would 'read' into a posted text in certain ways. Nor could I be sure that the 'gender patterns' that I perceived in a text would not be the result of 'gender reading' - that I, as a woman, did not 'read' into a posting and impose my own gender interpretations on the text. Thus initially when I began this project, I had hoped to stay away from questions of meaning, such as 'what did this person mean when they said this'? Instead, I began this study by focusing on the development of a methodology that would allow me to base my observations and conclusions on data that could be duplicated by further research.

I analyzed the data in a number of ways in an effort to discern whether or not significant patterns of divergent writing styles were gender related in posted texts. I probed for these patterns by utilizing a modified semantic analysis which I explain thoroughly in Chapter Three. By concentrating on the conceptual Domains found in individual postings, the types of semantic relationships used to link these Domains, individual 'style' based on how a posting was encoded for function, and accompanying transformations within and between messages, I was able to access significant amounts of replicable data that shed light on divergent writing styles.

However, it was not possible to ignore the meanings of style choices for both the poster and the reading recipient, nor could I discuss the results of my methodology without engaging in interpretive analyses. Posters utilize certain styles when writing in order to create a specific effect with respect to net readers. Styles cannot be grasped apart from

meanings - the meanings conveyed through style are relevant to both the writer and the reader who responds. I also quickly discovered that patterns of speech, who spoke, when they spoke, and who was silent for example, were filled with meaning. So although I had hoped to engage in a primarily etic analysis by tracing categories, domains and speech patterns in Anthro-L talk, I soon realized that the emic perspectives of the posters, such as how a poster constructed his/her semantic relationships, lent meaning to the patterns, categories and domains my analyses had uncovered. Indeed, without these emic perspectives my etic analyses had little relevance. In this thesis therefore, while I discuss 'reading and writing' through the use of rather hegemonic and patterned categories, I also link these patterns to the explicit and implicit meanings conveyed through language by community members in interaction.

I felt that it was imperative that I also reach a decision with respect to authorization and credit when quoting from Anthro-L posted texts. The Statement of Being¹⁰ offers a suggested format for quotation from postings and I have chosen to honor this suggestion and use this form, slightly modified to fit my lineage parameters, throughout the thesis. Wherever Anthro-L text is quoted I have asked for, and received by email, permission from the writer of the posting to use her/his words in this thesis. All permission emails have been downloaded and are filed with the data that constitutes this fieldwork.

¹⁰ The Statement of being constitutes the mandate of the net Anthro-L and is sent to the net 4 times a year. The reader will find a complete reproduction in Appendix A.

The fact that I thought carefully about how I would credit the words of posted texts reflects on my own proclivity to favor 'privacy' in email correspondence whether communication takes place in net private or public space. I am not at all certain that I would want 'words' that I had spoken on one net to appear on another, particularly as these words would not be contextualized in the original stream of talk in which they appeared. Discussion on a number of academic nets of which I am a member reveals that, like me, many Internet participants are divided on whether or not net discourse is public or private domain.

Semantic analysis in this thesis illustrates that both the Statement of Being and a number of this net's "speaking" members are firm adherents of the "writer owns the words" school; the primacy of speaking.¹¹ Net emphasis on the ownership of words by the writer who originally wrote them, exists in tension with the belief that whatever one says on the Internet becomes public domain; hence anyone is free to use the words written by anyone else. When I wrote to ask net members if I could quote from their postings in this thesis I was struck by an interesting anomaly. Attitudes to 'words' appeared to align with gender identity. The men from whom I requested permission, with three specific exceptions, either wrote to tell me their words were public domain or gave me clearance to quote

¹¹ This public/private distinction re the ownership of words also reflects on the "primacy of speaking" that Derrida among others, discusses in his work. It further reflects that members on specific nets appear to feel secure within their own community, but outside of that community they do not wish to see their words posted without permission. I believe this is due to a concern for de-contextualization. Words that are lifted from a discussion - without the rest of that discussion being present, can signify something quite different than what the original author wished to convey.

from their posted texts without inquiring as to how their words would be used and for what purpose in the study. Of the three men who constituted the exceptions to this pattern, one simply refused to be quoted¹² and the others asked for further information on the context in which their words would be situated.

Without exception all of the women whose postings I hoped to use emailed back to request further information.¹³ They asked me to refresh their memories regarding 'what' they had written during the time period covered by my database. They also withheld permission to quote until they ascertained how their words would be used, in what context they would appear, and how I intended to use their postings in a theoretical context. The messages I received from these writers were thought provoking and insightful. One of my respondents challenged my decision to lurk on the net during the course of this research. She was open and forthcoming about her opinion that studying a community without that group's knowledge is highly unethical.¹⁴

'Lurking' on the net constitutes the major drawback of this study. If net members had been aware of my research and my 'lurking' presence in the community, my options to check my perceptions of the net's discourse would have been extended. I could, for example, have

¹² He gave no explanation as to why, but wrote a very friendly, and informative email on both my project and one of his own. I have, of course, respected his wishes.

¹³ In this case then, my own feelings about this issue were very much in keeping with the response of other net women.

¹⁴ I have noted my reasons for this decision earlier in this Introduction. I also note that I spent many agonizing hours pondering the rights and wrongs of lurking on a net without announcing my intention to study the inhabitants or to incorporate my findings into a thesis which would itself become public domain.

written to female net members to ask why they were 'silent' on the net.¹⁵ As my research now stands I had to rely on or hope for list discussions that centered around issues that could be incorporated into my thesis. An illustration of how my concerns at times overlapped with net 'talk' is found in the Second Chapter in which I take the position that Anthro-L meets the criteria for 'community' as these are given in the anthropological literature. However, not all net members would agree with me. The question of the net's community status intrigues list participants and is one that has constituted a number of lengthy threads. By reading the words written by net members I was able to glean what 'they' thought about this issue as well as a number of similar concerns that were part of this study.¹⁶ But I was not able to question members about their ideas or participation directly.¹⁷

Before I treat the thesis question in terms of Chapter contextualization it is imperative that I define how I employ a number of terms that are fundamental to this thesis. "Discourse",

¹⁵ Women constitute, as I shall discuss, approximately 39.62% of the net's population, but post in thread sequences at the rate of 5.7%. It would have been interesting to ask why. This research only briefly contemplates "why" in the Chapter 8 which discusses the muting of both male and female net members, and the 'why' is once again briefly discussed in the Conclusion.

¹⁶ By a strange twist of fate, the topic of gender and discourse on Anthro-L, as well as the broader topic of Feminist Anthropology became a thread on the net as I began to perform the final edit on this thesis. However, by following the topic, I have seen no reason to change my conclusions in this thesis; a pity, as some male members of this network have shown themselves to be thoughtful and sensitive feminists. I note this in the thesis. But the insensitivity to language difference which I stress as very important to the muting of women on this net, is clearly articulated by more 'insensitive' language users in this thread and becomes increasingly obvious as the discussion escalates. Thus I leave my conclusions intact.

¹⁷ I will note in the Methodology chapter, that I made one exception to this rule when I had almost completed my writing.

"narrative" and discursive structure" are concepts that I will utilize many times. Below I consider each of these in turn.

1.1. Discourse

Polkinghorne offers a definition of "discourse" which I largely accept for the purposes of this research:

"A discourse is a unit of utterance, it is something written or spoken that is larger than a sentence. A discourse is an integration of sentences that produces a global meaning that is more than that contained in the sentences viewed independently. There are various kinds of discourses, and each kind links the sentences that compose it according to distinct patterns. James Kinneavy distinguishes five basic discourse forms - referential, expressive, persuasive, narrational and poetical.....¹⁸ Different kinds of discourses require different patterns of comprehension....."

By Polkinghorne's definition a posting is an instance of discourse. For the purposes of this study these discursive acts can be viewed in two ways. The definition indicates that a posting has a 'global' meaning which is greater than the sum of the meaning contained in its sentences. A posting for example, which contains an easily understood explicit meaning, often carries an implicit message with respect to the writer of the posting or the reader at whom the text is 'aimed'. In this thesis, I am concerned with the 'global' referent firstly in terms of 'tone' and how this positions a writer and reader. Secondly I am interested in the links an act of discourse may exhibit to the overall Anthro-L discursive topography which in turn manifests links to specific real-time social structures.

¹⁸ Polkinghorne, Donald E. (1988) *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*. New York: State University of New York Press. page 31.

Through my use of the word 'tone' ¹⁹ above, I attempt to convey my impression that when a writer sends a posting he/she presents the 'self' through a discursive style. I use style to mean the 'design' or 'production', the type or 'make' of a posted text which contains a distinctive, characteristic manner of expression. A style positions both the sender and the receiver of a message through the manner in which aspects of an individual's world view are articulated. The expression of style through writing conveys a certain "feel" or "ethos". ²⁰ Through a word/screen/user interface the reader adds, subtracts, refines, accepts or negates the 'meaning' and/or the tonal intent of a posting. In a successful textual transaction, the reader is able to adjust his/her style of comprehension to parallel the writer's style of presentation. When the reader does not or cannot do this, miscommunication occurs. ²¹

This research therefore concentrates on the second half of Polkinghorne's definition. Using the data, I scan for "*various kinds of discourses*" that require "*different patterns of comprehension*". ²² The "*various kinds [styles] of discourses*" are manifested through a wide variety of posted messages, while "*different patterns of comprehension*" are most readily discernible in responses directed at specific postings. As I explain in Chapter Four,

¹⁹ The overlap with music is intentional. I have noticed that each posting, for me at any rate, has a certain quality that I can only compare to the overall 'mood' or 'ethos', as Bateson uses this, of a musical piece. The net is an ever unfinished symphony, the postings notes in the score, each postings has a distinctive tone. Certain progressions [conversations] are endlessly repeated.

²⁰ Bateson, Gregory. (1936) *Naven*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pages 119-120.

²¹ In Chapter Three I give a definition of each style of presentation and comprehension and expand on the criteria which defines each style.

²² op. cit., page 31.

I have substituted Jakobson's²³ definitions for Kinneavy's to analyze the discursive styles; the respective stylistic definitions do not vary greatly. All of these styles of discourse are represented on Anthro-L.

1.2. Narrative

The referential function of a message as defined by Jakobson parallels Bruner's definition of the Logico-Scientific or paradigmatic mode. Bruner contrasts the paradigmatic mode with its irreducible complement:

*"There are two modes of cognitive functioning, two modes of thought, each providing distinctive ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality. The two [though complementary] are irreducible to one another.....Each of these ways of knowing, moreover, has operating principles of its own and its own criteria for well-formedness. They differ radically in their procedures for verification."*²⁴

The paradigmatic/referential/Logico-Scientific mode characterizes the preferred style of writing that is found in male-presented postings and it is the code that largely signifies the texts of "successful"²⁵ [non inflammatory] threads. Here I briefly posit two reasons for this which I will expand later in this thesis. Anthro-L is an academic net; academics are taught to think and write in the "referential" code, this thesis represents a prime example. The paradigmatic code is also the 'preferred code' in western society; it represents the

²³ Jakobson, Roman (1960) *"Linguistics and Poetry."* In *Style and Language*. edited by Thomas A. Sebeok. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. pages 350-377.

²⁴ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. page 11.

²⁵ By 'successful', I mean a message that has triggered a response. I discuss this and other definitions of my terms in Chapter Three.

'objective, logical' mode of thinking that is philosophically represented as the 'ideal' by western philosophers such as Immanuel Kant.²⁶ To be objective and rational means to have the ability to remove one's "self" from the thing or problem under one's consideration. It means that rules and ethics apply without regard for contextualization. It means an ability to discuss things "out there", depersonalizing and stripping the topic of discussion of all emotional input. In the course of this thesis investigation of gender writing styles I will show that the referential mode often subsumes Domains rather than linking them.

On the other hand, the preferred style in postings presented as female is the "narrative style". Bruner states that while the paradigmatic style searches for universal truth conditions, the narrative style looks for particular connections between events. He adds that we know "precious little" about how narrative processes work, while we have an extensive knowledge of the paradigmatic processes used in formal science and logical reasoning.²⁷ Both the narrative and paradigmatic modes involve connections of sentences in discourse; as I shall show, these divergent connecting styles are not only signified by specific semantic relationships,²⁸ but are assigned different values qua legitimacy in terms of "truth" value in Anthro-L society.

²⁶ Kant, Immanuel (1929) *Critique of Pure Reason*. translated from the German by Norman Kemp Smith. London: Macmillan.

²⁷ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. page 11 and forward.

²⁸ For example the paradigmatic mode links sentences through the connectives of formal logic, while the narrative mode demonstrates "truth" by synoptically demonstrating the meaning of the whole, seeing

The "narrative style" to which Bruner refers can frame the remaining five functions of a message that are defined by Jakobson, the Emotive, Conative, Metalingual, Phatic and Poetic functions. Combinations of code and function inform a message's style. However, the narrative style does not frame a message encoded as referential, as Bruner has noted. I will define and discuss these terms and their overlap in analysis in Chapter Four.

In this thesis I use "narrative" as a term for a posting in which a writer tells a story. Both implicit and explicit stories reflect social themes [mythemes] that are part of the cultural heritage of western society. The story telling/narrative writing pattern incorporates a number of stylistic specificities. Narrative is characterized by a configuration which includes descriptions of and/or references to the writer's own actions or the actions of others; a style where chance happenings are integrated into the written production as meaningful contributions and the recognition of the meaningfulness of individual experience by linkage to the 'whole'. When I analyze this style in terms of conceptual categories and semantic relationships I shall show that Narrative style connects relationships between diverse Domains through the liberal use of [behavioral] attribution.²⁹

1.3. Discursive Structure

Finally, this research is concerned with the links between the discursive acts [postings] and the "discursive structure" of Anthro-L. A discursive structure is the combined potential of

discourse as a dialectic integration of parts. But see: Polkinghorne, Donald E. (1988) *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*. New York: State University of New York Press. page 35.

²⁹ Definitions of Domains and attributions are supplied in Chapter Four, similarly the method used to describe these form various texts is thoroughly explored in this same Chapter.

the infinitely possible number of discourses within a given setting. Structure results from a dialectic relationship that exists between the mandate of the net as defined by the listowners and the actual communicative practices of net members who transmit, refine, re/define, subvert, add too, subtract and re/structure the language defined boundaries of the net. Anthro-L is thus a discursively structured region, tenuously balanced through tension and conformity.³⁰ Tension often triggers discursive creativity evidenced by a flurry of interesting threads; conformity can be exhibited through language practices out of which some topics of conversation re/appear with a cyclic regularity.

When a new member joins the net he or she is immediately sent a copy of the Statement of Being which defines the net's mandate; its *raison d'être*. This Statement outlines, in fact seeks to specify, the standards of net communicative practice and suggests that the framework for discussion [what is spoken] should be roughly defined as any and all related aspects of the discipline of Anthropology.³¹ By explicit definition, the Statement of Being limits the infinitely possible number of discourses by marking the boundaries of what is 'not' spoken, as anything 'outside' of 'any and all related aspects of the discipline of Anthropology'. As I will note in the next Chapter, the Statement further limits the discursive possibilities by setting rules and guidelines for 'how' things should be spoken

³⁰ Tension is often created through ideological and ethical differences with respect to the discipline of Anthropology between net members and manifests in flame threads. As I shall note both conflict and conformity are necessary to the perpetuation of a healthy net community.

³¹ Jarvis, Hugh and Zubrow, Ezra. (1993) *Anthro-L Statement of Being*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). Ms. in files of author.

within the community and by stipulating specific social repercussions if these rules are not followed,³² thereby establishing the boundaries of that which can be said.

The Statement of Being, although it explicitly stipulates what can be spoken, the manner in which it should be spoken, and the consequences for exceeding the boundaries of discursive 'good taste', also establishes 'who speaks' on Anthro-L by its implicit acceptance of a specific language paradigm. This paradigm, which is founded on the Logico-scientific mode as defined by Jerome Bruner, contains within it the structural metaphor "Argument is War"³³ which is implicit in the rhetoric/logical model embedded in the 'paradigmatic style'.

Stanislaw Lem³⁴ has suggested that discursive structures such as Anthro-L are conceptual ecologies and that they can be modeled as closed topological spaces. Within any given topology only certain discursive forms are possible while others are prohibited by the overall spatial configuration. Particularities of history or of participant personalities determine which forms will appear and which are repressed. All forms that are realized are linked by common attributes that frame and define the space. The topological space of

³² As I write these words another community member has been expelled from Anthro-L for his discursive behavior. Although the listowners posted admonishments to him a number of times the member did not adjust his discursive habits to conform to net expectations. Expulsion from the community represents an extreme form of net social punishment and is carried out for the discursive good of the rest of the community. In the three years I have been an Anthro-L member expulsion has only been resorted to twice - each time the offender presented as male.

³³ Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London: The University Of Chicago Press. p. 79.

³⁴ Lem, Stanislaw (1984) "*Chance and Order*". translated by F. Rottensteiner. [in] *The New Yorker*: January 30: pages 88-98.

Anthro-L, which is stipulated in the Statement of Being as 'anthropological', frames the forms of discourse available, while the particularities of Anthro-L in terms of "this" historical time and "these" participant personalities interact with the Statement to produce transformations within and across this structure, while never exceeding its a priori limits or possibilities. Lem's concept of topology has much in common with Foucault's concept of a geo-political region.³⁵ By choosing to treat Anthro-L as a regional/spatial topography, I incorporate a number of conceptual parameters implicit in the geo-political model that integrate well with the methodologies I designed to collect and analyze data.

Because I treat Anthro-L as a local, regional grouping within the confines of Internet space, that is constructed and produced within a discursive structure peculiarly its own, any claims made with regards to Anthro-L gender and discourse may not hold true for other nets. Indeed, other nets might exhibit a highly divergent discursive topography. My conceptualization of the listserv as a particular spatial region further implies that the individuals who constitute the community have "regional identities", selves that are peculiar and specific to the "lives" they discursively live and expose on the net. This proposition necessarily limits any claims and discussion of Anthro-L gender writing styles to net specific observations. The men and women of this community may lead divergent 'lives' on other nets. My findings thus emphasize how an individual presents his or her

³⁵ Foucault, Michel (1970) *Power/Knowledge*. translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. New York: Paladin.

gendered self discursively on this particular net, within the confines of this net's specific discursive structure.³⁶

Gender presentations on the network are firstly discursive acts that have the attribute of being written by a poster that claims to be male or female. In MUDS³⁷ and other interactive environments it is not uncommon to find a man or woman in 'real-time' society taking on the role of the 'other' within the virtual environment. After three years of reading Anthro-L, I do not believe that there are any cross-gender presentations; however, the possibility exists, and consequently, I often use the terms "male presented" or "female presented" to indicate the claimed sex of the speaker.

Shortly after beginning my fieldwork I proposed that gender patterns in "talk" and "writing" arise from and through Anthro-L's discursive structure and practice. I choose to collect my data in terms of four central tenets of this structure/practice that are explicit and implicit in the Statement of Being. Who speaks on Anthro-L, what is spoken, how is it spoken and the boundaries of that which can be said, are thus the questions upon which I constructed my methodological choices. These choices are explained in detail in Chapter Four which outlines the research methodology that informs this thesis.

³⁶ However, in my conclusion I indicate certain extrapolations from my data that may indicate further areas of research, as well as certain trends with regards to gender interaction on academic networks.

³⁷ MUDS = Multi-User Domains. MUDS represent places on the Internet where users can take on the roles of the characters they create.

In Chapter Three I situate the thesis question within pertinent theoretical perspectives. In this discussion I consider the role of Dialogism in the 'presentation of net selves', the effect of public/private distinctions on 'Focused Interaction'³⁸ conducted entirely through posting acts, and my proposition that net discourse is a liminal state of communication. Then I discuss some of the theoretical literature that deals with constructions of the gendered self, both how men and women are written as well as how men and women read and write. Lastly I note the relevance of structural theory to this thesis by discussing Anthro-L as a structured, local, knowledge.

Chapter Four presents the Methodological approaches that I developed to facilitate this study. This Chapter is divided into three main sections 'who speaks', 'what is spoken', while how it is spoken' is combined with the "boundaries of that which can be said". In order to determine 'who speaks' on the network, I employed a statistical survey of texts presented as male and female in my database. I explain how I compared my statistical results to results derived from Anthro-L archival files which record subscriber posting regularity and population figures.

To ascertain 'what is spoken', I separated my database into five main categories of 'speech'. I then surveyed these categories in order to ascertain which presented gender spoke most often in each category.

³⁸ Goffman, Erving. *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press.

In Chapter Four I also discuss the development and implementation of both the modified semantic and posting act analyses that I performed on the postings in my database and how I aligned these results with net gender presentations. Finally, the 'boundaries of that which can be said' required that I analyze flame postings for 'transition points' in the posting acts. Transition points are clearly demarcated as thread conversations sequentially advance from relatively polite exchange to 'flaming'. The periodic resurgence of flame wars on Anthro-L is the result of essential differences with respect to "communication ethics" in Internet public space and the implicit adversarial stance toward conversation contained within the net's dominant discursive paradigm. This paradigm is one that is accepted as natural and 'everyday' by the authors of the Statement of Being.

In Chapter Five I consider the underlying semantic structure of the network by discussing the Statement of Being in detail and I show its relevance to the net's discursive topography. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight are 'findings' chapters in which I present the results that were derived from the methodologies outlined in Chapter Four. Thus, in Chapter Six I discuss who speaks on Anthro-L by situating my findings in relation to the concepts of Reciprocity and 'mutedness", while in Chapter Seven I present my findings of what is spoken on the net by an analysis of the topics of threads and which attempts at conversation succeeded or failed. I then relate these findings to gender. Coupled with the results from the sub-categories "Information" and "Requests", I show that Anthro-L is a local knowledge, a discursive region with its own peculiar topics, and underlying structure. The communicative topography is characterized by adversarial speech qualities. While I tentatively link this to paradigms of power and transmission of power through

specific writing styles, I do not analyze this in any detail in this Chapter, leaving the detailed analysis for Chapters Eight and Nine.

In Chapter Eight I present the results of my search for the dominant/patterned gendered use of 'style' in each of my topical categories. This chapter discusses both the category/semantic relationship analyses and the combinations of code and function that characterize specific gendered posting acts. Discursive patterns are closely linked to gender presentations in terms of style and semantic usage with the result that few women speak in thread sequences on Anthro-L.

In Chapter Nine I discuss the power of discourse and the discourse of power in terms of the theoretical perspectives that inform this thesis and which were outlined in Chapter Three. The questions of who speaks is intimately integrated with 'what is spoken' on Anthro-L, as the exchange of the symbolic capital ³⁹ of information leads to the transmission of specific power/knowledge paradigms. These paradigms are framed by specific language models - 'how' it is spoken - that are deployed by members of either gender in tactical and strategical ways. Finally, in Chapter Ten, I ponder the evidence provided by the data and suggest some ways in which my methodology may be applied to further research.

The resolution of whether or not the net constitutes a community is an important one for this thesis, because community members tend to interact and to present the 'self' within the

³⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

parameters of a specific group's norms and mores. As a community, Anthro-L should evidence a specific discursive topography that signifies the group's standards, and frames its interaction. In the next Chapter, I focus on the concept of Anthro-L as a community and discuss the importance of the imposition of structure on a potentially 'liminal'⁴⁰ space.

⁴⁰ Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. page 127.

2. CHAPTER TWO: THE COMMUNITY

2.1. Structure or Anti-Structure? - Communitas

Among the multiple discursive sites found on the Internet is a community known as Anthro-L@ubvm. It is occupied almost exclusively by people interested in the discipline of Anthropology. To the rest of the inhabitants of the Internet, Anthro-L represents one of an ever growing number of listservs within which members can explore and exchange ideas about a specific subject. Many non-members might find the talk on Anthro-L boring or even irrelevant to their own lives. For its subscribers however, Anthro-L@ubvm represents a familiar place where they can go to meet new people, rejoin old friends, speak in relative safety, or experience the anthropological discourse of others and self in interesting ways.

Anthro-L@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu is a Bulletin Board Service found in Cyberspace. Michael Benedikt offers a number of provocative definitions of this social universe:

*"Cyberspace: A common mental geography, built, in turn, by consensus and revolution, canon and experiment; a territory swarming with data and with lies, with mind stuff and memories of nature, with a million voices, and two million eyes in a silent, invisible concert of inquiry, deal-making, dream sharing and simple beholding."*¹

In this metaphoric description, Cyberspace is imaged as a place whose boundaries are defined by a common mental geography. Traditional understandings of a geographic

¹ Benedikt, Michael. (ed) (1992) *Cyberspace: First Steps*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. page 2.

"place" as specifically bounded, describable and firmly rooted in physicality are challenged by this concept of Cyberspace as a place. Where exactly does it exist? What is a "common mental geography"?

People who cross the threshold into Cyberspace experience a unique way of relating to one another - relations that van Gelder has called "mind to mind encounters".² In her discussion of the intimacies and spontaneous friendships that often flourish on-line, van Gelder notes that the unfolding of an on-line relationship is unique, "dizzily egalitarian, and framed within the belief that "people at their keyboards are committed to getting past labels and into some new, truer way of relating."³

In her article, van Gelder focuses on BBS relationships, but does not differentiate with respect to academic nets and nets that are formed around hobbies or topics of interest. However, her descriptions of computer mediated communications parallel my own experiences with respect to the friendships I have formed with fellow academic BBS subscribers. CMC⁴ is indeed conducive to intimacy, and 'thoughts and emotions', the 'stuff'

² van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 366].

³ op. cit., page 366.

⁴ CMC = Computer Mediated Communication.

van Gelder posits as the 'coin' of Internet 'realm',⁵ traverse the discursive terrain of Anthro-L.

Computer relationships are formed as mind-to-mind meetings 'on-line'. But 'where' is on-line? Accessed through cyber wires that now criss-cross the planet, 'on-line' appears to be a place that is manifested through words and graphics on a user's computer screen. Is Cyberspace existent only on these screens, or is it more? Does it continue to exist after the computer is turned off? After all computers have been turned off?⁶ If so, where? In his struggle to define this new place Benedikt continues to grapple with metaphoric definitions:

*"Its corridors form wherever electricity runs with intelligence. Its chambers bloom wherever data gathers and is stored. Its depths increase with every image or word or number, with every addition, contribution, of fact or thought. Its horizons recede in every direction; it breathes larger, it complexifies, it embraces, it involves. Billowing, glittering, humming, coursing, a Borgesian library, a city; intimate, immense, firm, liquid, recognizable, and unrecognizable all at once."*⁷

With this description Benedikt extends our understanding of Cyberspace. Not only is it a place where 'mind to mind' meetings occur, a place 'swarming with mind stuff and memories',⁸ every addition of data, every image, fact, thought, word or number, changes

⁵ van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 366].

⁶ One is reminded of the philosophical problem: "If a tree falls in a forest, and there is no-one there to hear it does it make a sound?"

⁷ op. cit., page 2.

⁸ Benedikt, Michael. (ed) (1992) *Cyberspace: First Steps*. Cambridge, Mass. The MIT Press. page 2.

the configurations of Cyberspace; its shape, its size, its dimensions. Being on-line is an 'immersion' experience, 'embracing', 'involving', 'intimate, recognizable and unrecognizable' all at once'.⁹ On-line is everywhere and nowhere.

Perhaps then, it would be simplest to describe Cyberspace as a space-time manifestation, "a place without a specific territorial locus that emerges where social structure is not;"¹⁰ wherever and whenever there is a computer and a modem that can be linked to the Internet:

*"Accessed through any computer linked into the system; a place, one place, limitless, entered equally from a basement in Vancouver, a boat in Port au Prince, a cab in New York, a garage in Texas City, an apartment in Rome, an office in Hong Kong, a bar in Kyoto, a cafe in Kinshasa, a laboratory on the moon."*¹¹

*"The tablet become a page become a screen become a world, a virtual world."*¹²

Wherever there is a computer, modem and screen, anywhere on this planet, any place where "electricity runs with intelligence",¹³ an individual can step across a monitor threshold into this new space-place. Cyberspace represents a virtual world-in-wires-space

⁹ op. cit., page 2.

¹⁰ Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. page 127.

¹¹ Benedikt, Micael. (ed) (1992) *Cyberspace: First Steps*. Cambridge, Mass.: page 1.

¹² op. cit., page 1.

¹³ op cit., page 2.

that encapsulates many diverse 'mind-to-mind' sub cultures which reconstruct, transform, extend and subvert the world of social realities they parallel.

In The Ritual Process , Victor Turner notes that in an effort to describe his concept of "Communitas," he must resort to the use of metaphor and analogy to convey its qualities.¹⁴ Communitas, Turner suggests, has an existential quality, "it involves the whole man in his relation to other whole men".¹⁵ On-line mind-to-mind life exhibits a similar existential quality that can only be conveyed through the use of metaphor and analogy.

The Internet is a space-time place where the perennial, tensed opposition between structure and communitas creates unique, often liminal environments. The potential for Communitas is always, already present. Visitors to the Internet recognize a generalized social and human bond that has yet to be fragmented into a multiplicity of social ties.¹⁶ As van Gelder notes, "Many of us on-line like to believe that we're a utopian community of the future..."¹⁷

This "utopian community" is conceptualized as a place without traditional secular social categories or classifications of roles and statuses. The most important thing about a person

¹⁴ Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. page 127.

¹⁵ op. cit., page 127.

¹⁶ op. cit., page 123.

¹⁷ van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 365].

that you have just met on the Net, is "not age, appearance, career success, health, gender, race, sexual preference or accent, but one's mind."¹⁸ Net people slip through, or often elude, the network of social classifications and/or categories that normally locate "states and positions"¹⁹ in cultural space, they are "betwixt and between" cultural roles and expectations; positions assigned by custom or conventions disappear".²⁰ Net society can thus be understood as *communitas*. *Communitas* is a conceptualization of a society with a rudimentary structure, in the case of Cyberspace communities a relatively equal and undifferentiated community of [ideally] non-classified individuals who commune through their modems.

Yet the dialectic between structure and liminality in social life is immediately obvious to the Internet visitor. While the potential for creativeness within the liminal on-line state is ever present, once contact is made with a net 'other' the structuring process begins. In one-to-one conversations and in net public space, writers offer verbal cues that allow a reader to begin to classify and categorize net 'others'. On Anthro-L, the structuring process has resulted in specific, desirable group norms and mores that are imposed by both the listowners and the discursive community members themselves through a constant monitoring of the net's public space. Yet, the potential for '*communitas*' remains a palpable

¹⁸ van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 365].

¹⁹ Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. page 125.

²⁰ op. cit., page 125.

net presence and contributes to the discursive style choices that are made by net members when posting.

2.2. Community

The beginnings of the Internet are rooted in specific, close-knit communities of young media-technologists; "young-Turks" with a vision. Rheingold's book, Virtual Reality,²¹ painstakingly documents the path trod by these young visionaries, the development of the new technologies and the endless possibilities of Cyberspace.

A word coined by Science Fiction writer William Gibson,²² 'Cyberspace' signifies a "*desperate, dystopic vision of the near future*"²³ and conversely one that is irrevocably tied to a "*new stage, a new and irresistible development in the elaboration of human culture and business under the sign of technology.*"²⁴ Gibson and Rheingold present differing visions of the impact of Cyberspace on our 'real-time culture'. Gibson's literary creation of a world characterized by corporate hegemony, decay, violence, paranoia and pain offers a vivid contrast to Rheingold's optimistic vision of the technological transformation and positive betterment of planetary society. Most daily users of the Internet however, are not concerned with the long term impact of virtual reality on

²¹ Rheingold, Howard. (1992) *Virtual Reality* New York: Simon and Schuster.

²² Benedikt, Michael. (ed) (1992) *Cyberspace: First Steps*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. page 1. Introduction. See especially Gibson's books "*Necromancer*" (1984) and "*Count Zero*" (1987).

²³ op cit., page 1.

²⁴ op.cit.; page 1.

Western culture. They access the Internet for its benefits; endless loops of information,²⁵ almost instant contact with friends and colleagues around the globe,²⁶ the opportunity to talk and "play" with like minded [or not so like-minded] others or the convenience of email. Internet contact increases daily.

<snip> The IRC (if you want to stay on the Internet) is a vast source of communities, where people meet on a regular, sometimes nightly basis and begin to depend on one another for support, advice and camaraderie. Also on the usenet, or on mailing lists, we are in contact not w/ a single individual, but daily contact w/ 100's of peers/co-interested people.... <snip>²⁷

Two hard items are essential for an entry into Cyberspace; a computer and a modem that is connected to a telephone line.²⁸ A person initializes his/her computer, and through a communications software program uses the modem to dial a number to a type of clearing house such as CompuServe or a University mainframe. Once "logged on" through a username and password the gateways to virtual places and others are almost unlimited.

²⁵ It cannot be stressed enough that access to this information, for example, a user from a small town finding themselves within minutes able to search the shelves of the libraries in Oxford, England, has rendered information available to individuals in heretofore unparalleled degrees.

²⁶ I have relatives and friends in the Netherlands. It never ceases to amaze me how long it takes to place a phone call to them at times, and conversely, how quickly I am able to hook up to the Dutch Internet or libraries.

²⁷ Heller, David (1993) *Re: Communities--Virtual and Otherwise*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 11 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

²⁸ It is possible for a computer to play the role of a physical being in Cyberspace. The Canadian Government for example, has a telnet number which can be utilized by the user to speak to a "dragon" or a student in a Psych classroom; both of these are actually computers holding a conversation. The US defense department has been involved in research into Virtual Reality for many years; this is explicated in detail by Rheingold in his book. While this is in no way central to my thesis, I note this here in order to explain why I have stated that only the computer and modem are central to contact. Computers talk to each other too - a "being" is not always necessary.

News.groups and Bulletin Board Services [BBS] represent a small part of these virtually unlimited choices.²⁹ Access to news.groups is usually quite simple. A user chooses a news.group that looks interesting and types "subscribe ____".³⁰ Any news.server will be able to provide the user with a list of news.groups available to that server and instructions for how to join can be found under a server's help facility.³¹ News.groups number in the thousands and are formed around any conceivable topic. A person who wishes to discuss a favorite subject or theory with others can simply start a news.group around their point of interest and other users can then "subscribe" to join the discussion. News.groups are usually not moderated and anyone can join, taking the discourse in any direction. Thus the communicative behavior of many news.groups is [theoretically at least] free-flowing and regulated only by the discursive actions and reactions of other members on the news list.³²

A BBS can be a moderated or unmoderated service. Active "list owners" start and manage the discursive group. Anthro-L is a BBS and its owners define it as an unmoderated list which means that listmembers should be "free" to take discussions in any direction in whatever discursive manner they choose to employ. But the "Statement of Being" posted

²⁹ Or a user can choose to use his/her Internet access for the purpose of email, of bibliographic research, or the playing of games in an interactive MUD environment. Many people however belong to at least one news.group or BBS.

³⁰ Conversely, leaving a news.group is equally simple. The user types "unsubscribe ____"

³¹ A user can use a "search" facility to obtain a list of news.groups or BBS sites that deal with his/her area of interest.

³² Of course this kind of discursive free for all has some fascinating consequences as evidenced by flaming and net wars. I will touch on these phenomena further in the theory chapters.

regularly by the listowners imposes structure on the net's discourse and implicitly states that the owners are active members of the net who monitor communicative behavior:

*"While this is not a moderated forum, the listowners retain the option of cautioning any who appear to be using the list for ad hominem attacks, malicious purposes, or advertising without permission. Should there be repeat offenses, the list owner will feel obliged to bar the offender from the list entirely."....*³³

The Statement of Being is posted to the entire Anthro-L subscription list every three months and new members automatically receive a copy when the listserver acknowledges their 'subscribe' request and they are welcomed to the net. Indeed, whenever the 'talk' on the net begins to deviate from the discursive mandate defined in the Statement of Being, the owners of the list post excerpts from, or allude to, the Statement to remind deviant net members of the responsibility they agreed to take for their communicative styles when they 'subscribed' to Anthro-L. The listowners have a clear concept of the net's purpose; its reason for Being which is explicitly defined in the Statement and clarifies 'what' is to be spoken on the list:³⁴

.....it is dedicated to providing information and an arena for discussion on any anthropological subject. It spans archaeology, social and cultural anthropology, linguistic anthropology and physical anthropology. However, it is truly multi-disciplinary in nature, and frequently drifts into related areas of other social and hard sciences.....Anthro-L aims to provide information on current anthropological topics, research

³³ Zubrow, Ezra and Jarvis, Hugh [listowners] (1994) *Anthro-L Statement of Being*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (Anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu) 7 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

³⁴ The Statement of Being of the net "Anthro-L" can be found in its entirety in Glossary B.

poster. The depersonalization that may accompany net posting experience creates an impetus for discursive styles rarely employed in face-to-face [bodily] gatherings. Any analysis of gender and discourse of the net must take into account that some net participants appear to display a writing style that seems to suggest that they feel aggressive yet safe/anonymous in net public space:

" it is virtual because there is no real contact between people...nothing is face to face. It has no consequences b/c there are no strict rules of governance w/in communities..⁴⁰<snip> I can say anything I want, and basically no one can "arrest me" for saying it. <snip>

Flame wars can be both creative and destructive. The creativity of flame wars lies in their provision of the necessary tension in the net community and their ability to bring to the discursive surface opposing views and differing opinions, exposing the gaps in the overall 'text'. Flame wars reveal alignments among the net's membership, subscribers who think alike about certain issues, although today's flame friend could be, given a different topic of discussion, tomorrow's flame enemy.

Although flame wars can bond a group through negotiation, mediation and resolution between community members, they can also be very destructive, disintegrating into name calling and verbally abusive behavior. In her discussion of Habermas's theory of communicative action, Judith Perolle notes that participants to a dialogue must negotiate four kinds of validity claims; [1] the comprehensibility of what is being said, [2] the nature of external reality, [3] the internal reality of the speaker's intentions and [4] the shared

⁴⁰ Heller, David (1993) *Re: Communities--Virtual and Otherwise*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 11 Dec. [2] Ms. in files of author.

reality of the social norms governing conversation.⁴¹ Flame wars distort the shared reality of the parties to a dialogue and through ridicule, disbelief or hostility a flame posting can deny someone else's claim to communicative competence. Distorted communication results and the essential trust, that both parties to a dialogue are working to achieve understanding, is lost. Within a community only a limited amount of members are comfortable with flaming.

The listowners of Anthro-L thus attempt to frame the posting content and writing styles utilized by list members in order to ensure that members trust the discursive topography of the list. By defining and classifying specific styles of writing as acceptable or unacceptable, they explicitly facilitate the emergence of a specific [net] social/discursive structured community.

In speaking of the highly arbitrary boundaries created when assigning definitions to the terms society, culture and community Raymond Firth states:

If for instance, society is taken to be an organized set of individuals with a given way of life, culture is that way of life. If society is taken to be an aggregate of social relations, then culture is the content of those relations. Society emphasizes the human component, the aggregate of the people and the relations between them. Culture emphasizes the component of accumulated resources, immaterial as well as material, which the people inherit, employ, transmute, add to and transmit.....From the behavioral aspect, culture is all learned behavior which has been socially acquired. It includes the residual effects of social action. It is necessarily an incentive to action. The term community emphasizes the space-time component, the

⁴¹ Perolle, Judith A. (1991) *Conversations and Trust in Computer Interfaces*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 350-363. [pages 351-352].

aspect of living together. It involves a recognition, derived from experience and observation, that there must be minimum conditions of agreement on common aims, and inevitably some common ways of thinking, behaving, feeling.

In his discussion of human communities Firth adds:

*A human community is a body of people sharing in common activities and bound by multiple relationships in such a way that the aims of any individual can be achieved only by participation in action with others. One important sense of the term stresses the spatial aspect - the people forming the community are normally in the collective occupation of some territory. This gives their relationships a directness and intimacy which are part of their special quality. Such community life has a structure...organization.....we may distinguish four constituents essential to social existence in a community. These are: social alignment; social controls; social media, and social standards.*⁴²

And he continues in an important footnote:

*One definition of community lays emphasis on common interests or aims. These may be assumed to be always present to some degree. But they are a matter of inference rather than of observation.....Moreover, the interests of different members of the community may be common at only a very superficial level, beneath which they may diverge, or be fundamentally opposed.*⁴³

A number of basic principles can be extrapolated from Firth's discussions of society, culture and community. Society is an organized set of individuals with a given way of life, while culture is the given way of life of this organized set of individuals. Culture is learned behavior that is transmitted from community member to community member, generation to generation.

⁴² op. cit., page 41.

⁴³ op. cit., page 41.

Community is a distinctive concept in that it is direct and intimate because the organized set of individuals which inhabit the community are constituted by a space-time component - they are in the collective occupation of some territory. These individuals recognize that there must be minimum conditions of agreement, common aims, ways of thinking, behaving and feeling that constitute acceptable standards [mores] for the community and contribute to its cohesion. Although these mores may be superficially accepted by some members, they constitute the social "map" of transmitted community standards that are signified as "what we adhere to". Individuals in the community further share in common activities, the aims of one individual requires the support and participation of other members to be successful. The four essential components of a community are thus social alignment, social control, social media and social standards. These components are inter-linked in a variety of ways.

These interlocking aspects of society, culture and community appear to be well exemplified on this BBS. The society of Anthro-L is a discursively organized set of individuals. Their way of life is constituted by the Anthro-speak which structures the community. The list's sub-culture is a web of social net relations which are spoken into existence, transmitted, inherited, employed and endlessly added too. Net social behavior is not only individualistic, it is characterized by distinctive social parameters in terms of 'net' behavior. This behavior can be subdivided into two main sub-categories: 1]] discursive behavior "appropriate to this net", and 2] that which I have chosen to call "Techno-behavior".

Techno-behavior incorporates both the understanding of such terms as "get", send, FTP, and what they refer too, as well as "how" to execute these commands. "FTP to XXX" can be understood in two ways. FTP is a term which signifies a particular kind of computer site, **F**ile **T**ransfer **P**rotocol. However, FTP also indicates an action - a type of behavior which incorporates 'going to' to the [FTP] site and downloading a file from a particular FTP address. Techno-behavior is a valued ability/knowledge on the Internet. Many information and request postings on Anthro-L deal specifically with the 'how to', or 'where to find' of techno-behavior, and this techno-knowledge is passed from net member to net member. Acquisition and transmission of this knowledge is highly respected within the community and represents a type of techno-power.

Similarly, net discursive behavior is also learned behavior and constructed through specific rules; both implicit and explicit norms apply. Individuals within a community usually act and interact within the boundaries of the group's norms and mores. This is particularly true of 'public space' such as the net environment, where monitoring of an individual's social behavior is often impersonal and readers are at times quick to react to postings that violate their personal definitions of community 'standards' and 'protocol'.⁴⁴ Community members do not hesitate to bring each other into discursive 'line'.

The Statement of Being presents a 'plan' for net discursive behavior by spelling out acceptable topics for conversation. Earlier in this chapter I noted that the listowners

⁴⁴ More quickly I think, than in co-presence, which imposes certain parameters on aggressive discursive behavior which are 'shaken off' by some net users in listserv space.

stipulate their right to expel members from the community if they violate Anthro-L discursive standards, particularly if they engage in a posting practice that 'silences' other net members. The style of posting practice which mutes members is one in which other subscribers are attacked and ridiculed, usually in a personal way, for who they [discursively] 'are' or for their ideas. Fear of this kind of posting attack can prevent other members from discursive participation in public space.

The listowners are usually the 'last resort' with respect to discursive norm monitoring and social control. The discursive structure of the net is transmitted firstly, by example. A new member signs on and 'lurks' for a while to see how the community interacts. He or she watches the postings and the posting styles [lurks] and soon becomes familiar with the net's communicative practice, he or she learns the community's 'codes'.

Discursive rules thus incorporate explicit instructions to speak in certain ways [as in the Statement of Being], and are [implicitly] transmitted through communicative interaction on the net and by the posting examples of other members. The community's rules/norms for communication are internalized by members at divergent levels. For some subscribers, community standards are to be challenged or broken.

The BBS Anthro-L has a historicity, an archive of the words that have been spoken by its members. These postings are accessible by FTP for any subscriber who wishes to read them, and constitute a 'history of words/discourse' which has formed and shaped the net. Anthro-L has a 'past' and community members do at times, refer to these historical 'past' incidents in their postings. For example:

<snip> " Consider the duration and intensity of the "Hardwick Crisis" in the Anthro-L folk history, which is hardly imaginable had all too many people not harbored a sneaking sense of joyous anticipation at what delightfully scabrous insults and injuries the day might bring....." <snip>⁴⁵

One of the net's members, Dr. Danny Yee,⁴⁶ has been occupied with the compilation of a series of biographies of anthropologists which is also accessible from the Anthro-L listserv, while the electronic journal, the Journal of World Anthropology [JWA] is available free through the net to subscribers of the listserv JWA. By extending the community through archives Anthro-L maintains a historical continuity and has established institutional foundations that constitute the community/socialization "inheritance" passed on to new community members.

Net members also constitute a community through their occupation of a common locality, an emphasis on what Firth termed the "*space-time component*."⁴⁷ This definition seems particularly a propos given the spatial-cyber medium within which this community is found. For a computer mediated community, I define Firth's criteria of the "*collective occupation of some territory*"⁴⁸ as the Internet area specified and demarcated by the list address of the BBS. Anthro-L members share a common Cyberspace habitat: "Anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu". This common net space may be likened to a real time city

⁴⁵ Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *Sociology of Flame Culture*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 1 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁴⁶ As I have noted in the Introduction, I have received permission from individual net members both to use their names, and to quote from their postings. Dr. Yee has been very helpful in this regard.

⁴⁷ Firth, Raymond. (1951) *Elements of Social Anthropology* Boston: Beacon Press. page 27.

⁴⁸ op. cit., page 41.

address with the Internet as the country, while private email addresses can be compared to a citizen's real time home address.

The Statement of Being does not discourage individual members from corresponding with each other through private email [personal home addresses], but it prefers ["*or better yet the whole list*"] that members speak openly about net issues within the communal setting. Just as in a 'real-time' community or group, where points of contention with the whole are preferably publicly stated, issues which concern the entire net community but are discussed in private between members so that the whole community is not party to the words that are exchanged, can lead to underlying ferment and unrest within the community itself.⁴⁹

Anthro-L can further be described in terms of a "community of interests".⁵⁰ The Statement of Being refers specifically to the centrality of the Anthropological intellectual bond. While many sub-groups coalesce around various theoretical concepts or sub-fields, Anthropology in all its facets is the discursive umbrella which shelters diverse ideological formations within the net topography. The charter [Statement of Being] of the community is conceptually constructed to reinforce and perpetuate the continuing existence of Anthro-L in a way that allows divergent groups within the community to perpetuate

⁴⁹ Private email that deals with net matters can perhaps be understood as a form of "net gossip", or talking in corners". Private email will arise again in my discussions of net flame wars and gender discourse. Private/public conversational discrepancies were the triggers in the Free South Africa flame war found in my database thread progression.

⁵⁰ Not unlike the charters of common interests that initially defined the New England states.

themselves within the net's environment. As in all communities, some individuals are heard, some are "muted",⁵¹ some struggle to raise their voices, some remain silent.

Precisely because the Statement of Being emphasizes the centrality of anthropological discourse to this community it ensures a close knit, homogeneous and relatively like-minded community with a common anthropological/net identity. There is indeed a *"recognition...that there must be minimum conditions of agreement of common aims"* and conflict and resolution with regards to acceptable net standards of *"common ways of thinking, behaving and feeling"* are the discursive 'stuff' of many a long thread.⁵² In fact, it is difficult for an outsider to penetrate the group. If one is not competent in academic or anthropological "talk", it is extremely difficult to either understand or participate in the net's discussions; to become a community member.

Anthro-L members share in common activities; the predominant one is posting to discuss 'any and all aspects of Anthropology'. They frequently come to each other's discursive assistance to make a theoretical or informative point. Some net members appear to have more 'status' than others; status is conveyed through writing style. These same subscribers are frequently quoted with approval by other community members; these quotes appear to offer evidence that adding the voice of one of the "status" members lends a perceived

⁵¹ Ardener, Edwin. (1971) *Social Anthropology and Language* London; New York: Tavistock Publications.

⁵² Firth, Raymond. (1951) *Elements of Social Organization* Boston: Beacon Press. page 27.

legitimacy to the present posters message. This is one way that members support each other's attempts at personal positioning and identity building within the net community.

Net members support each other's attempts at positioning by supporting the 'aims' of other community members. As Firth notes, in a community an individual needs the participation of other members to ensure success. On the net, in order to be successful at posting; i.e. to get the information requested, or to receive a response in a thread, a member needs other subscribers to support him/her in specific attempts at communication. In conversation some members appear to receive more response than others, while in many topical categories sending/receiving is reciprocal. Patterns of response/interaction appear to be related to writing style, which in turn is often gender related.

Referring to others on the net in email text represents alignment or positioning but members also try to interest or incorporate the opinions of others by 'calling out' to them in postings. Consider:

" dear seeker1, no argument here its very tuff stuff to do. and tougher since its a first time popular attempt that I know of in the long history of western epistemology (*maybe we should consult Sri Aurobindo on this, are you out there Sri?*) lets face it we are just playing baby step mind games here while the rest of humanity are out there doing the real thing - i.e. minding the rice fields.....<snip> and Riner don't you have something to say? [note: italics mine]⁵³

The four essential elements of community are all present on this BBS. As I have noted above, social control and social standards are inherited, transmitted, employed, added to

⁵³ Williamson, Kathleen. (1993) *Can You Build Subjectivity Into A Model?* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 4 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

and transmuted. Even though members may stress certain fields of anthropology as paramount to their interests,⁵⁴ they are held together by their allegiance to the discipline of anthropology and to the conviction that their community has a purpose and specific goals. A casual observer will notice that attacks or disagreement among members in the community with respect to the theoretical and practical application of Anthropology are common.⁵⁵ However, the community closes ranks to discursive outsiders. As a community Anthro-L marks its boundaries, not by "objective" criteria as I shall note with regards to the narrative style of certain net members, but by specific a priori discursive standards and conduct to which the community says it holds firm, and by the lack of which "outsiders" are configured.⁵⁶

During my tenure on Anthro-L a net member was cast out from the community⁵⁷ [the "Hardwick crisis" referred to above] for his inappropriate and consistently virulent attacks on other members and for his mis-use and appropriation of anthropological rhetoric which he manipulated to serve his own [real time political and personal] agenda. The community showed their solidarity against the intruder by referring to themselves as 'we' in their

⁵⁴ As the Statement of Being notes, members from North America dominate the net. While the Canadian element is certainly discernable, attributable to a few very active members, the Four Fields of Anthropology, predominantly an American concept, are represented on this net. Archaeology in Europe is usually allied with History, rather than with Anthropology, while Linguistics is a totally separate field.

⁵⁵ As Firth notes and as I have quoted from his work, the interests of community members may diverge or be fundamentally opposed. Both conflict and agreement are necessary to the maintenance of community and its ongoing sustenance as I shall show in my later discussion of flaming.

⁵⁶ Barth, Frederik (ed) (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*. Boston: Little, Brown. page 14. Introduction.

⁵⁷ The "Hardwick Crisis" referred to in the quote earlier in this Chapter.

postings and by posting in support of any other net member who had been 'attacked' by the outsider. "This is how "we" handle disagreement, "we" are rational, "we" do things this way on this net. Hardwick became an 'unwanted' other, although community members certainly went to considerable discursive trouble to convince him to 'conform'. Finally, the listowners ejected him from the net. This type of excommunication which exhibits an extreme form of social control, characterizes a close knit community which adheres to specific standards of discursive practice within the aether and signifies Benedikt's allusion to a net "*built in turn by consensus and revolution.*"⁵⁸

An example of community consensus, indeed of *communitas*, can be found in the discussion "LA Fires".⁵⁹ This thread in my database represents an example of the personal support net members offer each other when real-time events become virtual reality concerns. In this case a net member living in LA during the fires of 1993 expended a great deal of time and effort checking on the relatives, friends and colleagues of other net members. He posted a report on the fires daily, and was in private communication, as evidenced by references in net postings, with many concerned community members. Private communication is often reported on the net by references such as the example below:

"<snip> Just before I read his message I got finally got smart and called the daughter's grandmother at the bookstore she owns, (John had given me the name of the bookstore

⁵⁸ Benedikt, Michael. (ed) (1992) *Cyberspace: First Steps* Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press. page 2.

⁵⁹ A full presentation of the thread progressions in my database can be found in Glossary C.

and the grandmother and 411 provided the store telephone number).....<snip>⁶⁰
[author's note: both "his message" and "John had given me" refer to private emails
which did not go to the net at large.

As shown in the thread outline, when the fires abated one of the net's members posted her heart felt thanks for all the help and support this male community member had given his virtual co-residents. Although the member who posted her thanks is not a highly participatory member of the net in terms of time posted,⁶¹ she felt secure as a community participant and asked for information and help from the list when she needed it.

This thread was not an isolated incident. When the rivers flooded in the U.S. a few years ago, net members posted daily reports about the situation even to the extent of advising the net on the state of archaeological artifacts, such as burial mounds, along the banks of the rivers. Family, friends and colleagues were checked on, the net's postings soared as people asked for help and information with respect to the floods.

This tendency to aid each other through real-time concerns not only underlines the fact that members pull together during 'hard times', it simultaneously points out the US-centricity of the net, a fact which is very relevant to 'what is spoken' on the net itself. I requested a copy of the file "ANTHRO-L List"⁶² from the listserver. This file categorizes

⁶⁰ Maack, Steve (1993) *LA Fire Update re- John O'B.* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 4 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁶¹ This particular net member, "F c", has posted to the net approx. 48 times. Source: ANTHSTAT report. Ms in files of author.

⁶² Listserver@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu" (1995) *Anthro-L List*. Downloaded by private email to beaulieu@hg.uleth.ca. 3 March.

the list membership in terms of their home countries. While the Statement of Being identifies "a good dozen" countries that are represented on the network, and while in terms of population Canada, Australia, Britain and Iceland contribute an impressive number of community members, the net remains overwhelmingly concerned with U.S. affairs. The Statement of Being reflects this state of affairs:

*Anthro-l strives to be an international forum. We have members in a good dozen countries, from the Americas, Europe, and Asia. While English is the preferred and common language, others are welcome. While the list has its largest readership in the United States.....*⁶³

The 'preferred' language is English. Other language speaking members do post to the net from time to time [often apologizing for their English language abilities] to request or to give information. In the stream of net threads however, "others" who do not speak English are often muted. It is equally noteworthy that although the net's population is constituted by both male and female members who interface with the list's discursive structure, female subscribers from other countries are conspicuous by their absence.⁶⁴ Although there are men who are highly participant especially from Canada, Britain, Australia, and in my database Iceland, women are represented almost entirely by North American [USA and Canada] voices.

⁶³ op. cit., screen 6.

⁶⁴ I know that they are members because their names appear on the ANTHRO-L LIST which gives the name of subscribers by country. However, they did not appear as individuals on the network. We do not hear from women who are not American or Canadian on a regular basis, if in fact, at all. see: Listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu" (1995) *Anthro-L List*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 3 March. Ms. in files of author.

2.3. Communitas and Community: Reflections

Computer mediated communication is, relatively speaking, still a new phenomenon. van Gelder's allusion to the 'Utopian' aspects of Internet communication,⁶⁵ parallels popular culture and media references to the Internet as the "new frontier", a new and egalitarian realm filled with individualism and freedom with few or none of the attributes found in the "real-life" cultural/social spheres in which a user's body resides. The Internet is conceptualized as a place where it does not matter what you look like,⁶⁶ what your status might be, what roles you may play in 'real life'. What does matter is 'who you are'.

Who a user is on the Internet is ideally not judged by a set of 'structural' criteria, but by the 'mind' this user presents to the reading 'other'. The reader's mind apprehends the words he/she is reading and through this interface, relationships are formed on-line. As van Gelder notes:

*My personal experience has been that I often respond to the minds of people whom, because of my own prejudices (or theirs), I might otherwise not meet.*⁶⁷

My personal experience parallels van Gelder's. There is certainly a leveling or a stripping of cultural roles in Internet space. As Goffman has noted, 'leveling or stripping' of roles

⁶⁵ van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 365].

⁶⁶ Indeed, as van Gelder's article clarifies, 'dis-abled' individuals are very well represented on the net indeed. van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375.

⁶⁷ op cit., page 365.

and statuses may result in the liberation of instinctual energies.⁶⁸ As I will discuss, the phenomenon of flaming or the reversal of status roles in net space, the ability to take the role of an 'other', leads to creative possibilities that are difficult to 'fulfill' in 'real life'.

But the fact remains that each user carries his/her socialized experiences with him/her into net space. An integral component of our socialized 'selves' is a need for order. Confronted with the infinite possibilities of the 'wild zone' of the Internet, users have imposed structure on its potentially random nature. This constant effort at structure exists on net space in tension with the always present potential of 'liberation' from the constraints of real life.

Anthro-L is a community as defined by Firth, rather than a space-time manifestation of *communitas*, because of the imposition of structural boundaries on the net's discursive topography. These structural parameters reinstate the importance of roles, statuses and hierarchies within the net's space. Yet, the potential for *communitas* expressed discursively constantly surfaces as tension within the net's structure.

In the next chapter I discuss this tension more thoroughly, while turning my attention to the approaches I selected in order to facilitate an understanding of my research queries within this discursively constructed communal setting. This Third Chapter situates the thesis within a theoretical literature.

⁶⁸ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Stigma* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc.

3. CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL CONTEXTS

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to introduce some of the pertinent theoretical issues and attendant scholarly literature that informs this thesis. Socio-linguistics, [the situational use of language], constructions of the gendered self through texts, and presentations of the gendered self in dialogue converge in this research and are complemented by my consideration of the relevance of structural theory to this study. I will discuss each of these theoretical sub-fields separately and indicate their connections to each other as well as to my fundamental research question; Do men and women write differently?

When men and women participate in a communal setting, the transmitted norms and mores of the community contribute significantly to the manner in which an individual member chooses to present the self. As a net communicative structure bounded by specific discursive standards, the configuration of Anthro-L's discourse, that is what 'can' be spoken and 'how' it may be said, is re/created, monitored, re/enforced, subverted or complied with through the dialectic tension that exists between members, members and list owners, and users and their language system.

The re/production of gender through specific writing styles arises within the bounds of this creative mix. Discursive possibilities that can be utilized by either gender are framed by the

implicit and explicit social rules that underlie the List's communicative interaction. While personal creativity is possible within the structure, members who 'push' the communicative boundaries too far are subject to social pressures to conform through the admonitory postings of other net members and warnings from the Listowner. This pressure is accelerated if the subscriber does not comply, until finally, the threat of excommunication from the net is immanent.¹

I begin my theoretical discussions by considering how a community can be structured entirely through the act of posting messages to a net. Next, I discuss the problem of how net members become 'real selves' within a virtual community by situating this question within the theoretical literature on dialogic interaction. Although a significant portion of this literature is primarily concerned with face to face encounters, I will compare and contrast computer mediated communication² with co-present conversation. Three significant theoretical concepts will play a major role in this section of the Chapter; the positioning of self and other through posting acts, the liminality of net interaction, and the public space/private space distinction.

¹ Although I will discuss this later in the thesis, I note here that net members may be 'stigmatized' for net behavior by the attachment of certain labels. Thus in private correspondence I was told [after I had commented on a specific poster's text] "oh, if you stick around for a while, you'll get used to it. Hes a **flamer**." Similarly, a poster was described to me as "extremely difficult", while another was "too wordy". A discussion of these labels will resurface in an analysis of posting 'style'. Labels also affect 'response' - who gets answered.

² In many academic papers that treat discourse on the Internet, computer mediated communication is simply abbreviated to CMC.

In the second section of this Chapter, I consider the scholarly claims that have been made about how men and women are "written" and "read". The individual [and social] body is conceptualized both as a sign and a symbol. Very simply, a sign is *"an object or event whose meaning is biologically disposed or based on a similarity or a tendency for two things to occur together in nature"*,³ while a symbol can be defined as *"an object or event that represents another object or event only because of the agreement among people that it will."*⁴

Classically the male or female body has been understood as a "sign" of gender, an immutable connection between biology [the sex of the thing] and what that "sex" is expected to be "like" within any given social structure. This thesis takes the position that the gendered body is a symbol, an "object" that represents a certain gender because cultural agreement exists on the way that body should socially appear.

Many gender signifiers are given through visual cues. For example, bodies are gender inscribed by behavior, by the use of clothing or by the way they move in space. The concept of "inscribing" oneself - that is "writing" the self in certain ways in specific social circumstances, including how one presents their concepts of gender, is here referred to as "writing" the gendered self. Conversely, the attributes assigned to a gendered person by

³ Crapo, Richley, H. (1993) *Cultural Anthropology*. Sluice Dock, Guilford, Connecticut: The Dushkin Publishing Group. page 218. The definition of a sign or a symbol has been written and re/written many times, sometimes in very complicated ways. I have chosen to use a simple definition for the purposes of this study.

⁴ op. cit., page 218.

social expectations or through the eyes of the other⁵ is here referred to as "gender being written" on a body.

Culturally a body/self is inscribed through all aspects of an ongoing socialization/gender process. The posited difference between gender inscription [by others] and self-presentations of gender is a very fine distinction. Self-presentations are themselves socially inscribed; indeed in the case of many 'visual' cues it is difficult to gauge if these cues represent conformity or a 'masking' of what a gendered individual may 'really' be like 'inside'. Importantly, for this thesis, scholars claim that gendered bodies are inscribed by and through language.

On Anthro-L 'visual' face-to-face cues are lacking. Instead, language solicits the imagery required to visualize the 'other'. Net men and women 'write' themselves through postings. Writers of original postings position themselves with respect to the net, the "self" and 'others' through the posting act. Respondents position themselves and re/position the original writer through the posted response-act. How men and women present themselves in these net texts is limited/enhanced by the discursive structure of Anthro-L, and by the larger discursive configuration of person-in-the-real-world.

Each member of the net brings to the communal net experience a 'self' that has been gender-written in diverse social ways throughout their individual life spans. One of the

⁵ For a classic philosophical discussion of the formation of the self through the eyes of the other see: Sartre, Jean Paul (1956) *Being and Nothingness*. translated from the French Hazel E. Barnes. New York: Simon and Schuster.

consequences of bringing a gendered 'body' to the computer screen, is that the socialized individual, by writing the self through the act of posting, transmits his/her real life socialization processes through his/her net self. This statement should not be understood as a claim of transparency. Rather, it implies that a gendered individual who presents themselves 'on-screen' has experienced IRL⁶ socialization processes that limit, or conversely delimit, the way in which an individual chooses to present the self.

That net space can 'de-limit' the socialization processes that are brought by users to their computer screens, lies in the fact that net-life is de-contextualized in terms of structural, visual, category markers. The individual who enters net space has the option to 'create' a self, or aspects of a self on diverse net sites. On Anthro-L, the options for creativity has been limited by structure.

The individual written body is indelibly linked to the 'mind' that will be reflected on a net; on Anthro-L configurations of 'self' are informed by 'praxis' - the roles of academia and gender in their individual lives. I have noted that both of these important cultural spheres are mainly inscribed by North American values and norms on this net. Gender presentation on Anthro-L is thus the product of the discursive structure of the net, the individual poster's gender orientation and interpretation of his/her experienced gender socialization processes, the individual's interface with the structure/creativity of the language system, and a poster's decision as to how and when he/she will present the [gendered] self.

⁶ "In real life" and "real life" are respectively abbreviated as IRL and RL by many academics who write about computer culture.

Woven through the discussions of the production of a gendered self through specific textual constructions is the assertion that the situational use of net language takes place within a bounded structure in which the potential for *communitas* is ever present.

Sociolinguistics from a structural perspective is thus the third theoretical field which informs this thesis, indeed it can be said that it underlies both the methodological and theoretical foundations of this research.

As I have now noted many times, Anthro-L is a discursive structure because it is a local, regional space-place characterized by specific languages rules and practice. Anthro-L is also situational, at another historical time, with a modified Statement of Being or a divergent combination of members its discursive topography might be quite differently configured. It is important to note that this research constitutes a "snap shot" of Anthro-L at a specific time, configured by the discourse of specific members. As I am still a member of the net, I can attest to the fact that some speaking members seem to have "moved away" from the community, new members in turn have moved in and become vocal. New topics of conversation have appeared while old ones are given a new twist.

The fact that changes discursively occur on the net even though Anthro-L remains framed by the same Statement of Being and by member interaction, illustrates that transformations occur across the discursive structure. As Piaget noted: *Structuralism is concerned with*

*structure and a structure is a system of transformations.*⁷ Transformations are often accomplished through 'flame wars' or through hermeneutic postings.

As a structure the net is the whole whose potential discursive elements [posts] are subordinate to the discursive regulations with which the Statement of Being and members are concerned. Transformations of the structure are brought about by the play of the texts constructed by net members within the greater "whole". These texts challenge the structure and its normative effect on the discourse by breaking into the interstices of the structure through flaming, and from the edges or underneath the structure by 'marginal' postings⁸ such as those contributed by Dan Foss.

The discourse of Anthro-L is self regulating, the transformations of the structure never yield results external to the system, nor employ elements that are external to it.⁹ The "immediacy of liminal discourse gives way to the mediacy of structure."¹⁰ In considering Anthro-L as a community constructed by and through language, I separately consider the "structure of the Structure"; how the net is constructed through the norms and mores of the Statement of Being and the [self/other] discipline of net men and women in Chapter

⁷ Piaget, Jean (1970) *Structuralism* translated by Chaninah Maschler. New York: Basic Books. see esp. pages 4-8.

⁸ Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. page 129.

⁹ In other words "the more things change the more they stay the same". The listowners have recently, as I noted earlier, had occasion to expel another 'deviant' member from the community.

¹⁰ Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. page 129.

Five. In the third section of this Chapter, I discuss how the central tenets of structural theory informed my methodological decisions with respect to this research.

3.2. Posting Acts, Liminality, And The Public/Private Self.

3.2.1. Posting Acts

I have defined net members as people who form a community and live in one locality - occupying a space time continuum known as Anthro-L@ubvm. But what does this mean? If net members are physically located all over the world, and if they access the net through their computer modems, how do they interact? How precisely does interaction between community members take place?

The answer to this question can best be clarified through two definitions; one which I have previously termed "Techno-behavior" in this thesis, the other has been referred to as "Discursive behavior". Techno-behavior is behavior engaged in by net members which is computer specific. It incorporates such acts as sitting down at a computer screen and typing a posting, then "sending" that posting to a net, or "getting" a posting from their mailbox. All of these actions can be termed behavioral 'acts'. These techno-terms should be further understood as referring to the techno-jargon of techno-behavior. Words such as "get", "send", FTP, gopher, and email all imply ways to access, get or send information on the Internet; they are thus "commands" or "Sites" that the user employs. Techno-

terminology links semantic sub-domains¹¹ through means/end semantic relationships; these words represent an act of doing [behavior], the thing being done [command] and the place/space affiliated with what/where it is to be done. The use of techno-terminology/behavior signifies a specific, socialized kind of knowledge held by all members of the net. At minimum all users have learned how to "subscribe" to the net, and how to "get" and read the messages that arrive in his/her mailbox.

Discursive behavior, on the other hand, is both the behavior of a net member in terms of his/her communicative relationships with the rest of the community and an overall descriptive term that labels posting acts specific to an individual user. Is a user one who flames often? Then his/her behavior could be said to be "aggressive" in terms of other net members and "aggressive in tone" in terms of the style of his/her posted messages. Is the member a person who only requests and gives information? Perhaps this user would be one who speaks often in a "cooperative" mode in postings, and works in a cooperative milieu with other net members. Does the poster refer often to his/her own "real-time" behavior? Post jokes often? The two terms, techno-behavior and net behavior are not mutually exclusive. It should be clear that any type of discursive behavior displayed by an individual community member [posting jokes during a flame war for example] presupposes the techno-behavior of knowing how to post a message to the group.

¹¹ The two domains that are linked by this terminology are usually space/place [FTP, gopher] and behavior [FTP to XXX].

Interaction between community members takes place through this combination of techno-behavior and personal net behavior. I have defined the locality in which net users reside as one that is demarcated by the listserv address. A community member posts a message which is sent to this listserv address and which is then subsequently received by the listserver, the computer that administers the list. The listserver then sends this received message to the private email addresses of all the subscribers of the list. Once the message is received, individual members make a decision on whether or not to read, delete, respond, or be silent with regards to each posted message.

Deleting after reading or not responding to a posting represent aspects of what Goffman termed "unfocussed interaction".¹² Goffman uses this term to refer to *"the kind of communication that occurs when one gleans information about another person present when glancing at him [sic]."*¹³ I retain this definition of unfocussed interaction but amend it to read, *"the kind of communication that occurs when one gleans information about another person present when "glancing" at his/her words."* Deleting without reading can simply mean a person has too little time for interaction with the postings of the net that day; or it can mean that a net member has chosen not to interact with certain community members by not reading the words they write. Reading without responding may signify that a net member has nothing to say on a particular topic, or it may mean that the user is one who participates in the community only through the act of reading. In this instance,

¹² Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior In Public Places* New York: The Free Press. def: page 24.

¹³ op. cit., page 24.

communication is taking place between reader and writer through the interaction of reader and 'text'; the communication that occurs *when one gleans information about another person present by glancing at his/her words.*

This thesis is concerned with posted messages; messages that have been distributed by the listserver and sent out to all net subscribers, both those postings which evoke a response and those which do not. All community interaction takes place through reading and writing, through "Focused Interaction".¹⁴ Goffman defines focused interaction as the "*kind of interaction that occurs when persons gather together and openly cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention, typically by taking turns at talking.*" A posting is written, distributed by the listserver, and someone who reads this posting may respond to it, thus establishing a conversation by taking a turn at talking.¹⁵ On a net there may be many "*focuses of attention*" [threads] going on at once, and a single member may be participant in more than one conversation at a time.¹⁶

Posting is thus the central activity in which all participant members share. Through the written words of the 'other' a net member forms images of community members and

¹⁴ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior In Public Places* New York: The Free Press, Def: page 24.

¹⁵ My use of the words 'talk' and 'talking', while mildly metaphorical, is in keeping with the descriptions net members themselves give of what they are doing on nets. They constantly use phrases like "you said", "I heard", "you spoke of" etc. They hardly ever use a phrase such as "I read you saying". reading = hearing, while writing = speaking on the net.

¹⁶ However many postings are singles, that is, they are postings which do not receive a response, but they will be equally important to later analysis. Who sends message, who takes turns at talking, when these turns are taken, who is not answered and who supports attempts at conversation made by others are important questions to ask when reviewing male/female writing styles. In face-to face conversation these questions have revealed interesting gender patterns as Deborah Tannen, among others, has shown

his/her relationship to them. For this thesis I considered the meaning of a posting through its style of construction, and its attendant effect on a reader [s]. Effect is evidenced by the type of response sent to an original post in terms of evidence or lack of evidence of "comprehension" coding. Did the reader match his/her response to correspond to the code/function combination found in the original post?

