Competing Discourses of Gender and Power Relations: Complexities and Ambiguities in the Algerian Architecture Classroom

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ABSTRACT: *The objective of this investigation is to unveil male dominance assumptions and discourses of gender differentiations in the architecture classroom, in light of the possibilities for resistance and reinterpretation of the social practices. Adopting Feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis (FPDA), this study falls broadly into attempt to unveil the complex network of power relations and the role of gender stereotypes in the architecture classroom at the University of Hassiba Benbouali (Chlef). FPDA perspective views that individuals are seldom consistently positioned as powerful across all discourses within a given community of practice. My survey is based on FPDA which provides space for female students' voices, which have been marginalized or silenced by discursive practices in the architecture classroom. This paper exhibits the complexities and the ambiguities of female experiences, giving space to female voices that were being silenced or marginalized by dominant discourses in the architecture classroom. I have identified five significant discourses in the architecture classroom and the findings report that students (both males and females) are simultaneously positioned as relatively powerless within certain discourses and as relatively powerful in others.*

KEYWORDS: Architecture, Competing Discourses, Differentiation, Femininity, Gender.

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Introduction

Gender is, in patriarchal societies, an ideological structure that divides people into two classes, men and women, based on a hierarchical relation of domination and subordination. Based upon sexual difference, the gender structure appoints of social dichotomy of labour and human traits of women and men, and the quality of which varies according to time and place. From a critical view, ideologies are representations of practices shaped from particular perspectives in order to sustain unequal power relations and dominance. Albeit such a perspective was developed in Marxist accounts especially in terms of class relations, the notion is now rampant and incorporates other relations of domination, including gender (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

Feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis employs exactly similar methods to poststructuralist discourse analysis (PDA), but with a focus on a feminist perspective where gender differentiations is crucial. Baxter (2003) defines FPDA as a feminist approach to analysing the ways in which speakers negotiated their identities, relationships and positions in their world according to the modes in which they are located by competing and yet intermingled discourses.

For this very reason, I opt to follow, with regard to analysis, feminist poststructuralist discourse analytical perspective. FPDA perspective views that individuals are seldom consistently positioned as powerful across all discourses within a given community of practice (Baxter, 2003). In this case, they are positioned simultaneously as both powerful and powerless. Within competing discourses, it is possible for speakers to be positioned as relatively powerful within one discourse but as relatively powerless within another. Baxter (2008) states that male-dominated corporation continues to stick around today, especially in banking, finance, insurance, building and engineering sectors. Along this line, Faulkner (2006) argues that professional engineering continues to be perceived and experienced as somehow masculine.

A feminist post-structuralist perspective on discourse suggests that females always adopt multiple subject positions, and that it is far too constricting to designate women in general, or indeed any single woman, simply as victims of male oppression (Jones, 1993). *In keeping with Bakhtin's (1984) concept of heteroglossia, FPDA means allowing space to marginalized or silenced voices, such as certain girls who mumble or convey little in classroom settings. Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, or multivoicedness, is basically pursued in novelistic discourse.*

The Study in the Architecture Classroom

Data Collection

I started my observation by taking field notes over a month keeping the role of an observer to infiltrate daily working practices, so that my presence with be gradually accorded both by teachers and students. Thus, I spent the first period of time in the role of an observer, so that the class became used to my taking notes at the back of the class. I was able to draw upon a multi-method approach to collecting data via field-notes, audio-recordings and video-recordings. The semi-structured interviews with the participants lasted about 34 minutes each. In this context, I was also able to display the diverse voices of all the research participants: the students and the tutors.

Again, I focused on 5 students whom I have labelled Ma1...Ma2 and Fa1...Fa3 with a particular reference to others. I have undertaken audio-recordings of 8 workshops and video-recordings of 4 workshops. Prior to embarking upon denotative and connotative analysis, I translated the extracts from French and Algerian Arabic (the colloquial dialect) to English. Architecture students' study and present their works in the French language and they often adopt some Arabic words. By this token, Poplack (1980) defines the linguistic

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phenomenon 'code switching' as the alteration of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent.