In order to analyze patterns in writing such as style and effect, and to uncover whether or not these divergent discursive acts could be linked to gender, I began by considering messages sent as "Speech Acts"; in this thesis I have renamed these "Posting Acts".

Jakobson¹⁷ defines a Speech Act as an addressor sending a message to an addressee. Any message requires a context, a code at least partially shared by a reader/writer [sender/receiver] and a contact. Depending on what kind of a message is to be sent, different aspects of these three requirements are stressed. I posited that posting acts had a twofold function: they had intent with respect to the others of the net, and they said something about the writer to reading net members. Intent was encoded in the style of the message. A posting could be sent to request information, thus the request might be structured in a specific way. A posting could be sent to flame another and this too would be reflected in the style/code of the posting.

Jakobson separates "codes" into three possible types; the logical, the hermeneutic, and the rhetorical. Each of these codes plays a significant role in encoding the functional attributes

¹⁷ Jakobson, Roman (1960) *"Linguistics and Poetry"* in *Style and Language*, ed. T.A. Sebeok. Cambridge, Mass.: the MIT Press. pages 350-377.

of a message, that is what a message is intended to do with respect to the receiver. He further demarcates six functions of a message, these functions are descriptions of message intent. My project was to scan male and female postings to see if patterns of encoding and function were linked to gender. Did men and women favor different styles of writing that could be discerned through a divergent use of code and function?

The style of a message also conveys something about the writer of a posting through self positioning. Certain writers consistently adopted an aggressive posture, some were often conciliatory. In analyzing postings for functions and codes it thus became clear that each writer tended to consistently favor a specific posting style. This style was closely linked to how a writer appeared to categorize his/her world in terms of semantic domains and how these domains were linked through the use of semantic relationships.

In the next Chapter I outline in detail the semantic analyses I chose to utilize in order to uncover how 'gendered' posters conceptualized their worlds. For the moment I stress that writing style characterizes specific net members and that responses to these writers are often couched in a stylistically similar code. Thus the reader of a message adjusts his/her receptivity [comprehension] to align with the code that is used to produce a message. As I shall show, net readers and writers favor specific codes and attach social values and meanings to their usage.

The analysis of codes and functions with respect to posting acts converges with aspects of Structural theory and with theoretical claims that have been made in the scholarly literature with respect to male and female writing styles. I noted in my Introduction that

men appeared to favor the Logico-Scientific code in terms of frequency of usage, while women appeared to favor the narrative styles, as these have been defined by Bruner.¹⁸ The utilization of these highly divergent styles speaks to the presentation of 'self' by a net member to others. I shall show that style can be understood as reflecting a specific presentation of 'self'; writers who maintain a consistent posting style also present a consistent 'face' to the net. Style is further the expression of a categorical organization of an individual's world view and the result of socially learned behavior, particularly how gendered individuals have learned to behave in 'real world' public and private spheres.

3.2.2. The PUBLIC/PRIVATE Self

Net space can be public or private. Members can speak openly to each other by posting messages to the listserver which distributes the posting to the entire subscription list, or they can communicate privately from home email address to home email address.

Goffman's definition of a public gathering parallels the social situation in net communities:

*"any set of two or more individuals whose members include all and only those who are at the moment in one another's immediate presence. By "situation" I refer to the full spatial environment anywhere in which an entering person becomes a member of the gathering that is present.....Situations begin when mutual monitoring occurs, and lapse when the second last person has left."*¹⁹

¹⁸ Bruner, Jerome. (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. page 11.

¹⁹ op. cit., page 18.

This thesis is concerned with the community's discursive conduct in the public gathering of net space. Private encounters certainly occur, but the parameters of my research allowed access to private communication only when the content or occurrence of private email was reported to the net. Net situations can be conceptualized as a public town hall meeting in which various citizens exchange their views about the state of the community and discuss the community's anthropological business.

The list is a spatial environment in which any "*entering person becomes a member of the gathering that is present*", and "*mutual monitoring occurs*" through the reading acts of net members who monitor the discourse. A member enters the community through the act of reading postings and is thus passively participant; I define a member as actively participant in the community when he/she posts. Situations are active posting exchanges, created between any two or more people, thus many situations exist through multi-threads within the larger ongoing situation of the Anthro-L net itself.

Sub-situations are particularly interesting in net discourse because participants in threads often engage in "by-play".²⁰ By this term I express a phenomenon that occurs often in net communication. One person starts a conversation, another replies. Something in the response posting catches the eye of a third poster, who responds to the item of interest in the second posting. However, this item of interest is not part of the central 'stream of talk' with which the thread was initially concerned. Thus "by-plays" in conversation are part and

²⁰ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press. page 147.

parcel of many threads; smaller sub-situations within the larger situational discourse of the thread. At times, participants become so involved in collusive 'by-play' that the original thread of the conversation is buried.

Following G.H. Mead, Goffman discusses the "*special mutuality of social interaction*".²¹

By this phrase he means that when two people are together an *adaptive line of action attempted by one will be either insightfully facilitated or insightfully countered, or both, and that such a line of action must always be pursued*.²² In my discussion of posting acts I stated that readers adjust [or do not] their comprehension codes to match the code and function of a particular writer's message. Such a line of action must always be pursued in order to make communication between people in the community possible. The adaptive line occurs when the reader injects him/her self into the text in order to understand the 'other'.

This is not always possible. Some readers do not 'speak' the code that some writers use and will de-code a message based on their own preferred code because readers and writers bring aspects of their socialized experiences to any given interface with a text. How a posting is read is configured both by what a reader is 'capable' of 'seeing' in the text and how a writer's codes match with the reader's understanding. Roland Barthes discusses the how/why of the reader/text interface in his book The Pleasure of the Text. He proposes

²¹ op. cit., page 16.

²² op. cit., page 16.

that some text/reader collusions result in a loss of the self of the reader [jouissance] to/in the text, while other readings may give pleasure but text and reader remain distinct [plaisir].²³ If meaning of a posting or the interpretation of a message's code/intent lies in the relationship between text and reader there is some reason to suspect that postings may be a liberating form of communication, one not bounded by the face to face implications that can result from co-present encounters.

In terms of the intent of the transmissions of posted messages, Barthes' discussion must be understood through the reader/writer participation in the special mutuality of social interaction. Each party to the dialogue attempts to understand the 'other' through the mutual adjustment of codes. In the middle of a flame war about a particular writer's characteristic discursive style, a fellow community member writes of his posting:

While I do not intend to condone the personal nature of the outpouring of the vituperative passion our most recent flaming episode demonstrated here, I cannot help but marvel at the poetics of the prose [is that an oxymoron?] of the self-proclaimed sewer-dweller: has anyone ever read a more fitting description of Structural Adjustment than "a capitalist famine ceremony intended to magically restore fiscal virginity?" Daniel Foss, sir, your humble [?] apologies aside, your tirades remind me of Taussig's intention in his "Study of Terror and Healing", in which he attempts to use dis-orderly rhetoric to mimic the effect of the Shaman's use of the Wildman in 'tripping up evil in its own....<snip>²⁴

²³ Barthes, Roland (1989) *The Pleasure of the Text*. translated by Richard Miller. New York: The Noonday Press.

²⁴ Heather Young-Leslie (1993) *Re: Sewer Dweller Poetics and Flames*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 22 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

The above quote evidences an attempt at understanding the referred to writer's prose, while the word 'marvel' indicates the meanings the postings written by D. Foss hold for this reader. She enjoys her interface with the texts of the poster under discussion. In fact in a subsequent post she and the gentleman with whom she shares her email address co-wrote to state:

.....<snip> we do read Foss. In fact we even save some of them. It seems that Foss flames into activity on a cyclic schedule, a bit like sunspots. <snip> The thing is, while he may take up space [which you perceive as expensive] he can be very insightful, and has a wonderful use of the grasp of metaphor and allegory which he uses to radicalize perceptions.....²⁵

Authorial intent is usually not negated in email text but comprehension of stylistic codes is a significant factor in how, or if, an 'author's voice' is heard. The writer under discussion in the postings above writes in the 'hermeneutic code' as defined by Jakobson.²⁶ This is not a style that many Anthro-L readers appear to have the time or the inclination to adjust to in terms of respondent comprehension. Nor is this style one that is granted 'legitimacy' within the net's discursive paradigm. Rather it is marginalized, and as I shall discuss, the writers who wield this style are similarly marginally conceived within the community.

Barthes' concepts of plaisir and jouissance shed light on why some readers write response postings in which they express empathetic delight in a previous writer's message, or alternatively, send messages that are clearly emotive or inflammatory in style. These

²⁵ Michael John Evans [and Heather Young Leslie] (1993) *Re: Foss Again*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 26 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

²⁶ Jakobson, Roman. (1960) "*Linguistics and Poetry*." [in] *Style and Language*. edited by Thomas A Sebeok. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. pages 350-377.

readers may have interfaced with a text through a very compatible or conversely through an entirely different code/understanding than the one with which the writer constructed the message. A reader may also choose to ignore the code in which a particular message is couched. That this occurs on Anthro-L is sharply depicted by clashes in narrative [especially those evincing the hermeneutic function] messages and Logico-scientific/referentially constructed postings.

Goffman further states that in public gatherings such as Anthro-L persons must also sense *that they are close enough to be perceived in whatever they are doing including their experiencing of others and close enough to be perceived in this sense of being perceived.*²⁷ In a net community, references such as "*as Bob states*",²⁸ or "*what do you think Steve*"?, appear to acknowledge the presence, or at least the potential presence of an "other" on the net; something or someone 'real' is 'out-there'. In fact postings are written to the net precisely because the writer always presupposes the presence of another "out there", in the same space/place that he/she is to be found.

The conditions that Goffman stipulates for public gatherings are normally *expected to obtain throughout the space contained in a room and to obtain for any and all persons present.....the regions of space [in public places].....cannot be clearly drawn.*²⁹ Net

²⁷ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press. page 18.

²⁸ all remarks in italics in this paragraph are 'generic remarks', that is they are a conglomerate of as specific "statement type" found in postings. None of them refer back to a specific posted message.

²⁹ Goffman, Erving (1963) op. cit., page 17-18.

communities clearly fulfill his criteria. Not only do posters register how they think they have been perceived [I think you understood me as saying], they are often aware that more than one person is listening to them. Postings will often contain references to this unnamed other. Remarks such as "*are there any other thoughts on this out-there*", or "*what does the rest of the list think about this*"?, imply not only that the present writer takes for granted that more than one person is reading his/her message, but that the process of monitoring net dialogue/public space is constant and continuous.

This last fact is an integral part of net email. Even if I were to write a directed response to "Bob"³⁰ on the net, I would be aware that potentially hundreds of people could read this message. Thus, I might choose to present myself, not only to Bob, but in terms of the community at large. As a net poster, one must reach a certain "comfort level" with the ever present awareness that the eyes and minds of "others" are watching/reading. The awareness of extended reception/perception is differently perceived by male and female members of the net. In Chapter Six, I discuss the fact that women on the net, particularly in the postings I have categorized as "requests"³¹ will often end their message with the phrase "please respond privately", or "please respond to my [or this] email address". Male postings rarely include directions to send responses to 'private' space. Distinctions that are

³⁰ Similarly, names used here are pure fantasy. My apologies to any and all Bobs, Steves, and Janes on the list.

³¹ The category 'requests' includes all messages posted that ask for information response. For example "can anyone recommend"?, or has anyone has experience with"?

made between the public and private posting spheres are gender related, reflecting on the public/private gender related spheres in 'real-time' society.³²

Public/private perceptions are closely related to how net members view "what" they are doing when they engage in postings acts. Anthro-L members often refer to their postings as "speaking" and the reading of other postings as "hearing". In a literal sense this is impossible. Net members do not engage in embodied, co-present conversation. Yet they often refer to net dialogue as if other community members were physically/temporally present, evidencing a sense of liminality about where they 'are'. Cognitively net participants appear to image through the words on a screen to mentally sketch a temporal 'other'. As a minor example:

<snip> "Graber responded. In a dream I saw Graber, calipers in one hand, test tube in the other, standing in the dawn chanting....<snip>³³

The 'dream image' of Graber which is further expanded later in the text of this posting, was constructed from words in Graber's posted texts that evoked specific imagery. Graber often aligns himself with 'science' and 'scientific principles'. Graber's words and his body image come together for the present poster.

³² I discuss this public/private distinction further in connection with men and women written and writing later in this Chapter.

³³ St. Christian, Douglass. (1993) *Pomo Update*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 14 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

The tension expressed in net discourse between hearing/reading and speaking/writing is one that reflects on the "in between" state of computer mediated communication. Below, I propose that virtual 'talk' represents a liminal dialogic state.

3.2.3. Liminality

3.2.3.1. THE LIMINALITY OF THE POSTER

How do community members come to know each other if the other is never seen? In mind to mind relationships³⁴ knowledge of the other is conveyed by imagery.

Just after I had subscribed to Anthro-L, and over a year before I began this study, I posted a message to the net in which I utilized a 8:) icon and made a reference to the Hittites. My posting solicited a answer in which the respondent poster referred to me as a person with glasses. "Fair enough, considering the icon, thought I." However, my allusion to the Hittites inspired a correlation between myself, tweed skirts [!] and 'obscure' German scholars [the only people interested in the Hittites he stated].

My reaction to this response was mixed. I was amused by the text of the posting, but bemused that anyone could conceive of me as wearing tweed skirts or that my interest in the Hittites could link me to obscure German scholars. In fact, my overall reaction was one of slight shock. I remember flushing as I read the posting.

³⁴ van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 366].

This posting 'about' me, inspired instantaneous, immediate images of 'myself' *to* me. I had a quick flash of 'self' in said tweed shirt, spectacles, hair drawn back in a tight bun with wisps struggling to free themselves from bobby pins, roaming the rather desolate Baghazkoy countryside in sturdy, no-nonsense Oxfords. In terms of 'presenting' myself to the net, thought I, someone 'out there' had received some strange impressions of who I was or who I 'might' be.

There were two ways that I could respond to this message. I could have written to the net, [as they had all shared in this 'image' of me through the respondent posting], and stated that this was 'Not I', explaining instead that this 'was' I by attempting to paint another image. Or I could choose not to respond. In the end, I chose silence. I was convinced that anything I said would simply create other images that I would endlessly strive to clarify.

I learned something from this encounter. It seemed to me that in order to post to a net, one must be willing to take risks - risks of being seen as someone you are 'not' to yourself, risks of exposed privacy, indeed risks of combat. I was, I felt, not ready to cross that threshold.

This experience also offered me a glimpse of the creativity possible through net correspondence. Had I strategically set out to create a specific image of myself, I could have tested a number of 'presentations' to see if they would be accepted. This opportunity however, was not something that appealed to me. I discovered through this experience that I 'take' words in a very personal and intimate way, and that I understand them as part

of 'who' I am. Thus I chose silence. I did not like the self-imposed feeling of being both myself, and not myself on net space.

In his discussion of the Rites of Passage, A. van Gennep identifies the three stages that accompany any change of PLACE, STATE, social position and or age; Separation, Margin [Limen], and Aggregation.³⁵ In The Ritual Process, Victor Turner discusses these three stages in some detail.³⁶ I find his analysis directly relevant to my claim that computer mediated communication often signifies a liminal state.

The first stage, Separation, is characterized by symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group from [1] an earlier fixed point in the social structure, [2] from a set of cultural conditions, or [3] from both. When a person sits down at a keyboard, initializes his/her modem and logs onto the Internet, he/she symbolically signifies their detachment from a concrete, structured place and earlier fixed points in their social structure marked by the statuses, roles and the set of cultural conditions which frame his/her life.

A few years ago I had the pleasure of performing as a teaching assistant in an upper level "Computer Cultures" Anthropology course. It was my responsibility to teach the students how to get on-line, acquaint them with basic computer [net] skills, and to help them find a

³⁵ van Gennep, Arnold. (1909) *The Rites of Passage*. translated from the French by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

³⁶ Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. page 123 passim. .

net group [news.group or BBS] that addressed each student's specific area of interest or hobby.

Students who came to the computer with no skills were extremely nervous the first time they sat down in the lab. In fact, many were perspiring, shifting in their chairs or talking nervously. Many admitted they are 'afraid' to go 'on-line'; many were terrified at their lack of technical skills. What they were 'good at' in life, no longer mattered, they were all equal before the keyboard. In effect, they were separating from the 'known' and crossing the threshold into the 'unknown or ambiguous'.

In the first lab session, in effect the preliminal stage,³⁷ where structure becomes peripheral, I introduced the students to the mainframe editor before I took them to 'email'. I asked them to type in 'anything' that could be saved as a document in their mainframe mailboxes. All of the female students began to type in 'diary type' entries.³⁸ Sequences such as "Dad is coming home today. I am really worried. The roads are so icy and mom and I asked him to wait, but he said he wanted to get home"; exemplify the narrative style 'documents' constructed by the women in this class. Sentences such as "I don't know what I am doing in this class", or "I am totally lost", were written both males and females.

Typing into the editor represents a form of communication "with" a computer; masking self-communication. Turkle has described this communicative practice as "the illusion of

³⁷ van Gennep, Arnold. (1909) *The Rites of Passage*. translated from the French by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

³⁸ There were 30 odd students in the class, divided almost equally between male and female.

companionship without the demands of friendship".³⁹ However, I do not conceptualize this type of communication as being any different than the 'journals' that have been kept by women for centuries. What I do find interesting is that the male students in the class rarely used a 'narrative' to construct a document. In fact, 80% of the male students simply wrote "gibberish" on the screen by holding down a key. To them the exercise seemed merely structural and mechanical. However, once the class began to interact on email, male response changed drastically.

The dropping away of real life status, skills and roles in front of the keyboard signifies a 'crossing over' of the self into a new, undefined place/space as a user on-line. The second stage of a Rite of Passage, is referred to as 'Margin' [limen = threshold] by van Gennep, although it is now often referred to simply as "liminality" to express the "between and betwixt" non/status of the actor in the liminal phase. Liminal people are 'threshold people'. They slip through or elude the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. In liminality the subject finds him/her self in a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past, or the coming state. Between liminal individuals, as Turner notes, there is often a strong sense comradeship, egalitarianism and manifestations of "robust verbal" or non-verbal behavior.⁴⁰

³⁹ Turkle, S. (1984) [in] Perrolle, Judith A. (1991) *Conversations and Trust in Computer Interfaces*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 350-363. [page 353].

⁴⁰ op. cit. Roles of status reversal, which Turner discusses with reference to gender reversal rituals studied by Max Gluckman, have a 'masking function'.⁴⁰ That is, by reversing status roles, the structural boundaries of those roles and statuses are reinforced. I would suggest, although regrettably I cannot

This second stage of liminality became immediately obvious when the students in the class began to use email. Even though they were sitting approximately two feet from one another in the lab, there was no verbal communication between the students as they proceeded to send emails to one another. There were however, chuckles and sounds articulated by users *at* the computer screen as emails arrived in their mailbox. Even when an email elicited loud chuckles from a receiver in the class, the student did not look up to connect with the eyes of the sender. Instead, the respondent usually hitched up his/her chair and immediately proceeded to type as quickly as possible, signifying involvement with the text.

The students in this class were drawn from all disciplines in the University, they were not characterized by a common interest in Anthropology. In fact, management, education, science and computer science majors, as well as other social science and humanities students comprised the class list. Majors [roles, status] who do not normally socialize often were drawn together very quickly in this course, and both male and female students

discuss this in detail here, that the status and role reversals [often accompanied by 'robust verbal behavior'] on the Internet, similarly reinforce 'real-time' statuses and roles. It is also interesting to note that in van Gelder's study, "Alex" a male who pretended to be a disabled, gutsy female, violated one of the principle "DO NOTs" of *communitas* - [do not] "follow one's psycho-biological urges at the expense of one's fellows. As van Gelder notes, many of the women involved with Alex/Joan were devastated when "Joan" unmasked. See: van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 366].

who were often shy in their other classes, came alive on email. Liminality, which is often characterized by a egalitarian type of comradeship, and the ambiguity of status, prevailed.

Students in this class responded enthusiastically to email communication. Once they found nets in which they could participate [their final assignment was an 'ethnography' of the net they had chosen] this enthusiasm increased. Some of them forgot they had other courses that semester. Many of them went out and bought modems for their home computers; some bought computers for their homes. Overall, the response to being on-line was overwhelming.

The male students in the class were far more involved with on-line exploration than were the female students once they got 'into' their nets. I met many of these male students on-line in the late, late evenings. In the early days of the class I was astounded at how many of them were worried that they were being 'watched'. I would receive anxious phone calls or emails that one of them had made an error expressing the conviction that *"they're going to throw me off line"*, or *"they must think I am crazy"*, or *"they must wonder, who is this guy"*? *Doesn't he know what he is doing?* It took some time before these students lost the feeling that the great 'gods' of the ether were watching them.

Users respond in differential ways to the ambiguity of their position on-line, and the loss of their traditional roles and statuses. There are those users who may find it liberating; evidence from flame wars [robust verbal behavior] appears to suggest that some posters find the anonymity of 'who' they are to be freeing in terms of their dialogic stance; to wit, they are no longer overly concerned with 'listening' to the other. They write for 'effect'

rather than for response. This was very true of some of the male students. Individuals who logged onto the Net in order to participate in Multi-User Domains [role playing etc.] entered 'other worlds', while many other student participants used 'handles' as Usernames in chat corners to signify specific personalities, or aspects of personalities with which they wished to be associated. Ambiguous status appeared to 'free' aspects of their personalities.

Other users, like myself in the example above, responded to liminality through withdrawal, not entirely from the net, but from participation [except for the minimal amount required for their paper] in the possibly threatening anonymity of public discursive terrain. Even in a structured environment such as Anthro-L, a list member cannot carry into net space all those roles, body cues, ways of speaking, or statuses that they perceive as 'unique' about themselves. The characteristics that mark a subject as uniquely "me", remain ambiguous.

Still others continued to participate, but carefully, feeling their way through the discourse of the community, contributing where they felt safe. There was a remarkable gender correlation to these patterns. Overall, the males in the class were far more assertive in terms of participation and experimentation on-line. They were far more comfortable with public space. Many of the female students, although very excited by their experiences on-line, also backed away far more quickly if they felt their emails were receiving a nebulous response. Female students also experienced more 'negativity' on-line; some of them felt harassed in chat corners.

There is a distinct paradox in the conception of Internet space as 'freeing', and 'real-life' as inhibiting. Turner posits that there are two major models of human interrelatedness.⁴¹ The first model is of Society as Structure, differentiated, hierarchical, with a full complement of statuses and roles, segmented and cognitively grasped. The second conceptualizes society as unstructured or having a rudimentary structure with a relatively undifferentiated community characterized by the communion of equal individuals. In this model individuals are seen as confronting one another "integrally", not as individuals segmentalized into statuses and roles.

Turner states:

*In the process of social life, behavior in accordance with one model tends to "drift away" from behavior in terms of the other. The ultimate desideratum, however, is to act in terms of communitas values even while playing structural roles...*⁴²

The Internet is conceptualized by many of its users and in the popular media as the epitome of Society as unstructured and undifferentiated, facilitating a mind-to-mind communion between individuals that allows the "whole man" to confront the "whole man". But does it? As van Gelder notes, "technology is no shield against deceit".⁴³ Indeed, it

⁴¹ Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. page 173.

⁴² op. cit., page 177.

⁴³ van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 366].

may facilitate deceit in new and interesting ways. While "real life" is thought to mask and 'hide' the essence of an individual, and 'net life' is thought to expose this essence, it may be that 'real life' and 'net life' are juxtaposed 'ways of being', which always already reside in each individual and are expressed through divergent social possibilities.

The resolution of a liminal phase [and post liminality where structure is restored for the individual] requires the third stage of a rite of passage; Aggregation or Reincorporation. In this phase, the subject is 'stable' once more and returns to clearly defined structural obligations, norms and ethical standards vis a vis others. Users of course, return to this stable 'state' when they log off-line.

But attempts at resolution and stability also occur on-line. Discursive sites such as Anthro-L, attempt to create at least a semi-aggregate [stable] net state to facilitate order through discursive 'structure' in net space. However, the imposition of structure remains incomplete. Indeed, because an unseen other cannot be 'known' in terms of 'real life', thus allowing no resolution of the liminality of the net individual, the state of liminality remains unresolved for the individual user. Transition on-line becomes a permanent condition.

3.2.3.2. THE LIMINALITY OF POSTED TEXT

Goffman clearly distinguishes between "embodied" and "disembodied" information. His discussion of co-present, that is embodied interaction distinguishes a number of important

characteristics that contribute to the uniqueness of face-to-face communication.⁴⁴

Goffman stresses that in co-present conversation participants experience the "other" with the "naked senses".⁴⁵ Intuition, voice, smell, tone, context, and body language all interact and contribute to the immediacy of the co-present experience. He calls this aspect of co-presence the "*richness of information flow*".

Yet it is not at all certain that net members are participating in an environment that is sensory-stripped. There is an attempt to inject facial feedback through the use of Emoticons, symbols that signify certain emotional expressions and must be read sideways. A "8:)" as in my own posting above, signifies a person wearing glasses and smiling. In this way bodily cues are given to the reader about the writer's physical presence. If "8:)" follows a sentence then the reader interprets this to mean that the remark he/she has just read was "smilingly delivered" and that the writer wears glasses.

Although Emoticons do not substitute for the richness of sensory input that Goffman credits to co-presence, there is further reason to suspect that net participants live in an environment in which all their senses are engaged. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the cognitive structures of the human mind/brain. Nevertheless it appears through email examples like the one above, that actors mentally create scenes, smells, places and

⁴⁴ op. cit., page 14-24.

⁴⁵ op.cit., page 15.

people through the text/reader interface.⁴⁶ Although the images created in writer and reader may be widely divergent, this symbolic interaction between text and reader is very similar to the receiving/conveying relationship that ensues between co-participants to a dialogic process.

This receiving/conveying relationship in co-presence represents Goffman's second criteria for the privilege of face to face interaction; *"not only are the receiving and conveying of the naked and embodied kind, but each giver is himself [sic] a receiver and each receiver is a giver"*.⁴⁷ This statement deserves further elaboration. Goffman is stipulating that positioning of both the self and the other in dialogue is maintained in an interactive process. When person A finds him/her self in a specific social context and in that context he or she wants to be socially 'accepted', he or she will quickly adapt the "self" to that situation. This adaptation initiates a process of monitoring and reflexivity. Person A monitors the 'self' to maintain a certain presentation of self, and monitors Person B [or B, C, D etc.] to ensure that the adaptation he/she has made to the social environment is a consistently acceptable one. Should Person A sense discomfort with his/her behavior in any of the others that are party to the dialogue, Person A can adjust his/her positioning in

⁴⁶ Leiber, Justin. (1991) *An Invitation to Cognitive Science*. London: Basil Blackwell. This book offers endless information on fascinating aspects of the human mind, its cognitive structure and Artificial Intelligence.

⁴⁷ op. cit., page 15.

the ongoing interaction.⁴⁸ Each person who is party to the communicative transaction is engaged in this self/other monitoring process. Mikhail Bakhtin, whose definitions expand G.H. Mead's concept of 'taking the role of the other' and 'taking the attitude of the other' has expressed this very well:⁴⁹

*The expression of an utterance can never be fully understood if its thematic content is all that is taken into account, the expression of an utterance always responds to a greater or lesser degree, that is, it expresses the speaker's attitude towards the other's utterances and not just his attitude towards the object of his utterance.*⁵⁰

and

*.....utterance has both an author and an addressee.....both composition and particularly the style of the utterance depends on those to whom the utterance is addressed, how the speaker or writer imagines and senses his addressee and the force of the effect of the utterance.....when I construct my utterance I try actively to determine his [reader/hearer] response. Moreover I try to act in accordance with the response I anticipate, so this anticipated response, in turn exerts an active influence on my utterance.*⁵¹

I propose that in net discourse, as in co-presence, the receiving and conveying relationship is mutually inclusive through the relationship established by the text/reader interface.

When a writer engages in a posting act, that is engages in an utterance, he or she deploys

⁴⁸ This is part of a process that Goffman refers to as "Strategic Interaction". For more on this concept, applied to social situations see: Goffman, Erving (1969) *Strategic Interaction*. New York: Ballantine Books.

⁴⁹ Although Bakhtin's work expands Mead, it is not directly derivative. Bakhtin's manuscripts were written early to mid century, he was translated much later.

⁵⁰ Bakhtin, M.M. (1986) *Speech Genres and Other Later Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press. page 92.

⁵¹ op. cit., page 95.

all of the senses in order to pre-perceive how he or she will be 'received'. The writing style employed by a poster reflects not only that writer's presentation of the 'self' in a given situation, but also how that writer thinks he/she will be received or wishes to be received. This involves active imaging of the 'other' reading 'me'.

The essential strangeness of computer discourse may lie in the fact that while my 'words' may be understood with respect to a certain topic, the image the 'other' has of 'me' may be conveyed back to me as something or someone 'foreign' to whom I perceive myself to be. I can only know the 'image' I have of the other; at all times the net other remains an 'unknown' known to me.

My imaging of the other, and his/her imaging of me implies that each party to a discursive event positions both self and other, an interactive process whereby what one person says positions another.⁵² This also implies that at times, positioning of self/other may be intentional, that is that one of the speakers to the dialogic process 'maps' out a specific presentation of self in dialogue while simultaneously 'calculating' how to 'put' the other in a certain discursive place/stance.

In net discourse this sense of dialogic interaction and positioning is extended in interesting ways. As I have discussed above, net posters are aware that the social monitoring that is part of any public gathering is an ongoing process within a net community. If a writer

⁵² Davies, Bronwyn and Harré, Rom. (1990) *Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves*. [in] **Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior**. 20:1 pages 42 to 63.

chooses to post to the net at large, he/she is aware of the potentially extended and 'unknowable' readership that may respond to the posted message. This means that a poster positions him/herself not only in terms of a specific posting/poster he/she may be responding to, but in terms of the entire potential readership, many of whom cannot be gauged in terms of potential response.

Michael Serres⁵³ has stated that "*to hold a dialogue is to suppose a third man and seek to exclude him*". I maintain that on the net, dialogue supposes the third man and seeks to include him/her. In letter writing or phone conversations, one can be reasonably sure that the conversation being held is between the two peoples who are parties to the dialogue. This surety does not exist in public net space, and the insecurity of knowing 'how' one's words will be read appears to affect gender communicative styles in divergent ways. Overall it appears, as I discuss in Chapter Seven, that female presented writers write specifically 'to' someone, that is they continue to "exclude the third man", while male presented writers speak to the 'net-at-large'.

de Certeau has stated that any social relation always determines its own terms and that each individual within the social relation is a locus within which an incoherent and often contradictory plurality of relational determinations flow and ebb.⁵⁴ Thus male and female participants to a dialogic exchange on Anthro-L not only present the self in terms of the

⁵³ Serres, Michel (1982a) *Platonic Dialogue* [in] *Hermes: Literature, Science and Philosophy*, Harari and Bell (eds) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. pages 65-70.

⁵⁴ de Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. translated from the French by Steven Randall. Berkeley: University of California Press.

net's discursive structure but also within an often 'incoherent' plurality of individual learned behavior with respect to gender identity, academic discussions, and inter-gender relations. This plurality is situational within the social relations that are determined by the dialectic interaction between the individual community members and the net's discursive structure. Nevertheless, as de Certeau points out, actors in a situation 'know', that is they have learned, are conscious of and are an intrinsic part of, an operational logic within any social situation.⁵⁵ A participant member to a communicative exchange thus actively works to put his/her language system to use in order to produce a self that appears coherent in spite of the multifarious situational factors present in any dialogic exchange.⁵⁶

In terms of the liminality of virtual dialogic exchange de Certeau's concept of 'work' to produce a self is an interesting one, as in many ways it parallels Paul Ricoeur's definition of discourse as labor.⁵⁷ Ricoeur distinguishes three distinctive features of discourse-as-work; it is a structured totality, has a codified form which characterizes its composition by following a certain set of rules and codes [genre] and features a specific configuration which expresses its individual character which may be called its style.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ de Certeau, M. (1986) *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*. translated from the French by B. Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. page 148.

⁵⁶ Much could be said here in terms of de Certeau's "tactics and strategies" or "knowledgeable acts" as outlined by Giddens or Habermas. I will consider the fact that posting acts "do something" in terms of their effect on the reader. I have no access to intentionality other than the function of certain 'styles' of writing and how these appear to impact the reader through the evidence of respondent postings.

⁵⁷ Ricoeur, Paul. (1981) *Hermeneutics and the Social Sciences*. translated from the French by J. Thompson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. page 136.

⁵⁸ And indeed if totality is function, this definition is an ideal one of the posting act.

A posting act is thus a specific instance of discourse-as-work. Ricoeur states:

*"...to impose form upon material, to submit production to genres and individual styles, to produce an individual, these are so many ways of treating language as a material to be worked on or formed."*⁵⁹

Thus discourse is a form of practice/labor which takes place within a certain context of production. But Ricoeur emphasizes a distinction between spoken and written text which he enunciates through the four principle forms of his principle of Distanciation. Ricoeur states that writing preserves the meaning of discourse in such a way as to transcend the passing moment of the discourse itself. The event of saying is passed by the meaning of what is said. In written discourse the text's meaning escapes the intention of the author, what the text says matters more than what the author meant to say. Addressed to an unknown audience the text further frees itself from the social and historical conditions of its production and becomes open to an unlimited amount of readers. Lastly, the text is emancipated from ostensive⁶⁰ reference, it does not refer to the situation of its production but to the world, thus opening up a way of being in the world for the subject engaged with the text.

I have taken the time to discuss this very small sample of some of Ricoeur's ideas because I find them important to my contention that net postings are a liminal form of communication. The important concept of 'lapsed' time which contributes so much to the

⁵⁹ op. cit., page 138.

⁶⁰ Ostensive means obviously or manifestly demonstrative. Ostensive reference is giving examples of objects to which a word or phrase is properly applied.

textual 'transcendence' of the passing moment of discourse, often elapses in email communication. If two members are on-line, only seconds or minutes may have passed since 'what was spoken' was externalized. Secondly, the authorial intent of a posting is important to readers who wish to understand what a writer has said. Thus reply postings to an original message will ask "Did I understand you as saying that?" Moreover, a reader ignores authorial intent at his/her own peril, what the text 'says', matters. Flame wars attest to the importance of determining if 'what was heard by a reader', is 'what was meant' by a writer.

Email discourse is further liminal in that reply postings often re/produce portions of a previous post's sentences thus re/rooting both the present and previous postings in terms of 'ostensive reference'. Postings do refer to their situation of production-in-the-world. While posted text may indeed open up a way of being in the world for the reader, this being-in-the-world is often rooted in the text's historical and social net space. Neither is the audience completely 'unknown'; posted texts are addressed to a community characterized by 'common interests' who speak a distinctive academic language.

Being-in the-world is distinctly allied with the writing style that signifies a particular posting act. The referential style is particularly noteworthy for its proclivity to 'root' a posting in a decisive way. While postings that are encoded by a hermeneutic function for example, may try to 'escape' the conditions of their production, they are constantly re/rooted by the readers and writers who re/internalize them, rendering the posting of, but not quite of, the moment.

This liminality of posted discourse impacts male and female writers and readers in different ways. I note that my earlier discussion of the gendered reactions of net members to my request to use their 'words' in this research appears to reflect the possibility that male writers, on the whole, appear to 'distanciate' themselves from virtual text to a more significant degree than female participants do.

Ricoeur's concept of Distanciation has much in common with Goffman's definition of disembodied information which requires that the "*organism do something that traps and holds information long after the organism has stopped informing*".⁶¹ Summed up, his description stresses that disembodied information is less privileged because it is less immediate. I argue here that net discourse is not only liminal with respect to Goffman's definition of embodied communication or Ricoeur's concept of Distanciation, but is also liminal with respect to Goffman's definition of disembodied interaction.

What "is it" that an organism must do to *trap and hold information long after the organism has stopped informing*? My interpretation of Goffman suggests that he is concerned that reading a letter for example, long after the writer has sent it, means that the reader has no access to the context in which the writer presented him/her self, no access to the bodily/sensory cues that might have been used in co-presence and no access to the richness of the receiving/conveying relationship, particularly because a writer has to

⁶¹ op. cit., page 14.

remember what she/he wrote in order to understand a response that may not be forthcoming for some time.

I would argue that the text/reader relationship provides the receiving/conveying relationship necessary to facilitate the 'richness of information flow' through the decoding and comprehension of style. Bodily and sensory cues are triggered by this text/reader interface which requires a deployment of the entire cognitive apparatus. With the 'right' combination of text and reader I find it possible that computer mediated communication may present unparalleled opportunities for rich dialogic experiences in which all the senses work in tandem.⁶²

Goffman was not, of course, writing in email times. As I noted in my discussion of Distanciation, email communications further blur the boundaries between the disembodied/embodied distinction. A reader may read a writer's message seconds after he/she completes it. A writer may self/copy all of the postings he/she writes so that he/she is able to re/capture the textual moment-in-process long after the original message has been sent. The essential requirements of a prolonged time lapse and trapping of information, which seem so important to any de-privileging of disembodied communication, often collapse in email correspondence.

The rich dialogic interaction possible through electronic communication always already carries within it a paramount component of self/self dialogue. I am 'talking' to the image I

⁶² The phenomenon of 'email love' etc., may represent classic examples of Barthes' "jouissance".

have of the other, an image that I have created and cannot totally 'check'. Net members appear to evidence this sense of liminality as virtual reality participants. For example, distinctions as to 'what' they are doing when they post are made by net members themselves. At times they refer to their correspondence with these created images as "talk" or speaking, at times they name what they do as "reading or writing". I will show that these divergent perceptions hinge on instances of personal distancing - certain linguistic and discursive patterns are allied to "talk", others to "writing" and show predominant gender patterns. That the domains of talking and writing are at times conflated and at times perceptually separated is in itself highly interesting.

Net writing constitutes a presentation of a [male or female] self and is an attempt at dialogue. The form of the event [posting] is characterized by divergent reactions to the liminality of net communication and by the nebulous positioning possibilities of self/other in public space that includes the 'third man'. It is further complicated by the multiple styles of presentation and comprehension that may or may not be available to all members of the community. Public net behavior is strangely intimate yet distant. Questions of distance and intimacy appear to be related to an individual's perception of personal speech; that is how he/she perceives themselves in relation to the words they speak. This relationship to language appears to be gender affiliated. I now turn my attention to some of the pertinent scholarly literature on men and women reading and writing.

3.3. Some Thoughts On Women Written And Writing

3.3.1. Introduction

As net discourse is largely stripped of bodily cues, all gender referents must be given, if they are given, through language. As early as the formulation of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis,⁶³ linguists were proposing that the vocabulary and grammatical variations in different languages have an impact on which cultural things an individual speaker habitually notices or thinks about, and how speakers ordinarily express their ideas of the relationship between these things. Within any given language cluster, these linguistic relationship patterns⁶⁴ are passed down to community members through the socialization process. A child is reared in a specific language community from the time of his/her birth, and this immediate submersion into his/her group's discursive patterns plays a vital role in shaping 'what and how' a child will see and understand [and later express] in the world around it.

While Linguists were studying the interplay between language and users in specific communities, theorists in other disciplines were beginning to interrogate the impact of language on early socialization, especially in terms of early gender construction.⁶⁵ This

⁶³ I am referring here to a sustained academic interest in the problem of language and culture. Obviously, much could be said about the Greeks, or Franz Boas, or E. Sapir; this is simply a rough reference to the increased interest in the problem of language and perception early in our century.

⁶⁴ I use the word linguistics here intentionally as I am speaking of the system of *Langue*, i.e. the underlying system and the rules such as subject, object, verb in sentence links, as well as grammatical variations etc. which are language specific and give rise to the development of discursive acts. [*parole*]. These are matters of linguistics.

⁶⁵ Chodorow, Nancy (1978) *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University Of California Press. Chodorow offers an explanation of the socialization process writes boys and girls as the later social beings they continue to become. This thesis will not examine the origins of male and female narrative styles in any detail, I note that in keeping with a number of theorists that I will soon discuss, Chodorow also attributes nurturance, caring, empathy etc. to the female sex, ascribing the respective oppositional terms to males.

concern is particularly significant in the work of the psychoanalytic philosopher Jacques Lacan.

3.3.2. *Jacques Lacan*

Lacan is particularly important to this thesis because he makes the claim that women stand "outside" of the language system. I shall show that women, although they are fully capable of 'speaking' it, largely stand outside of the Logico-scientific paradigm as defined by Bruner.⁶⁶ Indeed, this paradigm is a historically traceable construct whose rise to the paradigm of 'truth' parallels the definitions/redefinitions of Rationality in western culture. The Logico-Scientific paradigm is power/knowledge affiliated and is constructed to carry, within the language system itself, the conceptualizations of power and knowledge that are socially valued in western society. Yet this Logico-scientific paradigm is not "the language system," it represents only one aspect of the possibilities of that system. Through its affiliation with 'right' and 'truth' in language and practice [language users speaking], this paradigm enforces a particular mode of categorization and conceptualization on a speaker's cultural perspective.

Lacan's task is to understand and explain the cultural inscription of gender; how gender is written on social beings. For Lacan there is no separation between the self and society.

⁶⁶ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. page 11.

Human beings become social with the appropriation of language.⁶⁷ It is language that constitutes the entity as a subject and because language is socially constituted, society inhabits each individual. Thus in Lacan's discursive map, biology is always interpreted by the human subject, refracted through language, there is no such thing as the body before language. He shifts all descriptions of "self" normally rooted in biology/anatomy to a symbolic description, by claiming that culture imposes meaning on anatomical parts. Knowledge of the world, of the self, and of others is determined only through language, thus language is the pre-condition for the act of becoming aware of oneself as a separate gendered entity.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve into Lacan's claims about the progress of the "mirror" stage nor his interpretation of the "Oedipus Complex". What must be noted here is that Lacan makes the claim that "Oedipus" is a metaphor for the transition of the child from a "natural" ['pre-symbolic'] register of life to a cultural register of group exchange and that this transition is accomplished through language. Building on the work of Levi-Strauss, the structures that Lacan understands as vital to the construction of the individual as subject are the binary logic of language and the elementary structures of kinship.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ This should be understood literally. Lacan terms the stage in an individual's life before the appropriations of language the "pre-symbolic" stage, which encapsulates the 'mirror stage' - the coming to be of a narcissistic individual through the mirror of the eyes of the other. Note the importance of sight to Lacan. Lacan virtually dismisses the 'body' and an infant's gestures as part of a symbolic system, this is a necessary move to maintain his concept of the mirror stage. But see: Lacan, Jacques (1977) *Ecrits: A Selection*. translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. New York: W.W. Norton. For narcissism and the mirror stage see page 24 ff.

⁶⁸ Levi-Strauss, Claude (1969) *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. translated from the French by James Harle Bell. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Levi-Strauss's concept of the Incest Taboo, which is a kinship model dealing with the circulation of women among groups of men, becomes the basis for Lacan's "Law of the Father", which he equates with the phallus.⁶⁹ Men access the rights to female exchange; women can never access this right.

The incest taboo, the phallus and the binary logic of language represent the basis of Lacan's claim that women, who can not access certain political, social and economic paradigms, stand outside of the system of language. "*Women*", says Lacan, "*do not exist, and signify nothing.*"⁷⁰ The incest taboo determines that women do not have access to their own exchange, the concept phallus [the name of the father] signifies the linguistic and cultural structures that pre-exist an infant and constitute an infant as gendered subject who does nor does not have access to the 'power' paradigms of his/her society, while the binary logic of language determines that what 'is' [male] defines 'what is not' [female].

According to Lacan's conceptualization of the language system as a universal and extrinsic system, all beings are marked by language as either male or female because all infants are marked by their access/non-access to the 'phallus'. The male is the standard, the norm. All beings must 'inscribe' themselves on the 'masculine' side. In order to 'speak' anywhere all beings must enter into this masculine language and become coded by its signification.

⁶⁹ Lacan uses 'phallus' as a concept, a symbol which represents the 'name of the father'. It signifies access to and lack of access to certain political, social and economic paradigms. See Lacan, Jacques (1977) *Ecrits: A Selection*. translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. page 27 ff.

⁷⁰ Lacan, Jacques. (1981) *God and The Jouissance of Women* [in] **Feminine Sexuality**, translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. New York: W.W. Norton. page 145.

Women are thus coded as non-signifiers because male language only signifies what women are not. As women are beings who lack access to the phallus [the western symbolic system] they lack access to the cultural and linguistic realms of signification:

*"there is woman only as excluded by the nature of things which is the nature of words, and it has to be said that if there is one thing they themselves are complaining about at the moment, it is well and truly that, only they don't know what they are saying which is all the difference between them and me".....*⁷¹

As all language is masculine, there are only non-signifiers of the female, and a woman has no terms within which to describe, or even understand herself. The male is the signifier, woman is the thing which is non-signified, a mere non-reflection of all that the male, hence society, is.

I pause here to review the essentialist claims that I have attributed to Lacan in this brief review of some of his work. Lacan's concept of language is that it is a pre-existent symbolic system by which he means that language exists independently of the new being as he/she enters the world. As a given being begins to internalize the symbolic system, language speaks 'into existence' a gendered body. Lacan goes on to state that this system of language is masculine and that it is intimately connected to the accessing of the 'phallus' which is in essence 'public power' defined. The 'phallus' signifies access to political, social and economic paradigms within our culture. Lacan states that women do not access masculine language hence have no access to these 'power' paradigms.

⁷¹ op. cit., page 144.

Lacan's understanding of the 'language system' appears to equate the language of 'public space' and a particular stylistic/coding 'speaking style' with the entire set of possibilities inherent in the system of language. If the language system is 'power/public' defined then social and historical trends have elevated certain ways of speaking to a 'powerful' status.

3.3.3. Public/Private; Dominance/Mutedness

The 'pre-existent' structures of the language and social system are the outcome of a convergence of historical developments in western society. Lacan accepts these paradigms as a 'given' by basing his work on Levi-Strauss's concept of the incest taboo and by his acceptance of this concept as one that has the status of a universal truth, thus implying universality for his own theories. On the contrary, the roots of this universal truth in western society might be effectively sought in the Enlightenment.

During the Enlightenment a continuing historical process of social abstraction began. This process of abstraction cleaves the subject and disrupts other social entities such as the family, in order to tailor them to the needs of production. Marx has spoken of the alienation of the worker from his labour resulting in an internal division between the kind of self one 'is' on the job for example, and the kind of 'self' that one is at home.⁷² The individual conceptualises the 'self' as a series of diverse zones, subject to differing and often irreconcilable constraints. Joan Scott discusses this fragmentation in terms of the

⁷² Mészáros, István (1970) *Marx's Theory of Alienation*. London: The Merlin Press.

public/private sphere and its historical effect on the status of women. Certainly, during the late Industrial revolution, women 'stayed home' in ever increasing numbers and ideology began to eulogize the wonder of "children, kitchen and church" and the natural place of women in the private sphere.⁷³

The ever increasing separation of public and private spheres and their ideological connections to gender were also codified in law. Lack of access to economic [public spheres], social and political [such as the vote] paradigms became integral parts of western institutions along with an increasing emphasis on the public domain and the corresponding devaluation of the domestic/private sphere. The public/private distinction and the values ascribed to each sphere has not disappeared from contemporary culture and its manifestations and justifications, albeit elaborately disguised, are evident in the work of Jacques Lacan. Marilyn Strathern points out that in western culture women may be conceived of as being rather less than persons because of their association with the natural, with children, and with the domestic sphere, while men are associated with the 'social world of affairs' and culture.⁷⁴ As Strathern notes, this devaluation of the domestic [private] is itself a western construct.

The separation of public and private and the attendant practice, that is what individuals 'do' in these spheres led some scholars to propose that men and women have differing

⁷³ Scott, Joan W. (1988) *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Colombia University Press.

⁷⁴ Strathern, Marilyn (1987a) "An Awkward Relationship: the case of Feminism and Anthropology" [in] *Signs*, 12 (2). pages 276-292.

models of the world, and thus different ways of articulating their world views. I believe that the attributions of the public and private sphere, and the way that men and women have been socialized to behave in public/private space, play an important role in net discursive patterns. The articulation of a less 'valued' world view is silenced by the clamor of the language paradigm of public space, thus muting those who 'do not speak' the dominant language model. This premise appears to be an important one when attempting to explain or understand net discursive patterns. Edwin Ardener⁷⁵ stipulates that 'mutedness' is the product of relations of dominance which consist between dominant and sub-dominant groups in society. He points out that women's model of reality, their view of the world, cannot be realised or expressed using the terms of the dominant male model. And indeed, in net threads women are conspicuous by their absence. This needs to be understood. Ardener's concept of mutedness may offer insight into why some net members are silent.

As Moore notes in her discussion of Ardener, "*the dominant male structures of society inhibit the free expression of alternative models and sub dominant groups are forced to structure their understanding of the world through the model of the dominant group*".⁷⁶

As far as Ardener is concerned, "*the problem of muting is one of frustrated communication*".....*the expression of the female perspective is blocked at the level of*

⁷⁵ Ardener, Edwin. (1975b) "*The Problem Revisited*" [in] Ardener, S. (ed) (1975) **Perceiving Women**. London: Dent. pages 19-27.

⁷⁶ Moore, Henrietta L. (1988) *Feminism and Anthropology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. page 3.

ordinary, direct communication".⁷⁷ Ardener's concept of dominant/public structure is central to the preferred semantic paradigm of male language, and that consequently, women's voices, which are expressed in divergent writing styles, are muted in this net's thread discourses.

But I cannot conceptualise language paradigms strictly in terms of dominant [male] and muted [female]. As Derrida has noted with respect to his discussion of Foucault; "*the other is not outside but its very inside; it is not a direct inverse, but shades of meaning always already present*".⁷⁸ Derrida goes on to add that shades of meaning are 'uncoverable', and in terms of muted voices I accept this. What language has silenced it can also speak into existence and as Ardener discusses, language mutes not only women but many other social groups. 'Woman' is not a generic term which describes a single, 'same' entity, but a cross pollinated concept which is at all times fertilised with many other status considerations such as age, class, ethnicity, religion and education. On Anthro-L gender is infiltrated by academic status and learning, by North American mores and values and is one suspects, predominantly 'white'.⁷⁹ Women do not stand outside of the language

⁷⁷ op. cit., page 3.

⁷⁸ Boyle, Roy (1990) *Foucault and Derrida: The Other Side of Reason*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd. see especially Chapter 3: Foucault and Derrida (1) The Critique. pages 55-70.

⁷⁹ I simply surmise this from the ratio of white academics to academics of color in 'real life'. If there are varying race/ethnicities on the net, it is not apparent through the discourse. Indeed, the only member to ever make an issue of his background in this respect is no longer a member - he was excommunicated.

system as Lacan has claimed, but instead often choose not to utilise the language paradigm that is favoured by the 'public sphere'.

Through his acceptance of the binary logic of language as fundamental to the symbolic system, Lacan's description of the terms male/not male, and his implicit reliance on the public/private distinction, symbolize a recurring pattern that continues to resurface in this review of the theories with regards to male/female narrative construction; the fundamental binary male/female. An essential element in Structural theory, binary oppositions are polar opposites, black and whites; terms that need the tension that exists between them, each to define the other. There can be no black without white. But just as black signifies the total absence of color while white signifies all the colors combined, Lacan defines female as lacking any signifying value, while males symbolize the cultural whole. Indeed, the Lacanian binary male/female is defined in terms of a weak and unnecessary other: MALE/not male.

Many feminist scholars work within this assumption that binaries are fundamental to the language system. Rather than re/conceptualize the idea of oppositions, some scholars attempt instead a re/definition of the oppositional poles. Indeed, the school of French Feminists, *Ecriture Feminine*, which incorporates the provocative work of such scholars as Luce Irigaray⁸⁰ and Hélène Cixous⁸¹ concentrates on the celebration of the 'feminine'.

⁸⁰ *"woman has sex organs more or less everywhere...the geography of her pleasure is far more diversified, more multiple in its differences, more complex, more subtle, than is commonly supposed."* This quote is a direct response to Lacan's claims that most women lack the potential for *jouissance*, and even if it is felt women cannot articulate/describe it. [Irigaray found in] Irigaray, Luce (1985) *This Sex*

Both of these French Feminist academics appear to accept the patriarchal terms that are "written" as feminine; terms such as private sphere, emotional, caring, nurturance, empathetic or subjective. By accepting qualities traditionally ascribed to the female, but centering the feminine as the norm and the male as the aberration, these scholars invert the binary to read FEMALE/male. Yet it remains a binary. Characteristics ascribed to each sex are accepted and then re-written. "Nurturance" and "empathy" become a source of celebration and joy. The underlying cultural myths are not exploded, they are simply redefined. Lacan's assertion that women stand outside of the symbolic systems of our culture is not denied, it is eagerly re/claimed and utilized as " *the site for a matriarchal principle closer to nature and women's proper home*".⁸²

Both Lacanian theory, and to some extent French Feminism, negate the importance of practice; that is the interface between user and language system from the moment of birth. Women may be socialized into a dominant model of language but they are also shown by various aspects of the socialization process, such as the primary caretaker's example, divergent aspects of 'other worlds'. These worlds of language are not distinguished in the sense that a child hears "now we are speaking a "masculine language", or "now we are speaking in terms of our "ethnicity", but instead represent an intricately overlapping set of

Which Is Not One. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. page 28. Even the justly famous title can be read as a response to Lacan.

⁸¹ Cixous, Hélène (1986) [in] Miller, Nancy (1986) (ed) *The Poetics of Gender*. New York: Colombia University Press. In this article Cixous postulates female sexuality as the norm, moving it from Lacan's "outside" to the very center. She defines men's sexuality as a variant model trapped in a prolonged "phallic" stage.

⁸² for more on this concept see: Daley, Mary (1990) *Gyn/Ecology*. Boston: Beacon Press.

ideas in which the being is totally immersed. The growing person may be much older before they hear "now you are thinking like a woman", if in fact they ever hear this at all. Thus both boys and girls experience and interact with their language system [s] in intricate and participatory ways.

3.3.4. "Immasculation"

Scholars such as Annette Kolodney,⁸³ Culler and Schweikart⁸⁴ and Elaine Showalter⁸⁵ agree that female children are socialized into masculine perspectives from their earliest days, but like Lacan they conceptualize the world of women's language as an either/or universe [male or female]. They propose that from the time a little girl begins to read, or to watch T.V. she is drawn into the code of the individualistic, independent quest, as well as an independent moral code which completely negates the socialized worlds of women's [and girl's] own experience unless it serves the status quo. In this way, women learn to identify and empathize with male tradition, a process that Judith Fetterley terms Immasculation:

⁸³ Kolodney, Annette (1978) [in] Fetterley, Judith. (1978) *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Foreword.

⁸⁴ Culler, Jonathan and Schweikart, Patricia. (1982) *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

⁸⁵ Showalter, Elaine (1985) *The New Feminist Criticism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

"Women are taught to think as men, to identify with the male point of view, and to accept as legitimate and normal a male system of values, one of whose central principles is misogyny".⁸⁶

Fetterley's concept of Immasculation parallels my proposal that women are fully capable of participating in the "primary" symbolic system - language - of our culture, because they have "learned to speak" the masculine language of their society. Lacan acknowledges that women physically "speak", but insists that they cannot know what they are saying: language does not belong to them, they are not of it.⁸⁷ But to accept Lacan implies an acceptance of the idea that language users are not active recipients and manipulators of the symbolic systems that frame their worlds, and that language is represented by only two alternative paradigms: male or female. This assumption violates the actual experience of men and women as I shall show through an analysis of Anthro-L posting acts. Indeed, Immasculation itself implies that the interface between user and language is of paramount importance:

"We cannot afford to ignore the activity of reading, for it is here that Literature is realized as praxis. Literature acts on the world by acting on its readers."⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Fetterley, Judith (1978) *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

⁸⁷ Lacan of course, is male, which places him in a privileged knowing position by his own definitions. His own bias shows throughout his work; under the guise of academia, male subjectivity, albeit cloaked, not only justifies the 'way things are', but goes on to perpetuate social circumstances of women's lives in ever more elaborate guises. There is a smugness in his work which is most unsettling.

⁸⁸ Kolodney, Annette (1978) [in] Fetterley, Judith (1978) *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kolodney's active reading principle⁸⁹ converges with my earlier discussion of the receiving/conveying relationship that Goffman proposes is central to "Focused Interaction".⁹⁰ Through the act of reading a posting a net member reads what has been written while simultaneously composing a response or listening for his/her own reactions to the text. Reading/hearing and Speaking/writing are integral components of a processual loop that is filtered through an individual user's perceptions.

Like Barthes, Kolodney allows us to postulate that "who" the person reading the posted text is will be an integral component of how the text, hence a specific WRITER, is read; will the reader accept the framework of the text? Will she resist it? Will she accept parts and resist others? Does she understand the code through which the message was constructed? Does her style overlap with the style in which the message was written? Can she adjust her comprehension to match the stylistic coding of a posting? Does she want too? The decision made by a reader as to "how" or whether or not an individual text will be read is termed by Kolodney "Interpretive Strategy",⁹¹ and this strategy is part of an ongoing, interlinked decision making process found between social being and symbolic system within all cultural contexts, the "Operational Logic" spoken of by de Certeau.

⁸⁹ Here this discussion overlaps with my previous mention of the work of Roland Barthes with respect to the text/reader interface.

⁹⁰ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press. page 24.

⁹¹ Kolodney, Annette (1978) [in] Fetterley, Judith (1978) *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Foreword.

Women's Immasculation remains incomplete because they are simultaneously socialized into divergent language models. There is some evidence to propose that men are socialized more systematically into one single paradigm than are women.⁹² Studies by scholars such as Carol Gilligan⁹³ illustrate that significant numbers of college age women make qualitatively different decisions with respect to moral and ethical issues than those men made by men. Philosophically, men such as Kant⁹⁴ and Rawls⁹⁵ have 'logically' defined the criteria for "objective" decision making as the necessity for the bracketing of the affective nature of 'man' within critical thought and have presented these types of decisions as the pinnacle of personal achievement. Objective thinking is allied with the idea of "Rationality". The rationalist model requires 'detached, autonomous, free, unemotional and free from prejudice' decisions. Most males in Gilligan's study made their choices in this "objective" light, while few women did. Thus Gilligan proposed that women appear to straddle two worlds; the masculine/objective and the subjective. Gilligan termed the feminine style of decision making in her study "concrete thinking".

⁹² Julia Wood suggests that the socialization of boys is very intense and concentrates on ensuring that boys accept the dominant paradigm in its entirety, in fact that it becomes a second skin. See her chapter on "Talked into Humanity" and also "Gendering Communication in the family". Wood, Julia T. (1994) *Gendered Lives: Communication, Gender and Culture*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

⁹³ Gilligan, Carol (1982) *In A Different Voice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

⁹⁴ Kant, Immanuel (1929) *Critique of Pure Reason*. translated from the German by Norman Kemp Smith. London: Macmillan.

⁹⁵ Rawls, John (1971) *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press.

In an earlier study that I completed on the historical development of Rationality in the western world, I noted two important facts which will play a later role in this thesis. Firstly, although Rationality as a paradigm has undergone flux and change since the Greeks it has always been grounded in Logic and in Rhetoric. Secondly, in comparing the paradigms of 'rational thought' with those paradigms that have been described as 'mythopeaic thought' or 'primitive mentality', or 'symbolic thought', I found it interesting to note that description of the thought processes of 'savages' parallel the attributes assigned to the thought processes of women. Thus Carol Gilligan and Levy-Bruhl use surprisingly similar terms when discussing the people with whom their respective studies were concerned. Gilligan proposes, and here I note the either/or links to Lacan's work, that men embody the dominant ideology of Western society by attributing to both society and men such characteristics as rational, discursive, logical, and competitive. In essence, Gilligan agrees with Lacan that society is male, although she may disagree with Lacan's reasons for why this state of affairs exists. Women, posits Gilligan, are the other and embody the subordinate ideology, which she terms the 'morality of connectedness'.

In his discussion of the mystical mentality and the Logico-rational mentality, Levy Bruhl posits the existence of both in every human being, but understands the 'mystical' mentality as the one which predominates in 'primitive societies'.⁹⁶ Levy Bruhl defines the mystical

⁹⁶ Levy, Bruhl. L. (1949) *Les Carnets*. translated from the French by Peter Riviere. (1973) *Notebooks on Primitive Mentality*. London: Blackwell.

mentality as touched by a characteristic emotion. These attributes of primitive mentality parallel the historically/socially defined emotional/irrational attributes assigned to women.

The description of "male thinking" by Gilligan and Levy-Bruhl's description of the Logico-rational mentality parallel Bruner's definition of the "logic-scientific mode" of thought, or Jakobson's 'referential' function. Bruner, Jakobson and Levy-Bruhl do not discuss their functions/codes/modes in terms of gender. It is noteworthy however, that the Logico-scientific mode is the one that is used as the gauge to show the existence of 'difference' in language/thought styles. Every divergent style is 'other'. As I scanned for functions and codes within the postings that formed my database, I began to notice specific stylistic preferences that were largely gender related. These preferences reflect on the paradigms of rationality and other multiple ways of looking at the world and are characterized by specific patterns of domain usage which are linked through certain types of semantic relationships.

3.3.5. Praxis

Women's socialization into multiple language paradigms is significant to a discussion of the written body that sits at a computer screen. The work of Sara Ruddick,⁹⁷ who carefully studied the "praxis" of mothers, links a number of my concerns together quite nicely. Women's praxis, that is what they "do" in life, is an integral component both of the

⁹⁷ Ruddick, Sara (1989) *Maternal Thinking: Towards A Politics of Peace*. New York: Ballantine Books.

language paradigms they speak, and of the way they view their world. Ruddick stresses the idea that one's habitus,⁹⁸ one's way of viewing the world, ways of thinking, perceiving and expressing arises out of practice. In her study, women, the private sphere and the attendant fragmentation of women's roles are of vital concern. Ruddick illustrates how mothers negotiate multiple perspectives through their interaction with the education system [teachers], medical system [doctors] other parents, husbands etc. Women must speak in multiple paradigms to be able to negotiate these sub-cultural fields. They must 'know' the language of teachers, doctors, other parents and even children themselves. Ruddick proposes that the socialization of women usually incorporates the importance of negotiating their own desires by balancing the needs of others with their own. I would add that the socialization of women also includes a need to balance multiple language models, and that these models are linked by female users in order to form a 'holistic' concept of their world - by linking the divergent [language] worlds in which they participate.

Because women must 'know' multiple social paradigms with their attendant specialized languages, they must also be able to operate within the 'Operational Logic' that characterizes any given setting. More importantly this multiple exposure to multi-discursive ways of 'seeing' demands that a woman/person whose life is characterized by this type of fragmentation develop an "Operational Logic" that makes sense of the worlds which he/she straddles. This 'logic' manifests in language.

⁹⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre (1980) *The Logic of Practice*. translated from the French by Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press. pages 52-66: 'Structure, habitus, practices'.

The fact that women are socialized in terms of multiple language models with a resultant need to link and connect these, is reflected in the way they usually construct texts. As I discuss in the next Chapter, women tend to utilize multiple Domains in textual construction and they apply description equally across these domains. Most people cloak themselves in multiple status roles, or multiple identities, in the practice of everyday life. Each life role represents a specific world view, and is conjoined to a specific way of speaking. Men tend to take on the mantle of a dominant status to a far greater degree than women do as Ruddick has shown.⁹⁹ Hence, male presented texts, as I shall illustrate, stress one dominant domain and apply description to that domains, while simultaneously subsuming others.

The praxis of women academics is an important factor in "female" net language. Anthro-L women have been socialized into the language of Anthropology and the discourse of the Anthro-L net. This fact overlays the process of gender socialization that they have undergone as individuals throughout their lifetimes which includes expectations of behavior in public and private space. "Academic behavior", gendered behavior and multiple language paradigms merge with any individual female user's concept of self and impact gender roles on Anthro-L.

Gilbert and Gubar claim that women's socialization into multiple language paradigms is manifested in texts through a comprehensive narrative style that they credit as being an

⁹⁹ op. cit. page 66 - 102.

alternative and formulaic reading/writing process that is female specific. They define this formula as the making of personal statements about the self to reach a reader/listener; statements are made to offer a basis for empathy; confessional anecdotes are used to introduce emotional response and women's writing is conversational not confrontational, suggestive, not argumentative.¹⁰⁰ As in my short discussion of French Feminism, here too, we find the acceptance of the relegation of relationships, caring, empathy, emotion and contextualization in moral/ethical dilemmas to the feminine/private sphere. These gender attributes are historically a part of the definitions of male and female as defined in patriarchal society. They perpetrate the centrality of the [male], publicly focused world. Male and female narrative worlds would be undefinable as separate spheres without patriarchy; simply expressed without patriarchy there is no "female" or male paradigm of reading and writing specifically as it has been defined to this point.

Gilbert and Gubar's claim that women's writing is conversational not confrontational, suggestive not argumentative, is paralleled in Deborah Tannen's discussions of "report talk" and "rapport talk".¹⁰¹ Tannen notes men's preference for the "reporting" of information, the making of statements, and turn taking in conversation. Conversely, women in groups tend to speak all at once, are active/cooperative "overlappers", and

¹⁰⁰ Gilbert and Gubar (1988) *No-Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the 20th Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

¹⁰¹ Tannen, Deborah (1990) *You Just Don't Understand: Men and Women In Conversation*. New York: William Morrow and Co. Ltd.

singly or in groups are supportive of men's conversational streams.¹⁰² Yet Tannen too cautions us that speech characteristics are not only gender specific. Cultural difference, especially ethnic heritage, is a strong contributor to the narrative styles both men and women employ. In this she broadens Julia Kristeva's proposal that the "feminine" and the "masculine" are not gender specific styles, rather they are simply labels we have given to divergent narrative constructions to signify socialized character and sensual traits. Kristeva conceptualizes these terms as being ones in which both males and females share; men writing like women, women as men.¹⁰³

3.3.6. Conclusion

In summarizing the importance to this thesis of the theoretical literature that I have discussed with respect to the gendered construction of texts, I would isolate the following points. Lacan's proposal that women stand outside of the language system will be discussed in terms of the different overall writing styles of men and women. I will maintain that women largely reject the Logico-scientific writing paradigm as this has been defined by Bruner. I will propose that this rejection is part and parcel of a reading/writing strategy; Kolodney's "Interpretive Strategy". This strategy is informed by the socialization process that each individual net member brings to the screen, the discursive structure of Anthro-L, an understanding of behavior in public and private space, the relationship of a language

¹⁰² Yet curiously, as I shall show, the net consists of many conversations/threads all going at once, and it is men who participate in them in predominant numbers.....

¹⁰³ Kristeva, Julia. (1980) *Desire In Language*. New York: Colombia University Press.

user to multiple language paradigms and the operational logic employed by a community member to position and present the 'self'. Using Gilbert and Gubar's formula I will scan the postings to see if the formula they maintain is universal to women's texts can, in fact, be discerned in gendered postings acts and if so, under what circumstances this style is used.

It remains for me to consider the system and structure of Anthro-L's situational language in order to situate my discussions of the gendered constructions and presentations of the writing 'self' within the framework of the discursive patterns that characterize the net Anthro-L. Accordingly, I consider the third set of theoretical concepts that inform this thesis with respect to the structured situational use of language.

3.4. Sociolinguistics: The Situational Use of Language

A minimum understanding of the Structuralist agenda is necessary to any evaluation of theoretical claims that are made regarding the difference in men and women's reading and writing styles within a discursive space such as Anthro-L. In his introduction to Structural Anthropology 1, Claude Levi Strauss states that he would like to be remembered for emphasizing the structural character of all social phenomena and following such a position through to its logical conclusion in a systematic manner.¹⁰⁴ In this same work Levi-Strauss proposes that in order to understand social relations or any other aspect of human culture it is necessary to probe beneath the surface of what is observable to a more fundamental

¹⁰⁴ Levi-Strauss, Claude (1958) *Structural Anthropology 1*. Translated from the French by C. Jacobsen and B. Grundfest Schoep. London: Penguin Books. Preface, vii.

ontological level which in fact generates that which is "seen" on the surface. In this way he understands structure as a social logic underlying and giving meaning, sense and significance to that which is empirically observed.

Taken from models in Structural Linguistics,¹⁰⁵ Structural Anthropology is based on the conviction that anthropological research is primarily concerned with human communication. For Levi Strauss the social is a domain which is fraught with signification, symbolism and meaning; a vast verbal and non-verbal communication system. The Internet epitomizes this concept. It is a vast symbolic system that utilizes language to an unparalleled degree.¹⁰⁶ Structured entirely through the use of words, the discursive manipulation and creation of this parallel cultural universe has become a shared enterprise undertaken by social beings around the globe. The link between 'real-time' society and the virtual worlds spoken into existence by computer communication is mediated through the body-conduit which sits at a keyboard. Users write into existence specific "geo-political regions"¹⁰⁷ which discursively reflect and re/structure "real-time" social institutions and practice in specific and often gendered ways.

¹⁰⁵ Levi Strauss was particularly indebted to the work of F. de Saussure, who, in his *"General Theory of Linguistics"* set out the definitions outlined in this paper with respect to *Langue*, *Parole*, *Signifier*, *Signified*, and *Difference*. de Saussure's linguistic theory was modified and expanded by Troubetzkoy, Jakobson and others and his concepts are similarly extended through the work of such scholars as Paul Ricouer. His ideas are central to the work of successive generations of French scholars including [but not limited to] the theories of de Certeau, Barthes, Derrida, Lacan, Irigaray, Kristeva, and Cixous.

¹⁰⁶ It is interesting to note; though it will not form part of this thesis, that the Internet is founded on the principle of a mathematical binary language [0,1].

¹⁰⁷ Foucault, Michel (1972) *Questions on Geography* [in] **Power/Knowledge**. translated from the French by Gordon, Marshall, Mephram and Soper. New York: Pantheon Books. pages 63-77.

Structural theory emphasizes that in order to understand language or a text it is imperative to analyze the underlying system [structure/Langue] which makes speech acts possible. This assertion would necessarily imply that an investigation into the situational use of language by men and women should concentrate on the acts of speech [postings] found at a specific discursive site, in order to access the underlying language/social/symbolic system/assumptions from which gendered postings arise. Structural methodology thus requires the formation of a research approach which would allow access to the underlying structure that makes male and female styles of reading and writing possible in order to assess whether or not men and women speak from dissimilar world views.

Structuralism is further based on a specific conceptualization of the sign. The system of Langue consists of a series of signs with two sides: the signifier [or sound image] and the signified [a concept, or object]. The relationship between signifier and signified is understood by Structural theorists as being completely arbitrary, a sound-object link is simply a matter of historical and cultural convention. Because the Structuralist theoretical school emphasizes the importance of binary oppositions through this concept of the two sided sign [signifier/signified] it is particularly suited to an analysis of gender styles as descriptions of male and female writing are couched in terms of simplistic binary oppositions. Lacan defines woman as "not man". Literary theorists speak of male and female writing in binary terms: male writing is "objective", female "subjective", women are empathetic, men are not. Bruner defines modes of thought as two specific, 'irreducible' types of thinking, the 'narrative style and the 'Logico-scientific' style. This list of

oppositions is endless and these binaries are often perceptually derived from the oppositions male/order and female/chaos.

Structuralist theory also requires that any analysis pay close attention to the relative positioning of signs within a text. A sign is only comprehensible by virtue of its relationship to other signs and through its difference from them. The structure of Language is thus characterized by a system of difference; it is the relationship between signs [differences, oppositions] in the system which are of central importance, not the actual signs themselves. This emphasis on the relationships between signs in a text suggests that along with the analysis of the semantic underlying logical structure of the text and a demarcation of its relationship to the underlying symbolic structure of western society, semantic relationships should be isolated within any given posting in order to isolate the corresponding situational social relationships that are part of a language user's world view. If men and women read and write differently, and if this difference arises from dissimilar understandings of their respective cultural spheres, then each gender would use words in slightly different ways because the underlying structure of their cultural understanding would require the formation of divergent conceptual categories. If words, which signify aspects of these categories, are utilized to articulate divergent understanding of the social sphere [s] then this should be discernible through situational domain/category usage and semantic relationships found within gendered texts.

To apply a structural methodology to the consideration of Anthro-L as a local discursive site, I must consider the connections of the net to 'real-time' culture, the underlying

system which makes postings acts possible on the net, the relative positioning of posting acts [difference] with respect to the discursive structure, the writer/reader style/comprehension interface, the concept of signifier/signified in terms of message code and function and lastly the relative positioning of signs[words] and the conceptual categories they signify.

This thesis will consider the role of the Statement of Being which mandates the discursive structure of Anthro-L as the underlying semantic structure which gives rise to, perpetuates and limits the net's discursive possibilities. Further I will propose that the Statement itself is rooted in specific historical and social understandings of 'real-life' society. Although I will not consider in any extended way the western cultural myths in which the Statement of Being is rooted, I will briefly address these in Chapter Four when they specifically reflect on divergent writing styles. I shall show for example, that although the Statement explicitly addresses 'what' should be spoken on the net, as well as the boundaries of 'acceptable' discourse, it also implicitly situates itself within a specific language paradigm. In doing so it 'mutes' alternative ways of speaking on the net itself.

The language paradigm which is implicit in the Statement of Being is the mode of information which Bruner refers to as the "Logico-scientific mode".¹⁰⁸ In my analysis of posting acts, and in my subsequent discussion of styles utilized by male and female net members, I will discuss the possibility that binary oppositions [in terms of

¹⁰⁸ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds. Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. page 11.

signifier/signified] are specific to the Logico-scientific mode and reflect a way of viewing the world that is an integral component of the paradigm of western Rationality.

Rationality is a word/symbol that signifies a socially sanctioned way of thinking/logic adopted by a society to legitimize its world view. While the paradigm of rationality has undergone sweeping redefinitions which paralleled changes in the social forces/thought of the society of which it comprised an integral part, the paradigm has always incorporated definitions of what constitutes "right thought", and "truth" within a specific cultural milieu.

Logic or logical thinking is important to the rational/Logico-scientific paradigm because it is the support on which the paradigm rests. Jakobson characterizes the referential function as encoded by the logical code. Logic points to a complex set of attitudes about truth, thought and validity in argument dominantly held by a social system. As a set of attitudes towards truth and as a set of norms about thought and how it is to be expressed, logic forms a part of the discourse through which power is channeled. As such Logic is a prescriptive discipline. Specific logic systems develop in specific socio-historical contexts to organize and perhaps even restrict modes of thought. The Logico-scientific paradigm is specifically constructed to organize 'knowledge' in specific and hierarchical ways.

Development of this mode of thought is historically paralleled by the evolution of social abstraction that I referred to earlier in this Chapter.

The importance of the Logico-scientific model of expression to western language is enhanced by its relationship to rhetoric. Rhetoric is often used as a tool for persuasion, particularly in connection with dominant academic ideology, aspects of which are

evidenced on nets such as Anthro-L. Using Jakobson's definition which demarcates rhetoric as encapsulating a particular discursive function, it becomes possible to link its use both to the Statement of Being which frames the net's discursive structure, "its right and truthful" way to speak, as well as to the means/end use of specific postings - postings which are rhetorically constructed [ways/means] to impact the reader [end] in specific ways. Use of the rhetorical code thus forms an integral part of the analysis of posting acts, and hence the overall question of how men and women write.

The structural concept of the sign and its importance in terms of difference led me to concentrate on the organization of modes of thought and norms of expression by examining my data to see if significant gender patterns exist in the use of conceptualized domains, codes, functions, and semantic relationships. The results were then contextualized in terms of dialogic presentations, with close attention being paid to formulaic writing such as the one outlined by Gilbert and Gubar. By discussing Bruner's definition of the Logico-scientific and narrative modes of thought, I discuss how power/knowledge is both encoded in language paradigms and transmitted through language domains.

Foucault has stated:

"The formation of discourses and the genealogy of certain knowledges needs to be analyzed in terms of the tactics and strategies of power.....tactics and strategies are deployed through implantations,

*distributions, demarcations and the control of the organization of Domains."*¹⁰⁹

The use of the word Domains in Foucault's quote is particularly a propos given the nature of the methodology used to complete this study. As I shall show, discursive domain usage and domain linkages characterize particular styles of gendered discourse, and these styles are, in turn, deployed to demarcate and distribute "kinds" of [academic] truth and knowledge. Indeed, the Logico-Scientific mode represents an extreme form of "*the control of the organization of Domains*" within the language system itself. This writing style is characterized by a sparse use of domains and the use of Inclusion as the semantic relationship that links them. Thus domains that in other functions might be granted full category status are subsumed in the Logico-Scientific mode. This paradigm's status as the discourse of 'truth' in western society signifies a discursive strategy and tactic that has been harnessed to order to speak, implant, demarcate and distribute power/knowledge through language.¹¹⁰

I will argue that the use of specific domains, the number of domains utilized, and the semantic relationships between domains is linked to certain net/social paradigms of power, which in turn can be gender correlated. Individuals who appropriate the referential style of writing connect their discourse to forms of power/knowledge alliances. In specific contexts they thus produce a "self" through a referential style that conveys a specific sense

¹⁰⁹ op. cit. page 76, 77.

¹¹⁰ Its elevation in discursive status parallels a historically discernible philosophical emphasis on rationality and materialism.

of personal power-in-relation to other net members, to wit; they practice certain forms of [discursive] domination by 'muting' other ways of speaking at the level of everyday communication..

How I derived these propositions from my data is part of the topic of the next Chapter which focuses on the methodologies I chose to utilize to both access and analyze my data. As I noted in my Introduction, I built my data collection and the development of my method around four questions: who speaks on Anthro-L?, what is spoken?, how is it spoken, and what are the boundaries of that which can be said? Chapter Three thus outlines the methods I employed to answer these questions and presents the way in which the data collection was configured. I turn firstly to the methods through which I collected my data, and how this data was categorized. Secondly, the chapter deals with Anthro-L demographics. Thirdly, I explain the posted form itself, a vital source of research information. Fourthly, I will turn my attention to the format I developed to perform semantic analyses of the Statement of Being and of male/female postings. The body of this chapter incorporates some of the resultant charts, however, I have attempted to move as many lists and diagrams as possible to the Appendix. Fifthly, I outline the data collection utilized to answer the question "what is spoken". The charting of 'what is spoken' led naturally to threads that erupted into flames, thus demarcating the boundaries of that which can be said. Lastly I outline the methodology I used based on Jakobson's modes and functions in order to analyze style in male and female texts.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the various methodologies I developed to collect data that would shed light on the questions; do men and women write differently, do these stylistic differences hold true in a significant number of cases and do some writing styles appear to receive more response/legitimization than others?

I begin the Chapter by outlining the background to my data collection decisions. Then I separate the chapter into three distinct sections based on who speaks and what is spoken, while 'how it is spoken' incorporates the 'boundaries of that which can be said'. Each question required the development of a distinctive methodology. Thus each section in this chapter outlines the criteria for data solicitation demanded by the question, the relationships which were explored between the data and the question being considered and how the data was collected and subsequently analyzed.

4.1. General Background

When I began my research into the possible differences in gender writing patterns, I was convinced that I would not find any significant disparities. There were a number of reasons for my a priori certitude. Although I had noticed that I responded to the texts of some net writers in an immediate and personal way, these writers were not all presented as female. Indeed a number of posters to whose texts I looked forward with a great deal of interest were male presented on the net. Additionally, the patterns that were described as being gender specific in some of the scholarly literature and which I had started to discern in posted texts appeared not only in female postings, but in some male presented postings as

well. Thus I was initially convinced that my empathetic reactions to certain postings were a matter of the text/reader interface, that is, I simply had more in common with the ways in which these writers seemed to respond to issues that arose within the community and hence I naturally felt more responsive to their texts.

Secondly, I had become resistant to descriptions of women such as "nurturing, empathetic, and caring". In retrospect I suspect that this was due to a number of factors. Although I do not attach negative [i.e. weak] connotations to words such as empathy or nurturance, I do associate them with exhaustion. I am a mother and a breadwinner as well as a scholar and can attest ad nauseam to the 'balance' of which Ruddick speaks when she says that women have to adjust their needs to the needs of those others who form part of their lives. It seemed to me that I and many of my female acquaintances managed to fulfill our needs only by shortchanging ourselves; staying up all night to write rather than sleeping for example. It is all very well to celebrate nurturance and empathy, I thought, but it gets a bit boring in exhausted reality. One begins to suspect that so-called female attributes such as nurturance and empathy are simply another way to ensure that women continue to shoulder the labor of 'caring' for others; i.e. somebody's got to do it, and women are 'naturally' so good at it.

Thus my preliminary observations and my resistance to the posited difference in how women read and wrote based on attributes of ingrained or socialized personality characteristics were two reasons for my initial dismissal of the posited disparity in male and female writing styles. Thirdly my own childhood socialization appeared to be at odds

with some of the claims made by theorists about 'how girls became women'. I was the oldest in a family of five girls headed by a powerful mother and a father who was caring, sensitive, and involved with household chores. During my childhood, which was lived far from the country of my birth, hence far from relatives, I had no concept of 'boys', especially as creatures that were different from girls. I recall reading Chodorow and her explanation of 'weak ego boundaries' and thinking 'she never met my mother'.¹ Certainly in our household my mother pushed independence and in no way 'kept us close' in terms of our identity. Quite the opposite. The discovery of my 'self' and my ego arose through resistance to my mother and this was not compensated for by a close relationship with my father of the kind that Ruddick describes.² In an immigrant family, it is often difficult for either parent to have the time or energy to be 'close' to all of their children.

Brought up in a family of readers and encouraged to write from a very young age, I was naturally immersed in 'male' texts. By the time I was in my mid teens I was making very conscious choices about 'what' I read and 'how' I read it. I discovered very early that I intensely disliked Norman Mailer or Henry Miller, but I was passionately attached to male

¹ Chodorow, Nancy (1978) *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press. Chodorow posits that women have weak ego boundaries because they are never required to separate from their mothers in the same way that boys must.

² Ruddick, Sara (1989) *Maternal Thinking: Towards A Politics of Peace*. New York: Ballantine Books. Ruddick notes the many women grow up resistant to the roles they understand their mothers as filling. She also states that many women compensate for this fact by becoming close to their fathers and accepting their fathers as role models. This was not the case in my particular situation. My mother has had a powerful impact on my life, in many ways she stayed my role model even though our relationship was, at times, highly impaired [or non-existent].

writers such as Thomas Hardy, Dickens and Joyce. My own explanation for my preferences was not that some of these writers thought like 'women' or 'understood' women, but that my social perceptions did/did not overlap with those of the writer at hand.

Thus all of these factors contributed to my conviction that writing styles and reader response were a matter of personal taste based on an overlap between the reader's life experience and the way the reader read the writer as portraying the world. To some extent, this research does not negate this conviction. But to my surprise my data required that I re-think my assumption that men and women wrote and read in similar ways.

Although I was initially very resistant to my interface with the data and what I perceived it was trying to tell me, I came away from this research considerably enlightened about my own "Immasculation" process and the power of language to carry paradigms of right and truth. What follows below is the story of how I discovered, through the methodologies I devised to test my thesis question, that different writing paradigms do exist and that these divergent styles articulate an author's world by reflecting different cultural perspectives. While these cultural models are not entirely gender specific, it does appear probable that men and women favor different writing styles.

Having made the decision to study writing styles on Anthro-L, I was left thinking "what now"? How do I go about designing a method that will allow me to access whether or not men and women read differently? I was aware of two fundamental parameters as I embarked on a search for my methodology. I was on a network, so postings would form

the foundation of my field data and having made the decision to lurk, I could only discern what 'readers' thought through their 'writings' that is, their response to any posting written on the net.

When I initially began to define the terms that were important to this thesis, I found it difficult, as I have noted, to distinguish between readers and writers. 'Readers' were people on the net who read other postings. I had no access to those people unless they responded. But once they responded to a posting they became 'writers' too. I decided initially, that this state of affairs could best be considered 'interactive' and that the positions of readers and writers [who were technically both writers if active] could be discerned through the writer's initial message and an analysis of the intent of that message, followed by a corresponding analysis of what I decided to call the 'respondent' posting [s]; any message that responded to an initiatory posting that positioned the self of the present message in relation to the posting replied to. This initial attempt to define my terms allowed me to observe that I would need to develop a methodology that would explicate and clarify the interrelations between actors and between the segments of data which were constituted by postings. A written posting which receives a response is an instance of dialogic interaction through which positioning of self/other takes place.³ Hence I needed to consider how posters achieve shared agreement through their writings, or how they utilized postings as a strategic form of positioning toward the 'other'.

³ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior in Public Places*. New York: The Free Press. page 14.

I put this very early observation aside and decided that while I completed my course work I would interact with the community by reading their postings each and every day. I supplemented this six months of reading/lurking by keeping two journals. In one, which I dubbed my 'conversation journal', I recorded the topics discussed on the net, the names of the people who discussed them, when the "talk" became an argument, and when discussions simply faded away. The other journal, I nicknamed my 'impression' journal. In this second journal I began to keep notes about anything which caught my attention, or struck me as curious. I was also interested in 'what' could be discerned about the people who wrote on the net in terms of personal information; where they worked, what they looked like, what age they might claim to be, what they thought of certain anthropological theories or ideas. All clues to personal information were jotted down in my journal, no matter how trivial they first appeared. Thus postings which contained excerpts like this one:

<snip> Since my fevered brow initiated the question, I suppose I should comment on what has transpired, again filtered through the dual lenses of fever and too much codeine. <snip>...To the query.....what is it we talk about when we talk about postmodernism, a variety of disparate [or even desperate] responses emerged:

Rodman asked in some critical detail for clarity, insisting that the 'charge' of being pomo, when leveled against someone, be backed up with some sense of fairness and commonality of meaning.....⁴

[resulted in a journal entry that read:]

....Douglass still sick today. Has a fever and is taking codeine. Seems to be becoming increasingly tired of the pomo/science debate and impatient with some of the participants..... Backed up W. Rodman's post on Geertz which insisted that people

⁴ St. Christian, Douglass (1993) *Pomo Update*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-1@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 14 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

clarify, with some detail what was meant by saying "Geertz" was pomo and would Geertz accept such a label?..... interesting that he would crawl to the computer if he is that sick. Must be pretty involved with this argument.⁵

Over time I compiled a number of composite portraits of some of the highly prolific writers from the net. These personality sketches were enhanced by "body" information that was also included in net texts. Posters often gave self-referential information about how they felt, what age bracket they were in, or how they react behaviorally to specific social situations. These sketches were not only very interesting, they proved to be invaluable to my later research. If I needed to check an assumption I was making about net 'talk' for example, I could return to my journal to check on where a specific writer had positioned him/her self on a similar issue in the past. This proved exceptionally pertinent with respect to net/social/theoretical alignments in flame wars.

I also recorded notes on authorial style in my 'impression journal' ; i.e. "I really like the way so and so writes because...." Although my journals did not offer specific, empirical evidence in connection with who spoke, what is spoken, how it is spoken and the boundaries of that which can be said, they indicated to me where I should begin to collect data in order to answer these questions.

Glaser and Strauss define one of the central tasks of sociological theory as the prediction and explanation of [human] behavior and they define theoretical propositions as tools that

⁵ Beaulieu, Hendrika (1993) Impression Journal, Summary postings December 13 to 16. Research Fieldnotes.

provide a perspective on behavior and a stance to be taken to one's data.⁶ They advise the researcher to suspend any of his/her preconceived ideas or theoretical concepts with respect to the data chosen for research. Preliminary propositions should come from the data and should then be expanded, connected, rejected, re/enforced, and added to as further data is applied. As data is collected it should be ordered into preliminary categories based on conceptual content and then constantly compared with that category to establish consistency both within and across categories, leading to the establishment of boundaries.

I have noted that I had to put aside my conviction that men and women did not differ in writing 'style'. Keeping the propositions that Glaser and Strauss outline in mind, I returned to my journals and made a list of preliminary observations that struck me as significant. From my conversation journal I listed three initial observations; that more men appeared to talk than women, that many discussions appeared to revolve around re/occurring topics, and that only men seemed to participate in net arguments. From my impression journal I recorded the fact that some writers or the listowners would at times refer to parameters that were contained in the Statement of Being if they were involved in a dispute over 'what could be said' and 'how' postings should be worded towards net others.

Thus in a very preliminary way I had four observations from which to begin to devise my methodology. The observation garnered from my impression journal, "at times writers or listowners invoke the Statement of Being when they try to settle a dispute," triggered a

⁶ Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory; Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company.

memory of a long exercise that I had completed one rainy afternoon. The Statement of Being is a document posted by the listowners every quarter to the net at large. During the time I was reading the net, [6 months] it had arrived twice in my mailbox. I had made extensive notes on the Statement and its contents and had written in my journal: "The Statement of Being appears to be important to what is talked about and how it is talked about on the net Anthro-L."

When I returned to these notes I was struck by how closely the initial observations that I had written out appeared to overlap with the mandate for net 'talk' contained in the Statement. I decided that these connections required further investigation. I reread the Statement and classified its paragraph contents into rough categories. The listowners appeared to be concerned with what was discussed on Anthro-L, how talk was conducted, what the consequences would be if these discursive standards were not adhered to, the different ways that subscribers could read/receive postings, the role of the listowners, the rights and privileges of writers/readers and a brief institutional/historical background of the list. After contemplating these preliminary categories, I initially selected three of them as directly relevant to my research: what was discussed on Anthro-L, how it was discussed, and the establishment of discursive boundaries and consequences [the boundaries of that which can be said]. Because I had noticed that more men appeared to speak than women. I added the question "who speaks on Anthro-L". These four questions thus form the heart of my search for a methodology that would allow me to suggest answers to the question "Do men and women write differently?"

My impression journal also reinforced the framework of my first observation "More men seem to talk than women", which related directly to my new question: "Who speaks on Anthro-L?" I noted that a large percentage of my composite portraits [88%] were of males. This seemed to me to be very significant. I decided to begin with the basic question 'who speaks' on Anthro-L, by simply 'counting' the number of males and females that spoke on the net.

Before I continue to outline the development of my methodology it is imperative that I explain the format of the centerpiece of my fieldnotes: the posting form itself. The central component of data collection in net research is the posted message which forms the basis of net talk; indeed constructs the very net itself. Both form and content of the posting played an important role in allowing access to information regarding the net's structure and inhabitants. A posting's 'header', its codified format, is directly relevant to the gathering of data in relation to the questions 'who speaks' [and how often] and 'what do they speak about'? The body of the posting, which contains the words of the individual user, is directly relevant to 'how it is spoken' and 'the boundaries of that which can be said'.

4.2. The Posting Header

Figure 3.1 shows a complete posting header taken from a message posted on the news.group alt.pagan. Once I have completed the explanation of the relevance of a header to this research, I will continue my narrative of the development of my methodologies. The reader will find it easier to follow my storyline if he/she has a grasp of the terminology that relates directly to the posted form.

Newsgroups: alt.pagan [a]
Path: honte.uleth.ca!acs.ucalgary.ca!quartz.ucs.ualberta.ca!unixg.ubc.ca!news.mi [b]
From: feathers@eskimo.com (Cheryl) [c]
Subject: Re: Why Are There So Many Fundamentalist Pagans? [d]
Message-ID: <MMMjxz.7G7@eskimo.com [e]
Organization: Eskimo North (206) For-Ever [f]
References: <21umqe\$ric@news.u.washington.edu> [g]
Distribution: na [h]
Date: Sun, 13 Mar 1994 22:32:21 GMT [i]
Lines: 39 [j]

Figure 4:1 - Posting Header

Postings can offer a great deal of information about the sender of a message. Key aspects of the posted form are bracketed in the posting through the usage of letters [a to j].

Explanation of each of these demarcated areas is found in greater detail below.

The header is the label given to the entire section that is here demarcated by the bracketed letters [a - j]. A Header comes first on all postings. It is the "Introduction", and "Chapter Outline" for the text which immediately follows it on the screen; this text constitutes the "body" of the posting. The "Head-er" of a posting provides all the pertinent, structural information with regards to a specific piece of text and provides the "cues" that a reader may need in order to make a decision to read or not to read a specific posting.

On the first line of a header the reader finds the information that tells him/her where that particular message has been addressed. This particular posting has been sent to the members of the **news.group alt.pagan**. It is not uncommon to find cross distribution in this section of the header. When a message has been sent to the members of both alt.pagan and alt.mythology the following information would be given on this first line:

Newsgroups: alt.pagan, alt.mythology. In the case of the example above the poster is speaking only to members of the alt.pagan net. This line informs a reader which community is reading/can read this message.⁷

The path line,

"honte.uleth.ca!acs.ucalgary.ca!quartz.ucs.ualberta.ca!unixg.ubc.ca!news.mi,"

designates the conduit by which the message has arrived in a readers mailbox and makes it possible to trace any posting to its place of origin. In this example the message has arrived at the University of Lethbridge (honte.uleth) by way of (1) U of Calgary, (2) U of Alberta in Edmonton, (3) U of British Colombia, and (4) news.michigan; a central dispersal point for many news.groups. Postings travel through many conduits, it is rare for mail server to have a single dispersal node. The "servers" at each of these places sends out the messages that are destined for each end receiver; in this case the destination point was my news mailbox at the University of Lethbridge.⁸

Every network differs on how they expect their individual users to register their names for identity purposes. In this example **From: feathers@eskimo.com (Cheryl)** the user's name appears to be easily identifiable as she has also enclosed her first name in brackets for identification purposes. It is still possible for "Cheryl" to be a man or a woman using a

⁷ Of course it is always possible for any community member to "forward" any posting he/she receives to a non/community member through electronic mail.

⁸ In a previous paper I explored the possibility that the conduit metaphor articulated by M. Reddy could be understood as a generative metaphor when applied to the Internet, which can be imaged as a web upon web of conduits.

computer pseudonym. This is not unheard of, posters can and do switch identities to match a "net persona" that they wish to portray.

Username are often last names or 'handles'⁹ but it is not unusual to see a numbered identity. When this is the case the 3rd line might read: "12345@eskimo.com" or even, if the user is registered under a particular course or department "Libclk_005@eskimo.com" (Library Clerk # 5) or anthr_395@eskimo.com (anthropology 3950) Many of these names are bureaucratically dispensed and the user has little choice but to take the username allocated to him/her.

Numbers, pseudonyms, job titles or course registries offer more computer anonymity to the individual user. Only the originating server (eskimo.com) would be able to identify user 12345, if user 12345 was careful to conceal his/her identity in his/her textual references. Nevertheless my point here is that the information given allows any posting to be traced to its point of origin should this be necessary, and the server of origin is always capable of tracing the "writer" of a message whether or not it has been written under a pseudonym. This portion of the header was particularly important to the data collection of **who speaks** on Anthro-L.

⁹ On Anthro-L "Seeker1", "zeek@io.com" and "wytchwymyn" are the only participant net members who regularly use a 'handle' instead of their proper names. Seeker1 is a highly participant community member. Because of this he was subjected to relentless pressure to disclose 'who' he was by other net members. He finally conceded that he is male. Anthro-L subscribers prefer that the co-residents of their community be recognizable and traceable. There are numbered identities on the net such as Bob Graber or Mike Leiber, but these people sign off with their personal names when posting.

The subject is the part of the header which along with the sender's email address and name shows up in the "mailbox" of a readers news.group. It allows easy identification of and was the co-source of my identification of "threads". Readers can choose to follow/read the "thread of the conversation" which interests them or they can delete without reading those postings which refer to a topic in which they have no interest or have lost interest. In the subject line referred to here **Subject: Re: Why Are There So Many Fundamentalist Pagans?**, "Re" signifies "Reference" and thus designates what the topical content of a message will be. This posting treats the question, *"Why are there so many fundamentalist pagans?"* My initial data collection process utilized the subject line of postings to track 'threads' [conversations] by noting the topics discussed, and in order to ascertain "**what is spoken**" [topics] on Anthro-L.

A number of further relevant observations can be made about this line of a header. I have noted that the "Re" symbol often refers to the 'title' of the thread under discussion. The word "thread" comes from the phrase "to follow the thread of the conversation". This is a metaphorical concept used in daily life which places the semantic fields of words like "sewing" or "weaving" (create activities which "make something") in overlap with the act of conversation. The word "thread" thus seems to suggest that certain posters conceptualize their communication on nets in terms of making/writing textual dialogue. In contrast, the word "post" comes from the phrase "post a notice on the Bulletin Board". The words "thread" and "post" signify the tension that exists between the idea of email/postings as (referential) text (posting a notice) and the idea of email/postings as

conversation or Dialogism (the thread of the conversation); a tension I referred to in Chapter Two as an aspect of the liminality of computer communication.

Secondly, the subject line offers the reader the information that he/she may require in order to choose to read or not read a posting. In co-present communication it is rarely possible to walk away from a conversation without being understood as rude or non-responsive. On email this changes. Any member of a community can choose to participate or not to participate in a conversation, in fact, some members of a group exist only as readers of that group's postings ("lurkers"). The writer (speaker) of a posting never knows how many members of the group have read his/her words. The only clue that someone has read a particular posting is when his/her message receives a response or is referred to in another message. Here is an example of a posting which indicates that a message has been read and appreciated even though the respondent is not replying directly to it. In this particular posting the writer utilizes the previous post as a "connective", a point of departure for his own opinions which follow in the text. Note also his 'positioning', that is where he places himself in terms of agreement/disagreement with opinions expressed in previous posts.

" A. Helgason has shown capably that the questions posed by B. Rodman--"What is postmodernism, and who are the postmodernists?--are by no means as hard as Rodman perhaps assumed. So fine was Helgason's answer that I am content, almost, to remain silent. Yet there is a matter that has not been dealt with that deserves attention...<snip>
10

¹⁰ Graber, Bob [SS51000] (1993) *Re: Straw Men and the Cow of the World*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 10 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

The next line of the header **Message-ID: <MCCJxz.7G7@eskimo.com**, identifies the message number of the posting for the originating server. This is the identity number that eskimo.com (the originating server) would use to identify the posting if needed.

Organization: Eskimo North (206) For-Ever identifies the name of the organization which is a member of the Internet of which Cheryl is a member and through which she logs onto the network in order to interact.¹¹

After the organization information comes the 'reference line'.

References:<21lumqe\$ric@news.u.washington.edu> is to the original posting (Greg Gallacci) to which Cheryl is replying. The information given supplies the number of his posting for reference purposes and the originating server at the University of Washington. Immediately following this line is **[h] Distribution: na**, which tells the reader that there is no distribution on this posting, or no information available.

The header also details the date and time that the posting to be read was sent. The line:

Date: Sun, 13 Mar 1994 22:32:21 GMT tells the potential reader that this posting sent from eskimo.com by Cheryl (feathers@eskimo.com) through the organization Eskimo-North(206) on Sunday, March 13, 1994 at 22:32 (10:32 p.m.) and 21 seconds. This tells us that on that time at that date on that day someone who calls her/him self Cheryl sent off

¹¹ It should be obvious from my previous comments that I consider a reader to be "interacting" on the net. Thus by my definition even lurkers are involved in a text/self interaction.

the posting we are about to read. It lends a specific temporality and historicity to the posting, and perhaps even conveys to the reader a visual image of someone at a computer screen late at night. It can link the reader through time to that poster.

Even more importantly this line allows a reader to 'order' postings in a thread. This is often necessary as news.servers do have problems such as breakdowns. When this occurs messages are stored in the system until they can be sent on to their destination. If the conduit has not experienced problems elsewhere in the linked nets a reader may find that he/she has received an answer to a posting before the original message has arrived in his/her mailbox. This phenomenon is an effect¹² of the technological aspect of net membership which is dependent upon the smooth operation of intertwined networks. Although I will not explore the interesting aspects of the potential chaos of the erratic arrival of messages, I note this here for the reader's information.

Important to computer users is the length of a posting to be read. **Lines: 39** signifies that there are 39 lines of text in this posting. This is helpful information if a reader has started to read an interesting thread but does not have much time to spare. If the information given reads: Lines: 150¹³ the reader can make a decision to return to this posting at a later time. The lineage size is also helpful information if a member wishes to download a posting, i.e. extract it from the mail server to a personal computer or mainframe directory.

¹² [{cause} computers break down so {effect} postings arrive in a haphazard manner in one's mailbox]

¹³ Depending on size computer screens display an average of 20-25 lines per screen. Thus 150 lines would mean approximately 7 full screens of text. This is a long message. Many users do not appreciate long net postings.

This information helps a user gauge if he/she has enough room (blocks or bytes) to accommodate a download.

Line size is directly relevant to the Statement of Being's concern with and remedies for the block/byte size of Anthro-L postings. Many users must pay for their technological privileges and do not appreciate receiving what they perceive to be long winded and 'redundant' emails. Consider the following exchange:

> I am tired of reading Daniel A. Foss's monologues. Is anyone reading them? Can Foss
> get his own list? Does he do anything in the world besides construct elaborate, obtuse,
> self-gratifying diatribes? Does he realize how much \$\$\$\$ and time I waste each day
skipping his lengthy efforts?¹⁴

This issue has been brought up many times. A similar case came up on the list last year and finally ended with the individual being removed from the list by the listowners. Although I tend to be against a moderated list, I too have to pay for all the mail that comes my way. My mail service is NOT subsidized by University overhead. I do not read Foss's mail. I delete it. Nevertheless I am still paying for his discourse.¹⁵

Ms. Bolino receives the postings from the net in 'Digest - daily lumped' version as evidenced by the title of her email which suggests she enjoys reading the postings at her leisure. A difference in conceptualizations of the net's 'purpose' are a factor in how lengthy emails are regarded by different readers. For those community members who traverse

¹⁴ Bolino, Monika (1993) *Re: Anthro-L Digest - 23 Nov. 1993 to 24 Nov. 1993*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 24 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

¹⁵ Hanson, Doug (1993) *Foss Again*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 26 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

public space mainly to send and receive information, long emails about theoretical/social issues are simply redundant. Conversely, those members who consider one of the net's primary functions as being the exchange of ideas are tolerant of long postings expressing individualistic points of view, although they may be impatient with the ideas contained in these messages! One's 'right to speak' takes priority over time and money concerns for these subscribers.

Every posting begins with a header that is formatted like the example above. A posting is thus 'encoded' through a specific formulaic 'letterhead'. This codified form offers clues to the text contained in the body of the posting and is especially configured for the potential needs of computer usage and users. It is an ideal format for this research as it allowed access to necessary data in the following ways:

1. The posting is rigorously earmarked: that is it is an identifiable piece of work that is traceable through the Internet conduit of news.servers, although there are mechanisms that can render the experienced user anonymous. In most cases though, it is possible to ascertain the presented gender of the user from the header. Hence it was the main source of my data collection with regards to 'who speaks' on Anthro-L, and to what gender does the writer belong?
2. A posting is rooted as to date, time, place (organization), server, sender. It has both a historicity and a temporality. This allowed me to place postings in the order that they were written so that I could follow the thread of a conversation in sequence. It also allowed me to discern patterns of response between writers.

3. Information given (such as line sizes) is specifically geared to the language of computer use and needs. Besides the fact that this allowed me to assess my disk space requirements it also gave me insight into posting patterns, in that some posters tend to consistently write much longer postings than others. This fact became relevant to 'response' pattern in my later analyses.

4. Postings offer details on 'who is posting' and what that poster will be speaking about. In addition to the name of the poster, and hence the gender presented, I was able to track threads through subject lines, to classify topics in information and request postings and to discern patterns in 'who replied to who' through the reference line.

4.3. Section A: Who Speaks: ANTHRO-L Demographics

Previous to my discussion of the posting header I had stated that I made the decision to begin my initial data collection by simply counting the number of men and women who posted to Anthro-L and the rate at which each of the presented genders posted. This decision represented the first attempt to begin to answer the question "who speaks on Anthro-L?"

I began to count male and female postings by using the posting header as the source for the identification of presented gender. Rather than simply continuing to read each and

every posting as it arrived in my mailbox, I also decided to establish a permanent posting database to which I could apply my developing methodologies.

The establishment of my database began with an initial download of 638 sequentially posted messages that arrived over a time span of approximately 2 1/2 months in my private mailbox. All messages were downloaded to my personal computer, none were excepted. Once I began to categorize these postings, I realized that 638 was far too large a number with which to perform an efficient analysis. Preliminary investigations of these postings proved to be far too time consuming. Therefore, I streamlined the main data base to the first 303 consecutive postings, I had downloaded. These postings represent one month of Anthro-L 'talk'. The remaining 335 postings I labeled my 'support' base.

I utilized the support base in a number of ways. First and foremost I reread each posting until I was well acquainted with the topical variation found in the 335 messages. I recorded these topics in my journal and noted the progression of a particularly virulent flame sequence. In my impression journal I kept track of the people who spoke and any particular pieces of text that struck me as interesting or significant. The support base was particularly valuable as a resource bank through which I could check topical consistency in the categories that I later established as pertinent to net 'talk'.

Turning to my main database and the headers of the postings, I scrutinized the Username/User I.D. lines and sorted the database into three preliminary groups; male presented, female presented, and unidentifiable postings. The latter represents an very small [3] portion of the database messages.

Once I had separated the male and female postings in the database I decided that I need to check my preliminary results against a larger sample size. I wanted to evaluate whether or not the month of discourse I was utilizing as my database was representative of the 'average' Anthro-L month of talk. In other words, I felt it was necessary to compare my own results to a larger posting 'stream of talk' before I proceeded to make any assertions about whether males or females spoke more often on the net. In order to compare my results to a larger posting sample I turned to the Anthro-L listserver files.

As I noted in my discussion of the community the listserver stores archival information with respect to the list. Therefore I requested that the listserver send the document "ANTHFILE" to my private email address.¹⁶ The ANTHFILE¹⁷ contains the user I.D. and the 'real name' of every person presently subscribed to the list. It also gives the total membership of the list, the number of concealed subscribers and allows the researcher to roughly calculate the number of male and female presented members of the community by assessing these through 'real names'. Whenever I was unsure about the possible gender identity of a net member, I read the messages of others to them to see if they were referred to as 'he' or as 'she'. In a number of cases where it was still difficult to ascertain if the posting was male or female presented I turned to my journal to see if I had made any notes on self-reference with regards to these user I.D.s and also to discover whether or not

¹⁶ This is accomplished by sending a message to the listserver address and instructing it to "get ANTHFILE" in the body of the posting. The listserver 'does' the rest.

¹⁷ Listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu (1995) *ANTHFILE*. Subscription list - Anthro-L. Downloaded to beaulieu@hg.uleth.ca, March 3.

other posters had referred to them in terms that would reveal their gender identity. In two cases where I was still unsure I checked through private email with other net members whom I knew to see if they could identify these subscribers in terms of gender.¹⁸

Using the ANTHFILE 'real-names' I calculated the number of male, female and concealed subscribers on the list. Then I compared the results of net population/gender breakdown to the male and female posting ratio in my database and discovered that there were far more female subscribers to Anthro-L than I would have suspected from the population percentages I had calculated from the database posting stream. I needed to explain this. In order to do so I turned to another archival file stored by the listserver, the ANTHSTAT¹⁹ report.

The Anthro-L STATREPT contains the user I.D. of every member who has posted to the list since November 16, 1992 and the total amount of messages each of these members has posted. First I reconciled the user I.D. to the real names in the ANTHFILE and sorted them into gender categories. Then I counted the number of messages each [gendered] person had posted to Anthro-L during the period covered by the STATREPT. The final result was an extensive understanding of how many postings sent to the net since

¹⁸ Previous to my decision to utilize Anthro-L as my research list I had become virtually acquainted with a number of the community's members through private email. Except in one instance I do not use the postings written by these members to the net anywhere in my thesis. In the one exception I simply present the posting as an example of "cooperation" in the net community. The reasons for my non-use of these postings should be obvious. I had come to know these people too well. Their postings are of course included in the statistical analyses.

¹⁹ Listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu (1995) *Anthro-L STATREPT*. Anthro-L statistics from November 16, 1992. Downloaded to beaulieu@hg.uleth.ca, March 3.

November 16, 1992 had been presented as male and how many had been female presented. Chapter Five contains the graph which shows the male/female percentage of total population on Anthro-L, the amount of postings contained in the STATFILE posted by each gender, and then a comparative graph which shows the typicality of my database in terms of the male/female posting stream represented by the STATFILE.

The results obtained in terms of gender posting ratio from the ANTHSTAT report paralleled the male/female message percentages in my database. I was now able to correlate my own findings to the larger net discussion pattern in terms of gender. But while separating the male and female postings in my database by user I.D. I had also noticed that some writers had submitted multiple messages during the time period covered by my main database.

Turning again to the username line of the header, I separated my database postings in terms of 'who spoke', that is by name rather than the broader category 'gender'. Once completed, I recorded the names of the posters who had spoken, the number of times they had posted, and the topics [taken from the subject line] of their messages [what they had spoken about].

Again, I was struck by a further observation. A handful of people seemed to post a disproportionate number of messages to the community. Returning to the ANTHSTAT report, which as I have mentioned records the number of times each poster/user I.D. has sent a message to the net since November 16, 1992, I set up a recording schemata to

count how many times [male and female] posters tended to post to the net over a period of time.

I did this by separating posting frequency into the following categories; posted once, posted 2-50, posted 51-100, posted 100-150, posted 151-200, posted 201-250, posted 251-300, and posted over 300. The category boundaries are necessarily large; there were over 9,000 messages in the ANTHSTAT report. Each of these categories was then separated in terms of male and female presented postings. Once I had graphed these results,²⁰ I compared them to the gendered posting frequency found in my database and discovered that my posting frequency ratios, both in terms of male/female writers and with respect to few people/many postings, were representative of the overall discursive patterns obtained from the ANTHSTAT report.

I now had acquired significant information on who spoke, how often and what relationship, if any, these frequencies evidenced to gender presentations. In order to supplement my findings of gendered conversation within the community I compared my results to those calculated by Dr. Danny Yee of Anthro-L. Dr. Yee has conducted an independent statistical survey of gender and corresponding posting rates on Anthro-L. He was kind enough to download his results to me and I compare his findings with my own in Chapter Six. Our numbers are remarkably close, varying by less than 1% in each of the three categories, male, female and concealed.

²⁰ Findings and graphs are recorded and discussed in Chapter Five.

I returned again to my journals and the initial observations that I had categorized as worthy of note. Having gathered significant information with respect to who speaks on Anthro-L, I made the decision to turn to my next preliminary observation: "discussions appear to revolve around re/occurring topics". I turned to my database and began to sort the postings by reading the topic of conversation from the "subject line" on the header.

Both in my journals and through my investigation of 'username', posting frequency, and what is spoken, I had begun to notice patterns of 'talk' on Anthro-L. After I had completed the separation of my database by 'subject line' I found myself with well over 150 small groups of messages. It thus became necessary to narrow the criteria for topic beyond the information contained in the subject header. Turning back to the observations in my journals, as well as the notes on topic I had made during the posting frequency/gender analysis I noticed that I had often used three phrases in connection with the posted material: "XXX requested so and so", "YYY posted information on", and "ZZZ is still talking about"....Could these phrases help to establish boundaries for topical categories?

In contemplating these recorded observations I was struck by their likeness to the description of the Anthro-L discussion mandate which I had recorded in my journal as contained in the Statement of Being. I noticed, and recorded in my impression journal how my categories overlapped with the Statement's own words:

Anthro-L aims to provide information on current anthropological topics, research questions, as well as to help locate answers for numerous cooperation requests.²¹

This sentence describes two of my observations: "XXX requested so and so", and "YYY posted information on". I decided to tentatively label two of the 'kinds of talk' on Anthro-L "Requests" and "Information". Information postings are generally one time postings giving information a specific request from a net member, or to post a job opportunity, conference announcement or the like. Requests are postings which solicit information from the community: "can someone tell me the name of"?, or "give me a good reference for?"

My third impression, "ZZZ is still talking about" appeared to overlap with the communicative mandate contained in the Statement of Being: "*.....and an arena for discussion on any anthropological topic*". This is the category I named "threads" and it includes both "successful" threads, that is an initial posting which resulted in a discussion, or "failed" threads, that is an attempt to initiate a discussion which resulted in no public net response.

Returning to my database I began to sort the messages into "someone asking for information on", "someone giving information on", and "someone talking about or answering a topic". Any posting which did not fit into these three roughly defined areas

²¹ anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu (1993) *Anthro-L Statement of Being*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). Ms. in files of author.

was separated into an undefined grouping. When I was finished I had three initial categories: Requests, Information and Threads.

I then turned my attention to the postings which had not been categorized and noticed that these also exhibited commonalties. These were classified into two further groups; "jokes" and "errors".

I recorded the information that the Statement of Being had led to the identification of the boundaries of net talk and added this observation to my previous recording of the fact that net members and list owners appeared to invoke the Statement when issues of proper 'talk' became important to the community.

Finally I sorted each of the five categories into male and female presented postings. I hoped to discover not only who spoke on Anthro-L but also whether or not there appeared to be a relationship between gender and topic. Did one gender favor certain topical categories over the others? The results of this investigation are presented in Chapter Six.

4.4. Section B: What Is Spoken

Anthro-L postings and user statistics provided a significant amount of information with respect to the first of my questions: "Who speaks on Anthro-L, and how often". Again using the posting format I now turned my attention to 'what is spoken about'. I had been led naturally to this question by my preliminary observation that certain topical areas seemed to re/occur on the list. As I noted above I initially separated the postings in my

database into 5 preliminary categories. These categories were chosen because they best circumscribed the boundaries between the different types of postings and I review these again below:

[a] Requests - "can anyone refer me to....?"

[b] Information - "The AAA meetings will be held at....."

[c] Threads: Conversations that were conducted between two or more people.

[d] Jokes

[e] Error messages: [messages that should have gone elsewhere] "unsubscribe"

The request postings contained an anomaly which I had also noted in my impression journal. These notations were recorded from specific postings, "CCC wishes the list to respond to her privately". While I was reading the community and making these comments I had not yet classified my database for topic. Once I had it became evident that requests for private response were overwhelmingly specific to request postings and were gender correlated. 40% of the requests posted by women ended with the phrase "please respond privately," or "please respond directly to my email address". To follow-up on this observation I wrote these women by direct email and inquired why they preferred that responses to their requests be carried into the private sphere.²² I discuss their replies in Chapter Seven.

²² This is the only time that I engaged directly with Anthro members in regards to my research, and I left these emails until my thesis was virtually complete. At the same time that I "came out of the closet" to ask

Although categories such as threads, information and requests were helpful in that they began to help me isolate 'kinds of talk', they were not particularly valuable in pinpointing topical areas. They were simply too broad. I decided therefore to subdivide the thread, information and request categories into smaller units based on message content, what a posting specifically discussed. For example a number of messages requested information on computer software such as Endnote. I thus created a sub-category under requests labeled "computers/software" and a corresponding information sub-category with the same name contains the postings that sent the information solicited by the requests. The sub-categories show a surprising consistency in topical areas.

Each topical area within a category was then coded for whether it was male or female presented. The sub-category computers/software for example appears to be dominated by male messages. The results of the breakdown of each category and then each sub-category is presented in Chapter Six.

In Appendix C, I present the thread progressions contained in my main database. The chart illustrates these conversations as if they took place in a linear fashion; the reader will understand that some of these conversations were taking place simultaneously. I was able to create the illusion of linearity by utilizing the "time and date" line of the posting headers. Hence I was able to follow the thread of the conversations as if they had occurred

permission to use postings in this thesis, I wrote and asked the women involved 'why' they preferred private response.

in a sequential manner. In order to uncover the topical content in the main thread category I took the following steps.

Firstly, I marked the initial message which began the discussion. I recorded whether or not the original message had been sent by a female or male poster and then listed the topic under discussion. Then I followed each message [each respondent posting] in the discussion. Each of these consecutive postings was firstly coded for gender presentation. Then I itemized which message each posting responded to by taking this information from the subject header, or, if necessary from the posting body. For example messages which contained the following type of format:

> Fellow Anthropoids,
> I am just wondering based on the buzz I've gotten from the dept. around here, that

> theres a rather hostile backlash building up towards postmodernism in

> Anthropology....<snip>²³

its not a new buzz, its the same old dualistic (classicism/romanticism etc.) human nature rearing its ugly old head again, lest we abandon the shadows on the wall and get a glimpse of what is going on outside the cave.²⁴ <snip>

²³ Seeker1@maple.circa.ufl.edu (1993) *Postmodern Anthropology*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 3 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

²⁴ Williamson, Kathleen (1993) *Postmodern Anthropology*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 3 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

were identified as a response by female X which answered male Y. > marks are the standard indicators used by net writers to demarcate what part of a previous message is being responded to by the current posting. While engaged in this process I discovered which messages created "by-play", a type of sub-situation that I referred to in Chapter Two. By-play²⁵ situations are those which engage in 'side bar' discussion rather than engaging with the main conversational stream. These too were coded for content and gender.

Next I marked a message which triggered a flame war if this was applicable in a particular conversation. These postings were coded for gender and any subsequent message which responded in a 'flame' discussion was similarly marked and noted. Postings which attempted to alleviate the tension, or tried to negotiate a consensus between the parties to a flame were recorded in my impression journal.

When I had completed my analysis of the thread topics I was left with a number of messages which did not belong to any of the thread discussions. I labeled these postings "failed threads" as they appeared to be attempts at conversation which had not triggered a public reply from any of the net's readers. These messages were also coded for topic and for gender.

In Chapter Six the reader will find a summary of my findings with regards to topic, gender and thread conversation. I began by calculating the total number of threads in the

²⁵ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press.

database. Then I demarcate which threads were 'new', that is started during the course of my main database collection, and which threads were conversations carried over from discussions that had commenced previous to my data downloads. Once this separation was complete, I indicate which of the new threads were successful and which 'failed'. These are further itemized in terms of gender presentations. The summary also indicates how many males and how many females posted to each thread and indicates the topic under discussion. Lastly I show which conversation resulted in flame wars [arguments], the topic of discussion and the gender of the participants who wrote 'flames'.

I applied topic and gender analysis to my final two categories: errors and jokes, and recorded the results in my impression journal. Although these two categories do not form a part of my later discussion, I do record the presented gender of the authors of these postings in the Tables found in my Findings chapters.

4.5. Section C: How It Is Spoken

Upon completing my statistical analysis and the reconciliation of male and female presented postings to categories of net talk, I had some useful information regarding who speaks and what is spoken by each gender. I returned to my journal to ascertain in what direction I could most fruitfully travel with respect to my final two preliminary observations "only men appear to be involved in net arguments" and "net members and list owners appear to invoke the Statement of Being when arguments about what is said and how it should be said" arise on the net.

Thus I turned my attention to the Statement of Being. I noted above that as I began to develop the topical categories of net talk, I had noticed the overlap between my delineation of categorical boundaries and the mandate for net discourse contained within the Statement of Being. From this statement I had derived the four questions on which the sections in this Chapter are based. Similarly, in my discussion of the theoretical background which contributes to this thesis, I made the observation that the net is a discursive structure, framed entirely through net language practice. I began to wonder if the Statement of Being might signify the underlying semantic structure which gave rise to and interacted with the discursive practice of individual community members. Accordingly I decided that I needed to develop a methodology that would allow me to access how the Statement itself was semantically structured in terms of conceptual categories and style.

Below I explain the methods I applied to both postings and the Statement of Being itself in order to uncover the relationship between discursive practices of net members and the mandate for Anthro-L discussions stipulated by the listowners.²⁶ I outline the steps taken to uncover the discursive mandate of the net and individual member's adherence to or disregard for these discursive regulations. While doing so, I outline the steps I took to collect data with respect to 'how' things are spoken on the list. Whether or not the listowner's guidelines are strictly adhered too, the Statement of Being frames the net and

²⁶ In Chapter Four, "the Statement of Being", I discuss this mandate of the net in detail.

configures its discursive topography. Thus, it delimits the positioning possibilities and conversational freedom of the individual user.

The body of the postings of my database represent the textual data to which I applied a methodology to determine possible patterns in the writing styles of men and women.

Because I was not interested so much in what a poster says as in how she or he says it, I required a methodology that would allow access to both 'how' a poster spoke and the conceptual categories that were part of a specific writer's world view. The methodology chosen also needed to allow me to discern whether or not the arrangement of conceptual categories in posted texts was gender related.

In my brief discussion of Structural theory I noted that how a word is used in relationship to other words signifies its relative meaning. Thus I chose to begin with an analysis of the words of posted texts in order to determine whether or not men and women used words in divergent ways. But there are many words in a text, far too many to assess the relative importance of each and every one. Thus I needed to determine criteria in order to establish 'categories' of words.

In discussing a variant of content analysis Weber states that "*a central idea is that many words of the text are classified into much fewer content categories*".²⁷ Following James Spradley²⁸ I posited that a word often signified a conceptual category, that is a "Domain".

²⁷ Weber (1985) [in] Tesch, R. (1990) *Qualitative Research, Analysis Types, and Software Tools*. New York, Philadelphia, London: The Falmer Press.

²⁸ Spradley, James (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston.

In order to uncover how 'words' signified domains/categories in posted texts, I chose to condense the many words in a posting into fewer content domains/categories in order to test the supposition that men and women have divergent ways of 'seeing' their worlds, and hence different ways of 'writing'. I reasoned that if different writing styles were a reality, men and women would use a different combination of words/categories/domains to organize and express their world views. If these differing conceptual categories exist, then objects, things, and ideas should be ordered and sorted in a discernible and gender specific way, and this should be uncoverable through the language the user utilizes to describe the world around them.

To derive conceptual categories, or "domains", I chose to use a modified Structuralist analysis. The modified Structuralist methodology I employ builds on the ethnosemantic methodology utilized in the work of James Spradley.²⁹ I found Spradley's outline of his methodology as set forth in **The Ethnographic Interview**, particularly suited to an analysis of email discourse. In his method, data is elicited through face to face interviews and the language of the transcribed data [preferably verbatim from taped interviews] is decoded to uncover a group's [linguistic] cultural symbols. The long term goal of the data analysis is to discern and explicate the relationships between the symbols/signs in order to identify the underlying coding rules which define a group's "meaning systems", and in the case of this research, possible engendered systems of meaning.

²⁹ Spradley, James (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Structural Ethnography concentrates on discovering the characteristics of language as communication. Spradley focuses on the cognitive representations of culture, the arrangement of a culture's ideas, things, objects into conceptual categories. This method assumes that meaning is constructed by, for and through the linguistics system of the actors under study. Because my reasoning had led me to the supposition that divergent gender 'world views' must be discernible through their language use, structural ethnography appeared to represent an ideal way in which to penetrate/understand male/female conceptual categories within a specific community setting. The goal of Structural Ethnography is stated as being:

Because language is the primary means for transmitting culture from one generation to the next, much of any culture is encoded in linguistic form.".....(thus)

"the end goal of doing ethnography is a verbal description of the cultural scene discovered".³⁰

To adapt this methodology to posted text, there was no need for interview transcription as Spradley suggests, because email postings are original linguistic acts in which the innovative words of a language user are found both within their original contexts

³⁰ *op. cit.*, page 6. See especially his entire discussion in this first chapter in which he discusses his methodology's connections to Symbolic Interaction through the work of J. Blumer, by focusing on Blumer's 3 premises:

(1) "Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings things have for them" (Blumer, 1969:2)

(2) "Meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows": (Blumer, 1969:2)

(3) "Meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretive process used by the person dealing with the things he encounters" (Blumer, 1969:2)

[postings] and in their original setting [public net/computer space/streams of conversation]. The fact that I could download these documents and not worry about the veracity of my memory or fieldnotes with respect to "what was said" was a bonus that paid dividends as I was able to re-live the "whole conversation" by re-reading threads long after the discussion took place.

4.5.1. Uncovering Domains

I use the word "Domain" as a symbolic (discursive) category that includes other [sub] categories. In order to uncover possible domains, the text was analyzed for **cover terms**. Cover terms are described by Spradley as being names for a particular [conceptual] category - whether it will eventually prove itself to be a Domain, or a sub category of a Domain. Domains are initially sought for by singling out "names for things" within a posted text. Thus, in my analysis of a male and female posting later in this chapter, the reader will notice that a word list appears initially for each posting.

The placing of cover terms within a possible Domain requires that structural questions be asked of language participants in ethnographic interviews. Because I was lurking I did not conduct ethnographic interviews, instead I embarked on the lengthy process of uncovering domains by posing questions to the email texts themselves. To illustrate how this was accomplished I use the first line of the Statement of Being.

"Anthro-I is the general anthropology listserver."

Two words immediately present themselves as "names for things" in this sentence, "Anthro-L" and "listserver". In order to place them in a semantic relationship the following types of questions could be asked:

"What kind/type of object or thing is Anthro-L"? "What kind/type of thing is a listserver? Are there different kinds of listservers? Where can a listserver be found?"

An answer to the first of these questions is contained in the first line of the Statement. *What kind of object/thing is Anthro-L?* Answer: it is a listserver. The Statement of Being similarly begins to offer answers to my other questions in later paragraphs: *What kind of type/thing is a listserver?* Answer: It is a BBS or a news.group or..... *"Well, what kind is Anthro-L?* Anthro-L is a BBS. *Are there different kind of listservers?* Answer: yes, there are, there is the **general anthropology one**, but there are also..... *Where can a listserver be found?* Answer: they are usually found on the Internet but.....

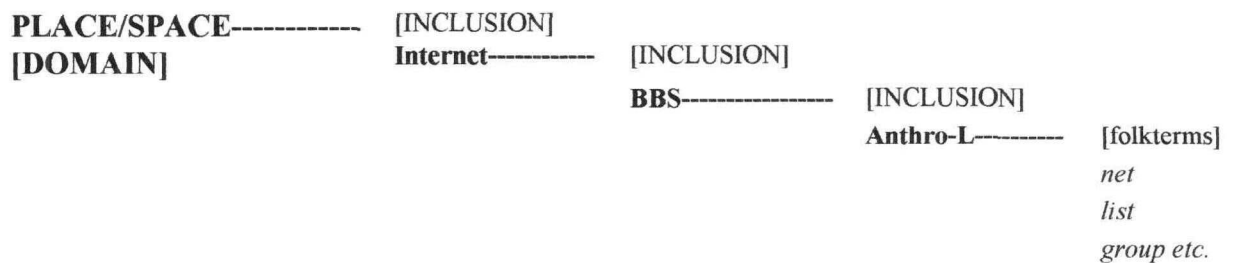
Placing Anthro-L and listserver in preliminary semantic relationships I could tentatively pose:

Anthro-L	is a kind of	Listserver [preliminary category]
Listserver	is a kind of	BBS [preliminary category]

Thus Anthro-L is a kind of BBS, as listserver and Anthro-L are used interchangeably in the Statement. Indeed, once I had completed the Statement analysis it appeared that the words *Anthro-L, listserver, net, listserv, the list and the group* all referred to "**Anthro-L**".

Each of these terms are interchangeable and represent **folk terms** of the proper net name Anthro-L.

Anthro-L is a sub-category term of the cover term BBS, which is a sub-category of the Internet, which is in turn is a sub-category of the Domain Place/Space. The semantic diagram of these layered inclusionary relationships would look like this:



Thus all Domains can have more than one category, while a category or subcategory always includes a number of **folk terms**. As noted in the diagram above, *Anthro-L* includes such folk terms as "*listserver*, *the net*, or *listserv*" by the semantic relationship of *Inclusion*. [The listserver is Anthro-L]. Folk terms are often used in multiple discursive contexts which may mean that they are all actually members of a single Domain, tied by a single semantic relationship or they may link divergent Domains or categories. This is one of the functions of metaphors or personification.

In the Statement of Being the folkterm "copy" is one of the words that fulfills this type of linkage function. To copy means to **make** a duplicate of a posting [Domain: Behavior, sub-Domain Techno-Behavior]. This action is taken by a poster/user [category] and represents both a Means/End and an attribute relationship to the category "Users/Posters/Members". Posters [Category] are People [Domain] who make a copy

[sub-category: a specific *kind* of posting] of a Posting [Category]. Similarly a copy is a [form of, is an actual] Document [sub-category] - Post [category] - publication [sub-category]. Hence copy links a number of Domains and the meaning of any particular use of the term "copy" must be context derived through the structural principle of difference which states that the meaning of any term in a text is indicated by its position relative to others words in that same text.

When studying how the Papago defined the **folkterms** in use in their culture, Casagrande and Hale determined that definitions of folkterms linked two or more terms together by means of a semantic relationship.³¹ They concluded that "a definition can be regarded as a statement of a semantic relationship between a concept being defined and one or more concepts, presumed to be known to the reader/hearer, and having properties considered relevant to the term being defined."³²

I initially listed all terms that presented themselves as possible "names for things" or modifiers/descriptions of things within the Statement of Being. Once the listing of possible terms and relationships was complete, identification and definition of possible cover or folk terms began. This was accomplished, as Casagrande and Hale suggest, by placing the term in a semantic relationship such as term X [is a kind of] Y.³³ Cover terms are defined

³¹ Casagrande and Hale (1967, page 167) in Spradley, James (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston. page 109.

³² op. cit. page 109.

³³ In all Spradley identifies 13 possible semantic relationships. By far the most common relationship in English, says Spradley, is the relationship of "STRICT INCLUSION": **X is a kind of Y**. Spradley must

by a **boundary**. They belong inside or outside of a Domain. These boundary definitions are rooted in the "difference" concept found in Structural Linguistics, the difference/oppositeness of signs is here transposed to difference/oppositeness among conceptual domains.

4.5.2. Uncovering Descriptive Differences

Nouns and pronouns, which constitute names for things usually refer to a conceptual category, often through the semantic relationship of Inclusion. [Anthro-L [noun] is the anthropology listserver [noun]. I made the decision to place verbs and adjectives in their semantic contexts, rather than just 'names for things'. I reasoned that if men and women have differing views of the world around them then this should be evident not only in how they categorize that world through Domains, but also through how they describe them. I quickly uncovered the fact that while nouns and pronouns indicate categories, all other forms of grammar describe and connect these categories. In the one line example from the Statement of Being, Anthro-L is the general anthropology listserver, the words "general" and anthropology" were included in my list of words. Although in the sentence "I am taking Anthropology", "anthropology" is clearly a noun [and in this sentence would indicate a sub category of the category Academics], the phrase 'the general anthropology listserver' places anthropology in a descriptive relationship to the [noun] listserver. In this sentence Anthropology describes [adjectival] or is a **characteristic** of the listserver Anthro-L.

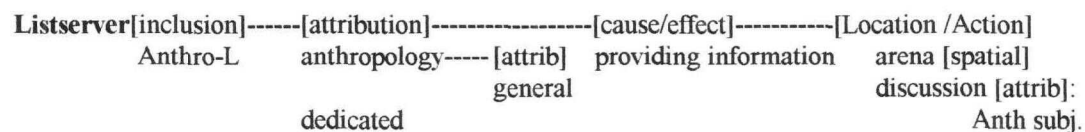
have had a lot of male informants. Spradley, James. (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. page 110.

Thus it stands in a relationship of attribution to the listserver. In a semantic diagram of the kind that I developed for this research, the relationship would be shown in the following way:



Read from left to right the diagram states: *the **listserver** includes/is **Anthro-L** [statement: **Anthro-L** is a kind of listserver]* One of the characteristics of this **listserver/Anthro-L** is **Anthropology** [statement: *anthropology is characteristic of Anthro-L*], while **anthropology** is described in terms of its own characteristic: **general**. Hence general anthropology is characteristic of the listserver/Anthro-L.

This first line of the Statement is thus about the category "Listserver/Anthro-L". With each succeeding sentence in the Statement I was able to enrich and add to this category. Thus the second line in the Statement which states *"It is dedicated to providing information and an arena for discussion on any anthropological subject,"* resulted in the following additions to the semantic chart:



I applied this method to both the Statement of Being and each posting in my database. As I read and analyzed, each category was continually enriched with terms and new

categories were added. While there are literally hundreds of terms that a speaker might use, there are actually few categories and even fewer domains. I understand a domain as an irreducible conceptual sphere that contains a myriad of sub-categories linked in diverse ways. For example in Anthro-L text, posters, writers, and readers are often conceptualized as categories. Posters, writers, readers are all People, which constitutes a domain. In order for the reader to understand how I arrived at conceptual categories for each posting and the Statement of Being through this method I provide the relationships that Spradley identifies as most common to English.³⁴ Under each relationship example I have added the typical questions that I applied to the texts in order to determine to which conceptual categories my selected terms might belong.

1] Strict Inclusion. <i>'What kind of a thing is X?</i>	X is a kind of Y	[Anthro-L is a kind of BBS]
2] Spatial <i>Where can I find X? What is X?</i>	X is a place in Y, X is a part of Y.	[Anthro-L is part of Internet]
3] Cause-Effect <i>What are the consequences of doing Y?</i>	X is a result of Y, X is a cause of Y	[being a member is the result of subscribing to Anthro-L]
4] Rationale <i>Why did you do Y? Why are the reasons for doing Y?</i>	X is a reason for doing Y	[I subscribed because I wanted to be a member.]
5] Location for Action <i>Where can one do Y? Where do you do Y?</i>	X is a place for doing Y	[Anthro-L is an arena for discussion]
6] Function <i>What is X used for?</i>	X is used for Y	[postings are used to send information]
7] Means-End <i>What are the ways to do Y?</i>	X is a way to do Y	[Email me privately - then we can have this discussion off the list]
8] Sequence <i>How do you do Y?</i>	X is a step [stage] in Y	[Send a command to the listserv. Then we will send the Index]
9] Attribution <i>What is Y "like"?</i>	X is a [characteristic] of Y	[The list frequently "drifts off" into.....]

³⁴ Spradley, James (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston. page 111.

I reiterate again that I was not looking for a hegemonic use of Domains or conceptual categories, that is, I was not expecting that each gender would uniformly conceptualize the community/world around them in identical ways. This would be ridiculous in light of the diverse social experiences and cultural processes that have written each individual community member. What I was testing was whether or not there was a pattern in how domains were utilized and linked that could conceivably be correlated with gender presentation.

Because of my journal notations, my observations, the categorical overlaps and the importance of the Statement of Being to my analysis of community, I began my domain/semantic analysis with the Statement itself. This mandate is posted to all the members of the net by the Listowners every three months and is used by the listowners to reprimand discursive practice that exceeds the boundaries stipulated as acceptable by the Statement. As I have previously discussed on a number of occasions in this thesis, the Statement underlies the community's discursive structure and co-represents the articulation of communicative norms and mores practiced on Anthro-L. I hypothesized that the Statement of Being clarifies the underlying semantic structure which gives rise to the net's discursive patterns because it attempts to pre-define them and hence, to pre-determine them in specific ways. The posting acts of specific net members are situated [or not] within this discursive structure. I believed it was important to see how this 'structure'

was itself 'structured'³⁵ in order to ascertain when, if and how much certain posting styles deviate from the prescribed discursive structure and what the consequences of this deviation or conformity, if any, might be. Similarly, I was interested to discover whether or not gendered posting act presentations differed from the Domain usage and semantic relationships utilized in the Statement of Being.

The Statement of Being found in Appendix A is incomplete in that the "attachment", a summary description of Anthro-L performed by a research librarian who monitors Internet groups, is not included. This is intentional, the forwarded assessment of Anthro-L as a listserver does not represent an aspect of the listowner's own conceptualizations of Anthro-L, and is thus not relevant to a structural analysis of the network's underlying discursive categories. Due to the sheer length of the word lists and relationship identifications that resulted from a close reading of the Statement of Being I have confined these results to Appendices B and C. The initial semantic charts which summarize the relationships contained in these charts are presented in Appendix D paragraph by paragraph. The integrated discursive map of the Statement of Being, which integrates all of these charts is found presented in Appendix E, while the isolation of semantic relationships and paragraph transitions are found in F.

³⁵ Wahl, Francois, [in] Megill, Allan (1985) *Prophets of Extremity*. Berkeley: University of California Press. page 207. " The most diverse facts of anthropology can be the object of structural analysis, but only insofar as they pass through the facts of language - that they are caught within the institution of a system of the type signifier/signified and lend themselves to a communicative network-and that they receive from this their structure." In short: the Internet.

Once the analyses of the Statement was complete, I recorded each of the categories used by the statement on a separate, clean page, and listed the attributions and relationships that were found for each category and between categories under their respective titles. [i.e. "postings" was one of my first categories] As I performed an analysis on each posting in my database I began to add any new attributes and folkterms that referred to each category. I also recorded any new semantic links that I had not uncovered as these arose in posted text. By doing this I was attempting to 'saturate' each category in terms of how it was generally conceived by the community.

Every time a new category appeared in a text, I set up a new sheet and began the saturation process. By the time I was finished I was left with a number of conceptual categories that were richly described and some that were used only once or a few times.

Simultaneously I recorded the gender presentations of each domain grouping. This required that I set up a different schematic chart.³⁶ I recorded the domains used by each gender in each of topical and sub topical categories that I had developed to uncover 'what is spoken'. Then I compared my results in each category, by gender, to the domains utilized in the Statement of Being. By following this procedure I hoped to uncover patterns of deviance, conformity, subversion etc. within the Anthro-L discursive structure, that might conceivably be gender linked.

³⁶ This chart can be found in Chapter Seven.

The process of uncovering conceptual domains produced an interesting piece of data.

There appeared to be a gender correlated difference in how categories were linked. The attribution category: *"What kind of thing is it? or "what are the characteristics of this thing"?* is closely linked to the Domain "Behavior". In describing a "thing" or an "idea", human beings use descriptive terminology. In the first line of the Statement of Being for example, the listserver is described in term of its attributes; *"general anthropology"*.

Because neither of these terms [general, anthropology] describes an 'active' state I use the words "descriptive attribution" when speaking of a category described in passive terms.

As I continued to transcribe my semantic charts, I noticed that female presented postings were often characterized by a high incidence of Attribution. More interestingly, these "attributes" were often actively "behavioral". By this I mean that the characteristics of a thing were described in terms of a 'state of being'. I use the words "behavioral attribution" when a category is described in terms of active, 'being-like' characteristics.

These divergent patterns in the use of attribution appeared to coincide with another preliminary observation that I derived from my semantic analysis. Overall, female presented postings appeared to utilize more categories and to assign characteristics to these domains in balance. By this I mean that male presented postings appeared to use attribution primarily in connection with a single, emphasized domain, while female presented postings ascribed characteristics to each domain and linked these categories through semantic relationships other than Inclusion.

In order to show more clearly how male and female postings differ in regard to domain usage and how attribution is used to describe and link conceptual categories, I present below both a male and female posting drawn from an Anthro-L thread on postmodernism. I have chosen short messages in order to present below the semantic relationships that are utilized in each posting, rather than confine these to the Appendix. Thus the reader will find a copy of the message to be analyzed, followed by the word list, the semantic relationship list, and finally the semantic chart itself. I begin with the posting taken from a female writer and follow with the posting presented as male. Subsequent to these charts, I will outline the steps I took in order to classify and categorize the Domains and semantic links as presented by men and women in the 300 [303] postings which form the heart of my data base.

Posting # 1 - Female
Body of Posting

From: Stephanie Nelson
Subject: Pomo Polemics³⁷

Well, John O'Brien is certainly free to declare manifestos on the death of postmodernism if he wishes. I failed to discern any good reasons for accepting his declarations within his post, but I'm sure he knows what he means. I really have no strong feelings about whether pomo/decon is dead or not. I have seen some smart people do some good work with it, and that is enough for me. I thought the list might be interested in this piece I picked up from the Derrida list. As I recall, this thread began when someone asked for undergrad material on pomo; here is one coherent explanation that I admire.

Stephanie Nelson.³⁸

Figure 4:2 - Nelson Posting

³⁷ I have deleted the rest of the header for convenience. Nelson, Stephanie (1993) *Pomo Polemics*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 2 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

³⁸ I have <snipped> out the message that was forwarded by Stephanie Nelson from the Derrida list.