Findings and Discussion

Observing Discourse in the Architecture Classroom

Along my trip of observation in this context, I realized that FPDA central interest in the complex relationship between power, gender and discourse (Baxter 2002) makes it an accurate and flexible framework for analysing verbal and non-verbal interactions in the architectural domain. I will explore how male/female architecture students negotiate their identities focusing on their experiences of the complexities and ambiguities of power. This will uphold the scope for a more complex, nuanced understanding of spoken interactions by giving space to the multiple and competing voices, as well as the voices which have been silenced in the architecture classroom as a male-dominated context.

The choice of architecture students rather than engineering context, which has been tackled by tremendous threads of research, requires a succinct elucidation (Dryburgh, 1999; Faulkner, 2000a, 2000b, 2009a, 2009b; Jorgenson, 2002). Conversely to engineering students who are extensively involved with complex mathematical analysis, which cannot often be challenged, architects are trained to be more independent and are trained to challenge their critics. In this study, I focus on speaker identities and how both women and men adopt their linguistic awareness to demonstrate their abilities and power to negotiate and construct leadership through different competing discourses.

On the level of identifying discourses, I draw upon a classic ethnographic approach (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995) to gather my data. I endorse Baxter's (2002, 2003) view that this 'close-up and personal' approach allows the researcher to survey a single case from a range of multiple perspectives. In the phase of identifying discourses, I faced a fear of only detecting what I wanted to see. For this very reason, I took into account the significance to feedback my observation and interpretations to the participants themselves and impart their responses. Because it was not evident at the very beginning, a lengthy spelling-out of my field notes and repeatedly replaying of the audio-transcripts were required to identify the dominant discourses. Meanwhile, I tried to pay attention, when identifying the discourses, to the students' reflection and their self/peer assessment. My research is concerned with the themes, links and competing viewpoints which have a direct relation with the construction of identities in the architecture classroom, not foreign stories which may give irrelevant answer to my facial inquiry.

This research process gives rise to my awareness that there are five considerable discourses in the architecture classroom: 'Double bind', 'masculinity and public speaking', 'teacher/ peer approval', 'scientific' and 'architecture and double voicing' discourses which jostle with each other in a constant process. Here, I will consider the sources of each discourse and its realization.

'Double bind' Discourse

Ma4: My female classmates are good.. but as we are in 2016 ... you will find it normal but in our group of architecture, you have 30 girls and only 4 boys.. mm.. but in reality, my female peers have by nature a conflicting situation in which they are confronted with being a woman and an architect. I think it is not easy for them.

Fa5: During my studies, I generally don't have a problem in succeeding in my studies, but I think that I will face a problem in my future work as an architect because I am a woman.

Fa3: I hate something in architecture. The builder who is ignorant does not accept an advice from a female architect just because he is a man and even though I studied five years of architecture, I must have a good knowledge in cooking and dish washing, not architecture and giving instructions to male builders.

My awareness about the significance of this discourse initiates from some students' views that I gleaned from the interviews with Fa5, Fa3 and Ma4. These comments tend to harbour Bergvall's (1996) claims on engineering students that when women are assertive and bold, they will face some types of resistance. This theme tends to resonate with the classic 'double bind' (Lakoff 1975) which sets that women seem to be transgressing the boundaries of femininity if they talk, for instance, in ways which are associated with authority and leadership. Along this line, women who strive to display and enact power can be seen as facing a 'double bind' (Holmes 2006, 34), because power is associated with masculinity which is by definition a paradox of femininity. Fa3 and Fa5 exemplify the classic 'double bind' fear that females encounter in leadership positions.