LIST OF TERMS

John O'Brien	free	declare	manifestos	death
he	wishes	I x 8	failed	postmodernism
discern	good	reasons	accepting	declarations
within	post	knows	means	strong
feelings	pomo/decon	dead	seen	smart
people	good	work	enough	me
list	interested	piece	picked up	Derrida-list
thread	began	someone	undergrad	material
pomo	coherent	explanation	admire	he [x 4]
sure	recall	asked	one	

Table 4:1 - Nelson: List of Words

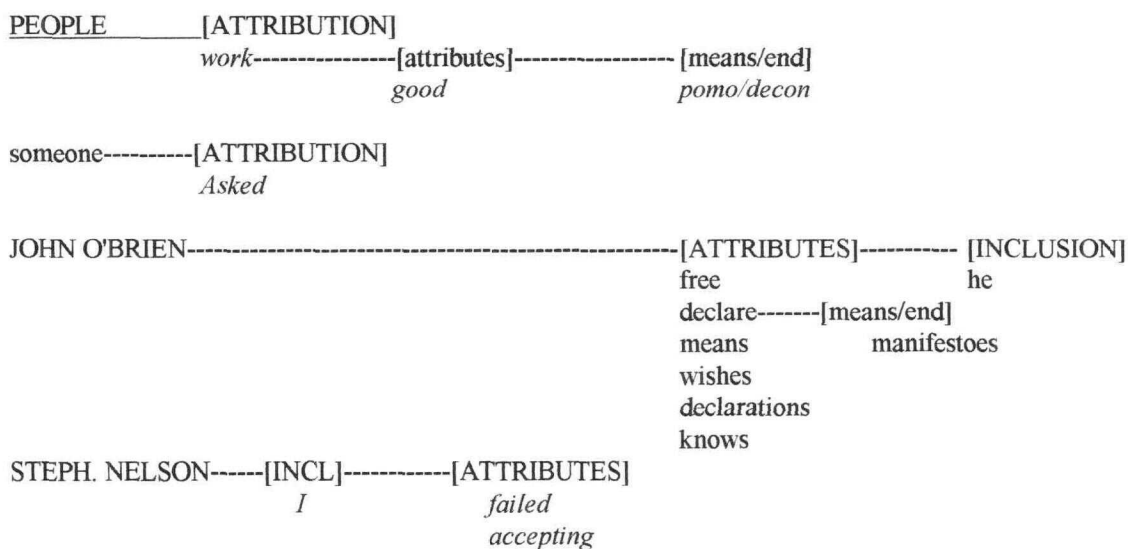
SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Word	RELATIONSHIP		TYPE
John O'Brien	is the name of a poster	Poster	Inclusion
<i>A poster is a kind of.....</i>		person	Inclusion
free	is an attribute of	John O'Brien	Attribution
declare	is something done by	John O'Brien	Attribution
manifestos	is a way to	declare	Means-end
death	is an attribute of	postmodernism	Attribution
postmodernism	? at this point we are not sure: it is something which is	dead.	
he [x 4]	is	John O'Brien	Inclusion
wishes	is a characteristic of	John O'Brien	Attribution
I [x 8]	is	Stephanie Nelson	Inclusion
failed	is an attribute of	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
discern	is a way to look for	reasons	Means-end
good	is an attribute of	reasons	Attribution
reasons	are a way to explain death of	postmodernism	Means-end
reasons	are a reason for declaring	pomo dead	Rationale
accepting	is the result of good-reasons	reasons	Cause-effect
accepting	is an attribute of	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
declarations	are found in a	post	spatial
post	is a kind of	message	Inclusion
sure	is a characteristic of	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
knows	is a characteristic of	John O'Brien	Attribution
means	is a characteristic of	John O'Brien	Attribution
strong	are characteristic of	feelings	Attribution
Feelings	are characteristic of	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
<i>pomo/decon is still not defined, but is the subject of this posting thus:</i>			
<i>pomo/decon</i>	<i>is the subject characteristic of</i>	<i>[this] post</i>	Attribution
dead	is an attribute of	pomo/decon	Attribution
seen	is an attribute of	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
people			DOMAIN
good	is an attribute of	work	Attribution
work	is characteristic of	people	Attribution

"it	"is	pomo/decon	Inclusion
Thus pomo decon	is something is used to do good work	Means End	
enough	is an attribute of [me]	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
list	is	Anthro-L	Inclusion
interested	is an attribute of	List	Attribution
piece	is something	picked up	Sequence
picked up from	is a way to get	piece	Means-end
picked up	is a characteristic of	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
Derrida list	is a place to get	piece	Location/Action
Derrida list	is a kind of [net]	Place/Space	Inclusion
recall	is a characteristic of	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
thread	is the result of	asked	Cause-effect
began	is a stage in a	thread	Sequence
someone	is a kind of	people	Inclusion
asked	is an attribute of	someone	Attribution
undergrad	is a kind of	material	Inclusion
material	is a kind of	piece	Inclusion
pomo	is a kind of	material	Attribution
coherent	is an attribute of	explanation	Attribution
explanation	is a kind of	piece	Inclusion
admire	is an attribute of	Stephanie Nelson	Attribution
Stephanie Nelson	is a kind of	person	Inclusion

Table 4:2 - Nelson: Semantic relationships

SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS³⁹



³⁹ Terms that are used to reflect two categories are presented in bold type. Attributes usually link domains, as do means/end and sequence relationships. This is clear if the diagram is followed from left to right.

When reading a semantic chart that contains a means/end relationship such as the one above, it is helpful to read in reverse, starting with the term designated by the means/end relationship. Thus pomo/decon is a way [*what are the ways to do?*] to do good work by People. However, a cause/effect relationship is read from left to right; someone asked, a thread began. A means/end relationship is often defined in terms of its "ends", while cause/effect stresses the initial 'cause'.

References to Postmodernism are found in the above posting in three preliminary categories: "Post", People, and the stand alone category of Postmodernism. We do not know from this posting what Postmodernism "is", [pomo/decon] it is treated as a solitary concept. My enrichment of the category "pomo" came from other postings in this thread. In Nelson's posting, People do good work with *pomo/decon*, [restructure: pomo/decon is used by people to do good work with] *pomo/decon* is the subject of a thread [attribute], a thread is started by someone [People cause/effect], *postmodernism* is dead [state of non-being, noun, category]. Postmodernism should be left as a separate Conceptual category.

"Post" in this text means "posting"; i.e. "*found within his posting*".

This particular posting uses the conceptual categories People [sub categories John O'Brien, Stephanie Nelson, people and someone], Postmodernism, Post [ing], Anthro, and Place/Space [linked to a Location for Action through the words "Derrida list"]. The dominant semantic relationship is attributive. Thus John O'Brien is *free, declares, means, wishes, makes declarations, uses manifestoes to declare pomo dead, and knows*, while S.

Nelson is self described as *failed, is accepting, sure, has [not strong] feelings, has seen, has picked up, recalls, admires and discerns*. Postmodernism is in a [non] state of "death". The post [on Derrida list] is *coherent, an explanation, picked up and admired*. The list might be "*interested*". What is remarkable about all of these characteristics [attributes] is their state of activity, these are not merely descriptive words, they attribute a state of being to the idea or object being described.

I have stated that the dominant semantic relationship in this posting is Attribution. I calculated the dominant semantic relationship in each post by counting the occurrence of each type of a relationship in a particular text. I also note the importance of the relationship to the construction of the conceptual categories and how these categories are inter-linked. Nelson's liberal use of attribution allows her to mediate between five conceptual categories while simultaneously describing these in rich and varied ways. Compare this type of description and domain usage with the posting below:

Posting # 2 - Male
Body of Posting

From: Rafael Candido Alvarado
Subject: Geertz, Weber and Pomo⁴⁰

I find it surprising that belief in the importance of the concept of understanding, or meaning, makes Geertz postmodern. What Geertz achieved--and he is useful to this extent--was a retrieval of scientific anthropology from crass behaviorism. He achieved this by reintroducing some basic Weberian notions into a discipline which appeared to have forgotten them. He was also influenced by such thinkers as Ryle, Ricouer and Northrup Frye, but they come in only as supports for his more basic argument that an explanatory science of human behavior cannot do without reference to meaning. He has been criticized for simplifying or misreading these three, but such criticisms miss the point.

R.C. Alvarado

⁴⁰ Alvarado, Rafael Candido (1993) *Geertz, Weber and Pomo*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 15 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

Figure 4:4 - Alvarado: Posting

LIST OF TERMS

I	find	it	surprising	belief	importance
concept	understanding	meaning	Geertz [2]	postmodern	achieved
he [5]	useful	extent	retrieval	scientific	anthropology
crass	behaviorism	achieved	reintroducing	some	basic
Weberian	notions	discipline	appeared	forgotten	them
also	influenced	thinkers	Ryle	Ricouer	Northrup Frye
they	come in	supports	basic	argument	explanatory
science	human	behavior	reference	meaning	criticized
simplifying	misreading	three	criticisms	miss	point
R.C. Alvarado	U of Virginia	Dept. of Anthropology.			

Table 4:3 - Alvarado: Word List

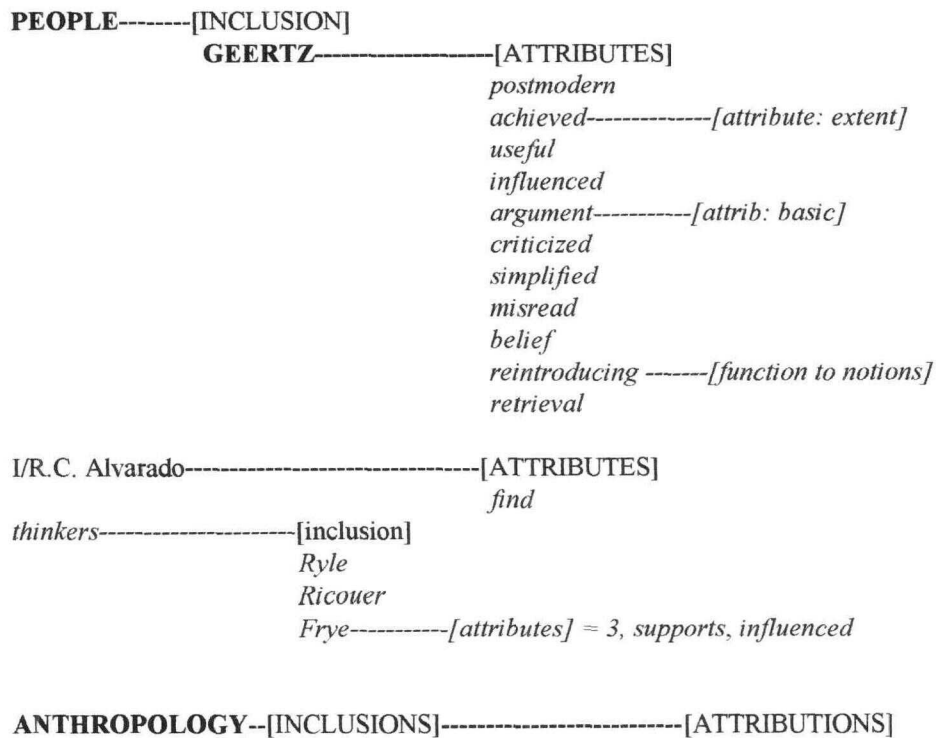
SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

WORD	RELATIONSHIP		TYPE
I	is	R.C. Alvarado/People	Inclusion
find	is an attribute of	I	Attribution
surprising	is an attribute of	it	Attribution
it	is an	concept	Inclusion
belief	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
importance	is an attribute of	understanding	Attribution
concept	is a kind of	Concept DOMAIN	Inclusion
understanding	is a kind of	Concept	Inclusion
meaning	is a kind of	Concept	Inclusion
Geertz	is a	People	Inclusion
postmodern	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
achieved	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
useful	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
extent	is an attribute of	achieved	Attribution
retrieval	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
scientific	is a kind of	anthropology	Inclusion
Anthropology	is	the discipline	DOMAIN
crass	is a kind of	behaviorism	Inclusion
Behaviorism	is a kind of	Concept	Inclusion
reintroducing	is used for	Weberian notions	Function
basic	is an attribute of	notions	Attribution
Weberian	are a kind of	notions	Inclusion
notions	are a kind of	idea [little ones]	Inclusion
discipline	is a place for having	Concepts/notions	Loc. for Action
appeared	is an attribute of	discipline	Attribution

forgotten	is an attribute of	discipline	Attribution
them	is	Weberian notions	Inclusion
influenced	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
thinkers	are used for	support	Function
Ryle, Ricouer, Frye	are	thinkers	Inclusion
they	are	Ryle, Ricouer, Frye	Inclusion
supports	are	Ryle, Ricouer, Frye	Inclusion
supports	are attributes of	argument	Attribution
basic	is an attribute of	argument	Attribution
argument	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
explanatory	is an attribute of	science	Attribution
science	is a kind of	Concept	Inclusion
human	is an attribute of	Behavior	Attribution
Behavior	is a part of [exp]	science	Spatial
reference	is a way to talk about	meaning	Means-end
meaning	is part of [exp]	science	Spatial
criticized	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
simplifying	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
misreading	is an attribute of	Geertz	Attribution
three	is	Ryle, Ricouer, Frye	Inclusion
point	is part of [Geertz's]	concept	Spatial

Table 4:4 - Alvarado: Semantic relationships

SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIP CHART



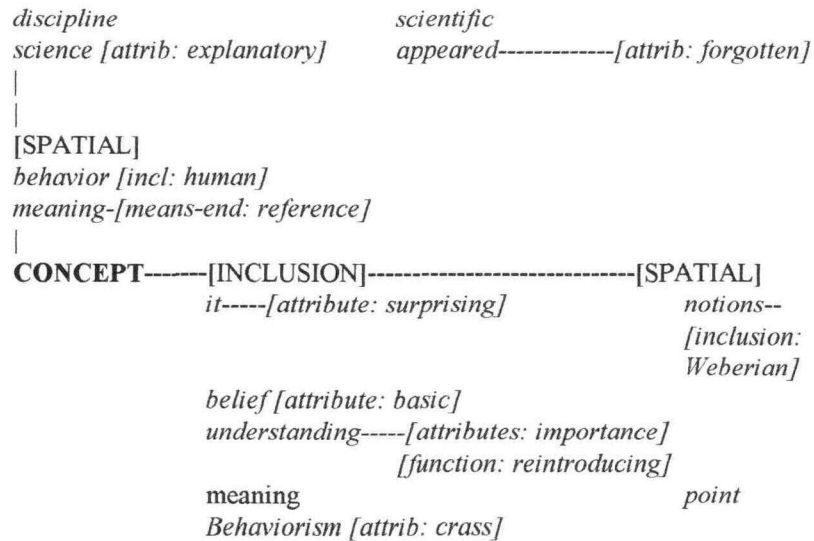


Figure 4:5 - Alvarado: Semantic Chart

This posting utilizes two main categories: Anthropology and People. Through its construction it emphasizes the domain People, category Geertz. Geertz is featured as the topic of this posting through a liberal use of behavioral attribution. He *achieved, is useful, is influenced, argument, is criticized, is simplified, has belief, retrieves [anthropology] is misread, and reintroduces* [notions]. Through these attributive words Geertz is linked to the second domain "Anthropology". Hence Geertz *retrieves* [basic notions [spatial to Anthro], is *supported* by the three *thinkers, reintroduces concepts* to a **discipline** that *appeared* to have *forgotten* them. It is important that Geertz is described [active] in terms of behavior, while Anthropology is characterized by the [passive] semantic relationship Inclusion. Thus Alvarado uses Inclusion to incorporate terms such as *discipline, science* as a kind of Anthropology [explanatory] and through spatial relationships he includes *behavior, meaning and Concept* as 'part' of Anthropology. Notice too that "Concept" has an inclusionary relationship with such terms as *belief, understanding, meaning,*

behaviorism, [belief, understanding, meaning and behaviorism are kinds of Concepts] thus establishing a spatial relationship for these terms to the greater category "Anthropology" through Anthropology's spatial relationship with "Concept". [A Concept is a part of Anthropology] These terms are linked by part/whole relationships, rather than standing as separate conceptual categories.

Through its inclusionary links, especially the Spatial/Inclusion relationships and through its active/passive [Geertz/Anthropology] oppositions the textual construction tends to subsume potential conceptual categories. Nelson's category, '*pomo/decon*', appears in Alvarado's text only as an attribute of Geertz, even though the text is ostensibly concerned with the refutation that Geertz is postmodern. The Inclusion of science and discipline as part of Anthropology and scientific as an attribute of Anthropology is also important to the conceptual representation presented by this posting.

Likewise, while Geertz is the center of attention in Alvarado's posting, in Nelson's message *John O'Brien's claims*, *S. Nelson's opinions*, *postmodernism* and other *People* [people, someone] share the limelight. These contrasting patterns; messages containing extended domains with liberal attributive description as opposed to postings that are characterized by sparse domains, inclusionary links and concentrated attribution in one category, became a re/occurring phenomenon as I continued to analyze male and female postings in my database. As I will explain below, the differing use of domains and semantic relationships signified a different "style" choice by the writer of these posted messages.

Once I had completed the delineation of categories and semantic links in each posting I compared them with the use of conceptual categories and semantic relationships in the Statement of Being.

Below, I briefly illustrate how this was accomplished:

SYNTHESIS OF POSTINGS #1 AND 2 IN RELATIONS TO THE STATEMENT OF BEING - UNDERLYING SEMANTIC STRUCTURE

TEXT	GENDER	DOMAIN	DOMAIN	DOMAIN	DOMAIN	DOMAIN	DOMAIN	DOMAIN	DOM. SEMAN. R'SHIP
St of Being	male	BBS	People	Behavior	Postings	Anthropology	Time	Place/Space	1. Inclusion 2. Attributes: Descriptive
Posting #2 THREAD: pomo	male "f"		X	descriptive		X			1. Inclusion 2. Attributes: Descriptive - esp. re Geertz
Posting #1 THREAD: pomo	female "a"	X	X	behavioral	X	NEW: post modernism		X	1. Attribution: behavioral

Table 4:5 - Semantic Structure

The above procedure was applied to all male and female thread, request and information data base postings. Once I had completed this process, I summarized the use of domains and semantic links in each category for each gender and charted these onto a table. This table clearly shows the percentage of times a particular domain was used in a category. In Chapter Seven I reproduce this table and discuss these domain/category and semantic links in terms of "how" writing styles diverged, mainly along gender lines, in the five different topical categories.

At this point in my data collection and methodological development I felt that I had some important information with respect to how men and women might differ in their respective use of conceptual categories, and how these categories were linked through the use of

semantic relationships. It remained for me to consider the 'posting act' in order to begin to understand how a divergent use of conceptual categories, which theoretically might reflect differing world views, were put to use by an individual writer, both with respect to style of writing, and in terms of interaction with other net members. In my discussion of the act of posting in Chapter Three, I mentioned that writing style was matched by reader comprehension codes and that understanding/non understanding of a writer by a reader was often discernible through initial and response postings.

4.5.3. Styles and Codes

By this point in my research I required a methodology that would allow me to assess how a writer positioned him/her self with respect to other community members. This could often be discerned, as I have noted, through the comprehension style that characterized respondent postings. But in some cases, as in "failed" threads, I did not have the opportunity to study positioning in interaction. Yet I was reasonably certain once I had completed my domain/semantic relationship analyses, that the 'style' of these writings contributed to their failure to evoke a response. The topical content of failed messages was quite often one which became successful when introduced by a different writer. When I analyzed these postings for domains/semantic usage it appeared that the postings which received a response were understood as being more 'reader friendly' by members of the net. I also inquired as to whether or not 'who' wrote the posting made a difference, by scanning past posting patterns in terms of initiate/response.

Thus I needed to ascertain 'how' individual domain/semantic usage framed the construction style of my database messages, and how this construction contributed to positioning of the writer, response by a reader, or failure. I chose to consider messages sent to the net as "Speech/posting Acts". Original messages were analyzed in terms of style and intent, while response to these postings were analyzed firstly to see if the original message had been successful in terms of message intent, secondly, to ascertain in what style the response message was couched, and lastly to see what self/other positioning, if any, could be determined for writer and reader-cum-writer in interaction.⁴¹

Jakobson⁴² defines a Speech Act as an addressor sending a message to an addressee. Any message requires a context, a code at least partially shared by a reader/writer [sender/receiver] and a contact. A text which emphasizes **context** is characterized by the connections between textual elements and how they contribute to the overall meaning. Elements of the message point to events or facts outside of the posting that support the overall meaning intent of the text. By **code** Jakobson refers to a conventionalized set of principles or rules, a system for the identification of the communication of information. Both parties to a message must share a 'code', that is they must understand not only the

⁴¹ I emphasize again that 'writer' refers to the original message of a posted thread, while reader in terms of response is the writer who answers that original post. new terms are needed for this interaction as the reader once he/she has posted in now a writer who may also be replied to by a potential reader further along in the thread. If one follows Statement of Being definitions, readers are passive members of the net, and hence should be equated to lurkers. But it is not that simple, as even the Statement acknowledges that readers, passive as they may be, can post if moved by a message.....

⁴² Jakobson, Roman (1960) *"Linguistics and Poetry."* In *Style and Language*. edited by Thomas A. Sebeok. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. pages 350-377.

language that is being spoken, but how that language is being conceptually categorized.

Contact refers to a physical channel for communication as well as the fact of communication [psychological contact] which signifies the act of association, of 'touch' between reader and writer. A message that 'reaches for the reader' is written through a stress on contact.

Depending on what kind of a message is to be sent, different aspects of these three requirements are stressed. Jakobson further defines "**codes**" into three possible types; the logical, the hermeneutic, and the rhetorical. Each of these codes is a significant factor in encoding the functional attributes of a message. The logical code is one that characterizes a message that is connective, a posting whose contingent parts [sentences, paragraphs] are characterized by clear and valid reasoning, based on the principles of logic, indication that the point being made in the posting is reasonable or necessary because it is predicated on recognizable, logical or provable facts or events. Thus the logical code is often used in a message that stresses context.

On the other hand the rhetorical code is more concerned with effect or style rather than with context or meaning. Postings that utilize a rhetorical code are said to have 'performance force', that is they are constructed to have an impact on or to contact the reader or readers of the net. These postings can be self referential [emotive] or other referential [Conative] but they are both calculated to produce an effect on the reader.⁴³

⁴³ As I will discuss, I have a bit of difficulty with the word calculated and would rather state that both these style types simply have an impact on the hearer/reader. I do not think that style choice in always

The hermeneutic code stresses the 'encoding' of a message. It is characterized by language devices such as metaphor, or metonymy. Metonymy is a grammatical device which substitutes a word referring to an attribute for the thing or idea that is meant.⁴⁴ The reader must work at the text to 'get' its meaning, references are often oblique and playful rather than direct or logical. A posting characterized by the hermeneutic code can have performance force but it is an effect that is subtle rather than direct. Here is an excellent indication of what is required from the reader to comprehend a posting written in the hermeneutic code:

<snip> Note the pokes at argumenta a la akademica, note the swift style, the intentional missing letters, the stance of dialogue. Go beyond the text, I hope that you will find meaning. Let it not insult, but rather ready you for cool winds of change.⁴⁵

and to the network which often mis-understands the posting written in the hermeneutic code:

<snip> For the annoyed I tell thee this: Foss writes perhaps as "psychopath" (as you have dubbed this growing lot), but thou of the grand akademy have passed much meaning in his words. As the Normal is hostile to ambiguity, quickly dismissing that horror on the grounds of defending social constructs and "appropriate behavior". It is exactly this which dear Foss has spent a lifetime of work purveying to us, time and time again it is excused, ignored. Read again those words, oh student of human behavior.

<snip>⁴⁶

'consciously' calculated, but here again, I am not dealing with conscious/unconscious distinctions in this research.

⁴⁴ i.e. the use of "the crown" to signify the monarchy.

⁴⁵ human@better.behavior.com (1993) *On Foss*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 26 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁴⁶ op. cit., 26 Nov.

Jakobson further states that a code is used in any message to frame that message's functions and he identifies six functions of a message. As I began the posting act analysis I simultaneously observed that certain functions and codes were configured by specific domain usage and semantic relationships. For example I found that the referential function could be correlated with postings that exhibited a sparse use of domains and a high incidence of inclusionary relationships. Below I discuss each type of message function as defined by Jakobson and the attendant code that he defines as central to each particular style of writing. I further define each function in terms of my own observations with respect to the domain usage and semantic links that I found characteristic of each style. In each case I will give an example and show how a specific style positions a writer.

The first of the six functions of a message treated by Jakobson is the referential function. I have pointed out that his definition of the referential function parallels Bruner's definition of the Logico-scientific [paradigmatic] code,⁴⁷ or Gilligan's description of masculine/dominant thought.⁴⁸ As the dominant mode, this function would signify the speaking/thinking model that 'mutes' the voices of others.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. page 11.

⁴⁸ Gilligan, Carol (1982) *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

⁴⁹ Ardener, Edwin. (1971) *Social Anthropology and Language*. London; New York: Tavistock Publications.

A **Referential** message points outside of itself to an external object or idea; that is it functions as a pointer to an external referent. This type of posting stresses the **context** of the message, how a text is 'put' together through the **logical** code. The logical code is characterized by progression and is connective. The text is characterized by organization in which each sentence builds on the previous one, indeed is the natural outcome of the referent in the previous sentence. In terms of domain usage and semantic linkage the referential function is constructed through a sparse use of domains, emphasizes one of these domains by the use of attribution, and utilizes the semantic relationships Inclusion [X is a kind of Y] and Spatial [X is part of Y], to connect and integrate conceptual categories. The posting example I give below is one that initiated an extremely successful thread and is an excellent example of the referential style which uses a logical code as its unifying factor. I show some of these logical between - sentence links:

Subj.: Query⁵⁰

Frederik Barth, in the Analysis of Culture in Complex Societies, recalls his earlier notion of cultural streams, the notion that cultures consist of multiple and discrepant elements which cannot, therefore, [cause/effect connective] be homogenized into meaningful generalizations. [connective derivation] He then seems to suggest that these elements, insofar as they constitute a culture, cohere - not in spite of, but beyond the realm of discrepancies. [If this is so [cause] then might this not suggest [effect] >> Might not coherence arise from opposition itself, as in a bicycle wheel and for which tension is the vital constituent? [clarification of suggestion] I do not mean that discrepant forces must be equal and opposite, only that each unique collection of elements settles into its own equilibrium of tension.

Any replies welcome.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Bisha, Tim. (1993) *Query*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 27 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

Figure 4:6 - Bisha: Example of the Referential/Logical Code

This posting utilizes two main Domains: Place/Space [category used: *Realm*] and People [Barth]. Note the links to scientific discourse; *elements, forces, equilibrium* and how culture, rather than indicating a stand alone domain, is subsumed under Barth/People. This message is Referential, it functions as a pointer to ideas about cultural elements attributed to Barth. Through its allusion to Barth's concepts it logically indicates the author's own proposition with regards to cultural elements through cause/effect derivation: *If this is so, then might this not suggest?* This posting may hope to elicit response but there is no 'performance force' no specific referent directed at a reader nor is there a self referent emotive aspect in which the writer indicates his own stance toward the topic at hand. It is not calculated to move or convince, merely to raise questions and to point to alternative ideas/concepts. The author utilizes only two conceptual categories⁵² because the posting's dominant semantic relationship between categories is Inclusion. These categories are described through Antinomy and behavioral and descriptive attributes which are layered in sequential relationships. In the semantic chart below I briefly represent how these inclusionary relationships are structured as this referential mode of writing is a dominant writing style on Anthro-L. In this way I hope to show the reader a

⁵¹ During this entire discussion, which began as the flame war on South Africa was settling down, I waited for the participants to notice how their "theoretical" discourse applied to the [then current] situation on Anthro-L in terms of the community's discourse and flames.....[I waited in vain]

⁵² For the curious reader I note - although it prefigures my later discussion - that People and Place/Space are indeed Domains and not sub-categories or categories of domains in the Anthro-L conceptual scheme of things. As such they represent two of the domains that Spradley posits as universal.

little more clearly how the referential function, the logical code and the arrangement of few domains and high inclusion are related. I have italicized linkage terms between the categories.

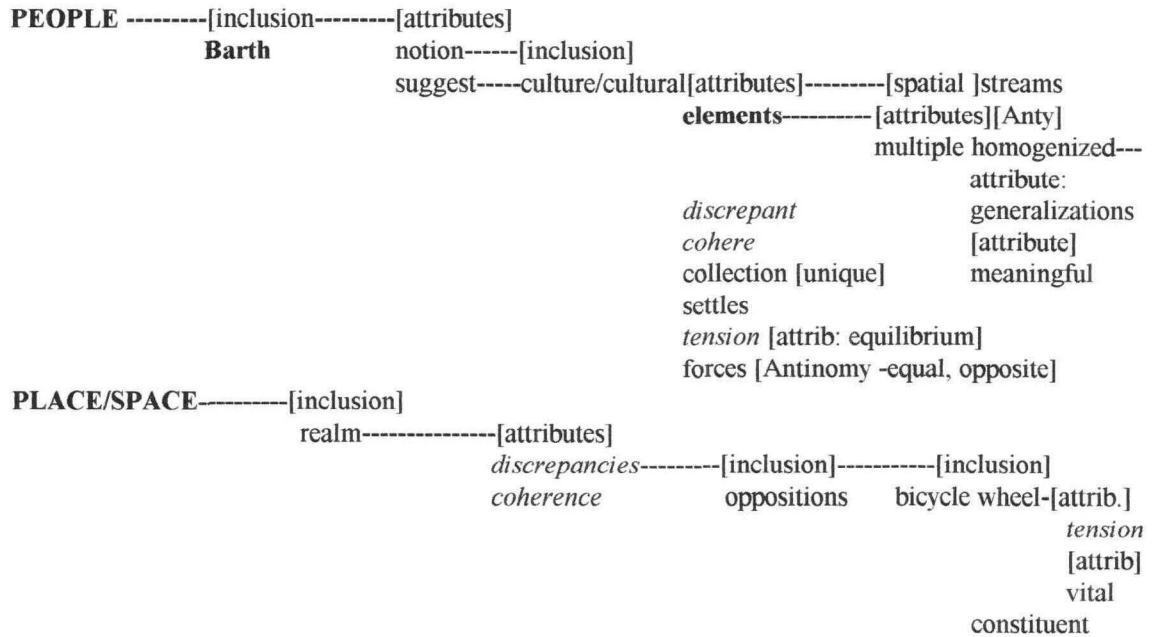


Figure 4:7 - Semantic Chart: Referential Code

Through this semantic chart it is immediately clear that the attributes of the elements of [spatial] culture are the centerpiece of discussion in this posting. The relationship layering in an integrative one. The person, Barth has a notion [attribute] and suggests [attribute] a number of things with respect to cultural "elements". The concentration of behavioral attributive description is on "elements". This sub category "elements" is linked to Place/Space [realm] by *discrepancies*, *coherence* and *tension* and by spatial relationship to cultural *streams*, which in turn are spatially linked to culture and Barth. As in the earlier

posting example which discussed Geertz, one category is dominant, the other is there merely as an explanatory support.

The second function of a message is termed by Jakobson the **Emotive** one. In this type of a message, the **context** is oriented to the writer [sender] and expresses the writer's attitudes. This type of message, along with the Conative type found immediately below, is said to have "Performance Force". It can be coded through either a **rhetorical or hermeneutic** code. Stephanie Nelson's post found earlier in this Chapter is "Emotive" and structured through a **rhetorical** code.

Here is another example of an Emotive message that is structured through a **hermeneutic** code:

At this time I hereby abjectly apologize for my psychotic episode on Sat 20 Nov. 1993, which occurred for reasons not explained at this time. I was not overdosed. Contributory incidents may have involved some embarrassing incident at the home of a friend which I cannot recall and the confiscation of what remained of my funds by University Hospital. These do not represent excuses.

My heart goes out to Pam Leader for any upset or anguish whatever that may have been eventuated from my deplorable and execrable behavior. It is not to be expected that any apology will restore amicable relations which never existed; this, given that some people take the Professionalism of ANTHRO-L very seriously. The characterization of myself as "pollution" by one contributor is not unique to that person; and encompasses perhaps a majority opinion of Anthro-L.

My apologies too are extended to the other two individuals involved, Traphagen and Buck, whose spelling patterns I am intensely studying at this very moment; this sincere

apology is extended to the extent that their involvement was necessitated by my [this is
what my notes say] crimes against humanity.⁵³

Figure 4:8 - Example: Emotive/Hermeneutic Code

In the Emotive function the message is clearly centered on the writer's own attitudes or ideas. This is sharply clarified by the semantic chart that was constructed from this posting. The author uses the following attributes in his self description; apologize [attrib: abjectly], psychotic [spatial: episode], overdosed [not - Antimony], recall [not - Antimony], funds [cause/effect: confiscated], deplorable, execrable, pollution, studying, crimes [cause/effect: against humanity]. The conceptual categories utilized in this posting include Behavior, Body, Humanity, People, Time, Space/Place, and Anthro-L. The dominant semantic relationship is Attribution characterized by metaphor while the code that structures this posting is hermeneutic. The positioning of self-to-net is elusive, one might almost think playful. Is he serious or not?

A **Conative** message is aimed at a reader, thus stresses contact through the text. Although it often includes external references, it is calculated to move, reach/touch or convince a reader. Thus it largely uses a **rhetorical code**, although examples can be given where a **hermeneutic** code is used to maximize a Conative function. Here is an example of a Conative function constructed through the rhetorical code:

After thoroughly dredging through Mr. Foss's compendium to us, I have come to the marked conclusion that he over reacted. I did not find anything of noted 'offense' or rivalry' in Mr. Traphagan's 'secret' mailing to Foss, nor any reason why if Traphagan

⁵³ Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *Apology to Pam Leader*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 23 Nov. .Ms. in files of author.

thought the conversation would be of no interest to the rest of the worldly Anthro-L listeners, that his commentaries should remain exactly as he [Traphagan] intended them to be.....private.

Mr. Foss *did* mention in his reply to the 'reply of inquiry' about going public with the debate. Such a request was kind hearted and in 'sincere interest for the betterment of Net conversation"...esp. in the recent absence of genuinely long winded and interstimulating debates on Anthro-L due to the AAA meetings. Therefore, his workings were well intended.

If you will pardon me Mr. Foss, I would like to comment on what I see as a breach of ethicacy in regard to email. I thoroughly believe that such conversations should remain 'private' until agreed upon to go public as you requested. To forward someone else's private mailing to you to a "panel for review" is in a sense, a violation of JT's rights of privacy. If he [J. Traphagan] agreed to letting the email be reviewed by a panel before going public then I have no qualms in your decision to go public. <snip>⁵⁴

Figure 4:9 - Example: Conative/Rhetorical

In this message the writer is positioned towards the net's readers, and although from time to time he presents himself as speaking to "Foss", he is speaking to him in a rhetorical manner for the benefit of the net-at-large. The semantic chart of this posting revealed a dominant category [People] which was divided into 3 dominant sub categories: Foss, Traphagan, and the author of the posting, Bigelow. Other conceptual categories were constituted by Anthro-L and by Conversation/email, [*sub categories: debates, public, private*].

⁵⁴ Bigelow, Brad M. (1993) *the Foss debate*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 21 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

The People sub-categories were characterized by Attribution. Thus Foss's attributes include *overreacted*, *compendium*, *mentioned*, *request*, *breach*, *forward*. Traphagan is described as *[not] offensive*, *[not] rivalry*, *commentaries [attrib: private]*, *rights [attrib: privacy]* and *[not] agreed*, while Bigelow is self described as *dredging*, *conclusions*, *final [not]*, *reason [not]*, and *believe*. These attributive relationships are linked by sequence to Conversation/email/debates, and by Location for Action to public/private and Net. The concentration on categories is dispersed, but the category Conversation is most diversified; it is semantically explored through spatial, [public/private] means/end, [send, panel for review] cause/effect, [breach of ethicacy, public/private] attribution, Location for Action [Anthro-L, public/private], and Inclusionary links to all other categories contained in this posting.

The message is rhetorically encoded, the writer hopes to produce an effect of agreement or disagreement with the position vis a vis public/private conversation that he articulates in this posting. He positions himself as an 'ethical' and as mediator [while Foss has breached ethicacy] member of the net by articulating certain standards that he considers minimal to maintain members' privacy. As such he also discloses that public/private issues are important to him.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Of course there is much more that can be said with respect to this posting, as well as the ones that have preceded it in this discussion of functions. However, I wish only to illustrate connectives in this chapter so that the reader will understand how I derived my information. It is not my intent to analyze postings here.

The Conative function offers the most 'direct' evidence about a writer/reader relationship, and how the writer is positioning the 'self' with regards to the net. When analyzing postings written in the referential function, the researcher is limited to the observation that the writer has chosen this function within which to 'speak', or of 'how' a writer has positioned him/her self through the context of the message, for example with regards to certain theoretical questions that concern the community. While this positioning with respect to issues tells the analyst where the writer stands vis a vis net alignments, it does not give a great deal of personal information about the writer's self.

On the other hand the Emotive function tells the researcher quite a bit about the 'self' of the writer and 'how' he/she conceptualizes the 'self' in relationship to the net. But these messages focus on concepts of 'self', concepts of the 'other' in terms of self response, and a tendency to 'lump' the net membership as 'other'. The information gleaned from these postings constitutes a significant contribution towards the understanding of a specific net personality and 'how' they regard themselves in dialogue with the net, but sparse information in terms of self/other interaction.

The Conative function is valuable in that the message is usually written toward a specific other net member or a group of aligned community subscribers and thus it expresses the writer's [own] attitudes towards the discussion as well as his/her perception of the other's attitudes and where these differ and agree. Thus the Conative function is one that is utilized quite often in flame wars. While at first glance flame postings may seem highly emotive, the semantic charts of these postings show that most of them are, textually, very

'other directed'. This 'other' directed orientation derives from a writer/reader stance that is accusatory - the message concentrates on 'what you did/said 'wrong' and moves to defend the 'self'. In keeping with the Conative function these texts are characterized by an 'outside' referent - usually to the speech event that triggered the flame war.

The **Phatic** function also stresses the **contact** between reader and writer and a message can utilize any one of the three codes in order to do so. The code chosen depends both on the writer, and the reader he/she is trying to "reach". "Phatic" means to establish social contact and sociability but unlike the Conative function it does not rely on 'performance force' to do so. Academic discussion often utilizes a Phatic function to establish a sociable footing and then moves to a referential function in discussions of a certain net issue. An example of a purely Phatic posting with an 'other referent' is given below:

> Shouldn't the current be "MODEMism"? I haven't the faintest idea what would constitute "post-modemism" then. ;-)

Simple -- Al Gore's nationwide "information highway" bringing a packetized fiber optic network into our homes. Do you suppose they'll force those of us without televisions to pay for that aspect of the fiber even though we won't use it?⁵⁶

Figure 4:10 - The Phatic Function

⁵⁶ Meyer, Eric T. (1993) *Re: Mo BETTER poMO*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 6 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

This message is sociable, characterized by an easy going exchange emphasized through the use of Emoticons. As I shall show, the Phatic function is one in which the writer clearly positions him/her self in term of "knowledge" under the umbrella of sociability/levity.

The **Metalingual** message is concerned with the communication process itself. Thus it is often self-referential. Metalingual messages are an integral part of flame wars, but discussions of the meaning of words can also arise in everyday conversation as in the following message:

Whoa! I'm new of the list bit I didn't fall off a truck loaded with road kill. What does "structure" mean here? Is there a Structuralist-functionalist lurking in these word woods? <snip>⁵⁷

Figure 4:11 - Metalingual Function #1

and in answer to this message:

<snip> why cut off the attempt by calling names -- structural functionalist? For shame, for shame.
<snip>⁵⁸

Figure 4:12 - Metalingual Function # 2

In the Poetic function, patterns of sound, rhyme and meter are the centerpiece of the message. Relationships between words as well as metaphoric connections at the level of

⁵⁷ Quigley, Hal. (1993) *Tension is a Concept*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 28 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁵⁸ Lieber, Mike (1993) *Tension*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 29 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

words, sentences and paragraphs are created through the hermeneutic code which informs this type of message. The hermeneutic code is not reader-friendly. Below, I offer a number of brief examples:

"Ruby, Oswald, and JD Tippet [who] were sitting around the table playing regular Wednesday Night poker game via Telnet which allows you to be n minus k plus one factorial people at once"....<snip>⁵⁹

Figure 4:13 The Hermeneutic Code #1

<snip> - the exceptions are just joined neophytes who have no idea what the list is about, which is inevitable given that its sole historical content has been the aversion to being "about" anything in particular or in general - the genre of ritualistic insult comparable in virulence to what is found in certain warrior cultures or street gangs but indulged in by office workers and students....<snip> "⁶⁰

Figure 4:14 - The Hermeneutic Code # 2

All Information, Request, Thread, Jokes and Error messages were analyzed for code and function. The results were then correlated to the gender breakdowns in each of the five categories.

Once I had encoded each posting for function and type of code used, I correlated the results with the domain usage/semantic relationships findings for each posting. In my analysis of style I paid particular attention to thread messages as these postings represented the text that most clearly allowed me to access styles of presentation in terms

⁵⁹ Daniel A. Foss (1993) *class persecutors with no class* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 31 Oct. Ms. in files of author.

⁶⁰ Daniel A. Foss (1993) *Sociology of Flame Culture*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 1 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

of domains, semantic relationships, coding and function. I was able to analyze an initiatory message and then to compare these messages with the respondent postings in terms of comprehension/style. This allowed me to ascertain the effect of certain styles/messages on net readers, as well as providing insight into consistent/non-consistent presentations of 'self'. The results of my findings are discussed in Chapter Eight.

As I continued to work with both my domain/semantic analyses and my differentiation of the database postings in terms of code and function in each of the topical categories, I soon uncovered the transition points in posted text which led to reprimands from other net members with regards to a subscriber's posting style, and frequently led to 'flaming'. Thus my discussion of the boundaries of that which can be said will grow out of my analyses in Chapter Nine where I integrate my discussion of who speaks, what is spoken and 'how' it is spoken on Anthro-L.

It is noteworthy that the boundaries of 'that which can be said' are in no way configured by adversariality; flame wars occur regularly that are characterized by venomous language and extreme positioning. The listowners often give no net attention to these exchanges, although they may interfere when the flame war has continued for an extended time and no resolution appears to be in sight. Thus adversariality, on its own, does not demarcate a boundary of 'that which can be said'. I shall show instead that speech boundaries are directly related to style and the 'Rationality' paradigm to which the Statement of Being and the net's members claim to adhere. In essence this paradigm is camouflaged on the net under the label "proper academic discussion."

I now turn my attention to Chapter Five in which I discuss the role of the Statement of Being as the network's underlying semantic structure in detail. In this Chapter I have noted the importance of the Statement of Being to my research configuration as it led to the four questions that frame my investigation into gender writing styles, as well as informing my parameters for 'net talk'.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: THE STATEMENT OF BEING

5.1. Introduction

In my discussion of Anthro-L as a community I underlined the importance of the Statement of Being to the net's discursive practices. Similarly, I noted in the discussion of the development of my methodology that the Statement led me to define the boundaries for my topical categories with respect to net discourse, while in my Journals I had commented on the fact that both net members and the listowners appear to invoke the Statement of Being when the net is involved in discursive disputes or misunderstandings. The discussion below exhibits some overlap with my discussion of Anthro-L as a community in Chapter Two. This is inevitable given that the net's mandate with respect to posting acts contributes to the configuration of the community which interacts with the net's discursive topography.

As I continued to work with my data and once I had noted the relevance of the Statement to net discourse, I posited that the Statement of Being constitutes the network's underlying semantic structure. This semantic structure is not defined by a rigid set of parameters, rather it is a loose framework that sketches the net's topography; an outline of a place/space within which members create a unique and transformational discursive world.

All posting acts are mediated by the discursive structure of Anthro-L. While this structure is loosely configured by the parameters contained in the Statement of Being, the interaction between members and the Statement's suggested communicative styles and

topics, between members and members, and members and their chosen discursive styles, plays a significant role in the shaping of the net's semantic topography.

The Statement of Being informs the communicative structure of the net in the following ways:

*Anthro-l is the general anthropology listserver. It is dedicated to providing information and an arena for discussion on any anthropological subject. It spans archaeology, social and cultural anthropology, linguistic anthropology and physical anthropology. However, it is truly multidisciplinary in nature, and frequently drifts into related areas of other social and hard sciences.*¹

The above paragraph establishes the framework for what should be spoken on the net.

Anthro-L is described as the general anthropology listserver which provides information and an arena for discussion that encompasses all the nuances of the discipline as well as related academic areas. Characteristics of Anthropology ascribed to Anthropology by the Statement's authors include *research, events, current, multidisciplinary, general, has a nature, is supported, contains requests, answers, is relevant* and is part of the *Sciences*. This mutual *relevance* of Anthropology and Sciences is important to the fundamental semantic assumptions underlying the public discourse of specific [and highly vocal] net members.

The mandate of what should be spoken on Anthro-L is further explicated:

Anthro-l aims to provide information on current anthropological events, employment opportunities, research questions, as well to help locate

¹ Zubrow, Ezra and Jarvis, Hugh (1994) *Anthro-L Statement of Being*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 7 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

As I have noted in my discussion of the Anthro-L community, the listowners outline their expectations of net discursive behavior, the remedies that are available to users who do not appreciate the messages of others, and the consequences if a net member does not adhere to the community's discursive standards:

....this format was chosen to provide complete freedom to its subscribers to indulge in whatever anthropological thought they might desire.....please note: Should you find that the occasional posting is not to your personal or intellectual taste, you are free and encouraged to: simply ignore and discard the messages [s]; send your thoughts to the original sender, or better yet, the whole list or drop a note to a sympathetic ear (like the listowners....) If you find someone's messages offensive, chances you are not the only one. Don't be shy. Make your voice heard. We value your thoughts.....

The Listowners discuss discursive behavior in two sections of the Statement and outline alternative posting remedies for the reader who perceives that he/she is being "attacked." I quickly noticed how closely the Listowner's remedies for an offensive posting follow Lakoff and Johnson's discussion of the structural "Argument is War" metaphor in western society.⁴

The response options outlined in the Statement for the reader who is faced with a message that is not to his/her "personal or intellectual taste," are based on the Listowner's assumptions that a reader in these circumstances will perceive him/her self as being 'attacked' by an offensive message; at the very least the reader's sensibilities will have been jarred. Through the act of defining a message as "offensive," a reader adopts a 'point of

⁴ Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press. pages 61-65.

'self-positioning' - a position that differs from the writer of the initiatory message. This positioning of self and other leads to a discursive 'situation'⁵ in which a "conflict" between reader and writer is "identified."⁶ This communicative positioning parallels Lakoff and Johnson's discussion of "conflict identified" as the initiatory component of the Argument is War metaphor.

The writer is thus positioned by the reader as offensive and as an adversary. Within the context of the "Argument is War" metaphor and the Statement of Being's assumptions, the reader must 'do' something to express this difference of opinion, he or she must counterattack. Counterattack strategy is suggested through three separate options in the Statement of Being; delete the message [truce, stalemate, or retreat⁷] complain to the listowners or to the net-at-large [maneuvering⁸] or post a complaint to the writer [direct counterattack].⁹ **The Statement of Being assumes that the net's discursive terrain is adversarial, and outlines speech-attack options within this adversarial paradigm.**

The reason for this implicit acceptance of the adversarial paradigm by the authors of the Statement of Being can also be found in Lakoff and Johnson's study of metaphor in our

⁵ Goffman, Erving (1963) *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press. page 18.

⁶ This identification parallels Lakoff and Johnson's discussion of "conflict identified". op. cit., pages 61-63.

⁷ op. cit., page 63.

⁸ op. cit., page 63.

⁹ Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press. pages 80-83.

culture. Their discussion of irrational argument, which is frowned upon by segments of Western society such as the academic world, identifies tactics such as **intimidation, threats, appeals to authority, insults, belittling, challenging authority, evading the issue, bargaining and flattery** as argumentative strategies that are stipulated as being 'persona-non-grata' to adherents of the Rational Argument paradigm. The rational paradigm is said to be characterized by the stating of premises, the citing of supporting evidence, and the drawing of logical conclusions. But as Lakoff and Johnson note:

*But even in the most ideal cases, where all of these conditions hold, the Rational Argument is still comprehended and carried out in terms of war. There is still a position to be established and defended, you can win or you can lose, you have an opponent whose position you attack and try to destroy and whose argument you try to shoot down. If you are completely successful, you can wipe him out.*¹⁰

Not only is the concept of war built into the concept of a Rational argument, but the paradigm itself contains, often in hidden form, the very tactics employed in the irrational argument which it claims to transcend. Consider the following excerpts from the 'Postmodernism' thread which eventually escalated into a major flame war:

<snip> I really think that Habermas is on to something with the assertion that what should be sought is a communicative model of understanding.<snip> **[quoting authority]**¹¹

<snip> yes, I adamantly agree, very difficult, all of your points are well taken. but we are inescapably on the exploratory path which includes this 'reality' of subjectivity...<snip> **[bargaining]**¹²

¹⁰ op. cit., page 63.

¹¹ Matthews, Doug (1993) *Re: Postmodern Anthropology*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 3 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

<snip> The reason why anthropology has become so saturated with postmodernists is quite plain, at least to my mind. Too many anthropologists, too little research funds. It is simply a cheap way of gaining influence [citations] and standing. <snip> **[belittling]**¹³

<snip>but this unjustly famous essay, "Thick description" on close reading proves sloppy and hypocritical. <snip> This essay derives much of its impact from the ridiculous claim that an eye twitch is objectively indistinguishable from a wink. <snip> A scientific nose can detect postmodernism a mile away, and the smell is foul. **[insult]**¹⁴

Examples could be given from this thread that illustrate each of the tactics contained in the 'irrational paradigm' under the guise of rational discussion.

The conditions said to underlie the rational form of argument [citing of premises, logical derivation etc.] are the same parameters utilized by Jakobson in his definition of the 'referential' function of a message, and they inform Bruner's explication of the Logico-scientific mode. Both Jakobson¹⁵ and Bruner¹⁶ distinguish these styles through the use of the logical code, an important element in "Rational" argument. Because Anthro-L is structured as a community through member's common interest in the discipline [academic] of Anthropology, and because academic disciplines stress the importance of the 'rational'

¹² Williamson, Kathleen. (1993) *Re: Can You Build Subjectivity into A Model?* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 4 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

¹³ Helgason, Agnar (1993) *Nothing New Under the Sun (not even pomo)*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 5 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

¹⁴ Graber, Robert (SS51000) (1993) *Re: Labeling Theorists: Reply to Helgason*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 13 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

¹⁵ Jakobson, Roman. (1960) "Linguistics and Poetry." [in] *Style and Language*. Sebeok, Thomas A. [ed] (1960). Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. pages 350-377.

¹⁶ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. page 11.

in argument, the "referential/rational/Logico-scientific" mode of speech is an important concept to the network and an integral part of the discursive structure.

Thus while my question 'who speaks' is not directly addressed by the Statement of Being, it **is** implicitly framed through the Statement's preference for communicative exchange in public space and by its implicit acceptance of an adversarial language paradigm. Both the acceptance of adversariality as inherent in speech and the emphasis on public space play central roles in 'who speaks' on Anthro-L and who is muted.

The listowners themselves reserve the right to counterattack. In the Statement the listowners confirm that Anthro-L is not a moderated forum, but paradoxically affirm:

*While this is not a moderated forum, the listowners retain the option of cautioning any who appear to be using the list for ad hominem attacks, malicious purposes or advertising without permission. Should there be repeat offenses, the list owner will feel obliged to bar the offender from the list entirely.*¹⁷

The semantic chart of the Statement of Being clearly illustrates the role of the listowners.

They are self described as very active indeed: *ears to hear, value, retain, options, caution, obliged, consider, welcome, condone, manage, run, [not] views, hope*. Importantly, the conceptual category "Listowners" stands in a relationship of Antimony¹⁸ to the other conceptual categories/domains with the exception of the category "Listserver". Thus, while the listowners are linked by Inclusion to the category listserver and hence are 'part

¹⁷ op cit., Anthro-L Statement of Being.

¹⁸ thus stand in opposition too, are 'not'.

of the Listserver, they are not 'part of' categories such as People, [posters], Anthropology, or Behavior. They are part of, yet not part of the net.

This separation of the listowners from the other domains with the exception of the Listserver, is understandable for a number of reasons. Firstly, the owners have self-imposed the task of keeping net order, thus must stand conceptually separate from other net members in order for their potential power to be effective. In describing their own activities the listowners assume that to keep *order*, there must be someone who takes the responsibility for discontinuous, illegitimate discourse [*chaos*] and they define this as their function. In keeping with the acceptance of the adversarial paradigm of speech, there is an implicit assumption that the necessity for discursive order, in effect for discursive **structure**, is part and parcel of any orderly virtual society; more there is an implication that too much freedom for some [condoning attacks] leads to less freedom for others. There appears to be no acknowledgment by the Listowners that discourse framed within the adversarial paradigm may provoke respondent silence from some net participants; the listowners conceptualize this adversariality as normal. There is no inkling that for some members conversation does not always carry the possibility of going to war. Thus adversariality by itself, does not constitute a posting 'attack'.

Secondly, the listowners are also part of, yet not part of, the hegemonic Internet myth of 'freedom', free expression and rampant individualism.¹⁹ The tension that exists between the

¹⁹ In a nutshell, they want to believe in it, they would love it to be possible, but they know it is not a reality. An age old problem. How to be free, or give the illusion of freedom, without being free.

Internet 'ideal' - the new utopian²⁰ future with no labels, statuses or roles, and the need to impose structure on a liminal space, is evident in the Statement of Being. In keeping with the ideal paradigm of Internet communication, the listowners claim that Anthro-L is unmoderated, implying that the discourse is free to travel in any direction net users choose to take it. Simultaneously, the Statement imposes limits on this ideal by restricting both 'topics' of conversation and the style in which discourse is conducted. Net members are certainly not free to talk about anything and everything in whatever manner they choose. At the very moment that communicative parameters are textually imposed on free speech, the Statement uses phraseology such as "*format was chosen to provide complete freedom, you are free and encouraged to.....*" reflecting the tension between the ideal of complete freedom and the impossibility of a community without structure. Paradoxically, the freedom to attack and respond within the adversarial paradigm, restricts the voices of those who prefer an alternative style of 'net-speak'.

Through their articulation of the stipulated remedies that can be taken by a reader if he/she finds a message 'offensive', the Listowners, through the Statement of Being, themselves contribute to the muting²¹ of some of the community's members. Paralleling the format of the "Argument is War" metaphor, the Listowners propose that a reader can ignore or delete the message, write a private email to the writer of the offensive message, write a

²⁰ van Gelder, Lindsay (1991) *The Strange Case of the Electronic Lover*. [in] Dunlop, C. and Kling, R. [eds] (1976) **Computerization and Controversy**. Boston: Academic Press, Inc. pages 364-375. [page 366].

²¹ Ardener, Edwin (1975a) *Belief and the Problem of Women*. [in] Ardener, S. (1975) *Perceiving Women*. London: Dent. pages 1-17.

message of complaint about the writer of the message to the list, or complain to the listowners.

The consequences for the reader who follows any of these suggested alternatives are interesting. Here is a posting sent by a female writer who selected the option of complaining about a writer's message to the entire list.

<<snip> does he realize how much \$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$ and time I waste each day skipping his lengthy efforts?²²

In articulating this complaint the author structured her discourse within the domain conceptualization of the Statement, because she mentions her concerns for her time and her finances, both concepts with which the Statement of Being is similarly concerned and which it discusses in some detail. But her complaint clashes head on with the dominant ideal values underlying the Statement and the net; the concepts of "Individualism and Free Expression". Consider the following messages in response to the above posting:

First of all, will all the censorship people please just shut up. This is an open list that Dan Foss has every right to pontificate on if he so chooses. End the Nazi silencing routines, please ! <snip>²³

And then, when he realizes that in the above email he himself has tried to 'silence the silencers', the above author writes again:

<snip>but the issue is important to me. Academic freedom [or any kind of freedom for that matter] is far too precious and far too much under attack these days, with far too

²² Bolino, Monika (1993) *Re: Anthro-L Digest - 23 Nov. to 24 Nov. 1993*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 25 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

²³ O'Brien, John (1993) *Dan Foss and the AAA meetings*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 2 Nov., 14:12 CDT. Ms. in files of author.

many calls from left and right and center to silence anything that doesn't fit into the ideology or personal belief system. <snip> I even feel prey to it by wanting to *silence the callers* for censoring Dan.....Mia culpa²⁴

"Time is money" is a central theme in the Statement of Being. The Listowners offer Anthro-L subscribers no less than three different ways to receive postings based on time and money parameters. But time and money are also subordinated to the 'freedom to speak' by many listmembers:

<snip> Equally, I do not see why Foss (or Daniel, as may be) has to be shut up so that you can save the odd quarter. Yours grumpily,.....²⁵

Independence and freedom of speech are integral to the conceptualization of public space that dominates the net. Posting a complaint to the whole list about another net members' discursive habits is rarely helpful. Instead, the adversarial communicative paradigm and the tenacious belief in the freedom to 'speak' one's mind, ensure that the complainant is her/him self exposed to counter attacks on his/her position.

In the "Free South Africa" thread found in my database one of the male contributors tried another of the listowner's suggestions to convey his disgruntlement with a poster's style of speech. He posted a complaint to the offensive member through private email. The result?

²⁴ O'Brien, John. (1993) *Dan Foss and the AAA meetings*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 2. Nov., 17:14 CDT. Ms. in files of author.

²⁵ Carrier, James (1993) *Re: Foss*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 26 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

His private messages were sent firstly to other net members by direct email, 'a panel for review', and then posted to the entire list.²⁶ A flame war ensued.

In fact these 'official' policies with regards to 'offensive' postings in the Statement of Being contribute to an 'unsafe' environment for users who do not like to be publicly chastised. Complaints about an other net member's discursive practice usually result in net alignments where the complainant's post becomes the topic of an "I agree or I disagree" thread in which an "in your face" style of writing becomes vitriolic as each 'side' attempts to outdo the other.

My discussion of the socialization process of men and women in Chapter Three suggests that 'women' may not be as extensively socialized into the adversarial/rationality model of language because their lives are constituted by discursive fragmentation. Besides the situational discourses that constitute the praxis' of their lives, women are socialized into two 'meta-narratives' - the 'dominant' model of language and the language that constitutes 'female' gender in our culture. Anthro-L female members, at least those that are involved with Anthropology as an academic discipline, have been extensively socialized into the 'rational/academic' model of language/logic that characterizes the search for 'right', 'truth' and answers and the corresponding development of a rational theoretical stance within academic disciplines. Thus one suspects that these female community members *should*

²⁶ It was a complicated process. To be fair to the male member who sent the private emails complaining about his behavior to the net-at-large, I note that the original complainant stood accused of having sent his *original* complaint privately to other net members. Thus the male who was 'under the gun' felt he wanted to 'get it all out in the open'.

be able to contribute to any discussion conducted within the adversarial paradigm. Yet, judging by the participation statistics in net threads, they often do not choose to do so.

The net's emphasis on the sanctity of the freedom to speak, especially within the adversarial paradigm, is further clarified by the problem of the 'mis-read' message. It is not unheard of for a reader to fire off an offensive message to the list with regards to a writer's posting practice after he [usually] has just read a message, only to have the original writer post again to explain that his/her meaning was not at all what the reader had taken it to be. There are times when the reader actually refuses to accept the writer's explanation, insisting instead that HIS reading had been the correct one.

This 'knowing' of the other's meaning and intentions is equated with a stance towards words and their meanings which can best be described as "personally literal". This type of reader 'reads' the words, and states 'these are the words you used, this is what those words mean, ergo this is what you said', evidencing a total disregard for the fact that a word may mean different things to different people. The concept that "objective" meaning exists and simply needs to be uncovered is directly linked to the being objective = being rational equation through the perception that an objective reality can be described through clear, precise language. This preference for objectivity is again reflected in the referential/adversarial function which stresses clear, direct, precisely defined language which communicates ideas about the external world in statements that can be objectively judged as true or false through the logical code.

The tension between 'objectivity' in language, and linguistic subjectivity, which is perceived and defined as being transmitted through writing styles other than the 'referential' function, can lead to flame wars with net members aligning on either side and must surely discourage would-be posters from joining or starting threads. The Statement of Being's explicit prescriptive practice: "*better yet, to the whole list*", facilitates a situation where neither poster nor respondent who has 'accused' the poster of specific discursive wrongdoing, will back down and lose 'face' in a public space.

Lastly, the Statement emphasizes the importance of English ["English spoken here"] and notes that the list has its largest membership in the United States, rendering the net English and North American centric. The net's stipulated mandate is to speak of any and all related aspects of the discipline of Anthropology. Its functions include acting as a clearing house for the redistribution of requests and information and to serve as an arena for discussion between members who wish to articulate their 'thoughts' on Anthropology and related disciplines. It accepts as a given that discourse is inherently adversarial. Anthro-L is thus a local, discursive manifestation of these guidelines. Through these explicit and implicit parameters the listowners ensure that a specific cluster of language users will come together around a local discursive construction that is a socio-ideological manifestation of an academic discipline: Anthropology.

But without community members the Statement of Being is merely a group of words on a screen. In order for it to have a structural impact on the potential liminality of the List, the discursive standards it promulgates must be internalized and reinforced by net members

themselves. Subscribers are the people who interpret the words of the Statement; they are the people who apply social sanctions and retributions in the 'spirit' of their interpretations of the Statement. Coupled with individual concepts of e-ethics and e-morality - the principles underlying 'right' discursive behavior,²⁷ the structural precepts of the net's mandate are a powerful mirror of 'real-time' individual academic, social and personal values.

As the statement is central to approved net discourse I was interested to find out how it was coded in terms of domains and semantic relationships. I reasoned that there might be a relationship between highly successful postings and their relationship to the Statement. Would conformity to the discursive structure reflect the domain/semantic usage in the Statement itself? Did gender writing styles show any deviance from, or adherence to, the underlying semantic structure constituted by the Statement of Being?

If, as I had postulated, the Statement reflected the underlying semantic structure of the community, the links it evidenced to real-time institutions or values would have an impact on how certain discursive behaviors, such as 'writing', were viewed by the general net membership. Below I consider firstly the domain usage and semantic relationships found in

²⁷ And indeed, as I will discuss, the net's members are active monitoring readers of the 'other's' posting. For example: *"don't get me wrong, I have no intention of beginning any form whatsoever of an "email police", dedicated to the senseless censorship and review of what is and what is not acceptable for posting....<snip> I do however believe in a set of ethical principles...my own warped sense of what is morally right or wrong...<snip> "* see Bigelow, Brad M. (1993) *the Foss debate*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 21 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

the Statement of Being. As I do so, I will briefly discuss some of the Statement's links to real-time institutions and paradigms.

5.3. Domains

The Statement of Being encodes its messages within six main conceptual categories:

[domains] **BBS** [**Anthro-L/Listserver**], **Anthropology**, **Behavior** [Discursive and techno], **People**, **Space/Place**, and **Postings**.²⁸ The seventh category, **Listowners**, is linked by Inclusion to the **Listserver/BBS/Anthro-L**, and is not related to the other categories through Antinomy. **Listowners** are NOT the same as posters, subscribers etc.

The conceptual categories of the Statement are very closely linked. The Statement of Being, which speaks of net messages in some detail, treats the category '**Postings**' as a separate concept. As I note in the Statement's integrated semantic chart, a **Posting** is both a *document* and a **Behavior** engaged in by net members. Thus *posting* is a **Behavior** engaged in by **People** on the **BBS/Anthro-L**.²⁹ A **Posting** is [also] a *document* written by **People** [*writers*]. In net conversations **Anthro-L/BBS** is usually subsumed to the Domain **Space/Place** unless the posting explicitly refers to "this" net; the Statement of Being is, of course, primarily concerned with "this" net and treats **Anthro-L** as a separate category, rather than one of many places on the Internet.

²⁸ I use 'bold' lettering for all Domains, categories, folkterms etc., are demarcated by italics.

²⁹ As illustrated in the Semantic Charts found in the Appendices, when used in this way, posting is an attribution [behavior] of net members [People].

Each of these conceptual domains contains a number of folkterms that are used interchangeably with the name of the category. I have utilized many of these in this thesis. The **BBS/Anthro-L** is *the listserver, the list, the net, the group* and through its relation [inclusion] to the domain **Space/Place** an *arena or forum*. People are *posters, users, subscribers, members, readers, writers*. **Postings** are *messages, thoughts*. Additionally there are different kinds of postings by inclusion: [X is a kind of Y] *references, archived, digests, daily, publications, advertising, lumped, versions, attacks, information*.

Anthro-L, which is the 'name' of the group, represents the "listserver" and in the Statement is described through personification[attribution]. "It" has a "*being*", *views*, it *provides*, it *locates*, it *engages* in projects and it is *unmoderated*. **Anthro-L** is an active, apparently androgynous being which is capable of fulfilling certain essential functions with respect to the administration of the list. There is a personification of software/computers inherent in this description that is the result of Metonymy, tasks performed by the Listserver are described in anthropomorphic terms. The inclusionary link between the [Anthro-L] **Listserver** and the **Listowners** conveys a state of discursive neutrality for the **Listowners**. The "listserver" performs the 'tasks'; the Statement implies that the **Listowners** stand in 'its' shadows.

The attributes of readers and writers are conceptually separated and semantically demarcated from the general category "**Posters**" in interesting ways in the Statement's text:

People-----[inclusion]
 Posters-----[inclusion]
 writers

members-----[inclusion]
readers

Thus *readers*, who are a subcategory of *members* [in turn a sub category of **People**] are assigned the [attributions] characteristics *free, shy, voice, taste, read, consider, remember, think, contact, check*. *Readers* are related to *writers* through the domain **Behavior**, for example they must *contact* the *author* of a **Posting** to receive *permission*. Writers, who are *senders, transmitters, have a purpose, original, own, intended*, are further linked to readers by *permission* and to **Postings** by *author, published*. The author/publication, posting/book correlations reflect, as did the connections between academic language and rationality, the academic milieu that underlies the ethos of the net. Ideas are commodities. Thoughts have value. There is something "in" the sentences one writes that can be taken out and used by others. The commodity, the value belongs to those who utter/write the words.³⁰

As an interesting link to the historical ["real time"] conceptualizations of the active writer, the importance of 'authorial voice' and the reactive/passive reader, consider how net space is demarcated in the Statement of Being by the attributes that are ascribed to writers and readers:

<u>Readers</u>	<u>Writers</u>
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³⁰ Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. see their discussion on Metaphors which link thoughts, commodities, and containers. See also Reddy, Michael. (1979) *The Conduit Metaphor - A Case of Frame Conflict in Our Language About Language*. [in] Ortney, A. (ed) (1979) **Metaphor and Thought**. Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press. pages 284-324.

<i>free</i>	<i>sender</i>
<i>shy</i>	<i>transmitter</i>
<i>Voice</i>	<i>purpose</i>
<i>taste</i>	<i>original</i>
<i>read</i>	<i>own</i>
<i>consider</i>	<i>intended</i>
<i>remember</i>	<i>author</i>
<i>think</i>	<i>published</i>
<i>contact</i>	<i>permission</i>
<i>check</i>	

Readers are characterized by passive attributes and reactionary behavior. Where active words such as contact and voice appear in connection with readers they are linked by semantic relationship [means/end] as a reaction to the past behavior of writers. "Contact a writer to ask for permission" [to quote from that posting he/she wrote], or "make your voice heard" [in reaction to a writer's offensive "attack"]. Writers however, initiate action, they 'send', they 'transmit', they have a purpose, their words are original, they 'own' a posting or the words contained therein, they have intentions, they give permission. They are also semantically linked by posting [content] behavior to: *knowledge, offensive, attacks, publications, and information*. Through the attributions that are utilized to describe each category, 'writing' is framed as an active state, reading as a passive act.

Writers have knowledge/information that they share with readers, they can also be offensive and engage in attacks. The net's discursive topography which is characterized by the active/passive, reading/writing distinctions, offers little recognitions that reading/writing interaction is mutually interactive and that this interaction may be constructed in multiple or non-adversarial ways. Indeed, there is no acknowledgment

whatsoever that any other communicative paradigm might exist in which writers might not be the active, behaviorally instigative people they are defined as being in this Statement.

Nor is there a clear distinction between 'who' is a writer and 'who' is a reader on the network. A reader who 'requests permission' from a writer has obviously become a writer through the act of sending a request posting. The only parameter which appears to distinctively frame reading/writing roles is the active [writer] / reactive [reader] opposition.

Thus no attribute such as 'sharing' is granted to writers, it is the reader who should 'share' thoughts. While academic theorists have recognized the activity of 'reading' as highly participant and interactive, the paradigms we use in talking about, and the attributes we assign to the categories of reading and writing, do not evidence this shift in thinking. Instead our communicative paradigms exhibit the active/passive distinction.

Although I am not stating that the Statement of Being determines this pattern, the attributes ascribed by the Statement to reader/writer characteristics are uncomfortably close to the actual discursive net patterns of men and women writing in the category "threads" [discussions]. Women read [passive in terms of net interaction although they may be intensely interacting with the words they read] and men write, they are active in net threads.

The Statement of Being is centrally concerned with 5 main issues: The *nature* of **Anthro-**
L which it defines in terms of the *nature* [topics] of **Postings** and the *nature* of the
Behavior [discursive and techno] of **People** [members, subscribers]. All of these five

concerns turn on the **Posting**; a focal point echoed by the central position played by the posting in this research, and the dominant and self evident fact that without postings, no net comes into being. Nets are constructed and created through interaction, spoken into existence by discursive exchange.

5.4. Semantic Relationships

As outlined in Appendix F, the Statement of Being is characterized by the relationship Inclusion: X is a kind of Y, and secondarily though descriptive attribution, [the listserver is multidisciplinary in nature]. Inclusion is the semantic relationship that most often characterizes the referential [Logico-scientific] mode. In Chapter Seven I discuss the relationship between the Statement and male and female postings in terms of preferred style while in Chapter Eight I compare Domain usage in the Statement to preferred Domain usage in male and female presented messages in the Requests, Information and Thread categories.

The majority of the Statement of Being is written in a Conative function with a rhetorical code. Although it has a referential aspect, that is it refers to something outside of the text itself, it is mainly preoccupied with the contact between writer and reader by attempting to sway, convince, inform or make the reader aware of a number of discursive and technological issues that are pertinent to his/her membership.

In Chapters Six through Eight I present the findings derived from my Methodology. In Chapter Nine I discuss these findings and the Statement of Being within the context of the theoretical perspectives which inform this thesis. The next chapter focuses on the

question 'who speaks' on Anthro-L by considering the results gleaned from my demographic calculations.

6. CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS - WHO SPEAKS? RECIPROCITY AND MUTEDNESS

In this Chapter I discuss the question, who speaks on Anthro-L?, in terms of the statistical findings derived from the demographic methodology outlined at the beginning of Chapter Four. I will suggest that communicative relationships on Anthro-L are characterized by relations of reciprocity¹ in the Information and Request categories and by mutedness² in net threads. The intent of this chapter is not to offer an answer to the derivative question of why speaking patterns appear as they do. Rather, my purpose is to delineate the information discovered through my demographic investigations and to make some preliminary suggestions with regards to the speaking statistics.

As I have noted in Chapter Three, male and female individual 'selves' are interpenetrated by multiple statuses. I propose that the two most significant status markers integral to presentations of self on Anthro-L, are the individual's links to the discipline of Anthropology and the individual's experience of gender socialization. Every member of Anthro-L has their own specific conceptualization of what Anthropology 'is' as a discipline and how he/she situates themselves within that concept. Each member also brings to the community process the gendered experiences of their individual lives. There appear to be

¹ Polanyi, Karl. (1968) *The Economy As Instituted Process*. [in] LeClair, E.E. and Schneider, H.K. [eds] (1968) **Economic Anthropology: Readings In Theory and Analysis**. pages 122-143.

² Ardener, Edwin (1975a) *Belief and the Problem of Women* [in] Ardener, S. (1975) **Perceiving Women**. London: Dent. pages 1-17.

common differentials in gender socialization that manifest in specific, discursive ways.

Significantly, the convergence of gender and academic statuses, and their attendant language paradigms, that is how [individual] gender is situated in Anthropology, reflects both personal opinion and 'real-time' social and academic values which underlie these self-perceptions. Susan Herring, who studied gender on two academic mailing lists notes:

...male and female academic professionals do not participate equally in CMC [computer-mediated-communication]. Rather a small male minority dominates the discourse both in terms of amount of talk, and rhetorically, through self-promotional and adversarial strategies. Moreover when women do attempt to participate on an equal basis, they risk being actively censored by the reactions of men who either ignore them or attempt to delegitimize their contributions. Because of social conditioning that makes women uncomfortable with direct conflict.....

...rather than being democratic, academic CMC is power-based and hierarchical. This state of affairs however cannot be attributed to the influence of computer communication technology; rather it continues pre-existing patterns of hierarchy and male dominance in academia more generally, and society as a whole.³

This marginalization of women's virtual discourse, which Herring suggests is a real-time pattern duplicated in Cyberspace, is most evident in threads where women's discursive attempts are muted through conversational tactics and strategies deployed by other net members. However, marginalization is not evident in the Request and Information categories where Reciprocity characterizes the posting stream. In this Chapter I discuss the generalized reciprocity⁴ found in the Request and Information categories and the

³ Herring, Susan (1992) "Gender and Participation in computer-mediated linguistic discourse". ERIC document. Quoted here by permission of author. Ms. in file of author.

⁴ Polanyi, Karl. (1968) *The Economy As Instituted Process*. [in] LeClair, E.E. and Schneider, H.K. [eds] (1968) **Economic Anthropology: Readings In Theory and Analysis**. pages 122-143.

muting⁵ of the 'other' in net threads. The discussion of "how" these postings are constructed in terms of style will be left for Chapter Eight.

6.1. Statistical Results

My permanent database was composed of 303 sequential messages. My first task was to sort these postings into male and female presented messages. Those postings that I could not identify in terms of gender were set aside. Only three postings could not be coded for gender presentation, while 235 [78%] messages appeared to have been male written and 65 [21%] were authored by women.

In order to ascertain whether or not my findings represented a gendered posting configuration that was typical of Anthro-L talk over a period of time, I downloaded both the ANTHFILE⁶ and the ANTHSTAT⁷ report from the Listserver. The ANTHFILE lists the user I.D. and the 'real name' of every member subscribed to Anthro-L. It also records the total number of Anthro-L community members and concealed subscribers.

I initially utilized the ANTHFILE for two main proposes. Repeating the first task performed on my database postings, I separated the ANTHFILE membership into males, females and unidentifiable names. Once I had completed this separation, I turned to the

⁵ Ardener, Edwin (1975a) *Belief and the Problem of Women* [in] Ardener, S. (1975) **Perceiving Women**. London: Dent. pages 1-17.

⁶ Listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu (1995) *ANTHFILE*. Subscription list - Anthro-L. Downloaded to beaulieu@hg.uleth.ca. March 3.

⁷ Listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu (1995) *Anthro-L STATREPT*. Anthro-L statistics from November 16, 1992. Downloaded to beaulieu@hg.uleth.ca. March 3.

ANTHSTAT report in order to calculate the net's male/female posting ratios over a period of time.

The ANTHSTAT report lists the user I.D.s of all the people who have posted to Anthro-L since November 16, 1992 and supplies the number of times each of these users has posted. By cross checking the user I.D.s in the ANTHSTAT report with the male/female 'real names' I had separated from the ANTHFILE, I was able to calculate how many postings had been presented as "female" on the net since November 16, 1992, and how many had been written by males.

In the Table below, I present the percentage calculations and posting totals for male and female presented postings in my database and compare these to the statistics I derived from the ANTHSTAT/ANTHFILE reports for male and female postings presented on Anthro-L since November 16, 1992. The results appeared to confirm that my database was typical of the larger Anthro-L posting stream. I have included the percentage calculations for unidentifiable postings.

	TOTAL POSTINGS ANTHSTAT REPORT	TOTAL POSTINGS DATABASE
TOTAL POSTINGS	9338	303
MALE	7538 [80.7%]	235 [78%]
FEMALE	1698 [18.2%]	65 [21%]
UNIDENTIFIABLE	102 [1.1%]	3 [0.905%]

Table 6:1 Male/Female Postings

COMPARATIVE M/F POSTINGS

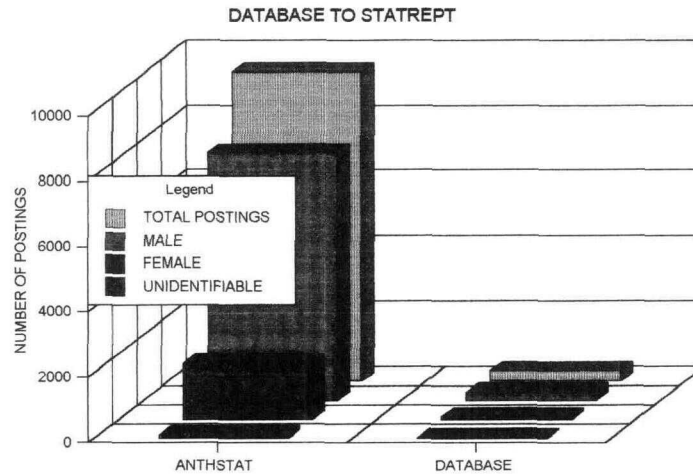


Figure 6:1 Graph: Male and Female Postings - Database

Next, I decided to classify my database by name. This information was accumulated largely from a posting's "header". Figure '6.2' shows my results and has two definitive sections. Firstly, it shows the total population of Anthro-L as recorded in the ANTHFILE: 1224 non-concealed subscribers. However, some of these members proved to be institutions which I could not classify for gender, and some were "lists" such as "Anth students@" which I also discarded as unclassifiable for the purposes of this study. Setting these members aside I was left with a population of 1197. Of the 1197 members, I recorded 725 (60.5%) as male, while 472 (39.43%) appeared to be female.

Secondly, the Figure '6.2' illustrates the males and females who posted during the course of my database collection in terms of frequency: how many male or female members

posted once, how many 2-5 times, and how many posted in excess of 6 messages. The graph demonstrates that a number of male members spoke most frequently.

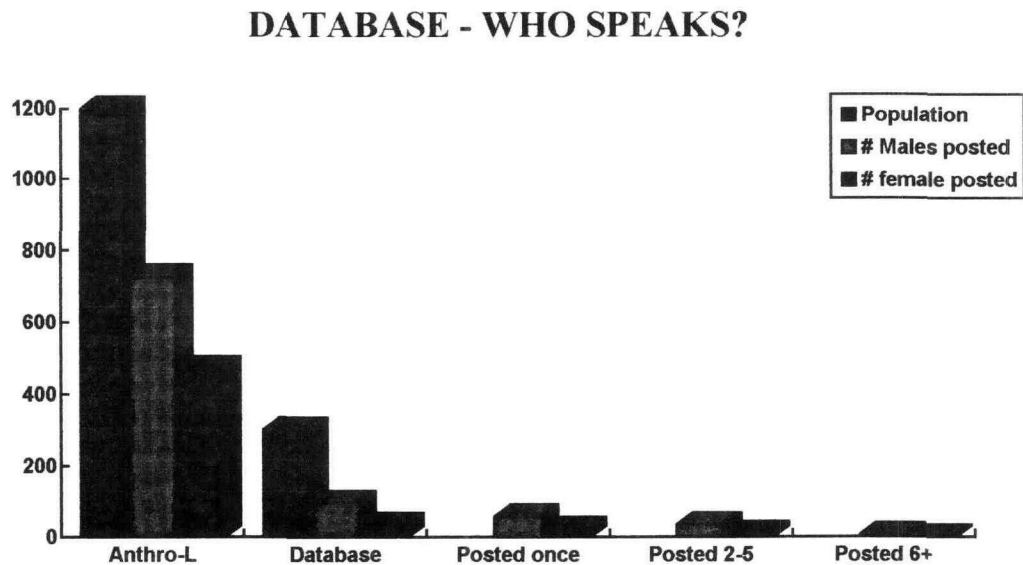


Figure 6:2 - Who Speaks? Graph.

In order to check the results I had obtained with respect to the frequency with which males and females posted messages during the period of time covered by my database, I turned once more to the ANTHSTAT file. I calculated the number of messages in each posting frequency category, and then reconciled the upper levels [posted in frequency 100+] to Usernames, and then real names taken from the ANTHFILE in order to ascertain the gender presentation of the members who frequently addressed the community. The results of my analysis of the posted messages over the 3 year period that Anthro-L has collected statistics on "who has spoken" is illustrated in more detail below. Figure 6.3

shows the 9,338 messages posted during the 3 year time period; of these 807 messages were single messages, that is messages posted by a single poster who did not post again. 773 people have posted 2-50 times [with an average of 26 posting to the net], 18 people have posted 50-100 times, 2 have posted 150-200 times, 2 have posted 200-250 times, 1 has posted 250-300 times, and 1 has posted over 300 times. The total messages posted according to the ANTHSTAT report results in a net population of 1,609 people. This is due to the fact that members who are now unsubscribed are listed as posters in this archival file. I interpret this as a transient population for graph purposes and show the results below. Members who have posted in excess of 100 messages are all still members of the list and are all male presented in terms of gender.⁸ In order to clearly illustrate the minute number of community members postings in the upper level frequency categories I have chosen to use a logarithmic chart..

⁸ I ran my last update on these figures in February of 1995. At that time a number of people, some of them female, were set to pass the 100+ mark. Thus February should be understood as the 'cut-off' point for my statistics.

Stats Report - 3 year

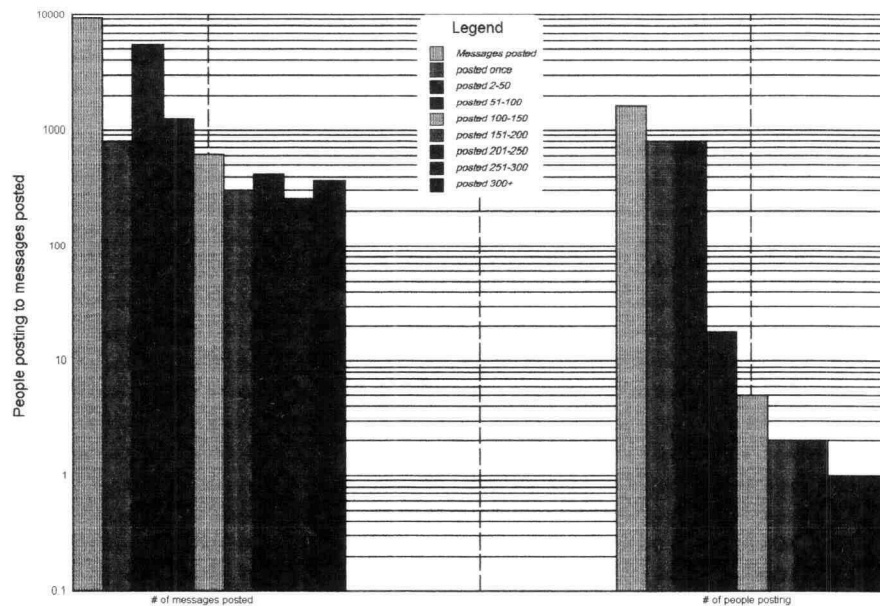


Figure 6:3 Posting Frequencies

Below I compare the statistical results gathered by Dr. Danny Yee of Anthro-L in his study of presented male/female posting statistics for the Anthro-L network. All figures are quoted here with permission.

The tabulations are for postings found on Anthro-L from January of 1994 to November of 1994.

- * members posted 4274 messages.
- * 10 male users posted 1018 messages: nearly 25% of the 4274 messages posted.
- * 20 members posted 1445 messages, more than 1/3 of the messages posted on Anthro-L from January to November of 1993. Of these 20 members 3 were presented as female and they were responsible for 138 of the messages posted, or 3%.
- * Of the top 50 posters, 11 are presented as female accounting for 285/4274 message posted or 7%, while men in the top 50 account for 1748/4274 or 41% of ALL postings during the time period January 1994 to November 1994.

While women account for approximately 39.62% of the total Anthro-L population, the posting percentages I had calculated for my database with respect to male/female posting ratios, initially led me to believe that women were represented in the community in significantly smaller numbers. Thus my efforts to compare my own statistics to the ANTHFILE and ANTHSTAT report allowed me to uncover that women were well represented, in terms of population figures, on Anthro-L. In an effort to discern where and when women did or did not speak, I decided to separate my database into topical categories.

6.2. Reciprocity

Anthro-L is a community composed of approximately 1224 non-concealed members, while 11 are concealed, that is the listserver does not know who these 11 people are. Of the identifiable members, about 60% are presented as male, 40% as female, and the rest are e-addresses of institutions such as CalTech or e-addresses for group lists such as Anth Students@***. New members move in and others leave the net on a daily basis. Regular error messages such as "subscribe" or "unsubscribe" testify to the continuing fluctuation of the net's population. Hence the numbers discussed in this chapter must always be considered approximate.

Once I had correlated posting and gender presentations for my entire database, I decided to categorize the messages in terms of posting topics. As I discussed in Chapter Four, I identified five main categories of net discourse: Requests, Information, Threads, Errors and Jokes. Once I had separated the messages in my database into these categories, I

divided each category further into male and female presented postings. In the Table below, I show the percentage of males and females speaking in each of these categories in two ways. Firstly I show male and female postings in each category as a percentage of the total postings in that category to the total messages in the database. Then I separate the male and female postings and calculate, for example, the number of male request messages to the total number of male presented messages posted. By doing this I was attempting to ascertain whether or not either gender preferred to post their messages in a specific category or categories. Table 6.2 thus shows the results of these calculations.

6.2.1. Category Statistics

Total postings 303 [3 not identified]	Total Posts in database	Requests in database	Info in database	Threads in database	Errors in database	Jokes in database
Males	235	53	57	108	11	6
Females	65	20	23	17	4	1
% to total database - males	78%	17.6%	19%	36%	3.6%	2%
% to total database female	21%	6.6%	7.69%	5.66%	1.3%	.03%
% in male categories to male database postings only	100%	22.55%	24.25%	45.95%	4.68%	2.55%
% in female categories to female database postings only	100%	30.7%	35.38%	26.15%	6.15%	1.54%

Table 6:2 Category Statistics

The concept of redistribution⁹ plays an important role in net postings. The commodity, information, is distributed to a common pool by the listserver to the entire net membership. This means that all net members have potential access to the information,

⁹ Polanyi, Karl. (1968) *The Economy As Instituted Process*. [in] LeClair, E.E. and Schneider, H.K. [eds] (1968) **Economic Anthropology: Readings In Theory and Analysis**. pages 122-143.

requests, and conversations of other members of the community. Redistribution requires that there be an intermediary, a third party who coordinates the distribution of information and exercises control over the flow. This function is filled by the listserver/listowners.

The listowners are active monitoring members of the network. In my discussion of the Statement of Being in Chapter Five, I remarked on the fact that the listowners define the 'types' of information that are suitable to this net's discourse, while retaining the power to decide whether or not certain goods [specific messages] will be distributed. Suitable communication includes request, information and thread postings which 'talk' about all aspects of anthropology, while unsuitable messages are defined by, for example, mass advertising or posting 'attacks'. The listowners stipulate that certain postings such as advertising must be 'approved' by them before being submitted to the net. In this way they exert a type of control over the redistribution of the net's commodity: Information.

Within this paradigm of redistribution, the Request and Information categories attest to relations of reciprocity among community members, offering little opportunity for the exercise of power by the listowner. The discourse that characterizes these postings is *usually* formulaic and inoffensive.

In the statistical information presented earlier in this Chapter, I noted that the women of Anthro-L constitute 40% [39.62%] of the net population but in my database they contributed 21.6% of the net postings, while male posters constitute 60% of the population but posted an impressive 78% of the database messages. My categorical analyses suggest that both men and women appear to utilize the net for information and

request postings. A significant number of male and female posters, send messages to the net only once or a few times. These messages are constituted by function: they either request information or give it.¹⁰

Taken together, the male and female net postings found in the Request category constitute a total of 24.3% of the total database postings, while Information given represents a combined female/male total of 27% of the total database. Together, the Request and Information categories represent 51.3% of my total database.

I matched each Request posting in the database with its respondent information posting[s]. No requests remained unanswered except those which asked for AAA conference information. Four requests for information were posted before a response was given; the response was critical of the fact that these requests could be answered by the poster's own resources: i.e. they could phone AAA or read the newsletter. Later postings clarified that the requests had come from members who lived abroad, and who generally received the AAA newsletter too late for the information to be of any value. The critical poster posted an apology message for his earlier remarks.¹¹

These request and information categories are characterized by a relationship of reciprocity. Reciprocity refers to transactions between parties whereby goods and services of roughly

¹⁰ Users that have posted to the list less than 50 times comprise over 90% of the total potential posters.

¹¹ This particular chain of events was characterized by net members general U.S.-centricity.

equivalent value are exchanged.¹² The overriding motive in reciprocity is to fulfill social obligations, and perhaps gain prestige in the process. The giver expects that at some time in the future, he/she will receive in turn.¹³

Social customs dictate the nature and occasion of exchange. In 'generalized reciprocity', the value of the goods/services are not calculated, nor is the time of repayment specified.¹⁴

Generalized reciprocity characterizes the exchange of information on the net Anthro-L.

There appears to be an implicit understanding between the men and women of the community that this sharing is mutual and will eventually be even-handed. Through the reciprocal exchange of information, the group contributes to its survival as a dynamic and resource-rich network.

As in most relationships of reciprocity, there are no explicit rules or norms stated that govern the relations concerning the dispersal of member to member information. Rather, information is dispensed with the general belief that should one require information at some time in the future, one has the right to ask for, and others have an obligation to give information in return.¹⁵

¹² Polanyi, Karl. (1968) *The Economy As Instituted Process*. [in] LeClair, E.E. and Schneider, H.K. [eds] (1968) **Economic Anthropology: Readings In Theory and Analysis**. pages 122-143.

¹³ Polanyi, Karl. (1968) *The Economy As Instituted Process*. [in] LeClair, E.E. and Schneider, H.K. [eds] (1968) **Economic Anthropology: Readings In Theory and Analysis**. pages 122-143.

¹⁴ op. cit.

¹⁵ Of course in relation to the rest of the net it could be said that the members who post often stand in relations of negative reciprocity with non participant net members. I do not think this is the case with

I was curious to discover how 'balanced' this reciprocity was in terms of gender presented postings. Of the total Request postings found in the database [24.3%], men posted 17.6% of these messages, while women posted 6.6%. Men thus requested information from the network more often. When male Request posting frequency is contextualized within total male posted messages to database, or when the researcher considers the female posted Request messages to their total contributions to the database, an interesting pattern appears. The percentages in Table 6.2 show the ratios of male and female messages in each category to the total gendered messages posted to the database. The ratios shed significant light on male and female response patterns in the categories 'Request' and 'Information'. I discovered, for example, that men asked for information in 22% of texts they posted. Women presented requests constituted 30.7% of their total correspondence. Turning to the Information category, I found that while the total combined information postings constitute 27% of the database messages, and men posted 19% of the time to give information, while women supplied information 7.69% of the time they posted, these patterns again proved more interesting when they were contextualized within the gendered posting streams. Once these figures are reconciled, men post information at a rate of 24.2% to the total messages they submit, while female presented informative posts comprise a total of 35.3% of their messages.

request and information postings. From the statistical evidence of one or few time postings it appears that the bulk of net members feel that they can post a question and count on receiving a response.

When combined figures of gender separated Request and Information postings were calculated in ratio form to their total messages presented, I found that men post to ask for or give Information at a rate of 46.7% to their total postings, while women's Request for Information and the dispersal of Information constitutes 66% of the messages presented as female. From these figures it appears obvious that while both sexes appear comfortable with the relations of reciprocity established by Request and Information postings, women appear MORE comfortable in this area especially when these figures are compared to thread participation by each gender.

Thus we find that male presented postings engage in conversation at a rate of 45.95% to the total male posting base, while women do so only 26.15% of the time. Compare these percentages to participation in Request and Information postings:

	<u>Request/Info</u>	<u>Threads</u>
Males:	46.7%	45.95%
Females:	66.3%	25.25%

These figures appear to demonstrate that women posters feel much more comfortable in asking for and dispensing information than they do in conversation, while men appear to be equally comfortable in all categories.

I initially posited two alternative reasons for these statistics. Women might view their community membership as an information resource rather than a place to gather and talk,

or there was a characteristic of Threads that contributed to female discomfort that led to their silence in this area of net interaction.

In analyzing the Request and Information postings, no discernible response pattern that was gender aligned could be discerned. There is some evidence to believe that Request/Information postings are not regarded in the same way that users appear to look at conversation between the sexes. As Fishman points out in his studies of co-present discourse between the genders, topics of conversation initiated by women met with limited response and the survival rate of these conversations was very low.¹⁶ This observation of Fishman's parallels my later discussion of women's attempts to start a thread on the net. However, as I stipulated above, this observation is not borne out by the discursive patterns found in Request and Information postings. Men supported women's requests for information at the same rate that women supported men, or that each supported members of the same gender. Thus these categories appear to be perceptually separated from conversation by net members, and this distinction leads to a participant female posting pattern in the reciprocal categories of Requests/Information, and an almost non or barely participant pattern in Threads.

However, a foreshadowing of my discussion of gender participation in conversation on the net is discernible in the request postings and should be noted here. I briefly mentioned in

¹⁶ Fishman (1978) [in] Key and Zimmerman (1985) *Gender, Language and Discourse*. van Dijk, Teun. (ed) (1987) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis 1V - Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Pubs. pages 79-116.

Chapter Four that Request postings presented as female often include specific response instructions. The phrases "please respond privately, please respond to this email address, and please send information to my home address", were found in 40% of female posted requests. This strengthened my suspicion that women might not be comfortable with public net space. Towards the end of my research I privately emailed some of the women who had requested these private responses. I sent messages to female presented Usernames whose postings I drew from both my main and support databases. Twelve of these women were kind enough to respond.

In contemplating these responses it appeared that women requested that information be sent to their private email as they often wished to follow up on the information given with the member who had sent them the information. They stipulated that they did not feel 'comfortable' discussing their topics on the net itself, and that they felt that conversation about their work on one-to-one email was both more private and more personal. In one-to-one correspondence "you don't have to be so careful about what you say", as one of my respondents phrased it. I felt that through these responses I had some support for my proposition that some net women were not comfortable with Anthro-L public space.

Equally noteworthy was the fact that these directed response requests were at times ignored. Of the 40% of female presented postings who requested private response, 22% received net information postings from male presented respondents. This led me to wonder if the male respondents has simply not bothered to read the instructions for response contained in the female presented requests, or if they had simply ignored or

negated these instructions. As far as I am aware, neither of the male posts who requested private response received their answers on the list. They did receive response however, as they both posted 'thank yous' for all the private emails they received.

In relations of reciprocity, the 'giver', in this case the supplier of information, often hopes to gain prestige. Although it was beyond the scope of this thesis to analyze response and request patterns, I note here that specific community members frequently come to each other's aid in terms of Information required and given. There are obvious sequences in response and Information postings, leading me to believe that the giving of information is not totally disinterested and that members who give information reap benefits in terms of 'symbolic capital'¹⁷ - they are conceptualized as "knowledgeable" and prestigious [knowing] members. Two of the women who supply a substantial amount of bibliographic information to the Net are supported in their attempts at conversation to a degree that other women, notably women who are not highly participant in the community's exchange of information, are not.

6.3. Mutedness

Generally, males and females appear to be comfortable with the posting of Request and Information messages. Of the population of Anthro-L, 2/3 of the potential speakers have posted at least once, the great majority of these posters have either asked for Information or given it. 50 people constitute approximately 48% of the net's discourse, of these people

¹⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. see: Book 1, Chapter 7, "Symbolic Capital, pages 112-122.

11 are women. Of the 39 men in this group of 50 people, 6 of them have combined to post a total of approximately 1,444 messages or 15.2% of the total discourse! Together the 39 men have posted 41% of the net's messages, while the postings of the 11 women in the 'top 50' posters represent roughly 7% of the net's total postings for the period covered in the STATREPT.

The men who post most frequently to the list are highly participant in all discursive categories; however, they dominate list threads. In doing so, they shape the communicative structure of the net. It is not uncommon to find one of them posting an admonishment to another list member whose "tone" they did not like in a previous post; they are also quick to remind other community members of the net's "purpose." Indeed, the men who frequent the net on a daily basis can be said to represent the net's "elders". They are concerned with net social control, net standards and net practice.

It should not be assumed, however, that these men represent a hegemonic front to the rest of the net. Quite the contrary. They are a diverse group of people who frequently argue about these standards of control and practice amongst themselves but within the hearing of the entire net. Any alignments that are formed between them in one flame war may disintegrate in the next; they appear to pride themselves on their individuality and to see the act of flaming as a game.

Thus only a few men represent the bulk of net interaction in the category 'threads', while women are conspicuous by their absence. Why should this be so? Below I present figures downloaded to me by Dr. James Burton of the University of Wisconsin which illustrate

that women hold memberships in academic networks such as Anthro-L at rates that parallel their membership in professional organizations related to their disciplines of choice.¹⁸

NAME OF NETWORK	% WOMEN	NAME OF ORGANIZATION	% WOMEN
ANTHRO-I	39.62%	AAA: Got and Research	39%
ARCH-L	34%	SOPA	26%
EARM-AM [early Americanist]	36%	SHA	38%
SASnet [archaeometry]	27%	SAA	38% But over 50% for those under 30!
HISTARCH	35%	UNR MAILING LIST FOR CRM PROFESSIONALS	49%
PACARC-L [Pacific Rim]	26%		

Table 6:3 Organization and Network Participation: Female

Women appear to be members of academic networks at rates which parallel their membership in 'real-time' professional organizations. So they are not outnumbered by their male colleagues on the net any more than they are in 'real-life' academia. Furthermore, the statistical figures of the ANTHSTAT report show that many male members of the community also remain relatively 'silent' in terms of conversation, leaving the bulk of discussion to a few of their colleagues. Suggestions that computer culture may be 'freeing' or 'leveling' with respect to status or hierarchy¹⁹ do not seem to be borne out by the discursive topography of Anthro-L.

6.3.1. Threads - Who Speaks?

¹⁸ Source: Dr. James Burton, Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin. Private Email Correspondence. Ms. in files of author. Quoted here by permission from Dr. James Burton.

In the database thread sequences, women contributed 5.66% of the net's total conversation, while men wrote to contribute to conversation at a rate of 36%. When these percentages are situated in the respective male/female posting patterns, women contributed 26.15% of their postings to conversation, while male postings were involved in dialogue, or attempts at dialogue 45.95% of the time. If these figures are compared to the demarcation of gender in the net's population: men 60%, women, 40% they reinforce what I remarked on earlier: women spend little time participating in the net's on going conversations.

With, it seems, good reason. Out of the 15 successful discursive threads that began during the period of time covered by my database, 11 were successfully started by men. This constitutes 80.95% of the successful threads. Four unsuccessful male attempts at conversation were made, three of them by the same author. These will be referred to as "failed male threads." Four threads were started by women or 19.04% of the total successful communicative initiations. Two women attempted to start threads and failed; these postings are hereafter referred to as "failed female threads."

Of the four threads that were started by women, only one of the initial posters retained participation in the thread after the net 'picked up' the topic as an extended conversation. The pornography thread became successful in communicative terms, and I discuss this thread in terms of 'positioning' in Chapter Seven. The 'Pornography' thread represents the

¹⁹ see for example: Hauben, Michael (1993) *"the social forces behind the development of Usenet News"* Electronic document, public domain. [FTP weber.ucsd.edu, directory /pub/usenet.hist]

dialogue in which women are well represented and is the only thread in which their participation outnumbers male postings: 6 females posted to this thread, while 5 males contributed.

Two of the four threads became flame wars to which the original female poster did not contribute. In the first case, the female simply posted a message to the group:

Subj.: Free South Africa!

November 18, 1993: Kempton Park, South Africa

Black and white leaders endorsed a new constitution early today that finally destroys apartheid by guaranteeing equal rights for blacks and end three centuries of white dominance.

Have a glorious day!!!²⁰

The initial response to this posting, which was written by a male, triggered a number of postings to his private email address chastising him for what was perceived by other [male] net members to be an attack on the female writer who had initiated the Free South Africa message.²¹ In turn, he went public with the private postings and a flame war about who said what and what was meant ensued. Effectively, except for the long email posted by the original male respondent, no other member addressed the issue expressed in the original posting except a South African male member who wrote a long, provocative and

²⁰ Pam Leader (1993) *Free South Africa*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-1@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). Nov. 19. Ms. in files of author.

²¹ I discuss the fact that this perception that the male writer has attacked the female writer of the original posting was due to the male writer's own style. This is explored in Chapter 6.

thoughtful email about the state of South Africa. This male member was effectively deserted through complete silence.

Both the female writer and the respondent writer to this message were also marginalized by the rest of the community. The introductory posting received a long, albeit hermeneutic, response to her message. The respondent writer's style is often difficult for net members to grasp and open to interpretation. In this case his message was 'interpreted' as an attack on the initial poster. A flame war about his right to speak and 'how he speaks' ensued.

The female writer's 'intentions' or 'words' became totally objectified. Her email constituted the centerpiece of a flame war about what she had said, and what she had meant, and what had been said about her, and what that in turn might have meant, all without any input whatsoever from her. Neither the respondent posting or the email from South Africa were ever acknowledged by the community in terms of the 'thoughts' and 'ideas' conveyed through these postings. The net was far too busy re-establishing the parameters of what and how things could be spoken, who could say it, and the boundaries of that which could be said.

The second of the female postings that caused a flame war was triggered by her message in which she complained about the discursive practices of one of the [male] net members. Although the net member about who she complains is considered discursively marginal by many male community members, the female complainant received in excess of 10 different postings attacking both her and her message content. Interestingly, of the two male

members who supported her complaints one of them gave precisely the same reasons as the original female poster for condemning the male poster who was the topic of discussion. In a respondent post which sharply criticizes these reasons, a male poster specifies that he is only attacking the female member who made the original complaint, not the male member who supported her. Here is a portion of that sequence:

I am tired of wading through Daniel A. Foss's monologues. Is anyone reading them? Can Foss get his own list? Does he do anything in the world besides construct elaborate, obtuse, self-gratifying diatribes? Does he realize how much \$\$\$\$\$\$ and time I waste each day skipping his lengthy efforts?

M. Bolino

\$truggling Archaeologist.²²

Ms. Bolino receives a number of replies to this message including:

Great! so now we are filling everyone's mailbox w/ mail about foss. <snip>²³

which in turn receives the response:

> Great! so now we are filling up everyone's mailbox w/ mail about foss.

So what else is new? Geez, this thread seems to get going every few weeks lately.

The recent flame war was briefly interesting but I think a dead horse has been flogged long enough. A couple of words of advice:

If you don't like Dan Foss, don't read his posts.

²² Bolino, Monika (1993) *Re: Anthro-L Digest: Nov. 23 to Nov. 24*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 24 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

²³ Heller, David (1993) *Foss*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 26 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

If the length of his posts creates a financial burden, then UNSUBSCRIBE. To keep whining about it is pointless and irritating to most other subscribers. Nobody's forcing you to subscribe to this list.²⁴

The same writer posts an addenda to the above message a few hours later:

Just so there's no misunderstanding, the complaints in my previous post were directed not at David Heller, but at M. Bolino, "Struggling Archaeologist". I think this was obvious from the context, but with this group, I've learned, you can never be too careful.²⁵

The remaining thread introduced by a female, 'Stress and Flaming', represented a thoughtful message on the possible correlation between stress in academic life during periodic points of the year and flaming on academic networks. This particular female member is an integral and valued component of request/information relations of reciprocity who offers a great deal of bibliographic information by virtue of her 'real-time' academic position. Her posting received two responses, both from 'high-profile' males. Neither response was inflammatory in any way. Because of the content of her posting, and the fact that the net was just winding down from a rather lengthy flame war, I would have expected this thread to pick up and carry on longer than it did.

For female members of the net what is the 'message received' when 'reading' these four threads? Two of them ended in flame wars participated in by net men only. I shall show that the most successful of the female thread sequences, the *Pornography* thread, began very shakily when a female member requested information and was trivialized for her

²⁴ Hickerson, Daniel A. (1993) *Foss*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 26 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

²⁵ Hickerson, Daniel A. (1993) *Foss / Clarification*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 26 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

format, while the last thread, which did end successfully did not receive sustained support.

As Herring, Johnson and DiBenedetto note:

*...on the few occasions when I observed women attempting to gain an equal hearing on male dominated lists, they were ignored, trivialized, or criticized by men for their tone or the inappropriateness of their topic.*²⁶

Ardener states that *"the problem of muting is one of frustrated communication".....the expression of the female perspective is blocked at the level of ordinary, direct communication*".²⁷ In my database, threads initiated by women were *blocked at the ordinary level of communication*, although the Pornography thread recovered and received participant input from other female net members.

In Chapter Five I discussed the fact that the topography of Anthro-L is characterized by an adversarial language model which is implicitly accepted by the Statement of Being. This model is an integral component of the "Rational Argument" paradigm that characterizes academic reasoning. Following Lakoff and Johnson, I also noted that a rational argument contains many of the 'irrational' components that it claims to transcend. The rational/logic connection is an integral aspect of the textual function that Jakobson refers to as 'referential'. On Anthro-L, the referential code, itself a distancing discursive mechanism, can incorporate strong assertions, self promotion, and a 'knowing position' presented

²⁶ Herring, Susan; Johnson, Deborah and DiBenedetto (1992) *"Participation in Electronic Discourse in a "feminist" Field"*. [in] Bucholtz, Hall and Moonwomon [eds] [1992] **Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Woman and Language Conference**. Berkeley Woman and Language Group. Quoted here by permission of authors.

²⁷ op. cit., page 3.

through sarcasm. The referential style is utilized in a significant number of male thread postings.²⁸

Moore notes in her discussion of Ardener that "*the dominant male structures of society inhibit the free expression of alternative models and sub dominant groups are forced to structure their understanding of the world through the model of the dominant group*".²⁹ I suggest that the adversarial/referential style is structured to silence 'other' discourses through adversariality.

The referential style, or Logico-scientific code as Bruner labeled his description of this mode of 'seeing', is a *distinctive way of ordering experience, of constructing reality, irreducible to the narrative mode*.³⁰ The narrative mode can frame any and all of the remaining five functions of speech as defined by Jakobson.³¹ Because the referential/adversarial function is implicitly contained in the rational paradigm which characterizes academic argument, hence Anthro-L, whoever speaks within the community must reach a certain comfort level with this style of posting/presentation of self.

²⁸ In Chapter Six I discuss this style both in terms of the statistical usage of certain codes and functions and the impact of specific posting acts.

²⁹ Moore, Henrietta L. (1988) *Feminism and Anthropology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. page 3.

³⁰ Bruner, Jerome. (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

³¹ Jakobson, Roman (1960) "*Linguistics and Poetics*" [in] **Styles in Language**. Sebeok, Thomas A. (1960) (ed) Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Edwin Ardener³² proposes that 'mutedness' is the product of relations of dominance which exist between dominant and sub-dominant groups in society. He points out that women's model of reality, their view of the world, cannot be realized or expressed using the terms of the dominant male model. This proposition appears to offer some insight into the phenomenon of 'silencing' women who contribute to threads. It suggests that the dominant adversarial paradigm operates in such a way that the 'narrative' constructions of reality on Anthro-L are largely silenced.

Indeed, as the semantic charts of male and female postings show, women appear to construct texts that are characterized by multi-perspectives - categories linked together by semantic relationships, rather than subsuming categories 'under' one dominant domain. On the other hand, men favor textual construction in which one Domain is paramount and other categories logically derive one from the other. Characteristically, the few, dominant men who are highly participant in net threads, utilize the Logico-referential style of writing.

The topography of thread discourse, due to the dominance of the 'referential' writing style, is thus often adversarial. I find it highly likely, based on my own experiences and my observations of the female students in the Computer Cultures class in which I assisted, that

³² Ardener, Edwin. (1975b) *"The Problem Revisited"* [in] Ardener, S. (ed) (1975) **Perceiving Women**. London: Dent. pages 19-27.

this is a paradigm of discourse that women choose not to 'speak'.³³ Although this element of 'choice' implies that women themselves retreat from specific discursive interactions, the patterns evident in net conversation, the lack of support for female initiated threads, the adversarial response received when posting, and the 'by-play' which I will discuss in the next Chapter, seems to imply that in order to be heard, rather than ignored, women must take an adversarial stance vis a vis their discourse.

Even if I posit that women are ignored rather than muted, this is a fine distinction. Being 'ignored' has silencing consequences. To ignore is to imply triviality - it indicates that what has been said does not deserve acknowledgment. Ardener's concept of a dominant silencing structure is central to the preferred semantic paradigm of male language, and consequently, women's voices, and those of men which are expressed in divergent writing styles, are muted in this net's thread discourses.

Who speaks on Anthro-L? The answer to this question is categorically divergent, but in net conversation the answer is relatively simple: predominantly a few highly participant men.

³³ In later discussion I intend to show that women choose not to speak in threads rather than utilize the

adversarial paradigm at their disposal. Of course, some women compromise in style in order to be heard. I will discuss this in terms of coding and function.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS: WHAT IS SPOKEN? ANTHRO-L, A LOCAL KNOWLEDGE.

In Chapter Six I discussed the question 'who speaks' on Anthro-L by presenting male and female posting ratios determined through statistical calculations derived from both my database and the ANTHSTAT report. Although my findings revealed that men post more often to the community in all of the topical categories, gender participation in the Information and Request categories appeared to be typified by relations of reciprocity, while male presented postings dominated list conversation. I suggested that this silence in thread communication might reflect a dis-comfort on behalf of the female readership with a public space that is characterized by an adversarial topography. Further, I suggested that this discursive topography was a manifestation of socialized language behavior. The academic paradigm of proof in argument, logically derived, is an inherent component of the referential function and is reflected more often in male presented postings. As males post the bulk of thread discourse, the adversarial/referential stance frames the discursive structure. But this is a Catch 22, males post the bulk of the discourse BECAUSE they favor this writing style; the referential paradigm mutes the voices of potential speaking others through discursive tactics and strategies such as by-play and desertion, thus ensuring the dominance of the referential/rationality paradigm.

However, it is not only the academic status of net members and the attendant language paradigm that contributes to discursive styles, it is also socially inscribed 'real-time' gender

behavior. In fact, gender and individual relations to Anthropology as a discipline [academe] represent the two "master statuses" that inform net interaction. In this chapter I consider what is spoken on Anthro-L. The status considerations that are implicated in who speaks on the net increase in importance in this chapter, particularly individual links to and conceptions of Anthropology as a life-path.

This chapter will consider 'what is spoken' on Anthro-L in two separate ways. Firstly, I will present my findings of the topics that are spoken by male and female net members. Secondly, I will propose that 'what is spoken' on Anthro-L is more than 'all aspects of Anthropology'; the topics spoken reflect on the exchange and dispersal of symbolic capital¹ [information] that are linked to paradigms of power and knowledge.

Before I briefly discuss Anthro-L in terms of a specific, local discursive site, I turn my attention to the results of the statistical and topical analyses that I utilized to discern what the men and women of Anthro-L speak about.

7.1. What is Spoken? - Topics

The postings in my database were separated into 5 main categories: Requests, Information, Threads, Jokes and Errors. I have previously noted the criteria I used to impose arbitrary boundaries on these categories and to define a posting as belonging to one or another 'group'. The three main categories, Requests, Information and Threads were separated into further sub-groups. Requests and Postings were coded by 'topic', that

¹ Bourdieu, Pierre (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. pages 112-122.

is what the posting was about. Threads were separated into "failed " or successful sub-categories. Failed threads were represented by a member's attempt to start a conversation [did not post a request or give information] while successful threads were signified by the act of response - someone on the net replied to the original posting. Once the two sub-categories were separated, I grouped the threads in each category for topic. Each posting that belonged to a specific thread group was bundled with the other messages in that group. Then I recorded the gender of each person that contributed to the thread.

Below I present the results of the Request and Information topical separations in terms of gender. In each case I have supplied the percentage of times that each gender posted to the net to speak about a specific sub-topic within the specified category. I also show the percentage of each sub-topic to the category in terms of the gender postings stream in that category only.

7.1.1. Requests and Information

In my discussion of 'who speaks' in Chapter Six, I supplied the information that both male and female subscribers appeared to be comfortable with the reciprocal nature of Request and Information postings. The combined total of the male and female postings in the Request and Information categories represents 51% of the total messages posted to my database. Male presented Thread postings represent 36% of the database messages, while female coded Thread postings constitute 5.66%.

Male postings are highly represented in three of the main sub-categories found under Requests; Requests for information on computer software, Requests for information on Internet sites or Email addresses, and Requests for help with/information on bibliographic or ethnographic references. Correspondingly the Information sub-category that is dominated by male posts is 'Software, Internet and Email information'.

Total Request Postings: m/f=73= 24.2 % of database	Total Postings 24.2%	Male 17.6%	Male/male posting stream /53	Female/ Female posting stream /20	Female 6.6%
Meetings, Conferences	10 7.3%	8 10.95%	15.09%	10%	2 2.73%
Video, Audio refs	3 4.1%	3 4.1%	5.66%		
Grad programs	2 2.73%	1 1.36%	1.88%	5.0%	1 1.36%
Call for Manuscripts	1 1.36%	1 1.36%	1.88%		
Internet/Email Req.	10 13.69%	8 10.95%	15.09%	10%	2 2.73%
Software	10 13.69%	7 9.58%	13.2%	15%	3 4.10%
Bib/Ethnographic refs needed	29 39.72%	21 28.76%	39.63%	40%	8 10.95%
Course material	4 5.47%	2 2.73%	3.77%	10%	2 2.73%
Scholarships	1 1.36%			5.0%	1 1.36%

Travel, Exchange Programs	3 4.10%	2 2.73%	3.77%	5.0%	1 1.36%
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Table 7:1 Request Subcategories - Male/Female Postings

Female presented postings in the Request and Information categories are quite evenly dispersed. The largest sub category of request postings is the 'Bib/Ethnographic' references needed section, while information given on Bib/Books represents the largest informative sub-category.

Total Information Postings M/F= 80=26.69% database	Total Postings	Male 19%	male/male posting stream /57	female/ female posting stream /23	Female 7.69%
Conference/Papers Info	4 5%	2 2.5%	3.5%	8.69%	2 2.5%
Video, Audio refs	3 3.75%	3 3.75%	5.26%		0
Bib/Book Info	14 17.5%	8 10%	14.03%	26.08%	6 7.5%
AAA	5 6.25%	4 5%	7.01%	4.34%	1 1.25%
Job Announcements	6 7.5%	2 2.5%	3.5%	17.33%	4 5%
Software, Email, Internet Info	27 33.75%	24 30%	42.01%	13.04%	3 3.75%
Obituary	1 1.25%	1 1.25%	1.75%		

Info: Applied Anthro	2 2.5%	2 2.5%	3.5%		
Ethnographic Info	5 6.25%	3 3.75%	5.26%	8.69%	2 2.5%
Info from Anthro-L listserver	3 3.75%	3 3.75%	5.26%		
Grad, Scholarships	3 3.75%	2 2.5%	3.55	4.34%	1 1.25%
Miscellaneous; i.e.: pen for artifacts, Pro bono work, help for error messages, thanks for Info messages etc.	7 8.75%	3 3.75%	5.26%	17.39%	4 5%

Table 7:2 Information Subcategory - Male/Female Postings

The following should be noted with respect to the topical dispersal in the Information and request sub-categories. Bib/Book references, which represent a significant portion of the Information dispensed, are largely supplied by two women who in real-time society hold responsible research/bibliographic positions. I have noted that the dispersal of this information, leads to 'credibility' in terms of net discourse. These women have consolidated 'prestige' or 'symbolic capital' ² by virtue of their contribution to the Information category.

Secondly, the percentages given in the Internet, Software and Email sub-category are remarkable. Women request software information at a rate of 15% to their total postings; email/Internet information at a rate of 10% for a combined total of computer related

² op. cit.

information requested of 25%. Men request information in these categories at 22.4% to their posting stream. Information given in these categories however, differs remarkably. Men post information with respect to software, Internet and Email at a rate of 42%, while female presented information in these categories represents 13% of the total information posted by women.

In her paper, Leslie Regan-Shade discusses the barriers women must overcome to access the new technology. She notes that even in the academic field where women can readily take advantage of the Internet and Email there is usually no support system or instruction method in place so that women can learn about all aspects of the new medium.³

The percentages in the Request and Information categories with respect to email/Internet and software seem to suggest that women can utilize the Anthro-L network for 'support and instruction' with respect to the new technology. These sub-categories also highlight the reciprocal nature of Information and Requests. Female presented requests were often answered by male presented Information. Three women required information, two with regards to the software program "Endnote", and one with respect to an email address. All were answered by multiple [male] postings.

³ Shade, Leslie Regan. (1993) Talk given at: Community Networking: the International Free-Net Conference. Carleton University, Ottawa, CANADA, August 17-19. While I agree with her assessment I do believe that women must continue to take the lead here and teach themselves as much as possible while simultaneously helping others to become 'on-line' adepts. Computer Culture is characterized by a sharing of knowledge. Most people, men and women, are more than happy to help with any questions that a user may have on-line. My own experience has been very positive indeed in this regard.

Three women gave information in answer to male requests, one posted details of alternative Internet addresses for folklore lists, one posted on interesting Internet sites, and one gave information on a software program comparable to Endnote.

But this sub-category is, simply put - dominated by men in the database, who are eager and willing to share their knowledge of software alternatives in the discipline of Anthropology. While some of the responses were straightforward answers to the requests, others are long and highly technical. This techno-knowledge is highly respected symbolic capital⁴ and is often referred to in admiring terms by recipients of the posted technical information. The sharing of information of experience with, and alternatives to, software is common and represents a tremendous resource for techno-information hungry community members.

7.1.2. Threads

As I noted in the discussion of the posting form the Re: reference on the subject line allowed me to track threads on Anthro-L. Many respondent messages referred to the posting that was being answered by using "re" in the header. For example a request for information about the LA fires by one net member, resulted in a thread referred to on subject headers as "*Re: LA Fires*", or conversely, in related terminology such as "*LA Fires Again*" or "*More LA Fires*". In Appendix G, I present a complete chart of thread

⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

progressions as these took place on Anthro-L during the data collection period. I developed this chart in order to uncover 'what is spoken' in Anthro-L conversational streams. I note again that the criteria used to separate failed from successful threads was whether or not an initial posting received a respondent message. Below, I summarize the topical data contained in Glossary C.

THREAD PROGRESSION - DATA BASE

Number of total threads in database:	25
Number of new threads started during course of data downloads:	21
Number of continued threads from period previous to data collection	4
Number of successful threads started by women /21:	4
Number of failed threads started by women:	2
Number of failed threads started by men:	4
<i>*Of these failed attempts, three were instituted by the same writer and one of his posts had three separate installments. None were replied too.</i>	
Number of successful threads started by men: /21	11
Threads that were started by women that resulted in 'flaming' /4	2
<i>A third thread started with by-play.</i>	
Threads started by men that resulted in flaming: /11	0
Number of threads participated in by women: /25 [includes ongoing]	7

Threads that were participated in by both males and females, plus the number of time a male or female posted to each thread are given below.

THREAD TITLE:	Females posting:	Initiated By: [gender]	Males posting
Newtonian Models	1	previous to database	1
Theory/pomo	2	previous to database	9
LA Fires	3	male	7
Pornography	6	female	5
Correlation: Stress and flaming:	1	female	2
Re: Anthro-L Digest [Foss]	3	female	8
Free South Africa	1	female	8

There were no threads participated in only by women.

Threads participated in by men only and number of times men posted.

First Dan Foss thread:	4
Laval Job Posting:	2
Participant Observation:	2
The Tribe:	2
Chaos Theory/Dynamical Systems:	2
Annual review	2
The Sphinx:	2
<i>Posting of Ma states that he has heard from female poster privately and gives her credit for her correction</i>	2
Dead Birds	2
Applied and Academic	2
<i>Forwards posts from female colleague</i>	
Flame wars	3
Cultural Elements and tension:	7

It is interesting to note that of the threads that began during the course of my database, only *LA Fires* and *Pornography* contain female presented respondent postings. *LA fires* was an extremely supportive, non threatening thread, *Pornography* represents a female initiated conversation and one in which women were highly participant.

7.1.2.1. FAILED THREADS: FEMALE

There were two failed thread attempts that were presented as female. The first message was written in an Emotive style and constructed through the rhetorical code.⁵ The subject of the message, an aspect of the war in ex-Yugoslavia, had previously been the topic of a number of net threads. I can only posit that the central topic or the writer's emotive stance contributed to its failure. The posting referred to the fact that an old historical bridge, the Stari Most at Mostar, had fallen victim to the war in ex-Yugoslavia. Perhaps other net members did not feel as strongly or as emotional as the writer did about this disaster.

⁵ Maners, Lynn (1993) *another casualty of war in ex-Yugo*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 9 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

Perhaps it is an example of marginalization, or perhaps no-one had time or the inclination to comment. There was also not much reason to respond except to commiserate with the writer about the content of her posting. I was not willing to speculate on the reasons for the non-response in this case.

I believe that the second female presented attempt to initiate a thread failed because of how the writer positioned herself with respect to the community. This message, entitled "*What would Habermas say? I know that you know it!*"⁶, was couched in a spirit of attenuation. The writer positioned herself as 'weak' with respect to the net. Herring's statistical survey of net communication⁷ suggested that men and women were neutral toward "overly tentative messages" [3 on a scale of 1-5]. My data would indicate that members of Anthro-L, especially the highly participant writers, respond in a more negative fashion to tentative messages than Herring's results seem to imply. In an interactive communicative situation, tentative messages appear to draw adversarial response, if they receive any response at all. Not only was the writer's stance of the posting "*re: Habermas*" attenuative, it had a slightly flippant style. Her use of the phrase "*Yeh everyone*" as the initial line of the message was not well positioned toward a network which tends to construct its professionalism in serious terms.

⁶ Suriya, Senaka (1993) *What Would Habermas Say? I know that you know it!* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 13 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁷ Herring, Susan (1994) *Gender Differences in Computer Mediated Communication: Bringing Familiar Baggage to the new Frontier*. ed-document. Keynote talk at panel "Making the Net Work", American Library Association annual convention, Miami. June 27, 1994. By permission of author.

There is a certain pathos about this message as the writer makes it clear that she had attempted to initiate a conversation about Gramsci a few weeks before, and that this attempt had failed. I went back in my data to check on the 'Gramsci' posting and noted that here too, the writer had positioned herself in a attenuative and flippant style. Neither posting 'failed' because of the subject matter. Gramsci has been the topic of conversation on the net a number of times. Less than two weeks after this writer posted her message with respect to Habermas, another writer made a reference to Habermas's theories in a posting that dealt with postmodernism. His message stimulated a reply from another net member who responded in kind and deepened the discussion of Habermas. It is clear that this writers postings did not fail because of their topic.

7.1.2.2. FAILED THREADS - MALE

There are four attempts [one of these a sequential 3 part attempt] at conversation made by male presented posters that failed to elicit response. Of these, three attempts [one of these attempts includes a three part posting series entitled the "*Sociology of Flaming*"] are made by the same male writer.

In each of these failed attempts, it was not the topic but the message's style, that is "how it was spoken" which contributed to its lack of success. The writer of the 3 [6] postings utilizes a Poetic, very reader unfriendly style which is often criticized or flamed by members of the net. In fact his three part message on flaming reflects and deepens aspects

of the thread conversation "*Stress and Flaming*" that was initiated by a respected female poster who did receive a number of responses.

In my opinion the remaining posting that failed also did so because of style/function/codes, but this writer's style represents an extreme form of the referential paradigm. In fact so 'closed' is the text of this message, that only a statistician can read or interpret it. I suggest that the net prefers messages that do not contain stylistic 'extremes'.

7.1.2.3. THREADS - SUCCESSFUL

The conversations in which men and women both participated are *Newtonian models*, *Theory/Postmodernism*, *LA Fires*, *Pornography*, *Stress and Flaming*. The *Free South Africa* and *Re: Anthro-L Digest* threads were both initiated by a female poster and both resulted in flames in which men were the only participants. Once the *re: Anthro-L Digest* flame became [secondarily] a discussion/flame about the male poster who had responded to the original *Free South Africa* posting, two women posted messages of support for the male writer. These messages supported the male writer's 'right to speak' and also complimented his 'style'.

The Newtonian models, *Chaos Theory and Dynamical systems*, *Theory/Postmodernism* and "*First Dan Foss*" conversations represent thread continuations from the period previous to my database. *Theory/Postmodernism* continued into the next month, and because I utilized that month's postings as my support database, I note here that this conversation became very active and ended in a venomous flame war.

LA Fires was an extremely supportive, non-threatening thread and was spoken of often by the participants as an excellent example of the support, help and camaraderie that can be facilitated across great distances through the Cyberspace medium. Women participated in this conversation both through updates on the LA situation and through support of the male member who diligently scoured LA for net friends and relatives on behalf of his virtual community. *Pornography*, which represents the only thread in which women were dominant, is also the thread in my main database where women appear to feel most free to express their theoretical convictions and thoughts about an anthropological topic.

The topics of Thread conversations, as well as the Request and Information postings fulfill the mandate expressed in the Statement of Being. What is spoken by the members of Anthro-L is any and all aspects of Anthropology and related disciplines [Chaos Theory for example], information is requested and given, and English and U.S. centrality [while not mandated, certainly implicit] is left intact.

7.2. Theoretical Discussion

Anthro-L discourses are distinctive, localized and structured discursive productions. These discursive productions signify a "local knowledge," a particular cultural and textual site. Anthro-L is 'local' because it is specific to one portion of Internet space. It is 'local' because the 'texts' of Anthro-L are characterized by both the explicit discursive framework outlined in the Statement of Being. It is local because it extends and 'speaks' aspects of a

specific 'real-time' academic field, "Anthropology". It is local because it is typified by the input of particular subscribers.

Following Foucault,⁸ many theorists have taken the position that totalizing theories should be discredited because they are associated with oppressive political structures. Conflation of the geopolitical/local with theoretical connotations has given rise to an academic premise among some scholars that the liberation of the local is always good, that the 'local' in effect, is a specific cluster of signs that are not reflective of, or perhaps subversively mirror, the 'hegemonic' global structures within which the 'local' is found. The 'liberation of the local' has become a myth in its own right.

This ongoing critique of the global, and implicit celebration of the local, proceeds on two main counts. Clifford Geertz⁹ insists on the priority of the local over the global because he understands cultures as complex semiotic systems that cluster around particular discursive sites. For Geertz, cultural meaning cannot be separated from the particular organization of signs that characterizes a given site, hence cultural or sub-cultural understanding hinges on an accurate description and understanding of particular specificities. This would imply that the community Anthro-L should be understood in

⁸ Foucault, Michel. (1973) *Madness and Civilization*. translated from the French by R. Howard. New York: Vintage. see also: Foucault, Michel. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. New York. During his lifetime M. Foucault wrote prodigiously about often about the connections between and manipulations of muted discourses and the interests of the "dominant power paradigm".

⁹ Geertz, Clifford. (1983) *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

terms of a semiotic cluster of signs. The conceptual categories [domains] in which the Statement of Being is rooted may signify these signs. Thus *Anthropology, Place/space, Time, Postings, Behavior, People, Listowners and BBS/Anthro-L* should all serve as signifiers of the organization of signs that characterize the site Anthro-L. And indeed, I have shown that these signs are combined in multiple ways that to the shared conceptual activity of community members: posting.

Secondly, global theories are rejected by some scholars because these theories are seen as serving the vested interests of particular classes or power structures. The semantic analysis that this thesis utilizes is a theoretical construct that can obscure subtle differences in domain usage by concentrating on the patterns that link these domains rather than on the differences within them. I am specifically applying semantic analyses to a "subjugated" knowledge - women writing, - in order to show that the question that can be asked of global theories, namely: "to what extent are global societies social and linguistic constructions inventing the reality they purport to describe"?, can also be asked of local discursive sites.

I think that it is impossible to separate local/global by specific boundaries. The local and the global are manifestly linked and share signs and semiotic clusters. Many local knowledges re/construct aspects of the global paradigm in which they are situated. This is the case with Internet communities who are characterized by specific re/creations of the global through the language paradigms they utilize. The emphasis on the global as serving

particular class or power structures, obscures the impact of local to local relationships, and most importantly, intra-group relationships.

As a local knowledge, Anthro-L is a local clustering of people who know and speak about Anthropology in specifically bounded ways through net specific discursive structures and practices. Practice, that is speech in conversation, is predominantly the terrain of a few highly prolific, English speaking men. Vertical stratification within local knowledges transmits power which is often more oppressive than global knowledge, precisely because this power acts on people at a particular discursive site in an immediate, 'power-full' and profound way. This discursive power is carried and transmitted through specific language paradigms and practiced by net members at the level of ordinary discourse. At a local site this dispersal/utilization of power is particularly effective and oppressive.

In Chapter Nine I will consider how power is dispersed, transformed, implemented and carried through a dominant language/knowing paradigm and how the dispersal of this power and knowledge mutes those who express their world view through alternative ways of speaking.

By tracing the gendered forms of talk that convey specific ideas of knowledge through presentation and comprehension styles and by linking these to the conceptual categories uncovered by the semantic process, I will show that relations of power and relationships between the genders are transmitted through the use of divergent language categories. The relations between the dominant/subdominant paradigms of language cannot be simply expressed in male/female terms. It is the actual language paradigms themselves which

carry connotations/value labels of legitimacy or non-legitimacy. The users/practitioners of specific writing styles are characterized through the values attributed by 'others' to the 'style' they speak.

"What is spoken" into existence on the net are not simply anthropological topics; relations of power are re/created and re/inforced through specific knowledge/writing patterns situated within the discipline of the net, and by extension Anthropology and globally, relations between the private/public, male/female spheres. Power is measured in terms of effect. Posting acts not only carry illocutionary force, they implicitly position the writer and reader in terms of academic/community/gender and power status. The spatial-discursive formation of Anthro-L is a structured system of statement dispersals that are manipulated for certain effects through discursive practice.

In the next Chapter I ask the question "How is it spoken"? It should be clear that how discourses are spoken is intimately related to who speaks and what is said. Strategic maneuvers which effectively silence certain writing paradigms will mute alternative ways of speaking [what gets said and who says it.] This next chapter is centrally concerned with the questions, do men and women write differently, and if so does this style hold true in a significant number of cases?, as well as the inquiry, do certain styles receive more response than others? In Chapter Nine I present my findings in terms of the theoretical contexts which frame this thesis.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: FINDINGS - HOW IT IS SPOKEN

In the previous two chapters I have focused on men and women's writing on the net Anthro-L by reviewing who speaks and what is spoken. I have shown that men speak more often on the net than women, that men dominate list threads, that the topics of discussion fulfill the mandate contained in the Statement of Being, and that the adversarial paradigm, which is a component of the referential function, is the dominant framework for communicative interaction. In this chapter I turn my attention to "how things are said". Do men and women write differently and if so do these different styles hold true in most cases?

I consider the findings derived from my data in the following ways. Firstly, I discuss the results of the semantic analyses of the men and women's postings found in my database. Then, I will discuss the writing styles employed by each gender in each major category; Information, Requests and Threads. Thread discussion will be conducted in terms of failed and successful threads. A deliberation of the discourse of flaming will be incorporated into Chapter Nine: The Power of Discourse, and the Discourse of Power.

Along with a discussion of the semantic relationships found in the posting presentations of men and women in each category, I will discuss the codes and functions that appear to characterize specific postings acts. In Chapter Nine I will contextualize the discovered

written styles in terms of the overall Anthro-L discursive structure and situate my findings with respect to the theoretical concepts I introduced in Chapter Three.

Below I reproduce the table that illustrates the use of the semantic relationships and dominant domains in each category. The results are separated in terms of gender and the percentage calculations of how many times a domain appeared in a category are also shown. In each case I have listed the dominant function/message type.

TEXT	DOMAIN TIME	DOMAIN PLACE/ SPACE	DOMAIN BEHAVIOR	DOMAIN ANTHROPO LOGY	DOMAIN PEOPLE	DOMAIN POSTINGS	DOMAIN BBS/ ANTHRO-L	DOMAIN ACADEMIC	DOMAIN MISC.	DOM. SEMAN. R'SHIP
ST. OF BEING	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			1. INCLUSION 2. ATTRIBUTE: descriptive Conative, rhetorical
MALE / THREADS		X 8%	Techno: 32% Disc: 28%	X 86%	X 92%	X 68%	X 8%	X 21%		Inclusion Spatial referential Logical
MALE FLAMES	X 48%	X 68%	X Techno: 72% Disc: 89%		X 85%	X 79%	X 73%	X 33%	X BODY ANIMAL	1. Inclusion Cause/effect Attribution Descriptive Emotive Conative rhetoric hermeneutic
MALES INFO	X 1.7%	X 61%	Techno-31% Disc: 17.5%	X 64%	X 73%	X 8%	X 35% Internet	X 10%	X 35% Computers Software	INCLUSION referential Logical
MALES REQUEST	X 36%	X 43%	Techno: 15% Disc: 13%	X 56%	X 71%	X 16%	X 9.6%	X 16%	X 16% Computers Software	INCLUSION referential logical
FEMALES THREADS	X 26%	X 57%	X Techno: 22% Disc: 63%	X 74%	X 86%	X 62%	X Internet 17%	X 36%	X MISC. STAND ALONE DOMAINS	Attribution: Behavioral Conative rhetorical
FEMALES INFO	X 8.6%	X 34%	X Techno: 26% Disc: 39%	X 78%	X 69%	X 8.6%	X 17% Internet	X 17%	X 8.6% Computer Software	INCLUSION descriptive attributes Referential logical
FEMALES REQUEST	X 25%	X 75%	X Techno: 35% Disc: 35%	X 95%	X 90%	X 10%	X 35%	X 30%	X 5% Computers Software	Attribution: behavioral Conative, Phatic, rhetorical

Table 8:1 S of B and Database: Semantic Relationships and styles

Figure 8.1 re/presents: [1] The domains used by men and women writing in each of the posting categories, [2] the dominant semantic relationship used to situate cover terms and link Domains in each of these same categories, [3] the dominant function/code used by

each gender for the messages in that category and [4] the information with respect to domains, semantic relationships, and style for the Statement of Being.

The Statement of Being utilizes seven Domains and situates folk and cover terms in these Domains through the semantic relationship of Inclusion: X is a kind of Y and secondarily, through Attribution: descriptive. In my discussion of the data findings with respect to men and women writing in each of the categories I will not incorporate an analysis of the relationship of each style to the Statement of Being. I leave these comparisons for the integrative discussion of styles found in Chapter Nine.

8.1. Category: Requests

8.1.1. Women Writing

Female presented Request postings differed substantially in style from male postings in this category. Many of the messages submitted by women were characterized by a tone of "attenuation". By this word I mean to convey that the writer of the posting appeared to place herself in weakened position toward net others by an over attention to niceties, such as "please", "thank you" [often multiple times in one post], while explanations for a stipulated request far exceeded reasons given in male presented Requests.

For example, many female presented postings began with a heading such as "Dear Friends", rather than launching into the Request in the first sentence. Female Request postings in my database also closed with a "thanks" message in significant numbers. For

example "THANKS IN ADVANCE FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE",¹ or **"Anything will help really. The deadline approacheth"**. [sic].² In Request postings women used a greeting 55% of the time, men 13%, while female presented Request message formally closed 80% of the time, men 62%.

Requests contain standard statement types which can be found in any order, although Greeting and Close usually come at the beginning and end of a posting respectively: (a) Greeting, (b) introduction to the request, (c) phrased request, usually with some expansion of what or why the information needed, or auxiliary questions that could also be answered, (d) instructions on response method, and (e) close. Here is one example:

Any comments would be greatly appreciated. [*Greeting*]

" I'm doing my senior undergrad paper on ethnoarchaeology and I was curious because all the articles I'm coming across seem to date from the 60's or 70's. [*Introduction*]

Can anyone point me in a direction where I can find out where ethnoarchaeology stands today? Is it generally accepted to use ethnographic sources to locate better sites? What about all the problems of projecting assumptions into the past? If settlement or site location and/or artifact production is better understood because of this present day info, how does it better explain change over time? [*Phrased request*]

[*response type left optional: assume both list and private will be okay*]

Excuse me if my questions seem naive, but I really am just getting started and if it looks like I'm in the dark, its' probably because I am. So it can only get brighter. [*explanation for request, appeal to reader, attenuation*]

Any thoughts, suggestions, comments would be appreciated." [*close*]

¹ Curtis, Kelley (1993) "Knowledge based Theory" found on General Anthropology Bulletin Board. 10 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

² Maloney, Jessica (1993) "Solomon Islands". found on General Anthropology Bulletin Board. 18 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

Thanks in advance,³ [close 2]

This posting was from a female student. It is a Conative message which attempts to reach the reader through multiple questions and through a positioning process of the 'self' which deprecates her own knowledge and places net members in a position to be able to 'help' her. Status plays a role in her positioning; she is clearly a student as she is writing a "senior undergrad paper". Below I replicate a post from a female Instructor:

re: message from George Saunders concerning readings in language and culture
[Greeting and Introduction to request]

I too would be interested in recent ethnographies for an undergrad course in language and culture, so please respond to list, not just to George. [Introduction to request, response type indicated [to list].

One general work I'm looking at using for such a class is the recently published book by Zdenek Salzmänn, "Language, culture and society". (Westview Press). One plus is that it is relatively inexpensive, the paperback costing around \$16, if I remember correctly. Has anyone else considered using this? Would appreciate any evaluative comments on it.
[Expanded request phrased]

Thanks⁴ [close]

The above posting shows no evidence of attenuation, although it is positioned with consideration. This message is also Conative in that it attempts to reach the readers of the list, firstly to have them post information messages in response to "George" publicly, and secondly to elicit feedback on Salzmänn's book. The writer also offers information of her own [giving a little to get a little] by supplying the name of the book's publisher and its

³ Lee, Susan (1993) "ethnoarchaeology" found on General Anthropology Bulletin Board. 26 Nov. Ms in files of author.

⁴ de Millar, Anna (1993) Re: Anthro-L Digest - 9 Nov 1993 to 10 Nov 1993 Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 11 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

cost. It is interesting to note that female request and Information postings often referred to monetary concerns, supplying costs of information required, or asking for cost information on Software and books when they were interested in acquiring either. Male presented postings in these two categories, did not use "Money" as a domain.

The body of the female presented request posting often contains descriptive and behavioral attributes which accent attenuation. Thus we find:

"While your being so kind"⁵

"could the gentleman from Harvard....."⁶

"feeling somewhat distant....great to be on this network....."⁷

"could some kind soul please reiterate....."⁸

"Can some kind soul post....."⁹

Approximately 74% of female presented postings were written in a narrative style. Thus these messages contained a Request for Information embedded within a story. The

⁵ Evans, Mike and Young Leslie, Heather (1993) "*Re: AAA and Wenner-Gren*". Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 13 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁶ Steiner, Margaret (1993) "*Computer Virus Alert*". Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 16 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁷ Neyzi, Leyla (1993) "*student summer program in third world*"? Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 28 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁸ Stark, Miriam T. (1993) "*re: Exeter Conference in July 1994*". Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 23 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁹ Komito, Lee (1993) "*AAA meetings*". Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 1 Nov Ms. in files of author.

narratives were constructed in a formulaic manner; "I am engaged in so and so, have run across or not run across the following, need this and this, feel this way and this way about it, would be very appreciative to get this information for the following reasons, please and thank you". Many of these Request postings left the information required open to Interpretation by the reader, as in the posting from the student above who asked questions about her topic that could be responded to by many knowledgeable net members.

Female presented postings in the Request category were overwhelmingly Conative or Phatic in Style. The Conative function is characterized by a posting that is aimed at a reader, while the Phatic function stresses contact between reader and writer. These messages are filled with descriptive attributes assigned to readers: *kind gentleman, kind soul, your being so kind etc.* in an effort to solicit reader response. The positioning in these postings by the writers is clearly one in which the poster is making an effort to obtain a response from net members.

In this category, women constructed their textual semantic relationships by linking a high percentage of Domains through the use of behavioral attribution. For example, the following Domains played a significant role in Request postings: Place/space 75%, Anthropology 95%, People 90%, Behavior, sub-category "techno" - 45%, Behavior, sub-category "discursive" - 35%, Anthro-L 35%, Academics 35%. The Behavior, sub-category "techno" rates are very high [45%]. This figure can be attributed to the "please respond privately" posts found in female Request postings.

8.1.2. Men Writing

Male presented Request postings, were constructed primarily through the use of two Domains, which were linked by Inclusion, thus denoting a highly Referential style. As I have noted above, men thank the potential respondent to a request posting at a rate of 62% lending support to Herring's conclusion that men and women both value politeness on the net.¹⁰ But the formula through which Request postings are structured differs markedly from female presented Requests. There is little evidence of attenuation; no phrases such as "*kind soul*", or "*your being so kind*", can be found in male texts in this category. In fact, male presented postings often contain a two step structure: [1] This is what I need, and [2] thank you. There are only four Request postings that are written in the narrative style and male writers offer far fewer explanations for what or why information is needed. When an explanation for why a request is being solicited is given, it is often constructed in means/end terminology: I need someone on the net to give me this, in order to be able to do that.

Male Request postings were centered around specific issues: Anthropology and People, People and Place/Space, or Anthropology and Place Space. In a pattern that became

¹⁰ Herring, Susan; Johnson, Deborah and DiBenedetto. (1992) *Participation in Electronic Discourse in a Feminist Filed*. [in] Bucholtz, Hall and Moonwomon (eds) (1992) **Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Woman and Language Conference**. Berkeley: Woman and Language Group. [see also]

Herring, Susan. (1994) *Gender Differences in Computer Mediated Communication: Bringing Familiar Baggage to the New Frontier*. e-document. Keynote Talk at Panel: "**Making the Net Work**": **Is There a Z39.50 in Gender Communication?** American Library Association Annual Convention, Miami. June 27, 1994.

recognizable as a male-preferred Referential style, one domain is stressed, while the second domains as a foil or opposition or conversely, as a support for, the primary, [subject] Domain. Requests tended to focus on what a person [People] had written or done in Anthropology, what People/persons were doing in a certain Place or Space [realm - ethnographic] or what a Person/People had written about a certain Place/Space. The dominant semantic relationship utilized to construct male Request postings was Inclusion, while messages were written in the Referential code. Thus, the preferred male writing style in the Request category is Referential/Logical and is constructed through Inclusion.

8.1.3. Discussion

When I contemplated the possible reasons for the divergence in the writing patterns of men and women in the Request category, I took into account that 40% of the women in this category had asked that Information be sent to them at their private email address, while only 3% [two messages] of the men made this request. Of the two male postings that requested private feedback, one stipulated why he preferred to have the mail sent to him at his home email address. His Request for Information was with respect to travel information and a possible itinerary, and he "did not want to take up [list, members] disk space" with any information that people might send him. The other male request did not

expand on his reasons, although he later posted to the net to thank everyone for the feedback he had received and to explain that his "English was not so good".¹¹

In Chapter Six, I noted that the women to whom I wrote to ask why they preferred private response, indicated that their main reasons for this request was a dis-comfort with net space, and a conviction that private email led to more personal and comfortable dialogic relations. This clearly denotes that the 'public' discursive terrain of the net, is perceived as an uncomfortable environment, and that women are not at ease with the prospect of holding a dialogue with, or positioning themselves with respect to, the 'third man'¹² in public net space.

My conviction that women are far more comfortable with private net space, is not only based on the response I received from the women that I polled with respect to their solicitation for private response, but also on the gendered writing patterns and styles found in the Request category. It appears possible that the reason women position themselves in attenuative terms in Request postings is linked to their "please respond privately" notations on Request postings. Many of the female authors appeared to be 'concerned' with whether or not they would receive a response and hence, positioned themselves with respect to public net space as if they were asking a 'favor' in order to solicit an answer. In

¹¹ Nery, Paulo Roberto Albieri (1993) *child experience of playing*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 8 Nov. Ms. in files of author. "thanks to everyone who wrote replying to my ask about children's play. <snip> Thanks of your attention, and for your tolerance, 'cause a bad use of your language".

¹² Serres, Michel. (1982a) *Platonic Dialogue*. [in] Harari and Bell (eds) (1982) **Hermes: Literature, Science and Philosophy**. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

the request category a potential for interaction exists; women presented posters position themselves with respect to this possibility in non-aggressive terms.

This fear of non-response can be linked to studies that have been completed with respect to 'real-time' conversations between the sexes. Tannen,¹³ Fishman¹⁴, Zimmerman and West¹⁵, and Robin Lakoff,¹⁶ have all noted that women's conversational attempts are not supported 'in real life' by the men with whom they converse,¹⁷ that women are interrupted by men 96% of the time that interruptions take place in inter-gender dialogues¹⁸ and that in order to be 'noticed' women often use 'attention getting' beginnings to peak an interest

¹³ Tannen, Deborah. (1990) *You Just Don't Understand: Men and Women In Conversation*. New York: William and Morrow Co. Ltd.

¹⁴ Fishman, (1978) [in] West, Candace and Zimmerman, Don. (1985) *Gender, Language and Discourse*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (ed) (1987) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV - Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Pubs. pages 79-116.

¹⁵ West, Candace and Zimmerman, Don. (1985) *Gender, Language and Discourse*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (ed) (1987) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV - Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Pubs. pages 79-116.

¹⁶ Lakoff, Robin. (1975) *Language and Women's Place*. New York: Harper and Row. [see also] Lakoff, Robin. (1976) *Strictly Speaking: Why you Can't Say What You Mean: review of Edwin Neumann*. [in] *Centrum*. 4:2, pages 151-170.

¹⁷ Fishman, (1978) [in] West, Candace and Zimmerman, Don. (1985) *Gender, Language and Discourse*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (ed) (1987) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV - Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Pubs. pages 79-116.

¹⁸ West, Candace and Zimmerman, Don. (1985) *Gender, Language and Discourse*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (ed) (1987) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV - Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Pubs. pages 79-116.

in the conversations that they initiate.¹⁹ While women are as likely as men to start a dialogue in 'real life', the survival rate of topics initiated by women are very low.

The Request category appears to offer evidence that some of these 'real-life' patterns have been re/constructed on-line. In the 'threads' category I will discuss women's attempts at conversation, however, the tendency for female speakers to use 'attention getting beginnings' appears in the Request postings through the construction of various 'greetings' in order to introduce the body of the posting. Women's real-life socialization experiences; that they are not supported in conversation, that their topics are negated, and that they are interrupted or ignored, contribute to the 'fear' of public space and the lack of confidence that their postings will receive a response.

To summarize my findings in the Request category; female and male presented Request postings do differ in style. Men prefer Referential/Logical postings constructed through Inclusion; women construct their Requests through the Conative or Phatic style and the Rhetorical code. It is important to note that these findings represent a pattern, not an absolute. Thus three request postings that are presented as female in my database are written as Referential postings with few domains, no Emotive, Phatic or Conative overlay, and are linked by inclusion. Similarly, 4 postings in the male presented portion of the

¹⁹ West, Candace and Zimmerman, Don. (1985) *Gender, Language and Discourse*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (ed) (1987) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV - Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Pubs. pages 79-116.

Request category of the database are written in a Narrative style and have an emotive component, thus incorporating their own feelings towards the subject of their utterance.

8.2. Category: Information

8.2.1. Introduction

In the Information category, female posters used a 'greeting' to introduce their message 39% of the time, males greeted the members of the net in these postings in 7% of their Information messages. Formal closes were found in female postings at a rate of 47%, in male presented postings in 15% of the total messages. There is evidence in these percentages to suggest that women stressed politeness in this category somewhat more than men and that even though a goodly number of women-presented postings were written in the Referential code, the fact that the message was going 'out' to someone was acknowledged through a greeting and/or a close.

Information messages did contain some instructions for response. Males asked for further information or feedback on the information to be sent to them privately 1.75% of the time, while women asked for private response to their information in 17% of their messages. A response to information given beyond a thank you is usually not expected or required, however, sometimes further questions may be forthcoming with respect to the information supplied. The potential for dialogic interaction in the Information category is greatly reduced when compared with Request [which solicits an answer] and Thread [which hopes for an answer] postings.

8.2.2. Men Writing

Male postings in the Information category were constructed through one to/of three domains: Place/Space, Anthropology and People. A significant number of postings presented information with respect to the Internet/BBS or Computers/Software categories. Two examples of male presented information postings that incorporate different styles are presented below.

> I don't have any firsthand experience with sci.arch, but I'd bet money they're obsessing about the >"Mystery of the Sphinx". Usenet can be such a muddled world.....

I read and contributed to it for the first few weeks of its existence, and have visited periodically ever since. Its full of prattle about bigfoot, Noah's ark, Atlantis, and "I have to write a report about the Mayas, can someone tell me a good book".²⁰

or:

The wonders of the Internet--have had a request from Chicago for ENDNOTE-L address, before I've even gotten my own posting back from Buffalo!

Here are the instructions for subscribing to ENDNOTE-L. There are several options once you do; including getting the day's postings as one "digest" message; info on that comes w/ the form message that UCSB's computer has subscribed to you. I happen to have saved the announcement of BIBSOFT-L, so will post that separately to Anthro-L.
<snip>²¹

In the first male presented posting quoted above, the domains Place/Space and People are central to the textual construction. The domains are linked throughout by the semantic relationship Inclusion. Attributive description concentrates on the categories

²⁰ Stone, Glenn Davis. (1993) *sci.archaeology*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 25 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

²¹ Finnegan, Gregory A. (1993) *Re: Address for ENDNOTE-L?* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 5 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

"sci.archeology" and "I", through terms such as "obsessed", "prattle", and "muddled". These attributes position both the original writer whose text is demarcated with > marks, and the respondent who colludes in the positioning of the first writer by aligning himself through agreement with the original writer's text. The first writer, amused that people obsess about the "Mystery of the Sphinx", implies that people who are into sci.archaeology would be the kind of [questionable] users who would obsess about such a topic....Usenet can be such a muddled world.

Both the original poster and the respondent author position themselves with respect to other Anthro-L users. There is a clear implication in the texts that Anthro-L is neither 'muddled', nor do community members 'obsess'. Instead, Anthro-L is a net of which its members can be proud. These authors can admit they are members of Anthro-L without deprecation, and can position themselves toward some other Internet sites in a patronizing manner. The illegitimate, muddy knowledge of sci.archaeology is full of "prattle", this writer goes to visit it occasionally, no doubt for sheer amusement. His comment that questions such as "I have to write a report about the Mayas, can someone tell me a good book", negates the fact that this type of request, albeit more academically worded, ["I am doing my senior research paper on.....and would appreciate any references"] is an integral part of the Request and Information postings that characterize the Anthro-L reciprocal stream.

This posting is an excellent example of the way some male presented postings combine a Phatic/Emotive function in the Information category. Under the guise of sociability, two

net members position themselves as "knowing"/knowledgeable' and 'above' the prattle of other networks. This particular message incorporates a reference to the news.list sci.archaeology. It stresses sociable contact; the respondent to the original post, constructs a textual complicity that engages with the 'back patting' implicit in the first message. As he states, he will "bet money" [value in western society] that "they" are "obsessing" - even though he also tells the net he has no "first hand experience with sci.arch.

This self-referential style is characteristic of an Emotive function which expresses the writer's attitudes. Although neither writer explicitly states an opinion of sci.archaeology, the attributes utilized in the posting signify their respective opinions and position the writer [s] in terms of Anthro-L as contrasted to sci.archaeology and also their own superior intellectual position vis a vis the "other" news.group.

In the second male presented Information posting above, the writer incorporates his text within five conceptual domains: Place/Space, People, Software/Computers, Behavior and Postings. These domains are linked by Inclusion, and the posting is introduced by a humorous rhetorical statement. The posting is Conative, it instructs the reader. It presents the information required in a linear, well organized manner, it is logically, not rhetorically coded. This combination of a Conative style constructed through a logical code, is characteristic of a significant number of male postings found in the Information category.

The writer constructs himself as a knowledgeable and willing to share tech-'know'-logist. In fact, although I have snipped this from the re/presented message above, he also forwards the instructions of 'how to' subscribe to BIBSOFT-L, and the information with

regards to this new net. For net members who are interested in applying the new technology to Anthropological bibliographies, fieldnotes etc., this is invaluable information. The message is coded with references to techno-and computer specific discursive behavior and as such exudes a particular 'kind' of knowledge.

8.2.3. *Women Writing*

Here is a female presented posting that answers a request for a folklore Internet site:

Actually, there are several folklore lists apart from the TAMVM1 list mentioned. LORE@NDSUVM1 with access at LISTSERV@VM1.NODAK.EDU is one and a list dealing with medicinal and aromatic plants (HERB@TREARN - access at LISTSERV@TREARN) is another.²²

In this message the writer supplements, [in fact corrects - "actually"] information previously supplied in answer to a Request for a folklore Internet site address. [apart from the TAMVM1 list mentioned]. The posting is founded on one domain: Internet, and is characterized by relations of Inclusion. The style is Referential, referring to the Internet sites without any emotive or Conative overlay. Indeed, the message contains no attributes that are behavior oriented except the implication of techno-behavior contained in the word "access" - which implies "how to subscribe". No attributions are given to the sites she describes unlike the sci.archaeology posting found above. Consequently, we learn little about the writer of this posting except that she is know-ledgeable with respect to certain

²² Cohen-Williams, Anita (1993) *Folklore lists*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 9 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

email sites, and that she knows how to access them. Thus she is familiar - to the degree she exposes here - with techno-behavior and language.

Below I contrast a posting that does contain a Conative function. Both the above message and the one below were written by the same female author.

Fellow Archaeologists!

Throw away your crow quills! Dump that India ink down the sink! I have discovered a great way to label artifacts using a pen that writes on just about anything! It is a MICRON MIGMA made in different sizes (.01, .03, .05, and on up) by Sakura Color Products Corp. These pens have black waterproof ink and will write on ceramics, (both glazed and not), metal, glass, bone, shell, wood, etc.

The pens cost about \$2.00 apiece. They don't smear, run, blot, and even those of us whose hands shake can write tiny artifact numbers on items. I prefer the .03 and .01 pens. Art stores carry these pens as do some office product places. We have been using them to mark the artifacts from the Presidio of San Diego excavations and think they are wonderful! ²³

This message is founded on the familiar Place/Space and People domains, but its primary domain is Artifacts which stands in a means/end relationship to the conceptual category "things [means] used to [end] label artifacts". Things used include crow quills, India ink, and finally the pen which she is promoting to the group as an excellent alternative for the labeling process. In her narrative she tells the net that they have been using these pens at an actual excavation and that "they are wonderful" on site.

Bruner's description of "narrative style" includes his observations that this writing style/mode of thought is characterized by a configuration which includes descriptions of/or

²³ Cohen-Williams, Anita (1993) *Liberation*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-1@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 10 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

references to the writer's own actions or the actions of others and the narrative style is one where chance happenings are integrated into written productions as meaningful events - the linkage of personal experience is linked to the "whole".²⁴ The narrative style thus often incorporates an emotive, Phatic, Conative or poetic function, it is not found in the referential function which is characterized by the logical code.

The posting reproduced above is a narrative coded through the Conative style; that is it is aimed at the reader and uses the rhetorical code. By attempting to convince the reader of the pen's excellent attributes, the writer also positions herself and her own attitudes towards the object of her discussion. The posting is addressed to [all] the archaeologists of the net, the word "fellow" positions the writer on an equal and helpful plane towards these readers. Comments such as "those of us whose hands shake" introduce a personal, sociable note. The author aims her thoughts at the readership by contextualizing these details within a story-line; the story of who she 'discovered' a Micron Migma pen while working on the excavations at the San Diego Presidio.

I have presented two postings by the same female writer to show that the same woman will write [and is capable of doing so] in divergent ways within the same category. I particularly wanted to draw attention to the use of the Referential style contained in the first example posting. This the style that Lacan claims women 'cannot speak', both perceptually and pragmatically. However, the referential/Logical style represents the

²⁴ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. page 11.

preferred choice of female posters in the Information category, reflecting the academic praxis that is an integral part of their lives.

Female Information posts were dominated by People or Ideas in Anthropology.

Information was given in a way that linked these two domains - establishing mutual dominance - rather than emphasizing one domain and using the other as a contrastive/complementary category. In my discussion of Request postings I noted that men used the Referential/Logical style linked through Inclusion. However, one Domain in these male postings was primary, while the other was utilized as a contrast/opposition or as support for the central subject. The female pattern in the Information postings - Referential/Logical is also linked through Inclusion, but the Domains are given attributes that place a dual emphasis on each category - one is NOT used as a contrast or as support. This female pattern thus represents a divergence from the dominant/subordinate pattern that characterizes the linkage of two domains in male presented posts within the Referential function.

Thus, while the dominant semantic relationship deployed is Inclusion, female postings were characterized by a higher use of descriptive attributes. [behavior categories - techno 26%, discursive 39%] This should be expected in a referential pattern that stresses a dual-emphasis on domains - each category is attributively described.

The techno/discursive behavioral ratio is the reverse of that found in male information postings, a natural result of the dominance of the category Internet/Software found in male postings which ensures that techno-behavior would be found in higher numbers.

In summation, female Information postings are constructed through the Referential [straight forward information giving] style, while male postings presented Information through the Conative, Emotive and Referential functions. The Conative male postings were often encoded through the logical code. Women used fewer domains than men to present Information [probably due to the prevalence of Internet/Software in this database] but linked them in diverse behavioral ways.

Thus women speak most often in the referential code when providing information to the list with no comment on the provision thereof, while men often express their opinions on the information they supply as well as providing the information itself. This in itself, is interesting as men assume that net members will be interested in 'what' they think about the Information they are offering. Women, rarely offer any comment on Information they provide. Their Information postings are reader-neutral.

In contrast, I have shown that women positioned themselves towards the reader and appeared make a concerted attempt to elicit a response in Request postings, while men appeared to be much less occupied with the reader, simply posting their requests and trusting that they would be answered.

The pattern in Information postings would seem to suggest that when posting Information, women often treat the process as informative, or perhaps in 'mechanical' in discursive terms, without engaging in reader/writer positioning. Taking into account the results of the Request statistics, the attenuation in Request postings, and the requests for private information response, it would seem that women feel comfortable posting in the

Information category in a straightforward style because they are far less concerned with response. They also appear to be more comfortable with 'giving' information than 'asking' for information, judging by the positioning of the writers of the messages: requests: [Conative or emotive, emphasis on attenuation] positioned towards the reader to elicit response; information: [referential] reader neutral. Style choice, then, is clearly situational, and framed within the "Operational Logic"²⁵ of a given set of social circumstances. Decisions made with respect to 'presentation' of 'self' within a given social situation are clearly refracted by gendered socialization processes.

8.3. Threads

8.3.1. General Comments:

The thread category contains those messages which offer the researcher an opportunity to study style patterns, particularly with respect to the positioning of a particular writer towards the rest of the net, and to narrative styles that theorists such as Gilbert and Gubar²⁶ claim are utilized by women.

My analyses of female and male presented net texts revealed a pattern of "expanded" or "synthesized" conceptual categories that appeared to be predominantly gender aligned. Men utilize what I refer to as "synthesized" categories. Alvarado's post, which I offer as

²⁵ de Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. translated from the French by Steven Randall. Berkeley: University of California Press.

²⁶ Gilbert and Gubar (1988) *No-Man's Land - The Place of the Woman Writer in the 20th Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

an example in Chapter Four, utilized only two Domains: Anthropology and People. These two Domains were closely linked by descriptive attribution; in fact the post can be summed up as Geertz [people] in Anthropology; with an auxiliary categories of "a few other thinkers/people" who are linked to Geertz through attribution [support/influenced].

As in the Alvarado example, male thread postings favored one to three domains in textual construction: Postings, People, and Anthropology. By "favored" I mean to convey that a significant amount of male presented postings utilized at least one of these three domains. The "Postings" category percentage requires further explanation. The percentage of reference to Postings within male texts, is increased by the fact that previous postings, to which a thread message is responding, are referenced in the posting body. Thus, a posting may state in its opening paragraph, *John said in his previous post, or yesterday Bob posted*. In the actual body of the message itself, that is the discussion being continued, only two Domains were dominant in male posts: Anthropology and People.

Male thread postings are constituted through the Referential code, while domains are linked by Inclusion and Spatial relationships. As in Request postings, one category dominates, while the other is utilized as a support or contrastive category. Alvarado's posting in Chapter Four uses People [in] Anthropology. In male thread postings the ideas or concepts of scholars [People] are often subsumed by Inclusion, rather than labeled and left as a stand alone category.

On the other hand, women utilize "expanded" Domains. Female thread messages favored five main categories which were extended through the use of many stand alone domains

that stretch the conceptual categories of the Statement of Being, hence incorporate new clusters of 'signs' into the net's discourse.

Such is the case in the sample posting taken from Stephanie Nelson in Chapter Four. In this message, Postmodernism is found as a separate conceptual category. Thus, while postmodernism is an [possible] attribute of Geertz in the Alvarado posting, Nelson's text constructs postmodernism as a stand alone Domain. This expansion of Domains is found throughout female presented postings.

Domains are linked through behavioral attributes, but not subsumed. Figure 8.1 illustrates that Women's threads are dominated by the categories Behavior, Postings, Anthropology, and People, and that a significant amount [57%] contain some contextual reference to Place/Space.

There is also a noticeable difference in the use of the category "Time" in male and female thread postings: no male postings in threads used Time as a stand alone category while 26% of female presented postings rooted their messages in time through attributive links to other categories. Importantly, female presented postings also spoke often of other academic disciplines as categories in their own right by linking aspects of these disciplines to Anthropology, while male presented postings incorporated 'other' disciplines 'under' Anthropology. The category Academics/Disciplines, which I utilize for references in posts that are not related to Anthropology, but instead refer to specific concepts or disciplines such as Sociology or Economics, is predominantly found in female presented postings

[36%]; indeed, if Foss's references are taken from the male percentage in this Domain, the resulting male figure plummets to less than 10%.

Dr. Foss's messages represent an aberration in the male posting stream. In each category his postings proved an exception to the [male] rule. If Dr. Foss's posting statistics are removed from the male posting stream, men overall, when using Attribution to describe conceptual categories, appear to favor descriptive attribution as does the Statement of Being.²⁷ Descriptive attribution can best be described as passive. Thus statements such as "*it is truly multidisciplinary in nature*", or, "*and he is useful to this extent*", employ terms in order to describe another object or person. In the above statement, multidisciplinary is used as a link to describe both "it" and "nature". Thus, the listserver ["it"] is multidisciplinary [attribute: descriptive] and has a nature which is multidisciplinary [attribute of nature: descriptive].

Women however, favored behavioral attribution. Behavioral attribution is active, it describes a state of being or doing. Thus *John O'Brien is certainly free to declare manifestos on the death of postmodernism if he wishes*. In this sentence the words "free", "declare", "death" and "wishes" all signify states of being [death, free] or active behavior [declare, wishes].

This variation between men and women in the allocation of descriptive and behavioral attributes held true for all categories except Information. As I have noted above, in this

²⁷ I will discuss Foss's contributions to the net separately.

category, women utilized Inclusion and descriptive attributes. For example "XXX is an **equal opportunity** employer".

While performing the semantic analysis of these postings I noticed that men and women appeared to utilize verb and adjective links in a different ways, not only in terms of Attribution, which I have described above, but also in how they employed semantic relationships as paragraph transitions.

Verbs and adjectives are usually found in the Attribution, Cause/effect and Means/End semantic relationships. Cause/effect is designated by a "This was done, so this happened" link, while Means/End is signified by a "this is a way to do this" relationship. Men appeared to use Means/End or Cause/Effect relationships in connection with Inclusion, Spatial, Rationale and Function **within** paragraphs, that is as sentence links. Women utilized Attribution within paragraphs to link categories. However, female posters used Cause/Effect, Spatial and Means/End relationships to construct between paragraph transitions; as **linkages**, while men used Inclusion, Function or Rationale [one paragraph logically **derives** from, is the reason for, is a kind of] relationship between paragraphs. To illustrate, I use a female presented posting which triggered a flame war on Anthro-L, precisely because of the way the paragraph connections were presented:

Subj.: Free South Africa!

November 18, 1993: Kempton Park, South Africa

Black and white leaders endorsed a new constitution early today that finally destroys apartheid by guaranteeing equal rights for blacks and end three centuries of white dominance. {cause}

transition to [effect]

Have a glorious day!!!²⁸

This posting utilizes the domains Place/Space [South Africa], Time [early, today, 3 centuries, day], People [you - implied, blacks, whites, leaders], Ideology [stand alone conceptual category- Apartheid], Behavior [endorsed, {you} have]. It contains the following Descriptive attributions which link Domains: white, glorious, guaranteeing, equal and rights; while Behavioral Attribution is utilized as links through such words as endorsed, destroys, dominance, end.

This is a Conative message, [code: rhetorical]. It points to an external referent: the signing of the South African constitution and ergo, considers that a reason [cause] for [implied YOU] "have a glorious day!!!" The allusion to an external referent and the statement that the reader should [thus] have a good day indicates the message's Conative function. There is however, a strong emotive component that is self-referential. The writer positions her 'self' through this message; that is she is expressing how she feels about the 'act' that has taken place in Kempton Park and she is conveying her emotion to the rest of the list.

This was a successful message in that it triggered a response, even if that response in turn twiggged the beginnings of a flame war. The respondent message made it clear however, that it was written as a reaction to the cause/effect relationship rhetorically stipulated by the original message; it is equally clear that the respondent 'heard' the message to the reader, indicating the success of the Conative function. The message's performance force,

²⁸ Pam Leader (1993) *Free South Africa*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-1@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). Nov. 19. Ms. in files of author.

that is what it had been constructed to say, was "heard". Below, I quote a number of excerpts from the respondent posting as well as from a follow up message which was necessitated by the accusations made against his original text. The writer makes it clear that he is responding to what he 'heard' Pam Leader 'say':

Subj.: don't follow the Pam Leader on equality

<snip: original message is re-produced here>

For years now I have respected Pam Leader as a sincere, kind, and good person who Believes. What she has believed in or continues to, I fear, exhibits tendencies to unworthiness. Hardly ipso facto, I gravely doubt, with the grave barring civil war yawning for famine victims, that "the paper they were signing there/Would put an end to war" and racist privilege.²⁹

< pages of followup text snipped here>

<snip> "HAVE A GLORIOUS DAY!!!" and all I could think of is the squalor of the public sector, a steaming hot computer room whose thermostat is set to the calendar, not the unseasonable heat outside, and the elevators do not get you to the seventh floor.....<snip> STOP THIS!! School or parking lot, make your choice. <snip>³⁰

<snip> The object of criticism, sarcasm and over verbose assault was not Pam Leader the organism, but Pam Leader the exemplar. Snip> Exemplar of the victimized masses of official and pro-systemic [almost certainly a solecism, but where the hegemonic belongs to Them the probability of screwing up in linguistic usage may be overwhelming] propaganda surrounding us like no-longer-sniffable air pollution. Not mine, Braudel said it: "The Reality of a social order surrounds us like the air we breathe."³¹

<snip> "have a glorious day"!!! where the latter is Pam Leader's post's valedictory injunction, it is *emotional labor* entailing corresponding *feeling rules* (see works of

²⁹ Daniel A. Foss (1993) *don't follow the Pam Leader on equality*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 19 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

³⁰ Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *off-line continuation of Pam Leader nonsense for e-research*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 21 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

³¹ Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *at typenam [neologism] not ad feminam* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 20 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

Arlie Hochschild (Rothschild, 1982 and 1989 I think), so in its own curious way is the obedience to physician's orders <snip> In either case it is coerced, it is unfreedom.³²

The respondent is clearly positioned against the injunction "have a glorious day"; it is equally apparent from his text that he does not believe [and cannot understand why anyone would] that the 'paper' they were signing would put an 'end' to anything in South Africa.

The respondent's style is characterized by the dominant semantic relationship [Behavioral] Attribution, although he makes liberal use of descriptive attribution in his writing style. He utilizes metaphor as an attributive semantic link between categories. Metaphor is unique in its capacity to link categories by using one word as the simultaneous attribute of two or more domains.

8.3.2. Some Examples of Positioning

On November 14, 1993 one of the female members of the community sent a request to the net which became a thread during the course of my data base:³³

I am working on a study of pornography use for a seminar in media and culture. Does anyone have any methodological advice? Also science students can often work as research assistants over summer, do similar opportunities exist in Anthro?

regards,

³² op. cit. "at typenam.."

³³ I have been unable to reach the author of this particular posting, thus conceal her identity. In utilizing her words without permission, I break my own rule that I will honor the Statement of Being, however, this thread is important to my discussions. Thus I hope that she will forgive its use. The nature of the request is one often found in this category of posting, there is no question of flaming or personalities in her own text.

The text of this posting appears clear. The author is asking for **methodological** advice for her study of pornography in media and culture. Her first answer to this request from the net came from a male and read as follows:

<snip> It seems to me that the first thing you should do is define your terms, or in this case define pornography.³⁴

This response posting represents what Goffman has called "by play" in his study of boundary collusions within public space.³⁵ The respondent positions himself, not towards the original writer, but 'winks' at the rest of the list. There is an implicit negation of the original text through the collusion he attempts to set up with other net members. Implicitly, the respondent knows more. "Look at this," he seems to say. "She hasn't even defined her terms. Surely the first thing to do is define terms"! That others on the net understood this to be so is evidenced by the immediate reply from another male net member:

Which would make it an impossible study *just* finding a suitable definition if it involves socially or historically relative factors.

If not then simply define it as "any medium intended to arouse sexual desire".

However, it seems to me that you're just trying to intimidate the fellow"³⁶

³⁴ Fortman, Paul (1993) *re: Media Research*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 14 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

³⁵ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press. pages 181-185.

³⁶ "zeek@io.com (1993) *define pornography*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 14 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

Three postings have now been presented in this thread. The original poster, a female, asked for methodological help with her research. A male poster responded and advised her to define her terms in a way that positioned the respondent as having privileged knowledge. His posting invites the rest of the list to admire his response and to collude in his negation of the request found in the female presented message.

The second male respondent accepts the invitation to engage in by-play with the first male. The information given in this second response posting, a 'definition' of pornography, does not respond to the female's request but rather to the posting sent by the first male, and how he positioned himself in terms of the initial posting. In fact, this second response is also couched in 'knowing' terms, he points out to the first male, that defining 'pornography' would make it an impossible study if "it involves socially or historically relative factors". The message is clear - "Haven't you thought of that"?, he asks the first respondent poster. Through one-up-manship, he offers a solution to the 'definition' problem identified by the respondent posting - surely not something asked for by the original post!

The closing line of the second male posting states that the author of this posting believes that the male writer of the first posting was just 'trying to intimidate the fellow', [even though he in turn, attempts to 'one-up' the respondent] that is the female author of the request posting. It is difficult to determine why male [2] would consider the writer of the original request as male; her signature at the bottom of the message clearly indicates that she is presenting as female. More importantly however, is male 2's perception that male 1 was trying to intimidate and that he himself, colludes in this intimidation.

The female presenter of the original posting, appears to have responded well to this exchange. She wrote back to the net in response to 'define your terms' and outlined in more detail what she had done and was intending to do with her study. Rather than meeting the respondent posting with silence, she takes male 1's posting at face value, and tries to meet his requirements. Her effort was met with support, in this thread in my database, and in this thread only, women out-post men.

By-play is one example of marginalization. In Chapter Six, I noted that two messages 'failed' that were female presented during the course of my database. The first message, *'another casualty of the war in ex-Yugo*, was written in the emotive function. The author is clearly moved by what she has seen on CNN. The message is encoded through rhetoric. I have suggested that this message did not impact the readers on the network because the topic of concern was not as important to many of the net's readers as it was to the writer and that her obvious emotion did not draw a response-in-kind. The message can also be understood as simply informative and not requiring a response.

The second female posting [*re: Habermas*] that failed was characterized by attenuation, Conative, and coded through rhetoric. Its rather facetious beginning *"Yeh everyone"* is not one that was designed to position the writer 'with respect' to other net members.

8.3.3. Failed Male Threads

Below I present a summary chart of the failed threads in my database, both male and female:

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Domains#</u>	<u>R'ship type</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>Code</u>
u.s. ideology....	male	7	Attribution	Poetic	Herm.
Sociology of flaming [3]	male	numerous	metaphor, attribution tropes personification		
Burundi genocide	male	4	Attribution	Poetic Conative	Herm Rhet.
Intensification	male	1	Inclusion	Referential	Logic
Another casualty...	female	3	Attribution	Emotive	Rhet.

Table 8:2 Failed Threads: Gender, Function, Code

I discuss in detail the failed male thread messages contained in my database, immediately below. The writer of 3 of these postings is the recipient of systemic desertion on Anthro-L - his attempts at communication/interaction with the net are met by silence.

I was startled when I uncovered this fact. The community, certainly during the course of my database, spends considerable time arguing about Foss's right to speak in whatever manner he chooses. Feelings run high; adversariality is palpable. There are ardent Foss champions, there are equally tenacious detractors. The propensity to speak about Foss hides the fact that Foss is never spoken too. In one of his postings to the list Foss himself remarks:

It has been ascertained by massive quantities of evidence over the course of years that substantive arguments presented in this writer's column, which appears regularly in these pages, have **never** been publically acknowledged to exist. Once in a great while, some scholar of Olympian eminence has been known to send a private letter acknowledging said substantive content and offering serious comments. This is susceptible to the interpretation that is counter-normative for personages in positions of academic responsibility and possessing scholarly gravitas to risk ridicule in public acknowledgements of what is noted - usually very briefly - in privacy. <snip>

There exists a massive corpus of evidence too, which proves beyond all peradventure of a doubt that, whilst the ideational content in my writing is never identified or, to put it otherwise **is invariably ignored** or **is without exception obliterated** even when marked by headers, roman numerals, or any markings except smiley icons which are prohibited by Sacred Law (where the religion in whose Sacred Law the prohibition exists remains under construction), the reverse is true of personal insults. I have quite

often been accused of personal smears and innuendo which did not exist, not even perhaps in the minds of the beholders.³⁷

Foss is, as I have stated, the victim of marginalization through communicative desertion.³⁸

The respondent silence with respect to his postings is palpable precisely because he writes long messages filled with contentious and highly evocative prose.

Thus I want to examine a little more closely the style of this author who provokes so much intra-community debate, yet is never engaged in direct interaction with respect to the thoughts and ideas manifest in his posts. I begin with a look at each attempt at communication. As some of the failed messages were very long, I do not reproduce them in their entirety below. In some cases, I simply sum up the characteristics of the post.

[1] Subj.: class persecutors with no class.....

Summation: A posting which contains an imaginary conversation between "Ruby, Oswald, and JD Tippet [who] were sitting around the table playing regular Wednesday Night poker game via Telnet which allows you to be n minus k plus one factorial people at once".....³⁹ Domains: Seven. Semantic Relationship: Attribution, [Metaphor]. Function: Poetic, Code: Hermeneutic.

[2] Subj.: Sociology of Flame Culture

Note: The original writer posted two followup messages to this original posting. The second one was entitled "Sociology of Flame Culture (2). defensive networking vs. community social control, while the third post was headed "sociology of flame culture (3) loners and the fake hordes.

³⁷ Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *Look For It*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 28 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

³⁸ Goffman, Erving. (1963) *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press. page 188.

³⁹ Daniel A. Foss (1993) *class persecutors with no class or*: Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 31 Oct. Ms. in files of author.

Summation 1: Example:

"No study of the cyberspace culture, which is always studying itself to extremes, anyway, may omit the ritual-insult practices grouped under the general heading of "flaming". It is this writer's opinion that the general virulence of these practices have diminished in the past year or so, as many more novice participants - "newbies" - join ever more rapidly proliferating, subdividing, minutely specializing lists: Distinctive cultural traits and practices get diluted; hard core addicts are numerically overwhelmed by those giving greater centrality to RL ("real life, or face-to-face interaction; var. IRL= "in real life")

In two years, one may have already observed the "passing of tradition". This is of course relative. HISTORY@UBVM, once the scene of absurd ideological wars with a right-wing trio of an astronomer at Georgia tech posing as a barroom redneck, a Second Lieutenant studying Law at the U of West Virginia whose martial exploits consisted of beating up campus leftists, and an anthropologist at SUNY Buffalo (as listowner of VWAR-L suspecting George Bush of treasonous intent of normalizing relations with Vietnam), and myself on the left, has become quiescent and boring.....<snip> another of our sister stations.....<snip> has in the last few months become *exclusively* devoted to flamerei adepts whose discourse is almost entirely - the exceptions are just joined neophytes who have no idea what the list is about, which is inevitable given that its sole historical content has been the aversion to being "about" anything in particular or in general - the genre of ritualistic insult comparable in virulence to what is found in certain warrior cultures or street gangs but indulged in by office workers and students...."⁴⁰

Foss's writing offers palpable evidence that it is possible to write in a referential function "poetically". This mixing of styles render Foss's discourse *disorderly*, as evidenced by the stated perceptions of many net readers. The message above is a serious, referential and deeply interesting look at the phenomenon of flaming, but it is certainly "hermeneutically" coded through the use of expanded categories, personification and metaphoric language. The dominant semantic relationship is Attribution [behavioral].

Summation: Posting 2: Quotation:

"This post should be considered a continuation of the first 'Sociology of Flame Culture'. In that post, we, that is, I, the writer, considered the case of the ideoflamer, or some

⁴⁰ Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *Sociology of Flame Culture* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 1 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

individual, who, from free floating aggression, perhaps diverted from more problematic or threatening objects such as management or supervisorism (and there was a choice and colorful depiction of repellent co-workers by an employee of a University administration I think, on the ever scabrous, albeit currently, disintegrating....] <snip>
41

In this second posting, the writer again blends the Poetic and Referential aspects of his writing skills. Conceptual categories in this posting are multiple and included new additions to my category list such as the Body, Disciplines [academic] and a number of free standing Domains such as Ideology. The main semantic relationship is Attribution, again Domains are linked and overlapped through metaphor. In sections of this text there is a noticeable attempt to 'reach' the reader. No one function codes this message. The texts moves from referential to Conative, to Poetic and often touches on the Emotive/self referential. The code is manifestly hermeneutic.

Summation # 3⁴² The most "Poetically" oriented of the three postings; conceptual categories are again expanded including "Popular Culture". Code is again, hermeneutic. One senses exasperation with the lack of response to the previous two posts through the "Emotive" sections of the text. While there are still Conative/Emotive/referential aspects to this message, the overall text is more concerned with its 'self' through the inter-play of words, sentences, concepts, imagery.

None of these postings received a response. Considering the content of these posts, and the provocative theoretical questions posed and discussed, this lack of response is staggering. In Chapter Nine, I will consider the 'disciplining' of Foss's discourse in greater detail.

⁴¹ Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *Sociology of Flame Culture (2): defensive Networking vs Community Control* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 12 Nov. Ms. in files of author. Note the gap between posting dates.

⁴² Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *Sociology of Flame Culture (3): Loners and the Fake Hordes*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 28 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

The posting presented below, constitutes another failed message in my database, although, given the fact that this writer is highly participant in net discussions, it strikes me as very possible that he received private responses to this message.

[3] Subj.: Intensification; another refinement

Quotation:

Subj.: Intensification: Another refinement

"Early this year, with the help of Anthro-L, I refined the basic formula, $P=AD$, into $P = AYM$ to take into account the fact that density ($P/A + D$) increase could take the form of increase in either yield (F/A) or malnutrition (P/F). Note that $P = A (F/A) (P/F)$, by definition, since the A's and F's cancel. Taking proportional growth rates has the effect of turning multiplication into addition, so $P' = A' + Y' + M'$. Recently, I began applying this formula to United Nations data, and soon came up with the 'fact' that malnutrition was increasing, in the late 1980's, in the developed nations. This prompted another refinement in the formulas, based on the necessity of distinguishing, whenever external food sources are present, between that population's food *production* and its food *supply*. The new factor that must be included is the ratio between food supply and food production, Fs/Fp "<snip, rest of text"⁴³

This posting, represents a 'textbook' example of the referential/logical style. Attribution in this message is descriptive and kept to a bare minimum, focusing on the main category: "Formula". This is the only incidence of the conceptual category [*what are the ways to calculate?*] "Formula" in my database.

I suspect that this message was simply 'too referential' and that many net members did not feel either comfortable or knowledgeable about this topic. Although I am making an assumption through this statement, I suspect that members who were knowledgeable

⁴³ Graber, Bob (1993) *Intensification: Another Refinement*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-1@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 2 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

about this topic, wrote privately to Graber. Certainly, "earlier" that year, members had responded to his request for help with his formulas.

[4] **Burundi Genocide**

When on Oct. 27 I tried to ridicule the coverage of the Burundi military coup of 21 Oct. in the New York Times (of Oct. 25), which was inept, fragmented, ahistorical and restricted to coverage of events in the capital, Bujumbura, I had no alternative sources of factoids or rumors. Another story "Burundi: We didn't mean to do it", Economist, October 30th, 1993 p.46, now reports "a massive 500,000 fleeing" into southern Rwanda; also "reports of thousands dead"

This is the kind of toll one expects from a military race riot.

Burundi must have registered more Hutu deaths from racist Tutsi persecution since independence than were inflicted by Pol Pot's regime in Cambodia and Karadzic's and Mladic's Serb forces in Bosnia put together.

Do something.⁴⁴

This failed posting is constructed around four major conceptual categories: *People*, *Place/Space*, *Time and Publications [source]*. People, Place/Space and Publications/source are described in terms of Descriptive attribution. The first paragraph of the message appears referential in that it describes the coverage of the Burundi massacre in terms of facts and figures, supported, in the academic tradition, by authority. However, there is an Emotive overlay that allows the reader to discern that this writer is moved by what he has read of the situation in Burundi [*this is the kind of toll...*].

In the second paragraph, although the author uses comparative situations to underline the information he has given in referential terms earlier in the message, we find that the

⁴⁴ Foss, Daniel A. (1993) *Burundi genocide* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 14 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

message is Emotively coded. It is clear that the writer is incensed at the Burundi situation. That this is the case is underlined by his use of a cause/effect relationship to link the body of the message to the final sentence. In effect he is saying: this is the terrible situation in Burundi, [you] "*Do something.*" Thus he ends this message with a clear attempt to reach the reader - the message is thus Conative as all of the information he has supplied is in an effort to move the reader to action. The code is rhetorical.⁴⁵

The cause/effect relationship utilized in this posting to link the body of the message to its final admonition [Do something] is ironic, given Foss's response to Leader's admonition {Have a Glorious day!} which was constructed through exactly the same between-paragraph links. I emphasize again, Foss's aberration in the male posting stream: he writes 'like a woman'.

The above postings represent the four failed thread messages posted by males. In summary, the messages posted by Dan Foss, with the exception of *Burundi genocide*, were largely characterized by multiple functions and a hermeneutic code. "Burundi genocide" was a Conative message encoded through rhetoric. Finally, Bob Graber's message, "*Another Intensification*" was highly referential and characterized by the logical code.

⁴⁵ The cause/effect relationship in this posting is ironic given this poster's response to the cause/effect relationship in the original post of the "Free South Africa" thread. I emphasize again, that Foss is an aberration in the male posting stream. He connects paragraphs 'like a woman'. <smile>

I have noted the style that contributes to successful threads: the referential, logically encoded style found in postings such as Bisha's "*Cultural Elements and Tension*", found in Chapter Four. When this style is contrasted with male failed thread messages the marginalization of certain writing patterns of Anthro-L becomes increasingly clear.

Appropriate discussion on Anthro-L is situated within the framework of the Paradigmatic or Logico-Scientific Mode.⁴⁶ Bruner defines the Logico-Scientific mode as one which seeks universal truth conditions. Its function is to demonstrate or to prove a statement by linking it to other statements through the connections of formal logic. As a message it relies on external references and logical demonstrations that these references apply to the instances cited in the communication under discussion. It further pre-supposes that reader/writer share a common understanding of these external references and agree on the code which frames them. I have posited that this code, [which Jakobson defines as context [content]] is structured around the semantic relationship of Inclusion. The Logico-Scientific mode thus parallels Jakobson's Referential function.

Flaming within this code is often acceptable. The Statement of Being's admonitions with respect to 'offensive' posts, does not designate any and all aggressive or assertive writing as offensive. In actual practice, aggressive and assertive writing is NOT considered offensive. Offensive writing, or attacks, are not only highly personal statements made about certain community members, they must be constructed in a specific style, in effect

⁴⁶ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

they must threaten to unbalance the net's discursive structure. I will discuss this in detail in the next Chapter.

I am not suggesting that Anthro-L's implicit acceptance of and adherence to the Logico-scientific paradigm implies an acceptance of the proposition [in keeping with the style's construction] that one of the goals of Anthropology is to uncover "universal truth conditions".⁴⁷ I am suggesting that the structure of good academic writing, and the accepted posting style on Anthro-L, is built around the framework of external references and logical derivations. I am also suggesting that this writing pattern, which is granted the status of being that for which all 'good' academics strive, actually encapsulates both a deprived and a narrow way of looking at the world. The synthesizing of domains, while it may be part of the paradigmatic "right way to write", is in actuality only one way of conceptualizing the world. I am also proposing that, to a very great degree, this way of 'looking at the world, and consequently at language in interaction, is 'male'.

Women's thread messages are characterized by the Emotive or Conative function. Of these two styles, the Conative function is the most dominant; female presented messages are situated towards the readers that they are addressing. Thus it is not common to find a female posting in a thread sequence that is directed more generally to the net-at-large, but it is usual for a female presented posting to address the person to whom she is responding, or from whom she would like to 'hear'; either by name, or through the use of > marks.

⁴⁷ Although there are certainly members who believe this to be true, and hope that this is possible. This belief/hope comes out most clearly in the often acrimonious discussions around postmodernism.

female respondent postings are directed specifically to the 'words' or the issue raised by a previous poster and the main topic under discussion; in my database no women engaged in by-play. Thus while S. Nelson does not address J. O'Brien directly in her post, she does discuss his [perceived] dismissal of postmodernism, and addresses this issue, while simultaneously offering her own opinions thereby emotively conveying her negation of O'Brien's dismissal.

In the *Pornography* thread, women spoke directly to the original poster through the use of > marks to demarcate the text they were responding to in all of the respondent postings. None of these female responses addressed the issue of 'definition' raised by the original male respondent, that is they ignored the invitation to 'by-play'. Instead they addressed the topic raised both in the first posting and in the follow up posting written by the female initiator of the thread when she posted to 'define her terms'. Women stay on topic by centering their communicative concerns/replies on their perception of 'what is important' to the original writer. This type of "Focused Interaction"⁴⁸ can also be understood as a ploy to marginalize the "third" man,⁴⁹ thus creating a safer 'public' environment for the 'self' by re/creating the illusion of one-on-one dialogue.

In net dialogue, female response postings 'pick-up' on the categories that were used to construct the initial posting, and extend these categories through the use of one or more

⁴⁸ Goffman, Erving. *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press.

⁴⁹ Serres, Michel. (1982a) *Platonic Dialogue*. [in] Harari and Bell (eds) (1982) **Hermes: Literature, Science and Philosophy**. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

new conceptual domains. This pattern of acceptance and extended linkage does not occur in male threads. Instead, we find that male poster 'pick-up' the categories and domains of previous posters in order to dismiss or invert them and to erect new and divergent domains in their place.

This pattern with respect to male categories and domains is extremely interesting and is required by the construction of messages that are coded through the referential/Logical function and linked by Inclusion. This style does not facilitate the construction of texts that convey viewpoints "multi-perspectively".⁵⁰ For example in the thread "Cultural Elements and Tension", the following took place:

The first posting introduces Barth, Cultural Elements and Tension. It is a referential posting and coded through logic. Two domains are utilized: People [Barth] and Place/Space [realm].⁵¹ The writer of this posting is careful to present enough supporting evidence [Barth] in order to make his point and to overcome any possible suggestion to his proposition with regards to tension and cultural elements. His claim is clear, basic, strong, well- structured and defensible. Where his suggestion is not immediately obvious he clarifies it with external support.

⁵⁰ Williamson, Kathleen. (1993) *Can You Build Subjectivity Into A Model?* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu) 4 Dec.

⁵¹ Bisha, Tim (1993) *Cultural Elements and Tension*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 27 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

The second posting uses > marks to respond to the first, addresses the initial poster by name and uses flattery to endorse the ideas presented in the initial posting - "*interesting and potentially profitable issues*". Dismissing the domains in the initial postings, he dismisses ideas about cultural elements and tension by constructing new supporting domains. Introducing his own suggestion that 'discrepant forces' may suggest culture as process, his posting de-focuses the original posting's stress on cultural elements [see Chapter Four] and constructs a domain "Culture" supported by attributive descriptions of culture as "process". Berger and Luckman's 'notions'⁵² of internalization are introduced as 'authority' and the second conceptual domain in support of his viewpoint. This poster concludes by stating that he is new on list and wonders if the discussion is old hat? Should he and Bisha carry on in private? The posting is referential and logically coded barring the final line.⁵³

The third posting in this thread responds firstly to the idea that the discussion be moved to private 'space', [Conative] and asks the posters to keep it public. Secondly, he introduces his own idea of a dialectical contradiction between opposing tendencies.[Referential] The posting is thus Conative and then makes the transition to Referential. His posting is constructed within two domains that construct [1] "culture" as a [2] "dialectic."

⁵² What is this repeated use of the word 'notions' to describe a theoretical concept/idea? It shows up again and again in male texts!

⁵³ Quigley, Hal. (1993) *Cultural Elements and Tension: Bisha*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 27 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

The positioning of this third poster is two-fold: he is firstly positioned towards the original respondent because he addresses the issue of private space and he offers self-referential information by stipulating that he is 'enjoying the discussion'. Once he moves to his own suggestion with regards to cultural elements and tension, he is positioned more generally to the readers of the thread.⁵⁴

Tim Bisha, the original poster, responds directly to Quigley, the respondent poster, and while acknowledging the allusion to Berger and Luckmann, reiterates and further clarifies his previous position by reintroducing Barth and reconstructing his original domains [elements/culture and People/Barth]. This sets a pattern for the rest of this thread.

Hal Quigley, re/constructing HIS own domains and categories in response, introduces the concept of rational "insult" through remarks about "Structural Functionalists". The message which responds to his ritualistic insult chastises him through belittling [*for shame, for shame!*]. Three writers jump in to add ethnographic information derived from their own field studies that reflect on the concepts of cultural elements and tension; theorists such as Buck Schieffelin are introduced.

During this exchange the focus of the discussion transforms from Bisha's original concerns to 'ways to model structure'. The suggested models become more and more intricate until a discussion of kinship models [b-z incest = a double helix] ensues. Alignments occur:

⁵⁴ Bartels, Dennis (1993) *Cultural Elements and Tension: Bisha*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 28 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

*"perfectly said, Bob Grabner [sic], perfect.....the part of the answer you left off is that if you believe that science can apply because cultural features are interrelated functionally.....is HOW and at WHAT LEVEL. I tend to believe they are...but at a level we tend to overlook."*⁵⁵

The pattern of dismissing and reconstructing categories in the postings found in male threads is evident in "Cultural Elements and Tension". Likewise, it is a classic example of the progression found in the "Argument is War" metaphor.⁵⁶ In short, the adversarial paradigm not only manifests through arguments on the list, it is deeply integrated into 'normal' academic discussions. While fascinating, this thread is characterized by one-upmanship under the guise of camaraderie. Techniques such as "what you have said is important but"...."perfectly said, but you forgot to mention", "have you forgotten what XXX had to say about this", "I'll bet the Agna.....in the longhouse", all attest to the 'knowing' and assertive positions taken by individual writers, and introduce the dismissal of previous conceptual categories, and the introduction of the writer's own. Each contributor to the thread contributes conversation that promotes his specific area of interest. In fact, at one point a writer self promotes his book through a Phatic function - [smilingly "we need the royalties".]

⁵⁵ O'Brien, John. (1993) *tensions*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-1@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 29 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁵⁶ Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Each of these postings builds on the configuration that characterizes a 'good' rational argument. For every theoretical point put forward in the text, supporting evidence is supplied. Each posting starts with a generally agreed on premise [usually typified by a point made in an earlier posting] and moves in a linear fashion toward the point the present writer wishes to raise. Logical connections are derived from sentence to sentence, certain claims are stressed through the use of the dominant category/supporting category semantic structure, diffuse points are clarified, the reader has only to follow through from premise to conclusion to understand the text.

This is not the dominant writing pattern engaged in by women. As I have noted, the Conative and Emotive postings which typify female presented thread communication, are characterized by a conversational, supportive style, suggesting rather than displaying knowledge, contributing new ideas by adding and expanding categories. Women ask questions: "what did you find when you", "have you thought about linking this to", while men make assertions, "this is what I", "this is what is".

Do men and women write differently? Postings patterns tend to suggest they do. Do these patterns hold true in a significant amount of cases? That stylistic patterns diverge along gender lines is especially true in [thread] conversation and request postings. In the Information category, women post in the referential style usually preferred by men, while men tend to present a more subjective stance in the category, often commenting on the information as they present it. Overall, women simply offer the information without further

comment, although I have offered an example of a Conative female presented posting that exhibited a clear attempt to 'reach the reader'.

Do some postings receive more response than others? Yes. In thread conversations, postings written in the referential function with a logical code appear to receive more legitimization in terms of response.

Who speaks on Anthro-L is determined by a gendered difference in writing styles in threads that are incompatible at the level of ordinary direct communication. What is spoken on Anthro-L is ostensibly anthropology - but these discussions are configured through the power/knowledge paradigms carried within specific language models. How it is spoken represents the convergence of individual academic and gender cultural experience. In the next chapter, I contextualize the findings presented in Chapters Six through Eight in terms of the theoretical discussions I presented in Chapter Three.

9. CHAPTER NINE: THE POWER OF DISCOURSE; THE DISCOURSE OF POWER

9.1. Introduction

My discussion in Chapter Three broadly focused on three theoretical fields; socio-linguistics, the construction of the gendered self through texts, and presentations of the gendered self in dialogue. In this Chapter I situate the findings presented in Chapters Six through Eight with respect to the theory considered in Chapter Three.

Both "Focused Interaction"¹ and "Unfocussed Interaction" are fundamental to the presentations of the gendered self through stylistic difference found on Anthro-L. In "Focused Interaction", gender presentations of self and other are constructed through the situational positioning inherent in the Dialogic process. Writers make specific choices as to how they will present the self.

The Request and Failed thread categories offer evidence that the discursive topography of Anthro-L is 'read' by writers/readers in very distinct ways. The conceptualization of the discursive terrain through reading - from the kind of information received by a participant by glancing at the words written by net members - frames the impressions that a reader forms about how he or she will be received by the net community when their postings are constructed within specific stylistic frameworks. How a 'reader' reads the positioning and

¹ Goffman, Erving. *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press.

dialogic successes and failures of other net members is of prime importance to their assessment of the "Operational Logic" that defines the net's public reading/writing space. Although divergent writing styles can be correlated with the presented sex of many posters, the meaning of the choice of these styles, and the effective result of their usage is most clearly demarcated in dialogue, or in the writers positioning toward potential response. The pre-supposition that the 'third man'² who is always present will reject or receive certain styles in specific ways, is a significant factor in the choices of styles that characterize gendered posted text.

Below, I consider each of the main theoretical components that informed my methodological choices. The 'ever-presence' of net others in potentially liminal net space, and the individual's style response to this fact, forms an essential component of my discussions in this Chapter.

9.2. Structure: Langue and Anthro-L

Language is used by people through linguistic practice as a major mechanism in the construction of social realities and the transmissions of social power.³ Through language, roles and statuses are constituted, positions of privilege and authority are exploited and concepts and relationships in the areas of power and control are consolidated.

² Serres, Michel. (1982a) *Platonic Dialogue*. [in] Harari and Bell (eds) (1982) **Hermes: Literature, Science and Philosophy**. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

³ Berger, P and Luckman, T. (1976) *The Social Construction of Reality*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. see also: Berger, Peter. (1967) *The Sacred Canopy*. New York: Doubleday Books.

As a reality creating social practice, language constitutes the 'macro' framework of the greater society, as well as the innumerable local semiotic sites [parole] found within that 'greater' society. These local 'social formations' arise from the society in which they are found and to which they remain inextricably linked. The speech that characterizes these local sites similarly arises from the language practices that constitute the 'greater' society. Thus parole at all times remains categorically linked to a system of Langue. Variations in social structure are observed and correlated with differences in linguistic structure⁴, and exemplify different ranges of semantic potential.⁵

Although Sociolinguists argue for the 'equality' of all situational languages by illustrating through their studies that a group's conceptual and social needs are met by the linguistic structures that characterize any given semiotic site,⁶ it is an indisputable fact:

*...that some varieties [parole] and items [grammar] are associated with prestige, success and authority, and some with situations of power and deprivation. Seeing language as a practice that contributes to inequality, rather than as an innocent medium that simply reflects inequality, forces linguists to be more critical and gives social purpose to their own investigations.*⁷ Note: brackets mine.

Academic speech and writing utilizes speech/grammar and rhetorical patterns that are associated with macro conceptualizations of prestige, success and authority. Through its

⁴ Labov, W. (1972b) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

⁵ Halliday, M.A.K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.

⁶ Labov, W. (1972b) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

⁷ Fowler, Roger. (1985) *Power*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (1985) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV: Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Academic Press. pages 61-81.

association with education, science, prestigious employment, and 'complex' language, academic speech, and the people who are capable of speaking it, are linked to the paradigms of power which are granted legitimacy in the greater society. The referential-Logico mode of writing/speech is the paradigm which mirrors these links to public, prestigious and legitimate social realities.

On Anthro-L, the Referential/adversarial/academic paradigm is an implicit component of the underlying semantic structure of the net and is accepted by the authors of the Statement of Being as the writing paradigm of 'choice'. The referential/logical mode characterizes successful academic posting acts, particularly in the Thread category where support for one's communicative attempts by others in the community is of paramount importance. This referential style of writing informs academic models of proof in argument, while academic modes of speaking inform the praxis⁸ of the majority of the male and female members of the Anthro-L community.

The Referential mode of writing and speech has a specific function-in-context - that is, it is clearly constructed to have a special effect on readers/listeners. In Allucquere Stone's⁹ compelling discussion of the historical de-coupling of body and mind, she notes that in 1669 Robert Boyle developed a literary apparatus to "dramatize the social relations proper to a community of philosophers". He sent out painstaking and detailed descriptions of his

⁸ Ruddick, Sara. (1989) *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace*. New York: Ballantine Books.

⁹ Stone, Allucquere Roseanne. (1992) *Will The Real Body Please Stand Up?: Boundary Stories about Virtual Cultures*. [in] Benedikt, Michael. (1992) **Cyberspace: First Steps**. Cambridge: The MIT Press. pages 81-118. page 86.

experimental work to other 'like-minded' gentlemen in order to compel assent or dissent with the conclusions he had reached through his experimentation. So detailed were these descriptions of Boyle's, that his method has been described by Shapin and Schaffer as "virtual witnessing".¹⁰

Boyle's descriptive technique relied on logical derivations and connections in order to present his scientific truths. As Stone points out:

*He [Boyle] created what he called a "scientific community of like-minded gentlemen" to validate his scientific experiments and he correctly surmised that the gentlemen for whom he was writing believed that boring, detailed writing implied painstaking experimental work. Consequently, it came to pass that boring writing was likely to indicate scientific truth. By means of such writing, a group of people were able to 'witness' an experiment without being physically present. Boyle's production of the detailed academic paper was so successful that it is still the exemplar of scholarship.*¹¹

The function of the academic model is to convey, through clear, precise language and logical derivations, a conclusion reached by a writer with respect to a certain premise, and the steps that writer took towards his/her conclusion. The model is structured to carry the reader along - to take him or her step by step through a specific process and to guide that reader towards the same logical conclusion reached by the writer. Boyle's model of academic writing, which is still the "exemplar of scholarship", was constructed to convey

¹⁰ Shapin, Steven and Schaffer, Simon. (1985) *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

¹¹ Stone, Allucquere Roseanne. (1992) *Will The Real Body Please Stand Up?: Boundary Stories about Virtual Cultures*. [in] Benedikt, Michael. (1992) **Cyberspace: First Steps**. Cambridge: The MIT Press. pages 81-118. page 86.

information to other 'like-minded' gentlemen - hence was directed towards a particular audience. This model informs 'proof in argument' textual constructions in academic papers, conveys a specific type of academic/linguistic legitimacy/credibility and carries implicit social power.

I use the word "power" to represent the ability of certain people or institutions to control, manipulate or situate/position the discursive behavior of others. Power is both a transitive concept entailing an asymmetrical relationship and a general concept; an abstraction which concentrates on one aspect of very diverse kinds of community interactions. Importantly, power informed interactions are not natural or objective relationships. They are artificial, socially constructed, and intersubjective realities. Those with power may behave as though these relationships are immutable or inevitable, but they are part of the "social construction of reality."¹²

On Anthro-L, the **discourse of power and the power of discourse** is conveyed through Referential posting acts. The position of the referential paradigm as the discourse of power is exemplified by its manifold connections to the dominant structures of society and through its ability to mirror descriptions of rationality through textual constructions. Jakobson states that the Referential function is characterized by 'logic' and is connective. As in Boyle's model, the text of a referentially coded message exhibits a traceable process where each sentence within the text is linked to the next sentence through logical

¹² Berger, P. and Luckman, T. (1976) *The Social Construction of Reality*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

derivations, such as "If P then Q", or "if not P then not Q, or "if P and Q, then not N".

Textually these connections are often worded in terms of cause/effect semantic relationship to join/imply sentences.

The effect 'on' a reader of a message coded through these relationships is said to be 'neutral' or 'objective' with respect to reader impact. Referential/logical text is calculated and constructed to be important in terms of its inner connections and its links to observable 'outer' manifestations. The text itself is the message. Because the text speaks of an 'outside' object or concept in terms of logical inferences or examples, very little can be surmised with respect to the author. Thus not only can this type of message be conceptualized as 'reader-neutral', it is writer neutral as well. It is in effect, decontextualized from the bodies [decontextualization of agency] implicit in an interactive situation, while stressing context through connective links.

The claim that the referentially coded text is both reader and writer neutral must be queried. Firstly, the use of the Referential code presents the writer in a distinctive way. This use offers the researcher the information that the writer has the ability to use the code, has command of the [academic] language that is specific to referential constructions on Anthro-L, has the ability to think logically and derivatively, and presents these abilities as displays of the mind-self who is writing the post.

Secondly, the effect of the Referential message on the reader can also be discerned. A referential message is constructed to convince or persuade the reader/listener that the conclusions expressed by the writer of the text, are valid and necessary. A reader must

either object to the sequence in which these conclusions were laid out, pointing to an error in the logical derivations [contra-proof in argument] or reject the premise on which the argument is built. However, if a respondent takes up the position that the original message contained an error, the adversarial [Argument is War] paradigm is set in motion.

The reader effect of a referential message must also be understood in terms of the paradigm's close association with the macro/public structures of western society. As Ardener has pointed out:

*The dominant male structures of society inhibit free expression of alternative models and sub-dominant groups are forced to structure their understanding of the world through the dominant group.*¹³

The respondent to a referential posting who utilizes the narrative mode is apt to find, according to my semantic analyses, that this response will be ignored. The user of a narrative style does not match the initial posting's reading requirements and does not respond to the initial post by itemizing problems with the messages logic or its initial premise. Instead, the poster utilizing the narrative code will often point out multiple perspectives that could be taken with respect to the initial premise and will not respond critically to the 'proofs' or position taken by the initial writer. Mis-comprehension has occurred, and the respondent posters narrative attempts are often dismissed through silence. Thus the effect of a narrative response to a referential post is to stymie the flow of academic exchange through the adversarial paradigm. On Anthro-L, the exchange will be

¹³ Ardener, E. (1975b) [in] Moore, Henrietta. (1988) *Feminism and Anthropology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. page 3.

picked up by other Referential writers. It is the narrative poster who will not be part of the main 'flow' of talk, who will be muted by the dominant language structure.

The effect of the power inherent in the Referential message is an integral component of its construction. My semantic analyses of Anthro-L postings acts revealed that the Referential message is characterized by its emphasis on one [noun] category, although the poster often uses two categories to construct the posting. The second category is situated as a 'support' or as a 'contrast' relationship to the first, dominant domain. Attributive relationships are concentrated on the dominant category, while other potential categories are conceptualized as part of a whole [spatial] or as X is a kind of Y [Inclusion], thus effectively subsuming concepts, rather than linking them. Part/whole and Inclusionary concepts [as well as Function] inform the required 'logical' structure of the referential message.

The Logico-scientific/referential function parallels and carries western descriptions of Rationality and power in the following idealistic ways. Rationality [and power] is impartial [objective]; the referential function cloaks both the writer's self and reader impact, thus rendering the text 'objective'. Rationality is based on the historical condition of alienation by separating a problem from its context [objectivity]; the referential paradigm emphasizes one domain, uses a second as contrast/complement, and subsumes other conceptual categories through Inclusion and Spatial semantic relationships. Rationality stresses precision in language; the Referential paradigm eschews the use of tropes or metaphor.

Rationality is the foundation of scientific truth which is characterized by logic; the referential paradigm is coded through logic.

How can language 'render' or 'cloak' anything? F. de Saussure, in his *General Theory of Linguistics*, pointed out that linguistic signs are arbitrary in a system of *Langue*; there is no essential connection between ideas or things outside language and the words that designate them.¹⁴ This fundamental principle has led theorists such as Leach,¹⁵ Sapir,¹⁶ and Whorf,¹⁷ to assume that semiotic arbitrariness allows different cultures to segmentize their worlds into unpredictable and variable conceptual categories. Generally this premise of linguistic relativity is accepted, although Clark and Clark have proposed that shapes, dimensions, directions and certain logical/natural categories, are [arbitrarily] named in ALL human cultures.¹⁸ Thus, as far as natural categories are concerned, the terminology is arbitrary, but the concepts that are named are ones that arise by necessity - through common aspects of the human experiences. The remainder of human vocabularies however, are configured through the needs and experiences of a particular human community.

¹⁴ de Saussure, Ferdinand (1974) *Course in General Linguistics*. translated from the French by Wade Baskin. London: Fontana Books.

¹⁵ Leach, E. (1964) *Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse*. [in] Lenneberg, E. (ed) (1964) **New Directions in the Study of Language**. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. pages 23-64.

¹⁶ Sapir, E. (1949) *Language, Culture and Personality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹⁷ Whorf, B. (1956) *Language, Thought and Reality*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁸ Clark, H.H. and Clark, E.V. (1977) *Psychology and Language*. New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovitch.

The vocabulary of a language is a lexical map of a culture's interests. What is important to a culture will be richly lexicalized. Detailed systems of terms will develop for areas of expertise, using the terms keeps them current in a community's discursive consciousness, transmits them from group to group and from generation to generation. In this way ideology is transmitted through and 'insisted' on, in language. Conversely, categories that are not richly lexicalized are muted categories.

In my discussion of Sociolinguistics in Chapter Three, I concentrated on both *Langue* and *Parole*,¹⁹ because I believe that these areas [the language system and situational speech] are inextricably linked, especially when gender and language is the topic of research. Every society elaborates on the sexual/biological distinctions found between the sexes, [natural category] and in this way creates culturally informed categories of gender. Gender is a master status, richly lexicalized, and these linguistic structures inform every aspect of an individual's lifeway. Dale Spender,²⁰ drawing on Ardener's critique of the neglect of female informants in Anthropology and Smith's analysis of the exclusion of women in the formulation of cultural meanings,²¹ makes an argument for my position that at first glance sounds very similar to that of Lacan's.

¹⁹ de Saussure, Ferdinand (1974) *Course in General Linguistics*. translated from the French by Wade Baskin. London: Fontana Books.

²⁰ Spender, Dale (1980) *Man Made Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

²¹ Smith, P.M. (1979) *A Peculiar Eclipsing: Women's Exclusion From Men's Culture*. [in] **Women's Studies International Quarterly**. 1. pages 281-296.

Spender states that "Man made Language".²² Following Smith, she notes:

*Women have been largely excluded from the work of producing forms of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered.The circle of men whose writing and talk was significant to each other extends backwards in time as far as our records reach.....*²³

If discourse involves the use of specific language systems which regulate the [possible] symbols we use to express our thoughts, as well as the means whereby we order those thoughts, than the "language system - Langue" frames and limits the possibilities in which we can couch those thoughts and the way in which we express them. The "*forms of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered*" are richly lexicalized from the male perspective, are expressed through the referential code, [itself a form of thought constructed from the male perspective] and participation in these forms thus requires that the writer/speaker understands and participates in these symbols.²⁴

Cultural conceptions of gender are embedded in our system of Langue and infiltrate every local discursive site known to researchers. Situational language [parole] is thus bounded by the possibilities of [gendered] Langue. If women have been excluded from the production of forms of thought and the images through which these forms are expressed,

²² Spender, Dale (1980) *Man made Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

²³ Smith, P.M. (1979) *A Peculiar Eclipsing: Women's Exclusion From Men's Culture*. [in] **Women's Studies International Quarterly**. 1. pages 281-296. page 281.

²⁴ op. cit., page 281.

then women must use a linguistic system that is "not of their own making",²⁵ or one, as Lacan expresses it, that women stand 'outside' of.²⁶ Hence studies of women's discourse investigate the female use of a language that women have had to learn through the process of "Immasculation".²⁷ Women engaging in academic writing on Anthro-L represent an example of this investigative process.

As Fetterley has noted, women's socialization or "Immasculation" into male language is incomplete. The diverse praxis of their worlds necessitates that 'women' not only speak a 'male' language, but that women articulate, in language, their 'own' experiences, though she must, according to Spender, often re/define and re/articulate male defined language in order to make herself understood. The resultant "female language", or women's 'language style' is often perceived as 'different'.

But 'difference' is often confused with 'deficit'. Spender invites her readers to note this correlation between difference and deficit when she discusses the perceptions of the language of the 'working class' or of 'Blacks':

It is worth noting that approximately ten years ago there was a widespread belief that there was something wrong with the language of Blacks and of the working class, but that within those ten years the explanations have shifted so that there is now general consensus that the 'deficiency' lies not

²⁵ Spender, Dale (1980) *Man Made Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. page 12.

²⁶ Lacan, Jacques. (1981) *God and the Jouissance of Women*. [in] **Feminine Sexuality**. translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. New York: W.W. Norton. page 145.

²⁷ Fetterley, Judith. (1978) *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

*in Blacks or in the working class, but in society. We can now appreciate that what has been termed "correct" English, is nothing other than the blatant legitimization of the white middle-class code.*²⁸

Both of these concepts, difference and deficit, are appropriate for discussion within the context of language, gender and Anthro-L posting acts. Fowler has noted that differing semiotic sites and modes of expression are granted divergent legitimacy statuses by the dominant paradigm.²⁹ Ardener has noted that in order to be 'heard', women must express themselves in terms of the dominant male language structure.³⁰ Spender points out that speakers at local semiotic sites [muted structures] are often seen as 'deficient' by those who speak the dominant [legitimate] language paradigm.³¹ My analyses of Anthro-L posting acts indicates that differences in linguistic expression are granted divergent legitimacy status by community members, that in order to receive response women must post in the dominant, Referential paradigm in threads, and that narrative styles are conceptualized as 'deficient' or 'lacking' through desertion, by-play, flaming or ridicule. Below, I turn to a brief discussion of the configurations of the local discursive structure of Anthro-L, and then consider power, difference and deficit as they are carried through specific syntactic techniques.

²⁸ Spender, Dale (1980) *Man Made Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. page 13.

²⁹ Fowler, Roger. (1985) *Power*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (1985) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV: Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Academic Press. pages 61-81.

³⁰ Ardener, Edwin (1975a) *Belief and the Problem of Women* [in] Ardener, S. (1975) **Perceiving Women**. London: Dent. pages 1-17.

³¹ Spender, Dale (1980) *Man made Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

9.3. Structure: Parole and Anthro-L

The referential paradigm is the dominant model that encodes successful male thread discussions on Anthro-L, thus characterizing the discourse that is 'heard' and responded to. 'Other' ways of 'speaking' or 'seeing' are muted and subjugated through tactics such as desertion, trivialization or by-play. It is precisely at the level of local knowledge that we can most clearly discern the power of language to serve "particular class or power structures"³² by observing its effect in local/local relationships through the disqualification of 'other' knowledges. Discursive tactics and strategies position some language users in ways that ensures their silence at the "*level of direct, ordinary communication*".³³

In "Two Lectures",³⁴ Foucault's definition of local/subjugated knowledges³⁵ includes his observation that these knowledges have been buried in a functionalist coherence or in formal systemization. While Anthro-L represents a local discursive site, the style of speech that characterizes its topography is neither local or subjugated. Rather, the preferred usage of the Referential paradigm manifests strong, powerful links to the 'legitimized' knowledge[s] of the greater society. Within the local structure of the net however, the use

³² Foucault, Michel. (1980) *Two Lectures*. [in] **Power/Knowledge**, translated from the French by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mephram and Kate Soper. New York: Pantheon Books. pages 78-108.

³³ Ardener, Edwin. (1975b) "*The Problem Revisited*" [in] *Perceiving Women*. Ardener, S. (ed) (1975). London: Dent. pages 19-27.

³⁴ Foucault, Michel (1980) *Two Lectures* [in] **Power/Knowledge**. Translated from the French by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mephram and Kate Soper. New York: Pantheon Books. pages 78 to 108.

³⁵ op. cit. page 93.

of the referential paradigm buries 'particular knowledges in a functionalist coherence' through formal systemization. The speaking hierarchy of Anthro-L is vertically stratified.

The presence of 'disqualified knowledges' on Anthro-L is continually manifested through the writings styles that characterize 'other' knowledges/theoretical claims about the 'systemization' of Anthropology. Narrative postings, the writings of Dan Foss, and the continual, cyclical arguments about the merits of postmodernism vs. 'science', all attest to the tension that exists between 'local, subjugated knowledges' and the general, desirable acceptance of the adversarial/academic/formal pattern of writing that constitutes academic work and exchange. The adversarial/referential function effectively buries/mutes those speakers who are not comfortable with the concept that argument is war. Through formal systemization as in the Statement of Being and through principles of academic speech to which the community a priori adheres, divergent ways of speaking and writing are muted by the Rational/logical model that is embedded within the academic paradigm of proof-through-logic.

The referential/rational paradigm carries power in communication in very explicit ways. In Language and Control,³⁶ the authors draw attention to two types of linguistic process by which social control is exercised. The first, "Directive practices",³⁷ includes explicitly

³⁶ Fowler, R; Kress, G.R; Hodge, R; Trew, T. (1979) *Language and Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

³⁷ op. cit., page 35-36.

manipulative Speech Acts,³⁸ such as commands, requests, and proclamations, as well as written official discourse directed to a larger community. The Statement of Being is an example of directive practice.

Secondly, social control/power in language is exercised through "constitutive practice."³⁹

In conversation, roles and statuses that structure [or preserve] hierarchical discursive/social practice, are constructed. Constitutive language practices, such as the adversarial/referential/logical paradigm, continuously articulate a specific ideology, indeed are constructed to carry an ideology as I have noted above. Through articulation, constitutive language insists on systems of belief that legitimate institutions/ideals of power.

The Statement of Being designates the conceptual categories that are important to the net Anthro-L, and configures the discursive map of 'how' these concepts are transmitted and conveyed. *Anthro-L, Postings, Behavior [discursive and techno], Listowners, People, Place/Space and Anthropology* represent the conceptual domains within which the discursive structure of Anthro-L is configured. Each of these domains are richly lexicalized; detailed systems of terms [many sub-categories and folkterms] are found in each Domain.

³⁸ Searle, J. R. (1969) *Speech Acts*. London: Cambridge University Press.

³⁹ Fowler, R; Kress, G.R; Hodge, R; Trew, T. (1979) *Language and Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. pages 35-36.

The Statement also 'directs' the use of a specific language paradigm, one that is constructed to carry the implicit acceptance that communication is often adversarial. The 'adversariality' inherent in this style of writing and speaking is reflected in the macro institutions of western societies: its law systems, economics [laissez-faire] and its politics. The language used in Academic writing is a 'public' language, the arguments used in Academia are adversarial. Public discourse is Lacan's 'language system' and this linguistic style mirrors and reflects the linguistic paradigm of rationality, adversariality and logic embedded within the Western public sphere. In this Chapter, I am arguing that these dominant structures represent 'male'-formulated conceptualizations for, as I noted earlier:

*Women have been largely excluded from the work of producing forms of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered.....*⁴⁰

Anthro-L speakers articulate specific social meanings through linguistic practice. These value-laden discursive practices are continually re/enforced through successful posting acts and exhibit, affirm and re/constitute the group's values while imposing specific roles and statuses on the [potential] speakers. The result of posting-in-practice is the construction of a speaking/style hierarchy. *Speakers at a specific site "affirm the inner coherence of the group and demarcate its boundaries; outsiders do not use these characteristic forms of speech."*⁴¹

⁴⁰ Smith, P.M. (1979) *A Peculiar Eclipsing: Women's Exclusion From Men's Culture*. [in] **Women's Studies International Quarterly**. 1. pages 281-296.

⁴¹ Fowler, Roger. (1985) *Power*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (1985) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV: Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Academic Press. pages 61-81. page 66.

Speakers-in-groups utilize speech patterns that mark a group's solidarity, and solidarity entails exclusivity [outsiders/us]. But as I have noted, variety differentiated groups like Anthro-L are not only horizontally distinct - they are vertically stratified. On Anthro-L, power differentials between members of the group are demarcated by speech differentials. The power advantage enjoyed by certain speakers is managed by directive linguistic practices and by constitutive structures. Linguistic differentials thus denote distinct worldviews and are employed for specific dialogic positioning purposes.

9.4. Constitutive Practice: Syntax

The study of syntax constitutes a branch of linguistics that deals with the grammatical arrangement of words and morphemes in sentences. Halliday⁴² has focused on the predicates [i.e. verbs and adjectives] that communicate action, processes, states and the roles performed by the entities participating in these processes. The 'entities' referred to by Halliday are the nouns which designate conceptual categories in particular texts. I have noted in my analyses of women and men writing on Anthro-L, that men and women, overall, appear to include differing numbers of noun categories [domains] in the construction of written text and that they utilize divergent styles of 'attribution' to describe these noun categories; women favor 'behavioral attribution', while men tend to describe nouns in more passive terms.

⁴² Halliday, M.A.K. (1971) *Linguistic Function and Literary Style: An Inquiry into the language of William Golding's "The Inheritors"*. [in] Chatman, S. (ed) (1971) **Literary Style: A Symposium**. New York and London: Oxford University Press. pages 330-368.

According to Halliday's study, different writers/speakers make fundamental distinctions at the level of *transitivity*, between for example, agents deliberately performing actions [John opened the door], objects undergoing processes [The door opened], instruments being used to effect actions [A key opened the door], and experiencers undergoing mental states [Alice was sad].

When I analyzed the use of attribution in gendered texts/styles, it became evident from my analyses that the referential/Logico paradigm consistently uses attribution as a distancing mechanism. For example, an overwhelming amount of "referential text" transforms abstract terms into pseudo-agents, absolving or distancing 'real' agents from their responsibility or activity, [Circumstances dictate, Cultural elements tend, the Listserver will,], while narrative styles consistently attribute actions to specific 'real' agents, and incorporate descriptions of experiencers undergoing mental states [John O'Brien thinks, I don't care]. The tendency to use attribution to mystify or obscure agency in Referential text, represents a specific syntactic style which obscures issues of power.

To illustrate the ambiguity of power relationships invested in a sentence which attributes pseudo-agency through transitivity, Fowler⁴³ uses the example "Circumstances dictate the raising of taxes." Not only is pseudo-agency attributed to "circumstances", but noun categories designating participation are deleted from the remainder of the sentence. "Dictate" has no object, "raising" has no subject, taxes is not linked to "who is taxed." In

⁴³ Fowler, Roger. (1985) *Power*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (1985) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV: Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Academic Press. pages 61-81. page 70.

order to fulfill the missing requirements, the sentence should read "Circumstances dictate that we should raise your taxes". The attribution of agency; "we", [will raise] "your" indicates a specific responsibility in terms of 'who' is raising [whose] 'what'. Language that attributes this responsibility to "Circumstances", as in the first sentence, obscures relations of power.⁴⁴

There are numerous conventions for leaving out parts of syntactic constructions in order to convey power; a number of these are relevant to the transmission of power through the referential/Logico code. In "ellipsis", a truncated second sentence relies on the implication that words in the first sentence will complete the meaning. Thus, in a paragraph that is constructed through the logical code, ellipsis is used to show derivation: this point derives from the preceding sentence. The connection is made by the reader through Logic.

Narrative postings often use ellipsis as between paragraph links. I have shown that both Pam Leader's post with respect to South Africa, and Foss's post which discusses Burundi genocide, relied on ellipsis as a paragraph connective: the final sentence in each of these posts relied on previous paragraphs for its meaning. Elliptical styles chosen by writers indicate ranges of Sociolinguistic values. Ellipsis "in" paragraphs can indicate brusqueness, logical connection or emphasis, while elliptical relationships between paragraphs often convey implied intimacy or shared knowledge.

⁴⁴ op. cit., page 70.

One of the most important linguistic conventions used on Anthro-L with respect to noun categories [domains] is "Nominalization". Nominalization renders a verb in the form of a noun in written text: "*Failure* to display this notice will result in *prosecution*". The use of Nominalization on Anthro-L discourse has two consequences. First, Nominalization in narrative construction often results in new nouns [categories], secondly, Nominalization is used as a technique in referential text to delete the attribution of agency and modality, thus rendering the participants, responsibilities, and obligations spoken of by the discourse as mysterious and obscure.

Nominalization on Anthro-L is closely linked to scholarly claims of syntactic "complexity". An important distinction in complexity is made between the coordination and subordination of clauses and phrases.⁴⁵ A high ratio of subordinate clauses is understood as implying a complexity of logical relationships among the clauses that modify one another. Coordinated clauses imply a sequence of separate propositions linked together through prepositions.⁴⁶ According to Fowler, the divergent use of subordinate and coordinate clauses in different texts, indicates different modes of discourse. The subordinate clausal style is representative of "complex language", while the coordinate style represents chronicles, storytelling or descriptive language. Fowler adds, "*Complexity*

⁴⁵ Fowler, R; Kress, G.R; Hodge, R; Trew, T. (1979) *Language and Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

⁴⁶ op. cit.

of noun phrases in terms of what and how many premodifiers and postmodifiers occur is also an index of stylistic and cognitive complexity".

The referential paradigm is used to construct texts that abound with subordinate clauses; BUT only one category [noun] is richly described in terms of pre-and post- modifiers. Narrative construction on Anthro-L favors the use of coordinated clauses, BUT nouns [categories] are richly pre and post modified and more categories are linked through coordination. Thus Fowler's distinction of the 'complexity' of subordinate clauses and rich post and pre modifiers, as opposed to relatively simplistic coordinated clauses and a dearth of post and pre modifiers, is problematic when considering the results of my semantic analyses of Anthro-L posting acts. The referential code is characterized by 'complex' subordinate clauses which are logical connectors in the texts, but pre and post modifiers are sparsely used in connection with the domains [conceptual/noun categories] upon which the text is constructed. Conversely, texts presented in the narrative mode, abound with pre and post modifiers, contain a surplus of noun/conceptual categories that are richly described, and utilize a coordinated clausal style in order to link multiple domains.

Academic writing, which is constructed in terms of the referential paradigm, is characterized by Nominalization, deletion, subordinate clauses and a dearth of domains and post/pre modifiers. In this section of my thesis for example, I have attributed "agency" to the referential paradigm numerous times; in the sentence above "Academic writing" is constructed as a pseudo-agent, and in writing this thesis I continually strive to find subordinate clausal connectives to characterize my writing in terms of "tight" academic

textual constructions. The maintenance of the logical construction of the referential paradigm, *requires* Nominalization or the deletion of noun categories in order to construct subordinate clauses, while the inclusion of many noun categories *requires* the use of coordinate phrases, clauses and abundant modifiers in order to show the links between categories. *The power differential inherent in these styles lies in socialized perception.* As academics "we" have been taught "what" constitutes 'powerful' writing and what constitutes speech suitable for casual, less 'complex' conversation.

Curiously, in light of my semantic analyses, the use of coordinated clauses certainly does not imply 'less complex' or 'casual' conversation. On the contrary, this style appears to indicate a multi-perspective way of seeing which is evidenced through the rich modification of diverse domains, textually linked in interesting ways.

9.5. The Structure of Posting Acts

9.5.1. Style

The discursive topography of Anthro-L, which 'officially' adheres to the Referential paradigm, is characterized by a palpable tension displayed through divergent writing styles. In this section of this Chapter, I discuss how this tension arises, and the possible effects this tension may have on the participants in the community.

I have suggested that the two status configurations that inform gendered 'talk' on the net are the positions of "self" with respect to the discipline of Anthropology and a member's individual/socialized experiences of 'gender'. Gender is a master status that permeates the

praxis of net participants. In turn, the discipline and the practice of Anthropology informs the praxis of net members in a net public space where speech is characterized by '*any and all aspects of the discipline of Anthropology.*'"⁴⁷ The culturally elaborated language categories of Gender and Academic speech are thus the two significant components of the discursive structures that have been acquired by each community individual.

My semantic analyses of the writing styles of men and women exposed a number of anomalies. Firstly, it appeared that the gendered status of men *as* men and the gendered language through which 'maleness' is expressed, overlapped to a significant degree with male academic praxis⁴⁸ and the desirable deployment of academic language-in-use. Men appeared to be at ease with the language of public space; overall they utilized the preferred academic/referential/Logical writing style in all categories of net speech, especially in the categories of Requests and Threads. In these postings, male presented messages were overwhelmingly Referential.

These two categories also represent the greatest disparity in male/female presented posting styles. In both Thread messages and Request postings, women favored a Conative or Emotive style. Both of these styles represent a 'reader outreach'.

In the Information category another anomaly appeared. Men offered information to the net 'with comments', that is they posted information and simultaneously offered their own

⁴⁷ Jarvis, Hugh and Zubrow, Ezra. (1994) *Anthro-L: The Statement of Being*. Posting on general Anthropology Bulletin Board. (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu) 7 Dec. Ms in files of author.

⁴⁸ Ruddick, Sara. (1989) *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace*. New York: Ballantine Books.

opinions on that information. Thus male presented messages were divided between Referential, Conative, and Emotive postings; Referential representing the largest component, Emotive the smallest of these messages.

On the other hand, women posted in the Referential mode in the Information category. Only a few of their messages were couched in the Conative style. What are we to make of the diametrically opposed patterns in the three categories?

My analyses of writing differences led me to the following conclusions. Overall women write in a Conative style: they focus on reader outreach. This focus is situationally specific, women particularly concentrate their efforts to be 'heard' by the reader when they are asking net members for a specific response, for example in the Request category. In the Thread category, female presented writers tended to focus 'on topic', did not engage in play-play or desertion, and used rhetorical devices to query and reinforce the authorial intent of the original posters with respect to their textual intentions. {Did I hear you saying that; I think I heard you saying; have you thought about; thats interesting; combined with this idea; what do you think?} The closest textual affinity displayed to the phenomenon of flaming by any female posting was Monika Bolino's complaint with respect to the length and style of Dan Foss's postings. In this case, Bolino was attempting to respond to a suggestion made by the Statement of Being which suggests that when a

reader finds him/her self reading an 'offensive' message they can send a complaint to the Listowners, "or better yet [post your objection to] the whole list".....⁴⁹

In the Request category, women often used "directive practice" in order to solicit a particular type of response: private emails to their home addresses rather than to the net. Initially I suggested that these directed response requests might suggest a dis-comfort with the net's public space. When I inquired why this type of response was asked for from these women directly, they verified my initial supposition by explaining that they felt more comfortable in one-to-one email.

In an article published in the *American Anthropologist*, Erving Goffman notes that dialogic dimensions consist of many situational elements:

*Is the speaker talking to the same or the opposite sex, subordinate or superordinate, one listener to many, someone right there or on the phone; is he [sic] reading a script or talking simultaneously; is the occasion formal or informal, routine or emergency? Note that it is not the attributes of social structure that are here considered, but rather the value placed on these attributes as they are acknowledged in the situation current and at hand.*⁵⁰

Goffman's concerns here are primarily with situational identities that are highly relevant to inter-gender discourse and communication on Anthro-L. Given that women do write differently than men in all the discursive categories on the net, are there contributory

⁴⁹ Jarvis, Hugh and Zubrow, Ezra. (1994) *Anthro-L: The Statement of Being*. Posting on general Anthropology Bulletin Board. (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu) 7 Dec. Ms in files of author.

⁵⁰ Goffman, Erving. (1964) *The Neglected Situation*. [in] *American Anthropologist*. 66. pages 133-136.

factors other than gender which would help to explain this fact? For example, are there status differentials? [subordinate/superordinate]. Is the writer talking to one person or to many? Is net space informal or informal? Is the 'listener' right there? Let us look at a few of these concerns more closely.

9.6. Focused Interaction: The Public/Private Self

Goffman asks: "*Is the speaker taking to the same or opposite sex?*"⁵¹ When performing my analyses of conversation 'in interaction', especially in the Thread category, I noted that men do not appear to adjust their posting style to correspond to the perceived gender of their dialogic co-participant. Women do.

When posting in the Request category, female presented writers positioned themselves to the net in ways that suggested that they were concerned about the possibility of non-response. As Fishman notes:

*Interaction requires at least two people. Conversation is produced not simply by their presence, but also by their display of their continuing agreement to pay attention to one another. That is, all interactions are potentially problematic and occur only through the continual, turn by turn efforts of the participants.*⁵²

The Request category analyses indicates that female presented posters understood their attempts to receive a posted response to their questions as potentially problematic and consequently, that they made a distinct discursive effort to be 'heard'. Women in

⁵¹ op. cit.

⁵² Fishman, P. (1978a) *Interaction: The Work Women Do*. [in] **Social Problems**. 25. pages 397-406.

conversation in 'real life', have learned that there may be '*less likelihood of their securing men's attention when they speak*',⁵³ and thus they may employ more discursive tactics to "*ensure that they get listened too.*"⁵⁴ The perception that they may be speaking to members of the opposite sex in public space appears to play a role in the decisions made by female posters with respect to positioning style.

In the Information category, women posted in a straight referential style that appeared to imply that they did not think that net members would be overly interested in their opinions on the information they were supplying, while men commented freely on the information they provided. This discursive behavior by men in the Information category supports Fishman's finding that in co-present, inter-gender conversation, men are sure that they will be listened to regardless of what they have to say.⁵⁵

In the Thread category, women adjusted their communicative patterns to respond to the messages they were answering in order to 'hear' the words of the initial poster. This shift and adjustment of writing style and content is particularly evident in the *Pornography* thread in which women were highly active and through which they supported a woman's attempt at conversation after she had been originally marginalized in collusive by-play. It is my impression that discursive by-play used in inter-gender net communication, functions in

⁵³ West, C. and Zimmerman, D. (1985) *Gender, Language and Discourse*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (ed) (1987) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV - Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Pubs. pages 79-116. page 113.

⁵⁴ op. cit., page 112-113.

⁵⁵ Fishman, P. (1978a) *Interaction: The Work Women Do*. [in] **Social Problems**. 25. pages 397-406.

a manner that parallels the consequences of interruptions in co-present, inter-gender conversations.

In the turn by turn organization of talk, [which is particularly evident in the type of communication - sequential and linear if read in order - on nets] interruptions of one speaker by another, particularly if the topic is changed, signify a "deep intrusion into the internal structure of a speaker's utterances".⁵⁶ West and Zimmerman note that these types of interruptions are used by men as a sanctioning device to cut off women's turns at talk and to marginalize a topic that a woman is attempting to develop. In inter-gender communication on the network, by-play has the same effect in cross-gender communication: deep intrusion into a speaker's utterances, and a 'cutting-off' of turns at talk. 'Cutting-off' is accomplished by the fact that a female presented poster who has been marginalized through by-play will often drop out of the discussion through respondent silence. Thus the speaker - although she makes the choice not to participate in a potentially adversarial communicative situation - is effectively muted through a sanctioning device.

By-play between men has a different result. While women rarely engage in thread by-play with each other,⁵⁷ men do this regularly, and initially do not seem to take offense or

⁵⁶ West, C. and Zimmerman, D. (1985) *Gender, Language and Discourse*. [in] van Dijk, Teun. (ed) (1987) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis IV - Discourse Analysis in Society**. London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Pubs. pages 79-116. page 118.

⁵⁷ There is no evidence of by-play between female presented posters in either my database or the support database. However, I do not want to state that this NEVER happens.....

withdraw from a discussion if a respondent poster 'takes up' a sidebar issue and addresses this issue instead. If the initial poster wishes to get back on topic, he simply re-states his premises in a subsequent post. However, should this second stating of his premises be ignored, he will not usually respond with silence. The discussion will escalate into a dialogue centered on 'what I said, what you said'. A flame war may result.

Goffman also notes the importance of status to communicative participants: "*Subordinate or superordinate*"? Co-present conversation between people with obvious status distinctions leads to distinct speech pattern between the participants. By virtue of the liminality of the status of net participants in terms of real life distinctions, subordinate and superordinate status positions are far less important than in real life situations. But they do arise. They are reproduced by the posting subject. I have quoted from a posting written by a female student requesting information; her attenuative position is far more dramatically conveyed than the request posting I supply from a female instructor. Thus perceived status in real life is coupled with gendered speech patterns to give rise to a distinctive posting style.

In considering Goffman's proposition that the positioning decision of a dialogic co-participant will be informed by the setting in which the interaction takes place [formal/informal; one person/many] I decided that two important considerations arise when a reader decides to interact with the net. Firstly, the net's discursive topography can best be described as semi-formal and secondly, the potential writer is always speaking to 'many' even if directing a posting to 'one'.

The ever present fact that the entire community has the ability to access a writer's net message; that is, that the net is a public space, is integral to positioning decisions made in interaction. This public space is characterized by 'anthropological speech' - one's knowledge and interpretation of the discipline in all its facets is on potential public display when posting a message to the community. There can be no doubt that some male and female community members hold equally viable academic credentials. Yet a number of the net's highly prolific male participants present themselves as graduate students [status markers] and they speak far more often than female professors who are net subscribers. Knowledge of Anthropology is therefore not the prime factor in speech frequency. One must also be willing to display and present it in specific ways. It is my contention that the gendered status of net participants and the acquired gendered communicative structures that shape and enculturate the individual, plays the deciding role in who decides to speak and how.

Based on the evidence of my semantic analyses, I believe that style choice, which positions a writer in specific and discernible ways, carries a number of implicit meanings. Firstly, gender is the master status that informs the dialogic process on Anthro-L. Gender experiences of public space and 'real-life' inter-gender communications - both male and female - contribute to the conceptualizations of 'how' a writer's message will be received and inform the decisions made by writers with respect to posting styles chosen to position and present the 'self'.

Conceptualizations of how one will be received, and how a self should be presented, are reinforced through reading the net - through "Unfocussed Interaction". I have refined Goffman's⁵⁸ definition of "Unfocussed Interaction" as *"the kind of communication that occurs when one gleans information about another person present when glancing at his/her [poster's] words"*. A woman 'reading' Anthro-L will soon notice that female community members are often deserted [not answered], sanctioned [by-play] or flamed [adversarial]. The reader absorbs the effects of certain stylistic and posting decisions made by other writers - she learns the community's codes. Anthro-L's codes incorporate gender assumptions in language to a significant degree. The community [ideally] speaks the language of public space - a language that is articulated through a specific [adversarial] paradigm and attempts to silence [often by ignoring] other styles of communication.

Secondly, I conclude that most net women are not comfortable in a public space that facilitates a lack of 'real' contact. Not only do they request that responses be directed to their private email addresses as this type of contact is more personal and potentially liberating - [*'you don't have to be so careful of what you say'*] but the one-to-one response pattern in female thread participation appears to suggest that women build communicative alliances in a manner that is dissimilar to that employed by men.

Support from community members in one's attempt at conversation is, of course, always necessary. The analyses of my database patterns suggests that some people on the net

⁵⁸ Goffman, Erving. *Behavior In Public Places*. New York: The Free Press. page 24.

consistently speak to and support each other in conversation - male participants especially illustrate preferences when they decide to engage in conversation by consistently replying to certain writers.

However, women's communicative alliance is not built on 'who' is speaking as much as it is on 'how' one speaks. During a thread sequence in which many women participate [*Pornography*] the grammar and syntax used - especially in term of pronouns, modality and agency ascribed - the reader receives the impression that a sub-community is forming with like interests and common concerns. A certain defensive intimacy is created - a harbor from public space. This is an interesting phenomenon and one which deserves further investigation, which I unfortunately cannot engage in here.

Preliminarily however, I would suggest that even though structure is constantly re/imposed on the network, and even though roles and statuses are developing within the community, the always present anti-structure - that is - the lack of configuration in terms of 'who' one is or might be speaking to, or what that person might be 'like', lends impetus to the formation of 'sub-groups' within net space to create discursive safety. Net space is a display space - through the use of a computer screen the writer displays a 'self'; his/her knowledge, his/her conceptualizations of the discipline through his/her language - to convey specific understandings of his/her 'mind' in a very public place. The narrative style of writing does not render categories 'objectively', rather it exposes the writer's 'self' to a certain degree. I would suggest that the display of the 'private' self in a public space to

'strangers' who 'might not understand'⁵⁹ - especially to members obviously enjoying public display/play - is a positioning choice that is not made by many female net participants. Thus, when they do decide to speak they utilize certain discursive strategies to 'protect' the self in public space.

9.7. Structure and Anti-Structure in Public Space

Susan Herring surveyed 8 Internet discussion lists to rank their like or dislike for 30 different net behaviors including 'flaming', 'expressing thanks and appreciation' and 'overly tentative messages'. She used a scale of 1-5: 1 representing like, while 5 stood for dislike.⁶⁰

Herring discovered that both men and women liked expressions of appreciation [2.0], were neutral on tentative messages [3] and disliked flaming, although women expressed a slightly stronger aversion to this net practice. [male 3.9, women 4.3] These figures appear to offer evidence that men dislike flaming almost as much as women. Then why is it that flaming and contentious discourse is so often seen on nets, and why is it, as in my database, that men are almost solely participant in these discursive behaviors?

⁵⁹ Tannen, Deborah. (1990) *You Just Don't Understand: Men and Women in Conversation*. New York: William Morrow and Co. Ltd.

⁶⁰ Herring, Susan (1994) *"Gender Differences in Computer Mediated Communication: Bringing Familiar Baggage to the New Frontier"*. e-document. Keynote talk at panel "Making the Net Work": is there a Z39.50 in gender communication?, American Library Association annual convention, Miami, June 27, 1994. By permission of author.

I suggest that the answer lies in a convergence of real-time social factors and that these factors are exacerbated by the liminality of computer communication. In fact the explanation has been advanced that flaming itself is a natural by-product of the cyber medium.⁶¹ Kim and Raja propose that the de-contextualization and anonymity of computer users leads to a loss of inhibitions in discursive interaction, in short a loss of control over the speaking self and what constitutes right interactive behavior. This is an interesting concept, especially in light of the fact that only men seem to lose this control, and that it is men rather than women who are given to emotional outbursts, a characteristic traditionally assigned to the 'female' sphere in descriptions of the so-called feminine personality.⁶²

I do not believe however, that aggressive discursive acts are solely a manifestation of the cyber medium itself. Rather, I agree with Herring that men generally socially ascribe to a type of "in your face" communication ethic, while women tend to be considerate of "face".⁶³ Herring's terminology, "in your face", is an excellent description of the adversarial/academic language paradigm. This paradigm is constructed to offer an 'objective' viewpoint and to de-couple the writer and the reader from the message being

⁶¹ see for example: Kim, Min-Sun and Raja, Narayan S. (1990) *Verbal aggression and self disclosure on computer bulletin boards*. ERIC document. [ED334621] Public domain.

⁶² And indeed, if I think of the changing descriptions of female hysteria, one of which includes the phenomenon of "irrational, emotional outbursts", I am almost tempted to apply it to a certain brand of male flame postings.

⁶³ Herring, Susan (1994) *Gender Differences in Computer mediated Communication: bringing Familiar Baggage to the new Frontier*. Keynote talk at panel "Making the Net Work": Is there a Z39.50 in gender communication? American Library Association annual Convention, Miami, June 27, 1994.

transmitted - the text is the message. The distancing in terms of reader/writer positioning inherent in the referential paradigm colludes with the anonymity of computer mediated communication to inform a positioning style that is 'self-centered - the pre-positioning of the speaker in terms of a potential response is negated in net Dialogism - too many respondents are listening. The writer thus presents aspects of the 'self' through communion with the self. The words on the screen interact with the writer who creates them, but the concern for potential response inherent in Dialogism recedes into the background.

The expression of 'self' through a distancing from the 'other,' represents a divergence from a communication ethics characterized by the linkage of multiple world/language views and a concern for the other's position. These different ways of 'speaking' converge with a differing view of behavior in public space, a difference in how computer public space is conceptualized in terms of comfort/discomfort and different preferences for writing the 'self' contextualized within the net's discursive structure.

9.7.1. Structure and Anti-Structure: Tensions

An "in your face" communication ethic is equivalent to what I have termed the adversarial/rationality/Logico-scientific paradigm. I have spoken of the connection between the referential/Logico-scientific function and the concept of western rationality a number of times in this thesis. I have proposed that the referential function is coded to carry this concept of Rationality. I further propose that this referential/Logico-scientific model is an artificial model which was developed as a result of specific historical/social forces. Bruner states " *we have extensive knowledge of how the paradigmatic processes*

*used in formal science and logical reasoning work, while we know "precious little" about narrative processes".*⁶⁴

We *know* a great deal about the paradigmatic process because this model is an artificial way of thinking/deriving which was consciously developed by logicians and philosophers to respond to and prescribe remedies for, 'real-time' social issues and philosophical paradoxes. Through its connections to Science and scientific ideology, this paradigm has gained the stature as the model which leads to truth and 'real' knowledge.

I will attempt to clarify the hegemonic hold of the adversarial/referential paradigm as the model of 'truth' and 'reality' in language on Anthro-L, and the tension between this paradigm and other 'ways of seeing', in three ways. I will consider the objective/subjective distinction inherent in the paradigm of rationality, the cyclic reappearance of the science/pomo debate on Anthro-L and the role of Dan Foss as the necessary chaotic/male other. Foss, women's writing [narrative], and pomo all represent a fear of subjectivity/disorder - the perception of a threat to 'reality' - and all are interlinked through their capacity to ground language in multiple conceptual categories. These alternative knowledges signify those knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to the task of theoretical discourse or insufficiently elaborated/beneath scientificity in the eyes of the dominant code.

⁶⁴ Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

The social/historical belief that the referential/paradigmatic/rational model represents the 'norm', while any model 'outside' that paradigm is other/subjective/chaotic finds its parallel in the male/female opposition as defined by Lacan or Gilligan. From the viewpoint of the 'objective' model, subjectivity/other model is dangerous. Subjectivity takes a personal view thus can be unfair, it can disconnect the individual from reality through its insistence that meaning is relative, it is self-indulgent because it stresses the individual. As Lakoff and Johnson note "*Objectivism takes as its allies scientific truth, rationality, precision, fairness, and impartiality. Subjectivism takes at its allies the emotions, intuitive insight, imagination, humaneness, art and a 'higher' truth.*"⁶⁵

Although many theorists, both before Lakoff and Johnson and after them, have shown that Objectivism, which "*is by far the greater potentate*"⁶⁶ in western society is a social myth, these illustrations have not been internalized at the level of belief. For there is a strong belief that Rationality is real, that it exists, and that it is the ideal paradigm through which the individual should view his/her world.

This belief is strongly evident on Anthro-L and manifests discursively, firstly, by the muting of certain community members and secondly, through community tension.

Arguments about the veracity of postmodernism and science expose the

⁶⁵ Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. page 189.

⁶⁶ op. cit., page 190.

objective/subjective distinction found in western thought and illustrate the powerful and hegemonic hold of rationality within the academic world.

Although Anthro-L participation statistics exposes a local hierarchy of speakers, contributors to a thread do not always include this same combination of participant men. Indeed, in my database only one thread, *"Cultural Elements and Tension"*, incorporated more than one speaker [2] drawn from this dominant male group.

A speaking hierarchy is framed by the principles of systemic flux and stabilization. Language exists in a dialectical relationship with language users. Over time, language use within a group will tend toward stabilization, and without the necessary tension, the discourse of the dominant group tends toward sterility without new input. As new speakers participate in Threads on a regular basis, adding their discourse to the mix in new and creative ways, flux in the structure results, a process that Piaget refers to as "transformations" of the structure. Both stabilization and flux are essential to the perpetuation of a local community and represent creativity [flux] and entropy [stabilization].

The principle of systemic flux and stabilization contributes to the exposure of 'gaps' in the discursive Anthro-L text. In a "stable" state, the net appears to accept the same 'viewpoint' and understanding of what Anthropology 'is' and how it should be spoken' - the 'speaking principles we adhere to as a community. But 'Anthropology', hence Anthro-L, contains many members with diverse understandings of what the discipline 'is' and how it relates both to the greater world and to the person whose life path is anthropological 'praxis'.

These differing viewpoints of 'anthropology', and the 'values' ascribed to these viewpoints by community members, are particularly evident in the thread conversations that treat the topics of science/anthropology and postmodernism.

Science, [scientific method] that great religion of western life by which all other theoretical discourse is measured, is conceptualized as the ultimate, value free process through which to access ultimately uncoverable universal truths. While there are members who are aware of the work of scholars such as Feyerabend, who amply illustrated the cultural specificity of Science, "Science" remains a belief system that transcends his findings. Indeed the Statement of Being connects Anthropology to science in direct and specific ways.

In Anthro-L text, postmodernism represents a theoretical discourse that is "*insufficiently elaborated beneath scientificity*".⁶⁷ As an unscientific discourse it threatens, not only those who believe in the 'science' of anthropology and the 'scientific method', but the structure of the referential paradigm. Concepts in postmodernist theory such as Derrida's 'trace'⁶⁸ appear to question the possibility of 'fixing' meaning and hence question the entire foundation of the referential paradigm: that clear, logical language can present real empirical objects and facts.

⁶⁷ Foucault, Michel. (1980) *Two Lectures*. [in] **Power/Knowledge**. translated from the French by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham and Kate Soper. New York: Pantheon Books. pages 78-108.

⁶⁸ Derrida, Jacques. (1976) *Of Grammatology*. translated from the French by G.C. Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

There is a parallel between the recurring opposition of science/empiricism and postmodernism that is found in many Anthro-L postings, and the marginalization of alternative styles of discourse, gender related, but not gender specific as I have briefly noted. The science/pomo opposition serves as a vehicle for the elaboration of what constitutes "right" knowledge in net circles. Within the list's spatially constructed community we rediscover the struggle and conflict of what constitutes hegemonic "true" discourse by observing some member's efforts to filter, hierarchize and order the discontinuous, disqualified, or illegitimate academic knowledge of postmodernism/alternative writing that cohabitualizes and co/constructs both the net community and its individual members. This illegitimate paradigm of Knowledge is linked through definitions of its 'subjectivity' to narrative styles of discourse; styles that are considered less "truthful", less 'real', in terms of referential net/social representation. These narrative styles are the ones most favored by female presented posters on Anthro-L.

The Logico-scientific/referential paradigm represents the writing style favored by most of the men who are prolific in terms of thread discourse within the community. The illicit enjoyment and marginalization/desertion of discourse such as the highly poetic style of Dan Foss, parallels the fear and suspicion with which the illegitimate knowledge of postmodernism is regarded. Consider the following excerpts from the postmodernism thread:

No, 'pomo' is definitely an old power game....<snip>

The reason why anthropology has become so saturated with postmodernists is quite plain, as least to my mind: Too many anthropologists, too little research funds. It is simply a cheap way or gaining influence (citations) and standing. Research is expensive,

time consuming and lets face it, sometimes boring. telling others that research is futile is at least cheap. <snip>⁶⁹

My hunch is that pomo isn't going to fly a flag upon which the sun never sets; instead <snip> a sunset industry...the stone masons probably have monuments roughed out in their workshops already: all it needs is a festschrift and its a goner [like its rivals]⁷⁰

The scientific opposition is introduced:

<snip> for those of us who prefer the scientific method. Is anyone interested in doing a scientific analysis of pomo writings?⁷¹

Skepticism is important to science ['all knowledge is socially constructed'] but so is pragmatism ['computers work'] <snip>

Postmodernism is a cheap way of climbing the ladder to anthropological fame and influence. <snip> Finally I wonder if the label "avant-garde" is more appropriate to describe the self-image of a self-confessed postmodernist.⁷²

<snip> To paraphrase the poet Richard Wilbur: "they milk the cow of the world and as they do/They whisper in her ear 'You are not true'."⁷³

⁶⁹ Helgason, Agnar Sturla (1993) *Nothing new under the sun, (not even pomo)* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 4 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁷⁰ Jorgenson, Dan (1993) *Names, and PoMo Too*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 5 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁷¹ O'Brien, John (1993) *pomo* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 5 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁷² Helgason, Agnar Sturla (1993) *Re: Beyond Pomo*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 7 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁷³ Graber, Bob. (1993) *Postmodernism*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 8 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

>How postmodern of B Rodman to assume that postmodernism must be defined by professed >postmodernists themselves! Sorry Mr. Rodman. A scientific nose can detect postmodernism a mile away >even if it calls itself a "science", and the smell is foul.⁷⁴

<snip> P.S. I'm not a postmodernist Bob, but I doubt if I could prove it to you :-)⁷⁵

"Talk" on Anthro-L re/assembles the real time social models of academic discussions and knowledge from which it ultimately derives and as I have noted the Logico-scientific/referential mode is the cognitive paradigm favored by western academics.

I suggest that alternative ways of seeing and speaking are closely linked to gender writing patterns. Over 95% of the women who contributed to the postmodern thread were open to pomo theory and suggested ways to utilize it to enrich other, more established knowledge paradigms. Consider:

I purposely employ bait-words like 'truth' 'vision' 'reality' because I like to think post-mod is not literally a "blinding" dead end as a result of what Sue Philips called "rampant relativism", but rather a revolution in sight, an enabler to see multi-perspectively and rhythmically and this needn't mean that "truth" or "reality" and post-mod are mutually exclusive....<snip>⁷⁶

The argument with respect to the validity of postmodern theory is one that reoccurs with an almost cyclic regularity on Anthro-L. Postmodernism brings out a fear of disorder in

⁷⁴ Graber, Bob (1993) *Witch Postmodernists?* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 13 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁷⁵ Rodman, William (1993) *Witch Postmodernists? Reply to Graber.* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 13 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁷⁶ op. cit.

many of the net's prolific writers, who align themselves with scientific discourse in the pomo/science arguments. Net members who practice a rigid style of referential posting position themselves as the defenders of right and truth in Anthropology, by inscribing those community members who treat postmodernism seriously as bearers of an illegitimate, discontinuous and chaotic discourse that awaits its chance in the wings to tear the discipline asunder. Members who 'speak' pomo find that they are assigned attributes usually reserved for pomo theory. Thus by a trick of metonymy [pseudo-agency] these users are themselves conceptualized in the discourse of the self-defined scientific 'other' as chaotic, discontinuous and illegitimate.

There is a clear sense of embattlement in these confrontations, characterized by attack, resistance and counter attack discursive positions. Community members attempts to normalize the 'other' can be understood in terms of "discourse in terms of a spatial, strategic metaphor"⁷⁷. This concept is rooted in the adversarial definition of "talk" that is implicit in the Statement of Being. The net's public space is conceptualized as a spatial discursive site/ground which forms the backdrop for strategic/combatative academic/political thought. In the struggle for control of the issues the space of discourse functions as a terrain in which the struggles of anthropological self/other and gender occur. The regional selves of Anthro-L are discursively positioned and portrayed through the reenactment and exercise of relations of, or non-relations of, power. Consider the following post written by a male net member who has tried, along with a few net others,

⁷⁷ op. cit. page 70

to neutralize the oppositional pomo/science poles by asking for clear, concise definitions of 'what' postmodernism is supposed to 'be' or 'do' that evokes such venomous opposition.

I quote this posting in full, as it synthesizes a number of my points quite nicely.

We keep coming around to this, a kind of cycle where the nadir is a spate of pomo bashing. As an anthropologist with too much time on my hands [the flu does that to you] I find myself asking an anthropological question:

theres this tribe you see, lurking in the highlands of the ether, who with regular formulaic utterances invoke a strange creature/idea/space called pomo which they then exorcise by denial, castigation, ad hominem character bullying.....

i have searched my field notes, subjected them to multi-dimensional scaling and even tossed the damned things up in the air in the hope that the resulting random associations will give a clue to this behavior, give me a sense of what is being spoken in these pomo bashing rites.

to no avail....i have no idea what pomo means, no idea who is being characterized or criticized, no idea what is going on.....

instead i hear rumors that the pomos have taken over the academy

that the pomos are nothing more than band wagon jumpers [pomos jumping on the pomo bandwagon]

that pomo has 'unearthed' a new reality...

that pomo is a fad borrowed from a] history b] lit-crit c] architecture or d] Madonna

Can anyone tell me what it is we talk about when we talk about pomo..or is the word, the idea, nothing more than a convenient demon which deconstructs into nothing on close examination?

Can anyone tell me who these pomo bandwagon jumpers are [Geertz is a cheap shot]?

Can anyone tell me where the pomo faddists have actually taken over anything?

can anyone tell me what this new reality we keep hearing the pomos are supposed to have discovered actually tastes like?

Or is all this pomo-ritualizing nothing more than for the sake of hearing ourselves talk?

The fear of postmodernism that is evident in a number of the net's very articulate and participant men is reinforced by the role of Dan Foss within the net community. The love/hate relationship the membership enjoys with Foss reminds me of the custom in the Ancient Near East where every year a sheep was ritually sent into the desert carrying the "sins" of the community away from the 'civilized' world. Foss carries the sins of the Anthro-L community, both discursively and theoretically. He is positioned by net members as the 'troublesome' other, he himself colludes in this positioning. There are expectations from the community [often expressed] that he 'dares' to say what others will not, covering ground where others fear to tread. Consider:

<snip> Diatribes constitute an honorable tradition of prophetic rebuke, and Daniel is an inspired practitioner.⁷⁹

And because officially, no recognition must exist of the words of 'the prophet',⁸⁰ private emails reach him from time to time that encourage/agree with him about what he has spoken. Publicly though, community marginalization of Foss's discourse continues through by-play [flaming 'how he speaks]and desertion.[no interaction with 'what is spoken']⁸¹

⁷⁸ St. Christian, Douglass (1993) *Emic Revisionism?* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 9 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁷⁹ Benke, Tibor. (1993) *re: Anthro-L Digest - 23 Nov 1993 to 24 Nov 1993*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 27 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

⁸⁰ Which in Foss's case are not written 'on the subway wall', but writ large in computer space.....

⁸¹ If I am any example, there are times when I have simply howled with laughter over the stupidity of a] the human race b] myself, c] the net etc. Foss has a way of illuminating the social scene that provokes me,

If Foss's emails are ignored, then what does he contribute to the list? When he has not posted to the community for some time it is not uncommon to find the following types of appeals for him to speak. At this point Foss has been 'silent' on the net for approximately two weeks.

I was wondering what happened to Daniel Foss. When a friend sent me a note asking the same question, I knew it was time to put the question publicly.

Daniel, where are you? The irritations you cause are vastly outweighed by the enjoyment and insight you provide.⁸²

<snip> Danial [sic] A. Foss, please call home (anthro-l).⁸³

<snip> Where are you D. Foss? We miss your "thingies"!!! ;-)⁸⁴

<snip> Where is Foss <?>reading Harraway. He'll be around.⁸⁵

I propose that Foss's emails represent not only a source of "enjoyment and insight" for some readers, but that he represents a necessary release of tension. For the net members who enjoy his discourse he represents a cathartic release from 'bounded' paradigmatic

at any rate, to unbridled chortling. I note here that a number of my private correspondents [female] feel the same way as I about his messages. I consider it very sad indeed that no-one ever engages him in conversation on the list.

⁸² Carrier, James G. (1993) *That Man Again?* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 11 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁸³ Riner, Reed D. (1993) *Re: Melting Pot and Cultural Mosaic*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 12 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁸⁴ Bigelow, Brad M. (1993) *re: errors, errors!* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 13 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

⁸⁵ zeek@io.com (1993) *Cyborg Anthropology*. Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 12 Dec. Ms. in files of author.

thinking. For those who dislike him intensely he represents the necessary 'other' - the community black sheep.

There are few members of the community as well read as D. Foss, conversely, there are no male members of the community who write in Foss's intricate style and, judging by flames sent to Foss via the net, also very few who can adjust their comprehension to match his presentation. As one frustrated member observes:

<snip> I may be wrong on this but your message was so filled with indecipherable codes that I couldn't figure out what your point was other than anger of some sort. For example in the subject line do you mean that You _don't follow Pam Leader or that _the rest of us shouldn't _follow Pam Leader? <snip>⁸⁶

Foss thus receives response about 'how' he has said something, but not what he has said. Each time he posts to the net, the community engages in the cathartic exercise of re/establishing the boundaries of 'how' things may/might be spoken through a flame war about or around Foss's discourse.

How can I claim that Foss is "muted" when he clearly posts at regular intervals to the net and is obviously read, as messages that call for him to re-appear attest to? "Muting" does not mean that a group or individual is silent. It means that this individual or group is not 'heard' because they do not 'speak' the language of the dominant/acceptable paradigm within a particular discursive space. Foss is manifestly un-heard; his words pass unacknowledged. There is no response to his thoughts, no ideological confrontation to

⁸⁶ Traphagan, John (1993) *Huh?* Posting on General Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu). 20 Nov. Ms. in files of author.

extend his ideas through interaction with other net members. He is given no net spoken credibility, he *offers* enjoyment and insight.

The necessary other relationship that Foss holds with respect to the Anthro-L discursive structure is encapsulated in the fact that he is dominant [male], yet does not speak in the dominant paradigm. He can be adversarial, a tenacious fighter if tried, yet he does not fight with the rational weapon of logic. He fights - nay, 'plays' - with 'words' that few can [or want] to understand. It may be no accident that Foss counts many female net members among his supporters.

The ongoing tension between the dominant linguistic structure of Anthro-L, characterized by 'academic' writing - and the threat posed by alternative ways of speaking/seeing characterized by narrative posting styles, Foss and the cyclical arguments about postmodernism and science, are carried out in a public space that always, already holds the promise of release from 'real-life' structures. The computer screen offers the self a chance to commune with self while [possibly] communing with others, - a blank slate on which the user can re/inscribe or de/scribe the self, can play with alternative possibilities and ways of seeing - can 'try on new thoughts' with unknown others. Foss typifies this ability to play with one's image on-line - through language he continually offers to others the promise that one cannot be 'ultimately grasped'. Narrative styles or postmodernism reinforce this notion. By exposing creative textual linkages, uncovering relations or conversely a lack of relations between previously unstructured or structured criteria, they

challenge the status quo and the language structures that are utilized to re-inforce and re-structure its assumptions.

9.8. Language and Intimacy: Men and Women.

Although this section is highly speculative, I want to touch on the fact that my semantic analyses led me to wonder whether or not men and women may retain divergent relationships to the words they speak. Gender divergence in communication ethics within the Anthro-L structure was exemplified by the reactions of net members from whom I requested copyright permission in connection with this thesis. As I noted in my Introduction all the men, save two, gave me permission to quote without further question. More than half of them expressed the opinion, in fact stressed, that their words on the net were public domain. All of the women however, requested further information about which posts would be used, what they had said, how I would use their words and in what context I would situate them.

These [gendered] reactions to my requests, led me to wonder if men understand the spoken word as "gone", that is effectively externalized,⁸⁷ while women retain a connection to what they have spoken. Berger discusses the processes of externalization, objectification and internalization in his book The Sacred Canopy. By the use of the term "externalization", Berger represents the *"ongoing outpouring of human being into the*

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the externalization of language [which builds on G.H. Mead] which extends the notion of words being spoken into the 'void' and then being internalized by a hearer specific to that hearer's perceptive capabilities, see: Peter Berger (1967) *The Sacred Canopy*. New York: Doubleday Books. pages 10-22.

world".⁸⁸ Objectification is the *"attainment by the products of this activity of a reality that confronts its original producers as a facticity external to and other than themselves."* In turn, internalization is the *reappropriation by men [sic] of this same reality, transforming it again from the structures of the objective world into structures of the subjective unconscious."*

I turned to Berger to re-read his definitions in an effort to understand why women choose not to cope with the adversarial terrain of net public space. The more I thought about his definitions, the more I became convinced that this three part language process is intricately related to the adversarial paradigm. The stage "objectification" assumes a speaking model whereby the speaker 'removes' him/her self from the words they speak, so that these words obtain a *"facticity external and other than themselves"*.

It is by no means certain that this process is one in which all language speakers engage. In fact, I would suggest that one of the characteristics of 'alternative ways of speaking' is that 'objectification' of the words one speaks is incomplete. Luce Irigaray has noted the importance of language to women:

*Women use words as a form of touch.....*⁸⁹

⁸⁸ op. cit. page 4.

⁸⁹ Irigaray, Luce (1985) *This Sex Which Is Not One*. New York: Cornell University Press.

In short, sticks and stones...and words can hurt you. One of the reasons women do not participate in public thread space is that marginalization, by-play, trivialization, ridicule and desertion *hurt*.

The difference in communication ethics, especially in terms of taking 'care' with words or in your face dialogue, also confirms that the dialogic positioning of the "self" of men and women tends to differ in public net space. As I have discussed, communication on the net seeks to include the "third man". As so many men claim that their words are public domain, I understand this as confirming my supposition that at times some men do not seek "to include" net members in communicative interaction, as much as they do to "speak at", or "display" the self through effective language. That is, the intimate process of taking the role of the other in order to anticipate reaction to the self loses its restrictive power. A 'presentation' of a specific self takes precedence over the self-in-relation. A type of soap box 'ethos' ensues.⁹⁰ As I have noted, the neutral position of the referential paradigm with respect to self/other, and its attendant emphasis on the logic of the text, ensures that the decontextualization of the self/other process in net space is easily accomplished.

Men appear to fill a 'blank slate' - the computer screen - actively reading and writing, but at times showing little evidence of participation in a dialogic process. It is male presented postings who engage in flaming, likewise it is almost always male postings who participate

⁹⁰ Bateson, Gregory. (1936) *Naven*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pages 119-120. Roughly, ethos represents a definite tone of appropriate behavior. In actuality, academic talk is often characterized by an 'ethos', the soap box is one aspect of the manifestations academic self-presentation can take.

in by-play. Conversely, female text appears to attempt to retain the dialogic connection with the others they may be speaking too.

Although men and women's writing styles are informed by the personal experience of gender and academic praxis, it appears that the overlap between men's socialization and their academic status is highly significant. Female academics have been no less socialized into the language that frames their discipline and its attendant 'rational argument' paradigm. However, it appears that female socialization into multiple language models, an integral part of their gendered socialization process, are strong enough to ensure their discomfort with a public adversarial topography characterized by presentations on display.

10. CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSIONS

It is highly ironic that a study which considers the negative impact of the referential/Logico-scientific code on western thought and academic argument must be framed by that precise model in order to be considered 'legitimate'. It is equally ironic that this research was carried out by a woman who has just spent two years uncovering the fact that men and women do write differently and that this insight has given her some perspective on why she has always considered linear, sequential writing so difficult, and the reading of logical, objective texts so boring.

In this chapter I thankfully take off the 'objective' hat and ponder the implications of my research in a more personal manner. There are a number of things that I want to address that did not fit into the framework of this thesis. The most important of these is my relationship to, and thoughts about, the network Anthro-L.

Besides the uncovering of data that would allow me to begin to answer my question, 'do men and women write differently, the other goal of this thesis was to develop a methodology to uncover men and women's writing patterns that could be duplicated by further research on other networks. But the uncovering of patterns through statistical, semantic and posting style analysis limited me to discussions of numbers, coding and categories. Thus this research in no way adequately conveys the 'atmosphere' or the 'ethos' of the net itself.

During my three year tenure on Anthro-L I have enjoyed my interaction with the network immensely. Of course, I have my favorite writers, of course cringe at the texts of others. This is natural. The uncovering of the fact that women are marginalized on the net has not diminished how I feel about my participation in the community. I still look forward to reading their messages every day.

With some reservations. The results of my data have evoked a certain amount of personal anger. I am angry that a discipline like anthropology incorporates members that are so blind to the power of discourse. I am shocked to find that while some scholars in Anthropology write deep and thought provoking language/linguistic studies that shed light on the other, we appear to be unable to transfer this theoretical knowledge to the relations of dominance and power situated within our own language paradigms. I am angry to discover that I, as a woman, must re-learn and re-think my conceptual categories and how I organize the signs I use to make sense of my world. I am equally angry that conformity to the academic paradigm narrows how I think and perceive. It saddens me to know that in order for me to become/be an academic this is a conformity parameter that I cannot eschew. *"If you do it now, you can do what you want later"*.¹

Simply put, conformity to the referential paradigm makes me less of a scholar, takes the excitement and joy out of the 'learning' process and ensures that I will be a less

¹ I cannot even count how many times I have been told that if I simply conform to acceptable standards "now", I can do 'what I want to do' later. I seriously question how much of the ability to see "multiperspectivally" as Kathleen Williamson put it in her posting "Can You Build Subjectivity Into a Model"?, will be left after the 'process' is over and 'later' comes. By that time a lot of the joy of learning will, I think, have disappeared.

contributory member of the academic regime than I would be if I were to incorporate new skills with my previous life experience. To insist that men and women who 'see' the world in ways that do not conform to the Referential function must learn to encapsulate their world within it, is to deny the reality of the experience of the 'other' and narrows the possibilities that western academic thought will grow and expand in vibrant ways. The demands to conform are powerful and subversive, ideologically justified by that most powerful of paradigms: rational thought.

I do not believe that the men of Anthro-L who collude in the marginalization of women's and some men's voices do this on a conscious level. In fact I am convinced that Wood² is correct when she suggests that young male children appear to be socialized more completely into a 'single' paradigm of seeing/language than are young girls. Toys, sports, media and popular culture all reinforce this single, adversarial paradigm which is said to 'describe' and in turn inscribes, the young male. It is no small wonder that many males are unable to escape a way of seeing that writes their bodies from the moment they are born.

This is an age old problem. Can socialization, even when this intense, excuse a blinding inability to see that the experience of the 'other' may be different from that experienced by the 'self'? In a community like Anthro-L, which is theoretically informed by the knowledge that cultural others view the world in multiple ways, is it possible to accept the excuse that some male Anthro-Lers are unable to internalize that their way of seeing may be only one

² Wood, Julia (1994) *Gendered Lives: Communication, Gender and Culture*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

way of seeing, and that within their own culture there are multiple ways of experiencing the world that are not informed by the language paradigm that writes their own world?

When I wrote to ask permission to quote from the emails that are included in this thesis some of my respondents took the time, both male and female, to offer me thoughtful feedback on my work. I was struck by the sensitivity and insight offered by many of these male and female respondents. It is obvious that many of Anthro-L's male members are acutely aware of the problems inherent in gender and language, it is equally evident that many of them are not aware of how deeply these problems and differences are ingrained into the very language we speak and the assumptions we make about the world that language reveals.

In spite of the fact that there are many men on Anthro-L who are sensitive to gender and speech there are also a goodly number of men, and they are very vocal, who are, simply put, blind to any problems in this area. Of late the net has been concerned with whether or not the use of words like 'mankind' should be erased from our vocabulary or if this is simply the goal of a few rabid feminists who are out to 'make trouble'.

Words are not simply words; they signify. "Mankind" is a conceptual category with multiple significations/reverberations. Historically, the scholarly use of the word 'mankind' meant MANkind. Woman was the weak/necessary/non-signifying other to put it in Lacan's terms. When philosophers spoke of mankind and the social contract, they meant MAN's capacity to contract [women were subsumed as man's helpmate, the child-like other].

While there are some net members who would have us believe that the word 'mankind'

changes with the social structure and that thus mankind now means 'womankind' as well, I am not one of these people. Mankind, as a conceptual category is fraught with the implication that woman is a shadow. If scholars wish to apply the word 'mankind' to discussions of the academic thoughts of men like Plato or Hobbes, I have no problem with that. There is no sense in re/writing the work of scholars such as these to pretend that they meant 'man/womankind' when they wrote; they did not. But scholars who speak of our society will need to reconceptualize the category 'mankind' with a word that re/inscribes the meaning of the category.

It is around conceptual categories that the problem of seeing the world and hence speaking it arises in gendered 'talk'. Men and women have not been socialized to see each other in the same way; in inter-gender communication women and men have 'learned' to expect and not to expect certain things from each other in conversation. The terrain of men and women's conversational styles is fraught with myth. Tannen has pointed out that the old adage that women speak more than men, and that they interrupt conversation is patently untrue. It is men who carry the bulk of real-time interactive gender communication, it is men who interrupt in conversation between the genders. On the net it is certainly men who carry the bulk of net talk and it is men who deny women the right to speak and to participate.

In the midst of the net's current discussion of gender and language, a male net member has used the word 'busy body' [with a space in between - no doubt hastily added] to refer to a female net member whose viewpoint he eschewed. Is this stereotypical or simply ritualistic

insult calculated to silence? In another email a male net member has expressed the opinion that 'women' need to be 'saved' from those 'feminists' who are out to cause trouble - feminists who are asking for redefinitions of 'mankind'. Through centuries of turmoil in which men were free to make these mistakes, to "*produce forms of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered*"³ - in effect to structure the categories of public language - who saved them from themselves? If male scholars have been accorded this privilege of linguistic construction, why not others? Why not redefine the categories of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered?

Not only women are denied the right to speak as equal participants. Through the palpable net example of Dan Foss, but also in studies such as Spender's,⁴ it becomes evident that men who do not conform to male patterned talk are also marginalized. Thus while Foss may be admired, read, or talked about, he is never engaged in dialogic interaction, except for those occasions when he is defending his right to speak and his style of speech. This is troublesome because it indicates that the fear of 'disorder' and the 'will to power'⁵ in language, to suppress the 'other', is a deep and abiding one. Foss fights his battles to speak

³ Smith, P.M. (1979) *A Peculiar Eclipsing: Women's Exclusion From Men's Culture*. [in] **Women's Studies International Quarterly**. 1. pages 281-296.

⁴ Spender, Dale (1980) *Man made Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

⁵ Nietzsche, Friedrich. (1967) *The Will to Power*. translated from the German by Walter Kaufmann and R.J. Hollingdale. New York: Vintage Books.

alone. True, some emails are posted to the net which support his right to post, some extol his method of writing, but no-one supports "what he says".

What Foss appears to say to many net members is that he is 'disorderly'. While, some community members may secretly thrill to his characteristic style, many of the net's members are openly hostile. Reactions to Foss are paralleled by the nebulous, fear filled postings that decry postmodernism and extol the virtues of science. No explicable reasons are forthcoming for this fear, rhetoric is expended in droves.

But this fear does have a source. The belief in a 'real' objective reality' is manifest on Anthro-L, and the parallel belief that metaphor obscures and subverts reality is palpable. Logical Positivism is alive and well in this community.

Foss is master of metaphor, postmodern theorists 'play' with language in order to illustrate the 'always already' meanings inherent in language. In an effort to link multiple domains that they see as deeply related, women deploy behavioral description that does not objectify the 'thing' being described' rather it places it in relation/in context to the rest of their 'knowable' world. Each of these paradigms exists alongside the referential function on Anthro-L, and each is vigorously muted.

But which is the artificial paradigm and which the 'real'? Based on history, I have maintained that the readily discernible development of Rationality/Rationality in

philosophy is traceable. A genealogy⁶ of the rational paradigm would expose its deep and abiding links to processes of power/knowledge and hence private/public [female/male] distinctions in western society. But my assertion that the rational paradigm is artificial and narrow is also rooted in my belief that language styles which link multiple domains to elucidate context are far more informative and holistic than a paradigm which eschews multiple categories and is constructed to convey decontextualized 'objectivity'.

When, where, why, how or what would ever be 'out' of context in a social structure? In a society where "*the reality of a social order surrounds us like the very air we breathe*", to quote Foss quoting Braudel, how can we pretend that we make 'objective' decisions when those very institutions which are said to embody objectivity - academia, law, or science are themselves manifestly products of the culture in which they are situated, when they mirror and embody a socially specific and historically traceable rational/referential paradigm, and when these institutions are explicitly aligned with social power?

This argument for the artificiality of the rational/objective paradigm and the expressed hope for its demise is often construed by adherents of the paradigm as meaning that the writer who expresses these concerns is an adherent of relative, subjective thinking; one who stands at the gates of academia prepared to destroy the work of the academic past and sabotage its future. Nothing could be further from the truth. At heart I am a Structuralist. But I believe that Structure is situational in a diverse society such as ours, and

⁶ Foucault, Michel. (1980) *Questions on Geography*. [in] **Power/Knowledge**. translated from the French by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham and Kate Soper. New York: Pantheon Books. pages 63-77.

I believe that these local structures are intricately linked to the underlying 'rationale' of our society which is embedded in our system of Language - a system which has been [male] constructed to answer questions about Being and Existence and structures our cultural/gender elaborations of natural [sex] categories.

Thus I do not believe in fragmented worlds. Fragments are part of the whole, linked in multiple, interesting ways. Nor do I believe in the assertion that there is no 'meaning' or that meaning is uncoverable. Meaning is manifestly situationally uncoverable.

It is my opinion that the most devious scholarship to arise out of the separation of social spheres that began in the Enlightenment, is the idea that a 'self' is actually many 'selves' and that the social sphere can be studied in terms of unlinked [and highly celebrated] local knowledges. To my way of thinking both these propositions are the natural, extreme result of alienation. I do not experience myself as 'many selves' although I concede that in certain social circumstances only aspects of my 'self' are on display. These are demands imposed by social circumstance, a natural demand, for if any one person was to display all aspects of a self in a given social situation, that situation would be totally unworkable in terms of social interaction.

Like Merleau Ponty,⁷ I believe that we are existent first and foremost in our bodies, that this is the arena from which we view our existence. However, I would add that we view

⁷ Lewis, Philip. E. (1966) *Merleau-Ponty and the Phenomenology of Language*. [in] Ehrmann, J. (ed) (1966) *Structuralism*. New York: Anchor Books. pages 9-30.

our world from gendered bodies and that these bodies step into the structural, gendered categories inherent in our system of Language. I have an identity for my 'self', I know the components of that identity including those I do not understand, I have a conviction that my self is an ongoing, changing but nevertheless consistent process. The fact of my gender, and the cultural expectations connected to that gender, informs every aspect of my life each and every day, whether I conform to these expectations or rebel against them.

Believing this I also am convinced that there are social science universals. That is, that men and women everywhere have similar responses, for example, to their oppression, that there is a human 'nature' shaped through social circumstance, an inherent nature that is uncoverable if we stop focusing on 'objectivity'. For it is within contextualized circumstances that we begin to find and explore the micro response of human nature To lift 'humans' out of the social process is a futile exercise, it is within social processes that human 'responses' becomes evident. Local and global exist in a dialectic relationship.

I do not believe that the relationships between men and women are inherently adversarial, but rather complementary. I do believe that the referential paradigm creates gender and 'other' adversariality through its inherent power and its alliance to the dominant male and publicly legitimate structures of western society.

When I returned to the definitions Berger gives for the externalization/internalization process, I became convinced that this concept was also linked to adversariality. But what about 'tactics'? Strategies? For that matter 'strategic positioning'? I am not at all convinced that women deploy tactics or strategies in conversation to marginalize or

trivialize. I am convinced that as long as we utilize models based on the referential paradigm to analyze social interaction/language, we will only, ever, understand one aspect of our cultural environment. We need an entirely new academic phraseology to encapsulate the experience of the 'other' within.

Our theoretical and conceptual categories in academia are male-based and male-defined categories. Perhaps, as men have certainly dominated the philosophic world from which the paradigm of rationality arises, this is only natural. But the referential paradigm offers palpable proof that realities are 'spoken' into existence. I would like to see more research on the different writing styles of men and women that re/centers the re/definition of alternative language models.

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APPENDIX A: THE STATEMENT OF BEING

From: MX%"ANTOWNER@UBVM.cc.buffalo.edu" 7-DEC-1994 13:27:50.86
To: MX%"ANTHRO-L@UBVM.cc.buffalo.edu"
CC:
Subj: Statement of Being (regular item from list-owners)

Date: Wed, 7 Dec 1994 15:21:09 EST
Reply-To: Anthro-I Listowners & JWA Editors <ANTOWNER@UBVM.cc.buffalo.edu>
Sender: General Anthropology Bulletin Board <ANTHRO-L@UBVM.cc.buffalo.edu>
From: Anthro-I Listowners & JWA Editors <ANTOWNER@UBVM.cc.buffalo.edu>
To: Multiple recipients of list ANTHRO-L <ANTHRO-L@UBVM.cc.buffalo.edu>

Anthro-I Statement of Being

File <anthro-I purpose>

Anthro-I is the general anthropology listserver. It is dedicated to providing information and an arena for discussion on any anthropological subject. It spans archaeology, social and cultural anthropology, linguistic anthropology and physical anthropology. However, it is truly multidisciplinary in nature, and frequently drifts into related areas of other social and hard sciences. Anthro-I is supported by the State University of New York at Buffalo. Started by Ezra Zubrow in June 1988, it is now run by him and Hugh Jarvis.

+++++
+ A disclaimer: Anthro-I is not associated with the Anthropology +
+ Department at the University at Buffalo. Further, any views stated +
+ by subscribers to anthro-I neither reflect the opinions of the +
+ listowners, nor those of the Anthropology Department, or the +
+ University at Buffalo. +
+++++

Anthro-I aims to provide information on current anthropological events, employment opportunities, research questions, as well to help locate answers for numerous cooperation and information requests. Discussions may be conducted on the list or taken into a more private atmosphere. We encourage people to post any information that they feel might be of interest to the group. While some members are senior faculty, the list has subscribers from a wide range of backgrounds. All are welcome.

Anthro-I is an unmoderated list. This format was chosen to provide complete freedom to its subscribers to indulge in whatever lines of anthropological thought they might desire. To date this policy has led to a varied and interesting series of discussions.

PLEASE NOTE. Should you find that the occasional posting is not to your personal or intellectual taste, you are free and encouraged to: simply ignore and discard the message(s); send your own thoughts to the original sender, or better yet, the whole list; or drop a note to a sympathetic ear

(like the listowners...). If you find someone's messages offensive, chances are you are not the only one. Don't be shy. Make your voice heard. We value your thoughts. While this is not a moderated forum, the listowners retain the option of cautioning any who appear to be using the list for ad hominem attacks, malicious purposes, or advertising without permission. Should there be repeat offenses, the list owner will feel obliged to bar the offender from the list entirely. But in general, most users are quite friendly and courteous, and such action is seldom even considered.

PLEASE NOTE: While we welcome almost any posting which could be considered related to anthropology, we do not condone use of the list for mass publication of advertisements. Should you wish to post an ad on anthro-l, kindly send a copy to the listowners so that we can consider its relevance. Thank you.

Three versions of the list are available: you can be placed on the main distribution list and receive all postings as they become available; you can receive a daily lumped digest version with an attached table of contents; or you can receive an indexed version in which you will only receive the name and address of each original sender, and the time, date, subject, and number of lines of their message. This last is very handy for those who don't have time to read through all the messages. To get the first, send SET ANTHRO-L MAIL to LISTSERV@UBVM (its the default). To get the second, use SET ANTHRO-L DIGest, while SET ANTHRO-L INDeX gets the third.

Messages are archived and are available by FTP from the listserver. While the list has its largest readership in the United States, it Please note, however, that the archive only keeps the last three months worth of postings. To get the listing, send INDEX ANTHRO-L.

Anthro-l strives to be an international forum. We have members in a good dozen countries, from the Americas, Europe, and Asia. While English is the preferred and common language, others are welcome.

Should you wish to make reference to a posting that you read on Anthro-l please first consider whether the message was intended for widespread distribution and contact the author for permission. Then, one means of citing the reference is given in the example below. The subject header can serve as the title. Postings can be considered a form of published document, but please remember to check with the author first as they may not have intended it for that purpose.

Graber, Robert
1993 Universal Laws: D-N, Neolithic. Posting on General
Anthropology Bulletin Board (anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu).
15 Feb. Ms. in files of author.

There is now a book out which can aid in citation of email postings. Contact one of the authors Xia Li for more info (xli@moose.uvm.edu).

Li, Xia and Nancy B. Crane
1993 Electronic Style: A Guide to Citing Electronic
Information. Westport: Meckler. ISBN 0-88736-909-X
\$15.00 US.

At present Anthro-I is engaged in some projects. Danny Yee has been compiling a series of biographies of anthropologists. That file is available from the listserver by sending the command `get anthro-I bio` to `listserv@ubvm.bitnet` or `@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu`. There is also WEDA - The World Email Directory of Anthropologists which is constantly being updated and expanded. To get information on that directory, send the command `get anthro-I wedainfo` to the listserver. We especially welcome addresses from outside continental North America. You might also be interested to know that a new electronic journal, called the Journal of World Anthropology (JWA) is available free through the net, to subscribers of the list JWA. To subscribe to JWA, send the command `sub JWA last_name first_name` to the listserver. through GOPHER and FTP software, and will house an enormous range. For more information, please feel free to contact the listowners at `antowner@ubvm.bitnet` or `antowner@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu`

To subscribe or be removed from the list, send a message to `listserv@ubvm.bitnet` or `listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu` with `sub anthro-I last_name first_name`, or `unsub anthro-I`.

All postings from Anthro-I are archived for a period of several months. To access these archives, send a message to `listserv@ubvm` with `index anthro-I` for a list of the archive file names and dates. `get anthro-I logxxx` will access the individual archive files. Note: you are only currently allowed to receive one of these files a day to keep transmissions down.

Hope you enjoy Anthro-I....

Ezra Zubrow (founder)
Hugh Jarvis (manager)
(co-listowners of Anthro-I)

APPENDIX B: CATEGORY IDENTIFICATIONS: WORD LISTS

STEP ONE: IDENTIFYING NAMES FOR THINGS

Intro:

Anthro-L	Statement	Being	File	Purpose
----------	-----------	-------	------	---------

Paragraph One:

Anthropology	listserver	information	arena	discussion
anthropological	subject	archaeology	social	cultural
linguistic	physical	multi-disciplinary	nature	areas
social [2]	sciences	State University	New York	Buffalo
Ezra Zubrow	June, 1988	Hugh Jarvis		

"Disclaimer"

disclaimer	views	subscribers	stated	subscribers
opinions	listowners	Anthropology dept.		

Paragraph Two:

information[2]	events	anthropological [2]	employment	opportunities
research	questions	answers	cooperation	information
[3]requests	Discussions	list	atmosphere	We
people	post	information [4]	they	group
members	senior faculty	list [2]	subscribers [2]	range
backgrounds	All	welcome		

Paragraph Three:

freedom	unmoderated list [3]		format	lines [An]
thought	they	desire	policy	date
series	discussions [2]	you	[occ] posting	personal
intellectual	taste	free	ignore	discard
messages[s]	own	thoughts	sender	[whole] list
[3]drop	note	ear	listowners	someone's
messages	offensive	chances	you	shy
voice	heard	We	value	thoughts
this	moderated	forum	listowners	retain
option	cautioning	any	appear	list [4]
ad hominem	attacks	malicious	purposes	advertising
permission	repeat	offenses	listowner	feel
obliged	bar	offender	list [5]	users
friendly	courteous	action	we	welcome

posting mass post we	related publication ad consider	condone advertisements send relevance	use you copy	list [6] wish listowners
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Paragraph Four:

[three] versions list [8] lumped table of contents time handy get send default second third FTP note postings [worth] INDEX ANTHRO-L	list [7] receive digest indexed date those first set anthro-l mail get use gets listserver archive get	available postings version name subject read time set anthro-l DIGest messages list keeps listing	main available attached address # of lines messages read listserv@ubvm set anthro-L INDEX archived readership last send	distribution daily sender message all messages available United States 3 months
--	---	--	---	---

Paragraph Five:

international Europe language	forum Asia others	members English welcome	Americas preferred	countries common
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Paragraph Six:

you consider author subject header document Graber, Robert General Anthropology Bulletin Board MS citations authors Nancy B Crane Information.] \$15.00 US	wish message permission title check 1993 files email Xia Li 1993 Westport	[make] reference widespread citing Postings author Universal Laws [anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu] author postings info [Electronic Style: A Guide to Citing Electronic Meckler	posting distribution reference form purpose D-N, Neolithic book contact [xli@moose.uvm.edu] ISBN 0-88736-909-X	read contact example published they Posting 15 Feb. aid one
--	---	--	---	---

Paragraph Seven:

present	engaged	projects	Danny Yee	compiling
---------	---------	----------	-----------	-----------

series	biographies	anthropologists	file	available
listserver	sending	command		get anthro-l bio
	listserv@ubvm.bitnet		@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu	
WEDA	updated	expanded	get	information
directory	send	command	get anthro-l wedainfo	
listserver	We	welcome	addresses	outside
continental	North America	interested	know	electronic
journal	available	free	through	net
subscribers	JWA	subscribe	end	command
sub jwa last_name first_name		listserver	through	GOPHER
FTP	software	house	range [enormous]	
information	feel	free	contact	listowners
antowner@ubvm.bitnet		antowner@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu		
subscribe	removed	list	send	message
postings	archived	months	access	archives
send	message	archive	files	names
dates	access	individual	archive files	currently
allowed	receive	[one of these] files		
day	transmissions	down		

Closing:

hope	enjoy	Ezra Zubrow	founder	Hugh
Jarvis	manager	[co listowners]		

* Note: in all "Anthro-L" is used over 30 times in one form or another in this Statement, while Anthropology is used 6 times.

APPENDIX C: STATEMENT OF BEING: SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

In some cases I have footnoted my source for the indicated relationship. Questions that I had with respect to some of these relationships were answered through private email correspondence. For example, I posed the question to a list member: "Who is Hugh Jarvis"? Her response "hes the guy that runs the list, you know, keeps an eye on it" indicated her conceptualization of both Jarvis's position on the list and his function. Any relationship that was answered in this manner is properly cited at the foot of the page.

Even a quick perusal of the Statement of Being will indicate to the novice computer user that technological language use is highly specialized. For commands such as "get" and "send" I have consulted the mainframe manuals of the University of Lethbridge in order to properly pinpoint the semantic relationships in which these words are found. Similarly, definitions of words such as "FTP" and "GOPHER" are based on mainframe manual explanations.

Explanations that are included under specific semantic relationships can be identified through my use of *Italic script*.

<u>Word</u>	<u>Semantic R'ship</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Type</u>
Anthro-L	is a kind of	Bulliten Board Service	Strict Inclusion
Statement of Being	the characteristics/attributes of Anthro-L	[Being]	Attribution
File	is a place for keeping	Documents	Location/Action
Purpose	is a reason for creation/existence of	Anthro-L	Rationale

Paragraph One

Anthro-L	is a kind of	Listserver	Strict Inclusion ¹
*general	is an attribute of	Anthro-L	Attribution ²
Anthropology	is a characteristic of a certain	Listserver	Attribution
listserver	is used to manage a	List	Function ³
*dedicated	fulfills the function of providing	Information	Function ⁴
Information	is a reason for having a	Listserver	Rationale
arena	is a place for	Discussion	Spatial
Discussion	is a kind of	Talk	Strict Inclusion
Anthropological	is a kind of	Subject	Strict Inclusion

¹ Semantic relationship such as this one are derived from the system of "difference" found in Structuralism - the relationships of signs to each other within a sentence. This sentence states "Anthro-L IS the [general anthropology] listserver. hence: Strict Inclusion. Anthro-L is a listserver.

² Collins Concise Dictionary Plus, 1993: General:....."relating to various branches of an activity, profession etc, not specialized. (2) of, applying to, or participated in by all or most of the members of a group or **community**.....

³ Source; University of Lethbridge Main frame: Sys_doc

⁴ Collins Precise Dictionary Plus: 1993, Dedicated: devoted to a particular purpose or cause....."computers; designed to fulfill one's function".

Subject	is a characteristic theme of a	Discussion	Attribution
Archaeology	is a kind of	Anthropology	Strict Inclusion
Social	is a kind of	Anthropology	Strict Inclusion
Cultural	is a kind of	Anthropology	Strict Inclusion
Linguistic	is a kind of	Anthropology	Strict Inclusion
physical	is a kind of	Anthropology	Strict Inclusion
multidisciplinary	is a characteristic of the listserver	Listserver	Attribution
nature	is an attribute of the	Listserver	Attribution
*drifts	is a characteristic of	Listserver	Attribution
areas	are kinds of [social and hard]	sciences	Strict Inclusion
*other	is not Anthropological	[not] Anthro	Antonymy
social	is a kind of	science	Strict Inclusion
Hard	is a kind of	science	Strict Inclusion
Hard	is not a [social] soft?	science	Antonymy
Sciences	are kinds of subjects or	Discussion	Strict Inclusion
Anthro-L	is a	Listserver	Strict Inclusion
supported	is a characteristic of	Anthro-L	Attribution
State University	is used to support	Anthro-L	Function
Ezra Zubrow	started (is a step in)	Anthro-L	Sequence
June, 1988	is the beginning of [step in]	Anthro-L	Sequence
"it" [5 times]	is the	Listserver	Strict Inclusion
run	is a characteristic of	Listserver	Attribution
[him] + Hugh Jarvis	run the	Listserver	Function
<u>Disclaimer</u>			
disclaimer	is a way to withdraw from [other]	Opinion	means-end
Anthropology	is a kind of Department	Department	Strict Inclusion
department	is a part of a	University	Spatial
Buffalo	is a kind of	Place/space	Strict Inclusion
views	are a kind of	Opinion	Spatial
stated	is a way to express	Opinion	Strict Inclusion
subscribers	are a kind of list [are signed up as]	member	Means-end
Anthro-L	is a kind of	Listserver	Strict Inclusion
<i>from this point forward Anthro-L will only be placed in semantic relationship if it differs from this one.</i>			
*reflect	is not a way to endorse	Opinion	Ant./ Means-end
listowners	run/own the	Listserver	Strict Inclusion/Function

Paragraph Two

*provide	is a characteristic of the	Listserver	Attribution
information [2]	is a kind of data	Knowledge	Strict Inclusion ⁵
*current	is a kind of	event	Strict Inclusion
*current	is a kind of	opportunity	Strict Inclusion
*current	is a kind of	question	Strict inclusion
*anthropological	is a kind of	event	Strict Inclusion
*anthropological	is a kind of	opporutnity	Strict Inclusion
*anthropological	is a kind of	question	Strict Inclusion
Event	is something which takes place [in]	Anthropology	Spatial
employment	is a kind of	Opportunity	Strict Inclusion
Opportunities	are found [in]	Anthropology	Spatial
research	is a kind of	Question	Strict Inclusion
Questions	are found [in]	Anthropology	Spatial

⁵ This semantic relationship presented a challenge in that the "personification" of the listserv to this point has obscured some of the semantic connotations with respect to the fact that the Statement is actually speaking of net talk, rather than the rather human characteristics of the listserver. The collins Precise Dictionary Plus (1993) defines information as "knowledge acquired through experience or study, [2] knowledge of specific timely events or situations.....while in the context of computers the definition reads: "the meaning given to data by the way it is interpreted cf. information theory - my addition) and [2] another word for DATA.

*locate	is a characteristic of	Anthro-L	Attribution
*locate	is a way to get	Answers	Function
answers	is the result of	requests	Cause-effect
numerous	are kinds of	Requests	Strict Inclusion
cooperation	is a kind of	Request	Strict Inclusion
information	is a kind of	request	Strict Inclusion
requests	are a reason to [locate]	answers	rationale
Discussions	are a kind of	Talk	Strict Inclusion
<i>So, are there different kinds of discussions? Yes, there are: on the list, and [2] private</i>			
conducted	is a way [to have]	Discussions	Means-end
list	is [a kind of BBS]	Anthro-L	Strict Inclusion
<i>"what do you mean by "list"? "Well, if someone talks about list, like "this list", it means "Anthro-L"</i>			
taken	is a step in [moving to private]	Private	Sequence
Private	is a kind of [email]	space/place	Strict Inclusion
We	are the	writers/speakers/Listowners	Strict Inclusion
encourage	is a characteristic of [the]	Listowners	Attribution
people	are kinds of	Posters	Strict Inclusion
*post	is a kind of [net]	message	Strict Inclusion
<i>What does "post mean"? Posts means that someone sends a message to someone else by email, or to the whole group."</i>			
<i>Oh, does that mean that each post has a message? [ans] No, sometimes it is just information and does not need a response. So would it be fair to say that post is a way of communicating something? [ans] Yes.</i>			
*post	is a kind of	Communication	Strict Inclusion
*post/communicate	is a kind of	[net] Behavior	Strict inclusion
information	is a kind of	post	Strict Inclusion
they	are	people	Strict Inclusion
feel	is an attribute of	they	Attribution
interest	is an attribute of	post	Attribution
group	are the members of	Anthro-L	Strict Inclusion
<i>Note: having information that "you" feel is of interest is a "reason" to post to the whole group this is the semantic relationship expressed through the WHOLE sentence:</i>			
members [some]	are a part of [the]	group	Rationale
faculty [senior]	is an attribute of [some]	members	Spatial
list	is the [whole]	group	Attribution
subscribers	is a kind of	members	Strict Inclusion
wide	is an attribute of	range	Strict Inclusion
Range	is an attribute of	background	Attribution
Backgrounds	are an attribute of	[some] subscribers	Attribution
All	is the sum total of [potential]	members	Attribution
welcome	is a reason to be a	members	Strict Inclusion
			rationale

Paragraph Three

Anthro-L	is a kind of	List	Strict Inclusion
*unmoderated	is an attribute of	list	Attribution
*unmoderated	is an attribute of	Anthro-L	Attribution
format	is the result of	Unmoderated	cause-effect
chosen	is the cause of	Unmoderated	cause-effect
complete	is an attribute of	Freedom	Attribution
*freedom	is an attribute of	subscribers	Attribution
*freedom	is the result of	Unmoderated	cause-effect
its	is the	list	cause-effect
*indulge	is an attribute of	subscribers	Strict Inclusion
*indulge	is the result of	unmoderated	Attribution
lines	are kinds of [anthro]	Thought	cause-effect
anthropological	are kinds of	Thought	Strict Inclusion
Thought	is an attribute of	subscribers	Strict Inclusion
they	are	subscribers	Attribution
desire	is an attribute of	subscribers	Strict Inclusion
date	is a stage in	they	Attribution
policy	is a reason for doing [unmoderated]	Time	Sequence
<i>"policy has led to...."</i>			
varied	is an attribute of	List	Rationale
interesting	is an attribute of	Discussion	Attribution
Series	are a kind of	Discussion	Attribution
Discussions	are a kind of	Discussion	Strict Inclusion
You [3]	is a kind of	Talk	Strict Inclusion
reader	is a kind of	reader	Strict Inclusion
occasional	is an attribute of	Net member	Strict Inclusion
		posting	Attribution

posting	is a kind of [read]	Message	Strict Inclusion
personal	is an attribute of	taste	Attribution
intellectual	is an attribute of	taste	Attribution
free	is an attribute of	you	Attribution
encouraged	is an attribute of	you	Attribution
ignore	is a way to [treat a posting]	Posting	Cause-effect
discard	[message] result of [offensive]	posting	Cause-Effect
<i>discard is an action taken by a computer user with a delete button hence:</i>			
discard	is a way to delete	posting	means-End
message[s]	are a kind of	posting	Strict Inclusion
send	is a way to transmit	thoughts	Means-End
send	is used to [send]	thoughts	Function
<i>"send" as per sys_doc is a command that sends a message to other users. Hence, it is also a step [or can be] in Communication.</i>			
own	is an attribute of	thoughts	Attribution
thoughts	are a kind of	posting	Strict Inclusion
<i>Thoughts are something which is "sent", that which is sent is a message, a message is a kind of posting.....</i>			
original	is an attribute of	sender	Attribution
Sender	is a kind of transmitter hence	Writer	Strict Inclusion
sender	is a kind of receiver	reader	Strict Inclusion
<i>The argument here: a sender 'sends', hence transmits a "message", which is written to be sent, is also inverted in this paragraph where the "original sender" receives a message back from the original reader, making the sender in turn, a reader.</i>			
whole	is an attribute of	List	Attribution
List	is	Anthro-L	Strict Inclusion
List	is the location for "sending"		Location for Action
drop	is a way to send a	Note	Means_end
note	is a kind of	message	Strict Inclusion
sympathetic	is an attribute of	Ear	Attribution
Ear	is a way to	"hear"	Means-End
<i>Hearing through an "ear" means "hearing" that which is spoken, hearing the thoughts that are "dropped". Tension again between Writing and speaking.</i>			
"sympathetic ear"	are attributes of the	Listowners	Attribution
someone	is a kind of	net member	Strict Inclusion
messages	are characteristics of	Someone	Attribution
offensive	are attributes of [some]	Messages	Attribution
only [one]	is an attribute of	You	Attribution
shy	is an attribute of	You	Attribution
Voice	is an attribute of	You	Attribution
heard	is a attribute of	Voice	Attribution
You	is the [reader of this message]	reader	Strict Inclusion
We	are the writers of [this message]	Listowners	Strict Inclusion
value	is an attribute	Listowners	Attribution
your	are multiple	reader[s]	Strict Inclusion
thoughts	are an attribute of	readers	Attribution
moderated	is an attribute of	forum	Attribution
forum	is an arena for expressing	thoughts	Location for Action
retain	is a characteristic of	Listowners	Attribution
option	is an attribute of	Listowners	Attribution
cautioning	is a way to	Warn	Attribution
those	are	you	Strict Inclusion
using [the list]			Location for Action
ad hominem	are a kind of	attack	Strict Inclusion
Attacks	are a kind of	posting	Strict Inclusion
<i>ad hominen attacks are a reason for using the list</i>			
<i>ad hominen attacks are a reason for being cautioned</i>			
malicious	is an attribute of	purposes	Attribution
purposes	are characteristics of [certain]	writers	Attribution
advertising	is a certain kind of	posting	Strict Inclusion
permission	is/is not an attribute of	posting	Attribution
repeat	is/is not a characteristic of	offenses	Attribution
Offenses	are a kind of [negative]	posting	Strict Inclusion
obliged	is an attribute of	Listowners	Attribution
bar	is a way to exclude	members	Means-End
<i>bar is an action taken by the Listowners and hence also a characteristic</i>			
<i>Attribution</i>			
offender	is a kind of	poster	Strict Inclusion
entirely	is an attribute of	bar	Attribution
friendly	is an attribute of [most]	users	Attribution

Courteous	is an attribute of [most]
most	is an attribute of
users	are members of the
seldom	is an attribute of
Considered	is a attribute of
Action	is a characteristic of
Action [such]	is to
welcome	is an attribute of [we] the
posting	is a kind of
posting is	[related to]
condone	is a characteristic of
use [of the list]	is a place to [advertise]
mass	is a characteristic of
Publication	is way to transmit
Advertisements	are a kind of
wish	is an attribute of
you	is the
post	is used by "you" to advertise
ad	is a kind of
kindly	is an attribute of
copy	is a kind of
consider	is an attribute of the
relevance	is a characteristic/is not a

users
users
Anthro-L
considered
Listowners
Listowners
"bar"
Listowners
message
Anthropology
Listowners
List
publication
messages
publication
you
reader
Advertisements
posting
you
posting
Listowners
posting/ad

Attribution
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Attribution
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Attribution
Location for Action
Attribution
Means_end
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Function
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Attribution

Paragraph Four

three	is an attribute of
versions	are kinds of
List	is
available	is a characteristic of the
you	is the
placed	is a characteristic of the
main distribution	is a characteristic of
main distribution	is a place to be placed
main distribution	is a way to recieve [all]
receive	is a way to get
avaialable	is a characteristic of
daily-lumped-digest	is a kind of
attached	is a characteristic of
Table of Contents	is a kind of
indexed	is a kind of
name/address	are attributes of
original	is an attribute of
time	is an attribute of
date	is an attribute of
subject	is an attribute of
number of lines	is an attribute of
message	is a kind of posting
handy	is an attribute of [indexed]
those	are kinds of net
[no] time	is a characteristic of [some]
read	is an attribute of [some]
get	is a way to [recieve]
first	is a kind of
get	is a kind of posting
send	is a kind of posting
send	is a way to "get"
"Set Anthro-l"	is a kind of
LISTSERV@ubvm	is an
"set anthro-l"	is a way to get
default	is a kind of predetermined
second	is a kind of
set anthro-l digest	is a kind of [computer]
set anthro-l digest	is a way to get
third	is a kind of
set anthro-l index	is a way to get
set anthro-l index	is a kind of [computer]

versions
List
Anthro-L
List
reader
Listowners
List
Placed
postings
postings
postings
version
Table of Contents
version
version
senders
sender
message
message
message
message
posting
version
members
members
members
version
version
Behavior
behavior
messages
command
[net]address
version
format
version
command
version
version
version
command

Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Attribution
Location for Action
Means_end
means_end
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Attribution
Attribution
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Strict Inclusion
Attribution
Attribution
Means_end
Strict Inclusion
Strict Inclusion
Strict Inclusion
means_end
Strict Inclusion
Strict Inclusion
Means_end
Strict Inclusion
Strict Inclusion
Means_end
Strict Inclusion
means_end
Strict Inclusion

Paragraph Five

messages	are a kind of	posting	Strict inclusion
archived	are a characteristic of	messages	Attribution
available	is a characteristic of	messages	Attribution
FTP	is a place to get	messages	Location for Action
largest	is a characteristic of	readership	Attribution
readership	is a characteristic of	List	Attribution
United States	is a characteristic of	readership	Attribution
archive	is a place to keep	postings	Function
3 months worth	is an attribute of	postings	Attribution
postings	are a kind of	writing	Strict Inclusion
get	is a way to receive	listing	Means_end
get	is a kind of	command	Strict Inclusion
listing	is a record of	postings	Strict Inclusion
send	is a kind of computer	command	Strict Inclusion
send	is a way to [get] a	listing	Means_end
Index-Anthro-L	is a kind of [computer]	command	Strict Inclusion
Index-Anthro-L	is the name of [kind of]	listing	Strict Inclusion

Paragraph Six

Strives	is an attribute of	Anthro-L	Attribution
international	is an attribute of	forum	Attribution
forum	is a place to hold	discussions	Location for Action
members	are parts of	Anthro-L	Spatial
dozen	is an attribute of	countries	Attribution
countries	are locations of	members	Spatial
Americas	is a kind of	countries	Strict Inclusion
Europe	is a kind of	countries	Strict Inclusion
Asia	is a kind of	countries	Strict Inclusion
English	is a kind of	language	Strict Inclusion
preferred	is a characteristic of	English	Attribution
common	is a characteristic of	English	Attribution
others	are kinds of	languages	Strict Inclusion
languages/language	is a way to	Communicate	Means-end
language	is used to	Communicate	Function

Paragraph Seven

you	is a kind of	reader	Strict Inclusion
wish	is an attribute of	you	Attribution
make	is a way to	reference	Means_end
Reference	<i>is a way to talk about another posting or to use parts of it when you are posting; using the words of an</i>		
"other".....			
Reference	is a kind of [whole]	posting	Strict Inclusion
reference	is a part of a	posting	Spatial
posting	[can] contain[s]	references	Spatial
read	is an attribute of	you	Attribution
read	<i>is used to [understand] a</i>	posting	Function
first	is an attribute of	consider	Attribution
consider	is an attribute of	you	Attribution
consider	is a way to [think about]	think	means-end
message	is a kind of	posting	Strict Inclusion
intended	is an attribute of	writer	Attribution
widespread	is an attribute of	distribution	Attribution
distribution	is the result of sending	messages	Cause-effect
contact	is a step in	distribution	sequence
contact	is a step in asking permission from	writer	sequence
author	is a kind of [posting]	writer	Strict Inclusion
permission	is the result of	contact	Cause-effect
permission	is the cause of	distribution	Cause-effect
citing	is a way to talk about	reference	Means-end
reference	is a part of	posting	Spatial
example	is a kind of	reference	Strict Inclusion
below	is an attribute of	example	Attribution
subject header	is a part of a	posting	Spatial
Serve	is an attribute of	subject header	Attribution

title	is the	subject header	Strict Inclusion
Postings	are a kind of	document	Strict Inclusion
considered	is an attribute of/way to do	you	Attribution
form	is a kind of	prototype	Strict Inclusion
published	is a characteristic of	document	Attribution
published	is a characteristic of	postings	Attribution
remember	is an attribute of	you	Attribution
check	is a kind of	contact	Strict Inclusion
author	is the writer of	document	Attribution
intended	is an attribute of	author	Attribution
Graber, Robert	is a kind of	author	Strict Inclusion
1993	is a kind of	time/date	Strict Inclusion
Universal Laws:D-N, Neolithic	[is the]	subject header	Strict Inclusion
Posting on General Anthropology Bulliten Board	[is a kind of place to publish]		Strict Inclusion
General Anthropology Bulliten Board	is a place to	post	Location for Action
<i>general Anthro BB is the place where this message was posted/published.</i>			
anthro-l@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu	[is a way to find]	postings	Means-end
General Anthropology Bulliten Board	is a computer	place	Spatial
15 Feb	is a	time/date	Strict Inclusion
Neolithic	is a kind of [historical]	time	Strict Inclusion
manuscript	is a kind of	document	Strict Inclusion
files	is a place to keep	MS	Spatial
book	is a kind of [real time]	document	Strict Inclusion
out	is a characteristic of	book	Attribution
authors	are writers of	book	Strict Inclusion
Xia Li	is a	author	Strict Inclusion
contact	is a way to get	information	Means-end
<i>You can contact Xia Li to get information about the book. So Xia Li has information to give? [yes] About her book? {yes, and about what is in it}</i>			
information	is a reason to contact	Xia Li	Cause-effect
information	is the result of contacting	Xia Li	Cause-Effect
xli@moose.uvm.edu	is a kind of	address	Strict Inclusion
xli@moose.uvm.edu	is the place to contact	Xia Li	Spatial
Nancy B Crane	is a	author	Strict Inclusion
1993	is a	time/date	strict Inclusion
Electronic Style: etc	is a	title	Strict Inclusion
Westport	is a real time	place	Spatial
Meckler	<i>is a place where the book was published</i>		Location for Action
Meckler	is a kind of	publisher	Strict Inclusion
ISBN 0-88736-909-X	is a way to find	book	Means-end
\$15.00	is used to buy	book	Function
US	is a kind of	\$15.00	Strict Inclusion

Paragraph Eight

present	is a place/time for doing	projects	Location for Action
present	is a stage in	time	Sequence
Anthro-L	is a kind of	Listserv	
Anthro-L	is a kind of	Being?	Strict Inclusion
engaged	is an attribute of	Anthro-L	Attribution
projects	are done by	Anthro-L	Function
Danny Yee	is a kind of	person	Strict Inclusion
Danny Yee	is a part of	Anthro-L	Spatial
compiling	is an attribute of	Danny Yee	Attribution
compiling	is used to [collect]	biographies	Function
series	is a characteristic of	biographies	Attribution
biographies	are attributes of	anthropologists	Attribution
Biographies	are kinds of	writings	Strict Inclusion
Anthropologists			DOMAIN
file	is a kind of	document	Strict Inclusion
avaialble	is a characteristic of	file	Attribution
listserver	is a place to get	file	Spatial
sending	is a way to get	file	means-end
command	is a kind of computer	instruction	Strict Inclusion
command	is a way to get and send	files	means-end
"get anthro-l bio"	is a kind of	command	Strict Inclusion
listserv@ubvm.bitnetis	a kind of place	place/space	Spatial
ubvm@cc.buffalo.edu	[is a kind of place]	place/space	Spatial

WEDA	is a kind of	list	Strict Inclusion
updated	is an attribute of	WEDA	Attribution
expanded	is an attribute of	WEDA	Attribution
get	is a way to obtain	information	means-end
information	is a kind of	communication	Strict Inclusion
directory	is	WEDA	Strict Inclusion
send	is a way to get	directory	means-end
we	are the	listowners	Strict Inclusion
welcome	is a characteristic	listowners	Attribution
addresses	are place/space to find	members	Spatial
addresses	are a place to contact	members	Location for Action
addresses	are used to locate	members	Function
outside	is [not] a characteristic of	North America	Antonymy
continental	is [not]	North America	Antonymy
North America	is a place/space	place/space	Strict Inclusion

Paragraph Nine

interested	is an attribute of	you	Attribution
new	is an attribute of	journal	Attribution
electronic	is a kind of	journal	Strict Inclusion
Journal	is a kind of [published]	document	strict Inclusion
JWA	is a kind of	Journal	Strict Inclusion
available	is a characteristic of	JWA	Attribution
free	is an attribute of	JWA	Attribution
subscribe	is a way to get	JWA	Means-end
sub jwa last_name first_name	is a place to get	command	strict Inclusion
listserver	is a place to get	JAW	Location for Action

Paragraph Ten

postings	are a kind of	message	Strict Inclusion
Anthro-L	is an attribute of	postings	Attribution
archived	is a way to keep	postings	Means-end
archived	is used to keep	postings	Function
period	is a stage of time in [keeping]	postings	Sequence
several	is a characteristic of	months	Attribution
months	are a kind of time	time/date	Strict Inclusion
access	is a reason for sending/getting	archives	rationale
archives	are a kind of [collection of]	postings	Strict Inclusion
getting archives	is the result of sending the correct message to the Listserv:	communicate	cause-effect
message	is a way to communicate	archives	Means-end
transmissions	are used to get/send	archives	Function
Transmissions	are a way to get/send	archives	Means-end
Hope	is an attribute of	Listservers	Attribution
enjoy	is an attribute of	you	Attribution
Anthro-L	is a way to	enjoy	means-end
Anthro-L	is used to	enjoy	Function
Ezra Zubrow	is a kind of	person	Strict Inclusion
Zubrow[co-list]	is a	listowner	Strict Inclusion
High Jarvis	is a kind of	person	Strict Inclusion
Jarvis[co-lis]	is a	listowner	Strict Inclusion
founder	is an attribute of	Zubrow	Attribution
Manager	is an attribute of	Jarvis	Attribution
Founder	is a kind of base/beginning/root	beginning	Strict Inclusion
Manager	is used to [look after]	List	Function

APPENDIX D: STATEMENT OF BEING: SEMANTIC CHARTS

SEMANTIC CHART # 1 - INTRODUCTION TO STATEMENT OF BEING: REFERENCE LINE:

BBS [inclusion]
 Anthro-L - *[attributions]-----*[rationale]
 PURPOSE Statement of Being-----*[spatial]
 Being [attrib] file [Anthro-I purpose]
 existence

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SEMANTIC CHART # 2 - FULL PARAGRAPH # ONE - INTRODUCTION

LISTSERVER-----*[inclusion]-----[attribution]-----[function]-----[Location for action]-----[spatial]
 [function]-----[sequence]- Anthro-L Anthropology manage [list] arena-----[spatial] Zubrow
 State U Zubrow[inclusion] Multidisciplinary Information I DISCUSSION[inclusion]-----[attributes]
 Time[inclusion] general Jarvis Talk subject[inclusion]
 June/88 nature Zubrow runs Sciences Anthropology[ind]
 supported social archaeology
 hard{antonymy}
 social
 not hard = social
 cultural
 linguistic
 physical
 drifts

Appendix D: 2

SEMANTIC CHART # 3 - PARAGRAPH # 2 THE DISCLAIMER

LISTSERVER=ANTHRO-L-----[inclusion]-----[attributes]
 members [inclusion]-----opinions-----[Antonymy]-----[attributes]-----[means/end]
 subscribers VIEWS not reflect reflect disclaimer
 ANTONYMY TO:
 UNIVERSITY-----[inclusion]
 Buffalo-----[inclusion]
 department [inclusion]
 Anthropology-----[attributes]
 opinion
 LISTSERVER=ANTHRO-L-----[function]
 listowners-----[attributes]
 reflect
 opinions-----[Antonymy]
 NOT reflect

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LISTSERVER=ANTHRO-L-----[attributes]-----[inclusions]
 provides Anthro-L-----[attributes]
 List group-----[spatial]-----[attributes]
 members senior faculty
 subscribers [attributes]-----[inclusions]
 backgrounds-----[attrib] "they" [attributes]
 wide feel
 range post [attr]
 'all' ----- [attributes] interest
 welcome

POSTERS=PEOPLE-----[means-end]
 post-----[inclusion]-----[attribute]
 communication-----[inclusion] behavior
 information *Behavior

KNOWLEDGE-----[inclusion]
 Information-----[inclusion]
 post

DISCUSSION=TALK-----[inclusion]-----[attributes]
 List conducted-----[spatial]-----[sequence]
 Private private taken to
 List

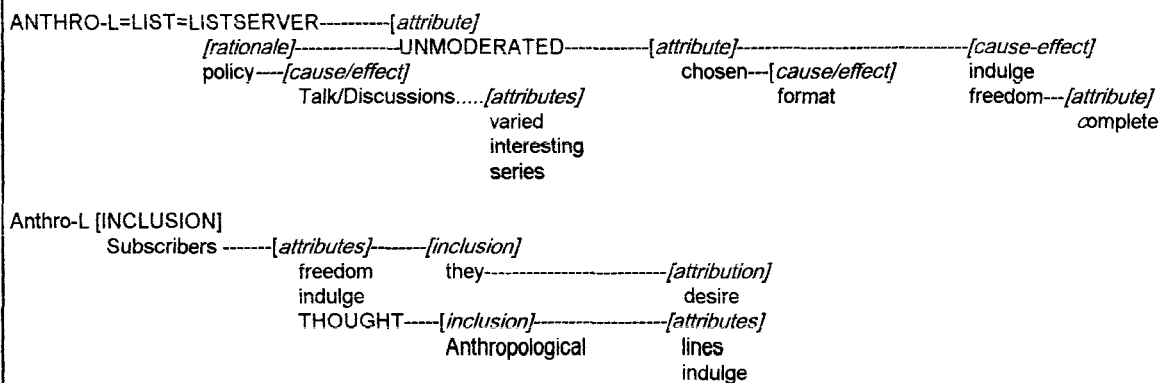
TIME -----[attributes]
 current

QUESTIONS=REQUESTS-----[attributes]-----[spatial]-----[inclusions]-----[rationale]-----[sequence]-----[cause-effect]
 Anthropological Anthropology Research answers locate answers
 current

EVENT: -----[attributes]-----[spatial]
 current Anthropology
 Anthropological

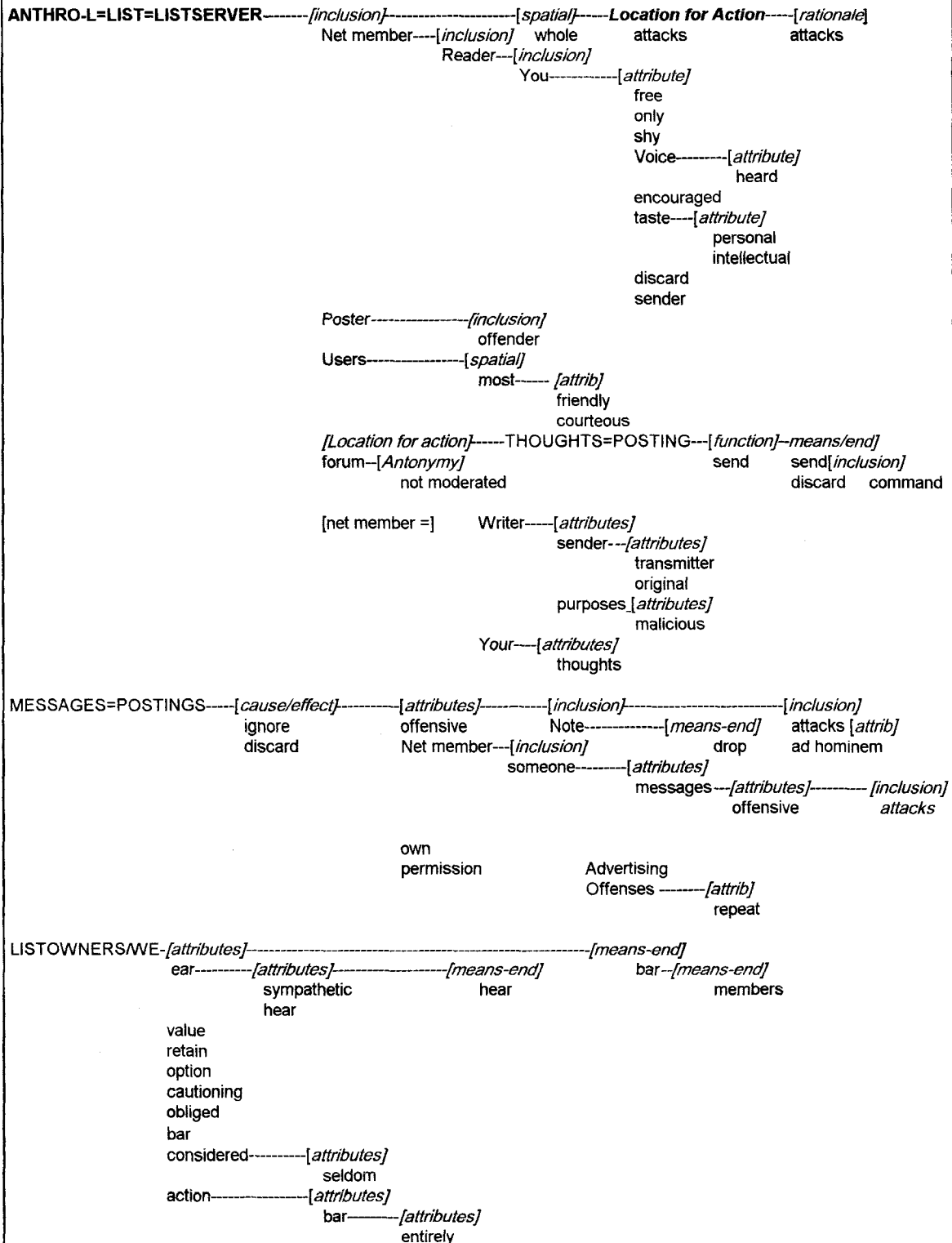
OPPORTUNITIES-----[attributes]-----[spatial]
 current Anthropology
 Anthropological

SEMANTIC CHART #5 - PARAGRAPH #3.



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SEMANTIC CHART #6 - PARAGRAPH # 4



SEMANTIC CHART #7, PARAGRAPH # 5.

Listowners/We -----[attributes]
welcome
condone-----[Antonymy]
do not condone
consider

Message=Postings=Thoughts-----[attributes]-----[means-end]-----[inclusion]
Anthropology publication-----[inclusion] copy
relevance advertising [attribution] ad
mass

LISTSERVER/BBS/ANTHRO-L/LIST-----[Location for Action]-----[inclusion]
Advertising You [inclusion]-----[attributes]
Reader wish
post-[function]
kindly
copy
send

SEMANTIC CHART # 8, PARAGRAPH # 6.

LISTSERVER/ANTHRO-L/BBS/LIST-----[spatial]-----[attributes]-----[inclusion]

versions---[attributes] available net members---[inclusion]-----[attrib]

three main Distribution You [inclusion] read

handy addresses....[inclusion] reader

LISTSERV@ubvm senders [attrib]

Format---[attrib] name/address

default original

those[attrib]

no time

.....[function]-----[Location for Action]-----[cause/effect]

placed---[cause-effect] main Distribution List

main distribution

receive

POSTINGS/MESSAGES-----[means-end]-----[strict inclusion]-----[attributes]

receive version---[inclusion] time

get daily lumped digest date

Table of Contents---[attributes] subject

first attached # of lines

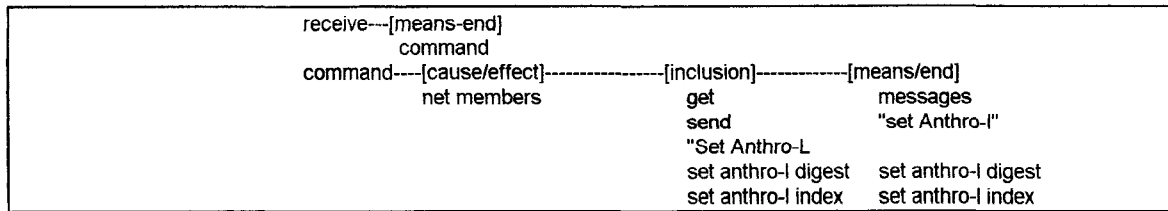
Second

third

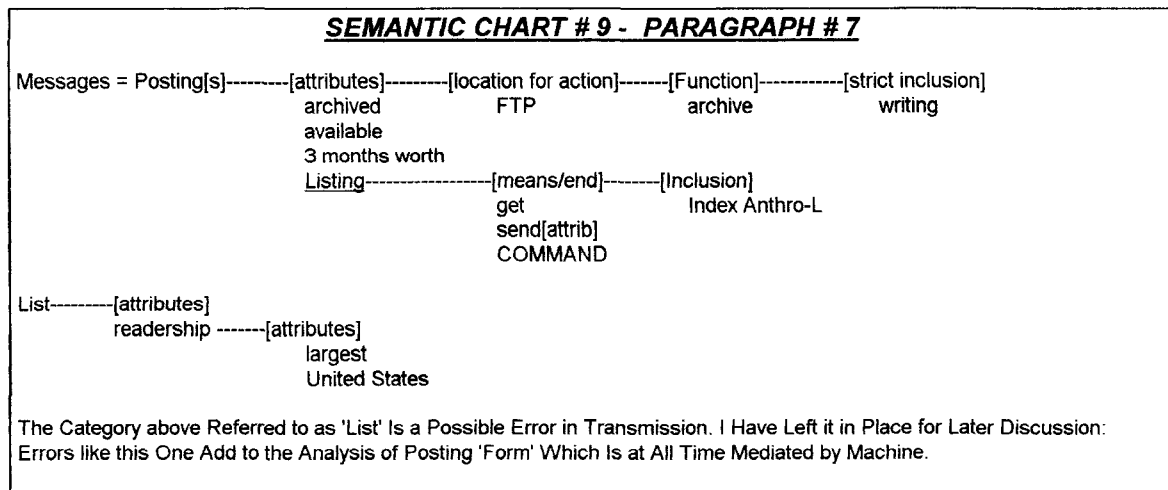
ACTION/BEHAVIOR-----[strict inclusion]

placed---[function]

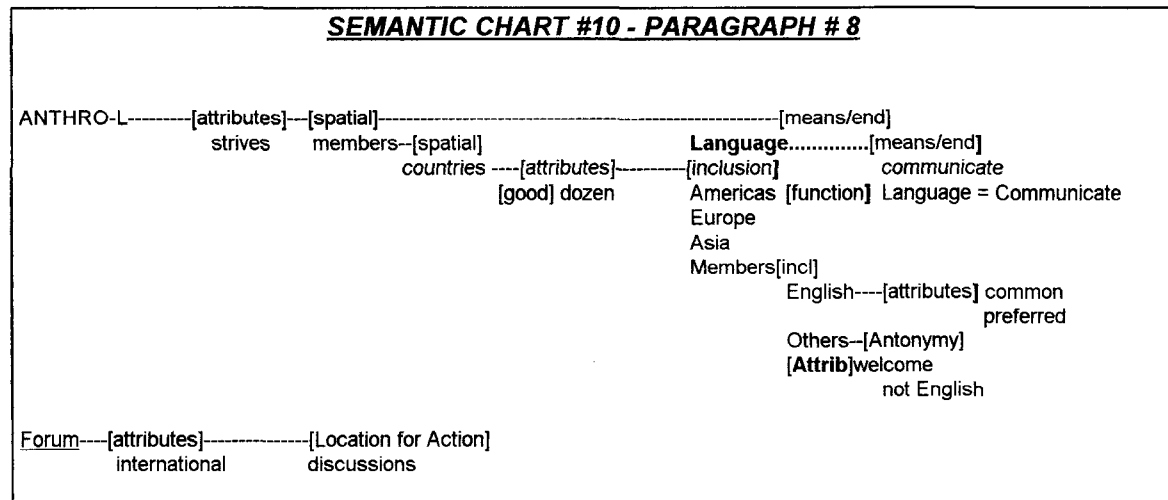
Listowners



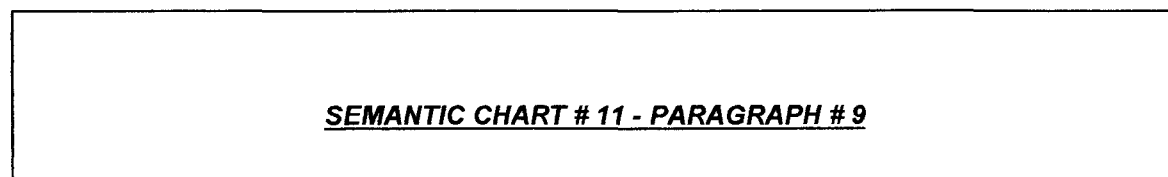
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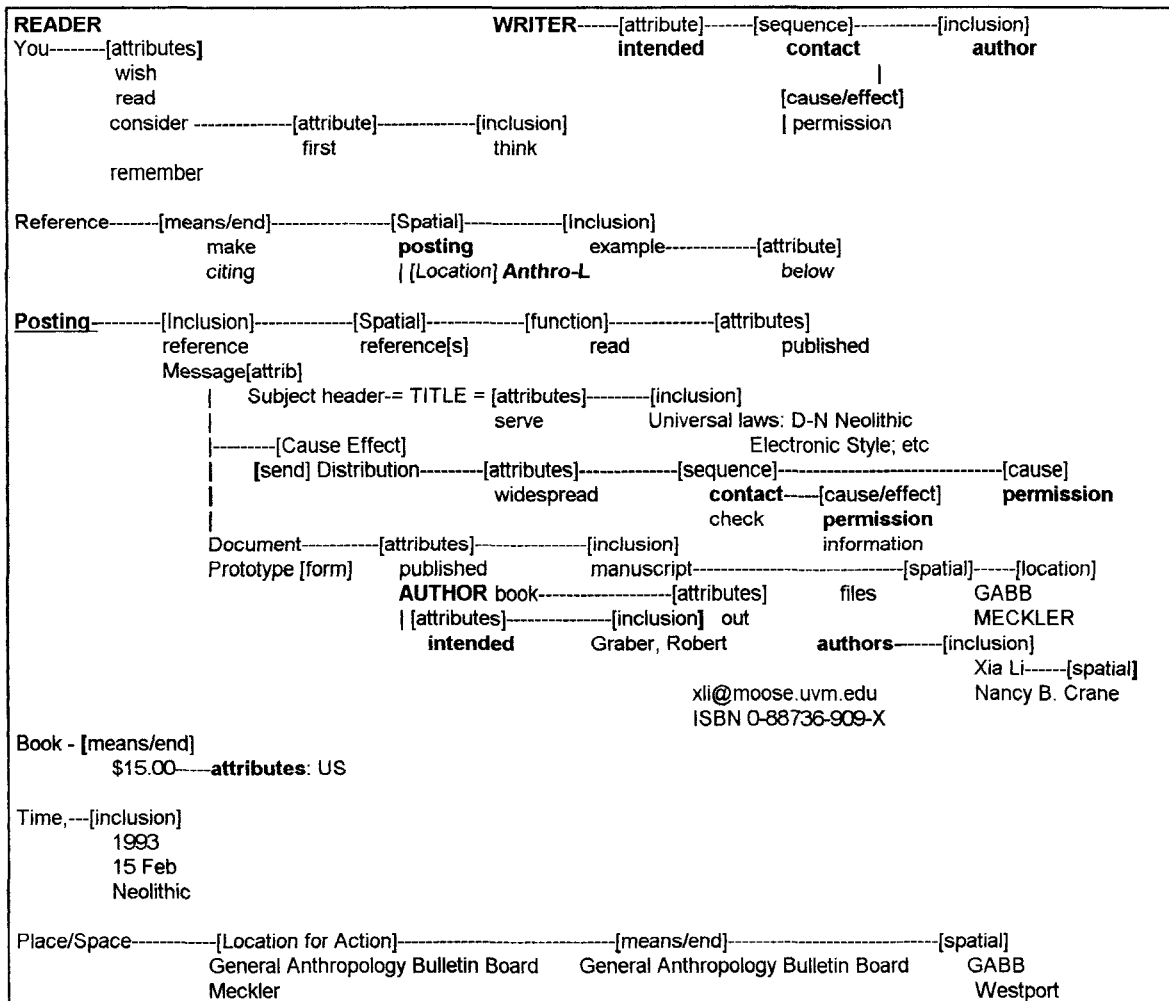


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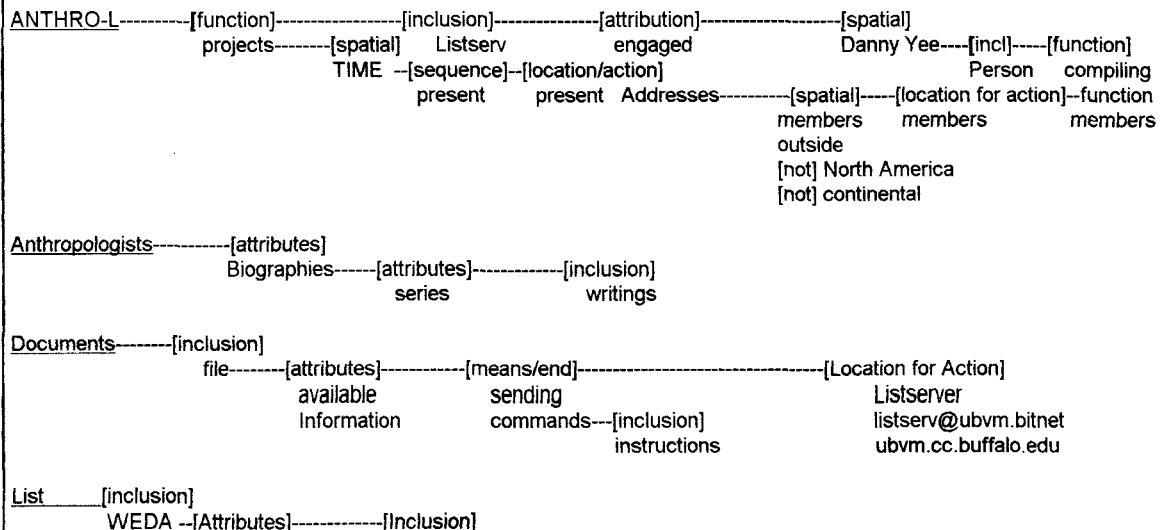
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SEMANTIC CHART # 12 - PARAGRAPH # 10



updated	directory-----[means/end]	
expanded	get	
	send	
	get anthro-l bio	
Listowners		
We-----[attributes]		
welcome		

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SEMANTIC CHART # 13, PARAGRAPH 11:

You-----[attributes]			
interested			
Document			
Journal--[attributes]--[inclusion]			
new electronic			
electronic JWA-----[attributes]-----[means/end]-----[Location for Action]			
available	subscribe	listserver to get	
free	command -----[inclusion]		
	sub jwa last_name first_name		

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SEMANTIC CHART # 14, PARAGRAPH # 12:

YOU-----[attrib]					
feel					
free-----[attrib]					
contact-----[function]-----[action]-----[means/end]					
Information	contact	Listowners-----[incl]			
		antowners@ubvm.bitnet			
		antowner@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu			

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SEMANTIC CHART # 15, PARAGRAPH # 13

LIST-----[inclusion]-----[location/action]					
members-----[means end]					
send-----[attrib]-----[cause/effect]					
command--[inclusion]	subscribe				
sub anthro-l last_name first_name	removed				
unsub anthro-l					

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SEMANTIC CHART # 16, PARAGRAPH # 14.

MESSAGE= POSTINGS= ANTHRO-L	[means/end]-----	[function]-----	Sequence -----	[inclusion]
archived	archived	period	archives---	[rationale]

		transmissions	transmission	access
<u>Time/date</u>				
Months -- attribute]				
several				
period				
<u>Listowners</u> -----[attributes]-----[inclusion]				
hope			Ezra Zubrow-----inclusion PERSON, attribute: Founder	
			Hugh Jarvis-----inclusion PERSON, attribute: manager, Function: List	
<u>You</u> -----[attributes]-----[means/end]				
enjoy			Anthro-L-----[function]	
			enjoy	

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APPENDIX E: CATEGORY INTEGRATION: STATEMENT OF BEING

MAIN SEMANTIC CATEGORIES:

<u>BBS</u>	<u>ANTHROPOLOGY</u>	<u>BEHAVIOR</u>	
		<u>Discursive Behavior</u>	<u>Techno-Behavior</u>
Anthro-L	Socio-Cultural	<i>talk/discuss</i>	<i>discard</i>
Listserver	Linguistics	<i>Post</i>	<i>Commands</i>
List	Physical	<i>views</i>	<i>Get</i>
<i>Group</i>	Archaeology	<i>Thoughts</i>	<i>Send</i>
<i>Being</i>	<i>Research</i>	<i>Voice</i>	<i>receive</i>
<i>views</i>	<i>Multidisciplinary</i>	<i>attacks</i>	<i>FTP</i>
<i>provides</i>	<i>General</i>	<i>permission</i>	<i>placed</i>
<i>locates</i>	<i>nature</i>	<i>communication</i>	<i>subscribe</i>
Unmoderated	<i>supported</i>	<i>information</i>	<i>copy</i>
<i>projects</i>	Sciences	<i>ignore</i>	
	<i>requests</i>	<i>relevant</i>	
	<i>answers</i>	<i>interesting</i>	
	<i>events</i>		
	<i>relevant</i>		

<u>PEOPLE</u>	<u>LISTOWNERS</u>
Posters	are PEOPLE who BAR MEMBERS[OTHER PEOPLE] - BEHAVIOR.
Subscribers	<i>Attributes of listowners: ears to hear, value, retain, options, caution, obliged, consider, welcome, condone, manage, run, [not] views, hope</i>
Members	Hugh Jarvis
users	Ezra Zubrow
<i>Danny Yee</i>	

<u>Readers</u>	<u>Writers</u>
<i>free</i>	<i>sender</i>
<i>shy</i>	<i>transmitter</i>
<i>Voice</i>	<i>purpose</i>
<i>taste</i>	<i>original</i>
<i>read</i>	<i>own</i>
<i>consider</i>	<i>intended</i>
<i>remember</i>	author -----Graber, Robert; Xia, Li; Nancy B. Crane
<i>think</i>	<i>published</i>
<i>contact</i>	<i>permission</i>
<i>check</i>	

Name/address
Anthropologists
biographies
enjoy

UNIVERSITY	TIME	POSTINGS
Buffalo	current present 1993 15 Feb Neolithic	<i>messages</i> <i>thoughts</i> <i>references</i> <i>Information</i> knowledge offensive attacks time date subject # of lines widespread <i>Document</i> <i>Manuscript</i> distributed <u>Subject Header = Title:</u> Universal Laws, D.N. Neolithic; Electronic Style...
		<u>kinds of postings</u> archived publications-----Journals versions electronic transmissions [get] free advertising daily lumped digest <u>publications---places to publish</u> General Anthropology Bulletin Board Meckler book ----ways to get: \$15.00 US -----ways to identify: ISBN 0-88736-909-X "general anthropology bulletin board"

SPACE-PLACE	TALK/DISCUSS	LANGUAGE
arena forum	Anthropology Social Sciences [hard] Sciences private series	ENGLISH - preferred Others - welcome communicate
<u>COUNTRIES</u> Americas Europe Asia North America continental		

SEGREGATING DOMAINS

[1] The BBS, Anthro-L is a place-space [forum, arena] where people [posters, subscribers, members, users] gather to Talk-Discuss Anthropology [all aspects], the hard, and the social sciences.

Synopsis:

The place-space, forum, arena is the BBS/Anthro-L; link to Domain BBS. {relationship: spatial}

People talk/discuss Anthropology on the BBS Anthro-L. Talk/discuss is inclusive in Discursive behavior, hence should be subsumed as a category under Behavior. {Domain}

Preliminary Domain List # 1:

BBS
People
Anthropology
Behavior
Place/Space

[2] Listowners are people who run the BBS Anthro-L., but they are NOT the same as Net people, subscribers etc. Leave Listowners as a separate category linked to the Domain People. Attributes of Listowners are specific to listowners; leave as attributive subcategory. [i.e. consider, obliged, hear, value, retain, options, etc.] Note links to reader/writer attributes.

[3] Postings are something "sent" [sub-domain Techno Behavior] by People to the List {domain Anthro-L} and thus to other people/members. There are many folk terms for postings, i.e. Messages, thoughts etc., while the Posting category contains many sub categories such as Publications, or kinds of postings. NOTE also links to Behavior such as the link "attacks". Attacks are a kind of discursive behavior performed by People. Attacks also describe a certain kind of posting. Leave Posting as a Domain. Posting = Domain.

Domains Refined # 1:

BBS
People
Anthropology
Behavior
Postings
Place/Space
Listowners

[4] University is a place-space. Subsume under previous Domain Space-Place. Space-place has been linked to BBS-Anthro-L. University of Buffalo is related {NOT related} through Antonymy to Anthro-L. Leave as inclusion under sub-category place-space, show Antonymy. Thus:

Domain = Space/Place

Main Category in S of B: [spatial] BBS/Anthro-L

Sub category: [spatial] University Of Buffalo [not] Relationship: Antonymy

[5] Time is something that is related to events, research, questions and answers in Anthropology. (Domain). Time is also something that designates something about postings {when posted?}, publications, or books. All relationships are attributive between Domains, none are inclusive. Leave Time as Domain.

Domains Refined # 2:

BBS/Anthro-L
People
Behavior
Postings
Anthropology
Time
Place/Space

[7] Language is something people use to communicate, communication is a Behavior engaged in by people. Subsume Language under Behavior.

[8] Behavior is something engaged in by People. Both categories; discursive behavior and techno behavior can be subsumed under readers/writers hence People. However, many of the behavioral attributes are also posting attributes. Leave Behavior as a Domain.

[9] Anthropology is that which is spoken about [Behavior] by people; Anthropological discourse is what the "list" is about, Anthro-L IS the general Anthropology listserver, talk/discussion about Anthropology is contained in postings. Anthropology as a Domain links into each and every other Domain. Leave Anthropology as a separate Domain.

Final Domains:

BBS

People

Behavior

Postings

Anthropology

Listowners

Time

Place/Space

There are many attributive links between all 7 Domains.

APPENDIX F: SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Immediately below I chart the dominant Semantic links in each paragraph of the Statement of being. I have divided the "attribution" relationship into two dominant subcategories; "descriptive attribution" and behavioral attribution". Descriptive attribution I apply to such statements as *"it is truly multidisciplinary in nature"*, while behavioral attribution represents a thing as doing or feeling; *"it frequently drifts into"*. Upon completion of the in-paragraph relationships, I will consider the links between paragraphs. Note that in the chart below I have dispensed with Antynomy. This semantic relationship will re-surface in the paragraph links.

TEXT	STRICT INCL.	ATTRIB DESCR.	ATTRIB BEHAV.	SPATIAL	CAUSE EFFECT	RATIONALE	LOCATE ACTION	FUNC.	MEANS END	SEQUE.
Chart 1	1	2		1		1				
Chart 2	13	5	2	2			1	2		1
Chart 3	5	3	2 [ANT]					1	1	
Chart 4	11	14	5	6	1	1			1	1
Chart 5	3	7	2		2	1				
Chart 6	13	13	10	2	1	1	1	1	5	
Chart 7	5	5	6				1		1	
Chart 8	20	15		1	3		1	2	8	
Chart 9	2	6					1	1	2	
Chart 10	6	6		2			1	1	2	
Chart 11	16	8	7	5	4		2		4	3
Chart 12	6	7	1	6			6	3	5	
Chart 13	2	5					1		2	
Chart 14	2		3					1	1	
Chart 15	3		1		2		2		1	
Chart 16	3	3	2					2	3	1
TOTAL	111	99	41	25	13	4	17	14	36	6

Appendix F: 1

PARAGRAPH TRANSITIONS

1. BBS
2. BBS to Anthropology to Talk/Discussions. Important semantic relationship: descriptive attribution.
3. The BBS and Anthropology and their attributes are NOT the University of Buffalo. Antonymy
4. BBS: People, Talk, Discuss, Anthropology on Anthro-L {spatial} using specific descriptive and behavioral attributions.
5. People, Talk/Discussions, Postings. Behavioral [discursive]and descriptive attributes of readers, writers, postings, Listowners.
6. Listowners.[Domain: People] Attributes. Main Category: Behavioral Attributes.
7. Listowners.[Domain: People] Attributes: Behavioral. Postings: Attributes: Descriptive. Readers [Domain: People] Behavior: [techno through behavioral attributes] on BBS.

8. On BBS net members [Domain: People] do certain things [Behavior: primarily descriptive attributes [techno-behavior]] to get messages/postings {Domain}. Means-end and sequence relationships.
9. Messages/postings. Locations for action; means-end relationship to People. [net members]
10. People on Anthro-L are also [real time] located in many countries. [Place-Space] - sub category of Anthro-L. Links people to Anthro-L AND to real-time addresses. Behavior: Language. [Behavioral attribute]
11. People [readers, writers] write postings [descriptive attributes] of a variety of kinds [descriptive attributes] which should be treated in diverse ways [means-end]. categories of Postings.
12. Functions of People on Anthro-L, attributes [behavioral and descriptive]. Means-end relationships to Postings [documents]. Listowners [behavioral attributes].
13. You, [People] relationship to Documents[Journals], electronic, sub category; postings, i.e. posted material]
14. You, [People] {descriptive and behavioral attributes} and Listowners.

APPENDIX G: THREAD PROGRESSION: DATABASE

In order to follow each thread in sequence, I have itemized the postings below as if they took place in a linear progression. This is not the case. Threads take place simultaneously within the net community; some participants are involved in more than one conversation at a time. Interspersed throughout the threads are the continuous stream of request and information postings, as well as the jokes and errors categories. Note: M=Male posting; F=female. The first speaker in each thread is designated as Ma [first male] or Fa [first female]. Each subsequent speaker becomes b, c, d and so on. A speaker who has spoken previously is designated by their initial label. Thus if Fa speaks again further along in the thread she remains Fa. Responses to specific posting within a thread are indicated by the "resp to" [responds to] category in the table below.

Thread #	Posting Title	By	Any resp?	Resp to	Flame?	Content:	Transfor ms?	End ?
1a	class persecutors with no class	Ma	None	-	-			X
2a	Sociology of Flaming # 1	Ma	None	-	-	Discussion of flaming as social control		
2b	Sociology of Flaming # 2 - "Defensive Networking"	Ma	None	-	-	Continues previous post - cross comparison of nets		
2c	Sociology of Flaming # 3 - "Loners and the Fake Horde"	Ma	None	-	-	Concludes previous posts. Excellent analysis of flaming, control, power, dominance		X
3a	Pinsker on Newtonian Models	Ma	Yes	prev data	no	Response to posting thread previous to this data base		X
4a	Stephanie Nelson on theory/postmodernism	Ma	yes	Fa	No	Continued from previous to data base, responds to previous post on postmodernism	Yes: pragmatic and theoretical	-
4b	Pragmatic and Theoretical	Fb	yes	Ma	no	continues discussion	-	-
4c	Pragmatic and Theoretical	Mb	yes	Fb	no	Continues	yes: pomo polemics	
4d	Pomo polemics	Fa	yes	Ma	edgy	Continues		
4	Pomo polemics	Ma	yes	Fa	edgy	Continues: forward defs pomo		
4f	Pomo Polemics	Mc	yes	Ma	no	continues	Bib Info	
4g	A summary of postmodernism	Md	general	List	no	Bib Info on Pomo	-	-
4h	"to Richard Robbins"	Me	yes	Md	no	please send more info on prev. post	-	-
4i	the anthropological avant-garde	Mf	yes	Me	no	Please send more info on George Marcus	-	-
4j	Marcus/Provost Lecture	Mg	yes	Mf	no	Marcus lecture - me too		
4k	the anthropological avant garde	Mh	yes	Mf	no	Marcus lecture	Continues past data base into major flame war	
5a	Dan Foss and AAA meetings	Ma	yes	prev data	no	Foss's right to speak - thanks for AAA info		
5b	Silencing the silencers	Ma	update		no	Rueful look at his own previous post		
5c	John O'Brien on censorship	Mb	yes	Ma	no	Humorous look at 5a		
5d	Dan Foss and the AAA	Mc	general	List	no	Academic censorship		
5*	On pontificating	Md	general	Mc	no	Foss on his own rights -		X

						humorous.		
6a	Intensification: another refinement	Ma	None	List	no			X
7a	Laval Job Posting	Mb	to info post	to info post Ma	iffy	Query re hiring policy at Laval directed to writer of Info post: Job Announcement. Do they screen for Women only?		
7b	Reply to Prof. Jorgenson	Ma	yes	Mb	ok	Clarification of hiring policy		
7c	Laval Clarification	Mb	yes	Ma	ok	Thanks for clarification		X
8a	"new thread time"	Ma	new	-	ok	participant observation		
8b	Re: P.O. and emic/etic stuff	Mb	yes	Ma	ok	Response to 8a - thread slow this month continues in next mo.		
9a	KTLA vs. residents	Ma	new	-	ok	Info re LA fires from net members in LA - part of request post - becomes thread	-	
9b	KTLA vs residents	Mb	yes	Ma	ok	Info - fires and mutual friends	LA Fires	
9c	LA fires	Fa	yes	Ma	ok	Info - fires in LA	-	
9d	Fires etc	Fb	yes	9a, 9b	ok	Fires in LA	-	
9*	LA fires again	Ma	update	List	ok	Fires, friends cont'd		
9f	LA fires again - re John O'Brien	Ma	update	List	ok	Update on family in LA for list members. Family checked on by Ma, update on friends, also checked on by Ma		
9g	LA fires abated	Ma	update	List	ok	Fires simmering down		
9h	LA area fires	Fc	yes	Ma	ok	Heartfelt thanks to Ma from Fc for his monitoring of her friends.		
9i	LA fires	Mc	yes	Ma and List	ok	Thanks to Ma and comments of the anthropology of fires	Oakland fire: Anthro View	
9j	Oakland Fires Anthro-View	Md	yes	Mc	ok	Sociology and geography of fires		
9k	Oakland Fires Anthro-View	Me	yes	Mc	ok	Paper on Applied Anthro of Fires: where to get, where to be given		X
10a	The Tribe	Mb	yes	Info: Ma	ok	Humorous comment on Info post		X
11a	Chaos Theory and Dynamical Systems	Ma	new	-	ok	Chaos Theory, Systems in Anthro- applications?		
11b	Chaos Theory and dynamical Systems	Ma	none	-	ok	Update on 11a, no response here, picked up in later data by list		
12a	another casualty of war in ex-yugo	Fa	none	-	ok	comments on news re yugo	-	X
13a	Annual Review of Anthropology	Mb	yes	To info	ok	re: review policies for papers - responds to info posting		X
14a	oh no, not the Sphinx again	Ma	new	-	ok	re news reports on CNN	-	
14b	The Sphinx	Ma	to private email	Fa	ok	Publically acknowledge private email from Fa correcting his source re Sphinx reports		X
15a	What would Habermas Say?	Fa	new	-	ok	Attempts thread re Habermas - fails	-	X
16a	Dead Birds	Ma	new	-	ok	re; faking ethnographic videos	-	
16b	Flogging a dead bird and debunking rumors	Mb	yes	Ma	ok	in defense of videos, and debunking rumors		X

17a	Burundi Genocide	Ma	new	-	-	plea for action		X
18a	Division between Applied and Academic	Ma	New	-	-	Discussion of the division between Applied and Academic Anthro- and how employment in Applied is said to jeopardize and academic career. asks why?		
18b	Division between Applied and Academic	Ma + Mb	update	-	-	continues re 18a, forwards post from friend on same topic to entire list		
18c	Division between Applied and Academic	Ma + Fa	update	-	-	continues re 18a, forwards post from Fa on topic		
18d	more shameless self promotion	Ma	update	-	-	discusses his upcoming AAA presentation [Ma]		
19a	Media research request	Fa	New	req. post = thread	-	request for info "please respond privately - becomes public thread"		
19b	define pornography	Ma	yes	Fa	iffy	responds public, not private as asked, tone of email a bit iffy "define your categories"		
19c	Media research Request	Fa	update	Ma	ok	appears to respond to Ma by further defining research, refers to private emails received.		
19d	Define your terms	Mb	yes	Ma	ok	discursively nudges Ma about attempted intimidation in 19b, also gives info to Fa.		
19*	define your terms	Mc	yes	Fa	ok	suggests "native categories"	Pornography	
19f	Define your terms	Ma	yes	Fa	ok	sorry for intimidation		
19g	Pornography	Fa	update	-	-	findings on male/female response		
19h	Porn	Md	yes	Fa	ok	Categories: power/porn		
19i	Porn Study	Me	yes	Fa	ok	19g: more on male/female responses	-	
19j	Pornography	Fb	yes	Fa	ok	Suggestions Interpretation: male/female response		
19k	Pornography	Fc	yes	Fa	ok	possible psychological difs. male/female	continues past data	
20a	Free South Africa	Fa	new	-	ok	New Constitution=free S.A. = "glorious day"		
20b	don't follow the Pam Leader on equality....	Ma	yes	Fa	??	dubious - is it a partial flame or not? - question is asked: how can new constitution = free S.A. = glorious day; implication: very naive; academic reasons given for contrary reading of constitutional signing.		
20c	off line continuation of Pam Leader nonsense for e-research	Ma	yes to private	?	yes	private emails rec'd by Ma - rebukes for perceived ad hominem attack on Fa, rigorously denied by Ma, comments that Ma's academic reasoning ignored, thread now about "how things are said", has sent private correspondence to "e-experts" on list for comments. refs: Bigelow, [M], Riner, [M], and Pinsker [F].		
20d	The Foss Debate	Mb	yes	Ma	partial	response to email sent privately by Ma by one of		

						the 'e-experts, Bigelow. Finds that Ma has exceeded acceptable "ethical" limits of e behavior.		
20*	Foss-ification	Mc	no	list	no	response by other e-expert, [M] humorous support of Foss, but very non-committal		
20f	bozo asked for it, here is the text of rumor with comments	Ma	update	private	yes	Ma goes public with private emails sent to him by list members and previously sent to "e-experts" for comments. Inserts his own comments on comments made re his "discursive behavior"		
20g	Re: bozo asked for it	Md	yes	Ma	yes	Write of private email now goes public. Attack on Foss's discursive practice and hence "who Foss is"		
20h	Free South Africa	Me	yes	Fa	no	An entirely new aspect of this thread, writer from South Africa gives his conception of the signing of the constitution and S.A.'s past and future. No response		X
20i	Reply to Mr. Foss concerning Pam Leader's discussion.	Mf	yes	Ma	partial	Note use of word "discussion" in this title, Ms. Leader has not spoken [and does not during this entire thread] Writer of private email chastising Ma, publically defends his position.		
20j	U.S.; ideology without thinking.....	Ma	no		no	Academic musings on thread thus far. No response. Note: at no time does any net member confront Ma's academic discussions which are detailed and thought provoking.		
20 k	Foss	Mh	yes	Ma	yes	has written ma privately, has been referred to by Ma in previous posts, now attacks Ma's discourse publically as being without substance.		
20 l	Look For It	Ma	yes	Mh	no	Dig some meaning from this text. [not done - only response follows in 20 m] Mg		
20m	Suggestions on peace keeping on the list from Bosnian people	Ma	no	no	no	Further observations on thread progression.....		
20n	Re: Look for it	Mh	yes	ma	yes	re: 20 l Totally inflammatory		
20 o	Sewer Dweller, Poetics and Flames	Mi	yes	List	no	Support of Ma, and laudatory of his academic discourse		
20 p	Apology to Pam Leader	Ma	no	Fa	no	Although Fa has not spoken again, Ma here publically apologized for any discursive discomfort. No reply from Fa on list; Ma never informs list of any	becomes thread # 21 and # 22 and # 23	X

						reply.		
21a	Flame wars	Ma	New	-	no	Please mark flame postings as flames for I.D. purposes. I wish to delete		
21b	Galt's request	Mb	yes	Ma	no	Supports 21a		
21c	Galt's request	Mc	yes	Ma	no	Admonishment to leave it alone, and not to over react.		X
22a	Direct correlation	Fa	New	-	no	Stress and flames: Direct correlation?		
22b	Correlational Oddities	Ma	yes	Fa	no	Support for Fa suggestion, offers additional data		
22c	Flame timing	Mb	yes	Fa	no	Also supports Fa	continues past data	X
23a	Re: Anthro-L Digest	Fa	New	-	yes	Tired of Foss; flames him for "diatribes", does he realize costs me \$\$\$ and time. get him off list.		
23b	In a word, no	Ma	yes	Fa	no	humorous defense of self		
23c	On Foss	?	yes	Fa	no	Posted under a fake name and e-address, suspect written by Ma, also humorous defense of Ma postings habits		
23d	Foss Again	Mb	yes	Fa	partial	We like Foss, do not attempt to exercise social control.		
23*	Re: Anthro-L Digest	Mc	yes	Fa	no	Support Foss		
23 f	Re: Anthro-L Digest	Md	yes	Fa	no	Support Foss		
23 g	Foss Again	Me	yes	Fa	no	Support for Fa re \$\$\$\$		
23h	re: Anthro-L Digest	Fb	yes	Fa	no	I save a lot of Foss's discourse		
23i	Foss Again	Fc	yes	Fa + Me	no	Save Foss. Brilliant		
23j	Foss	Mf	yes	Fa + Me	partial	If too much \$\$ - you unsubscribe		
23k	Foss	Mf	update			clarification of 23j - directed at Fa he states.		
23 l	Re: Anthro L Digest	Mg	yes	list	no	very strong support for Foss		
23 m	Foss	Mh	yes	list	no	very strong support for Foss from Austria.....		
23 n	Foss	Mh	yes	fa and Me	no	supports again from Austria. Try using "NOMAIL" option		
23o	Paying For Foss	Mi	yes	Fa + Me	no	Support for Fa and Me	thread continues past database	
24a	Archaeological posting	Ma	New	-	-	went to wrong list		
25a	Query	Ma	New	-	-	Frederik Barth; cultural streams, tension		
25b	Cultural Elements and Tension: Bisha	Mb	yes	Ma	no	concepts; disruptive forces; should we discuss this privately?		
25c	Cultural Elements and Tension: Bisha	Mc	yes	Mb, Ma	no	Please discuss publically, very enjoyable		
25d	Tensions	Ma	yes	Mb	no	Discussion cont'd		
25*	Tension is a concept	Mb	yes	Ma	no	Discussion cont'd		
25f	Knocks in the Longhouse	Mc	yes	Mb	no	Structure, Violence, Social Order		
25g	tensions	Md	yes	Mb	no	Social relationships, patterns, structure. tensions are integrative		
25h	dead dogs and road kill	Me	yes	Md	no	Hey! define structure!		
25i	tensions	Mf	yes	Md	no	Cultural features/analysis/scientificity		

25j	Structure	Mg	yes	Md	no	well said!	
25k	tensions	Mg	yes	Mf	no	Excellent! and how about....	
25 l	tensions and comparisons	Mc	yes	Mg	no	disagree with some of your analysis, how about.....	
25m	reply to quigley	Ma	yes	Mc	no	enjoyable critique....	continues past database
26a	Italics	Mb	New	Ma	-	re request: Italics. Format [Ma]	
26b	Italics	Mc	yes	Ma	-	suggestions....and support of Mb.	