In bearing the stereotype of the double bind which is particularly intense in masculine domains, I sensed that the notion of authority and effective speech in leadership positions is associated with maleness. But I dropped this sense lest raising delusive conclusions until my interviews (with the students) awakened females' presumed dilemma to be an architect and a woman. Leadership, which should be contrived by architects who change minds while challenging traditional notions of space, time and materials (Gardner, 2004), requires being strong and articulate. However, some of female architects report that they face an impasse when they start to adopt the linguistic strategies required by the field of architecture, which don't jibe with the cultural and social expectations. Bergvall (1996) demonstrates that when female engineering students are 'assertive', they are resisted by their peers; when they are facilitative, their work may be taken for granted and not acknowledged.

As declared by Ma4 and despite the increase number of females in the department of architecture, females are still somehow under-represented as encountering difficulties in light of gender codification of professions. Overall, the concept of 'double bind' is used to refer to the dual constraint that women face when they interact in the public arena (Lakoff, 1990; Coates, 1996; and Brewis, 2001).

Linguistically speaking, if women employ a more assertive speech style typically associated with masculine speech, then they will have the risk to forfeit their femininity as they will be perceived as being 'aggressive' by their peers. Yet, if they adopt speech styles typically associated with femininity, then they risk being negatively evaluated as incompetent and weak. Fa3 exemplifies the classic 'double bind' that women face in leadership positions. When discussing her project with the teacher and the other peers, she displays traits associated with a masculine speech style such as expressing intensity, directly expressing her opinion, overlapping with others and displaying decisive points of view. Although there was no clear spat between Fa3 and their peers along the discussion, some of them expressed during the interviews a particular objection with Fa3's tough explanation to prompt them to accept her thoughts and judgments. This case draws an analogy with Baxter's (2006) student in her study 'Sophie' who was marginalized by her peers. I reckon as Baxter that Sophie's marginalization by the other students is the result of her masculine leadership style. To illustrate Fa3's leadership in presenting her research proposal, the following extract from the interview with Fa5 and Fa4 may well portray her resentments towards Fa3.

Fa5: I think that Fa3 style of speaking and discussing her project is inappropriate. She seems to be too offensive.. She spoke out without ant results. I am not convinced.. may be ..if she was more flexible, it would bring good results.

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Me: Are you dissatisfied with her overconfidence?

Fa4: The problem is not in her confidence... normally she does not forget that she is a woman.

At first glance, I thought that Fa4 and Fa5 are merely opposing Fa3's personality and I started considering the possibility of the existence of certain tension between them which will be beside the point of my research until Fa4 sets forth that Fa3 subverts her femininity by reifying masculine qualities such as aggression. So, the classroom is an arena where dominant, hegemonic, subordinate and oppositional masculinities and femininities are constructed and sustained. Matching how accomplishment in the public context of work is associated with masculine characteristics such as competitiveness and aggressiveness, the route access in the classroom also demands displays of verbal bravado to compete others (Charlebois, 2010) to construct an oppositional form of femininity.

The study of Baxter (2003) offers an insight into the 'double bind' that ambitious girls face when they step outside the limits of dominant femininity. This scenario is problematic because it not only assigns gendered practices to biological sex and thus celebrates gendered stereotypes, but also because it conflates effective leadership with masculinity. Specifically, one of the teachers of the workshop demonstrates how effective speech according to her reflects the masculine traits of confident self-expression.

Teacher1: Although the core curriculum in architecture does not require taking into account the verbal behaviour of the students, but I think that the future architect should be bold and articulate in defending his/her efforts. In their presentations, we estimate the correctness of their language… which is French, but being effective is also important.

Despite of the significance of effective speech which may be given by some teachers of architecture, Fa3 can be seen as embedding a subordinate oppositional femininity within the classroom because she was infringing the confines of dominant femininity. I content with Baxter (2006) that the fear of gender violation and social exclusion is one potential commentary to account for why female leaders face hardness assuring their authority later in life.

'Masculinity and public speaking in Architecture' discourse

In this study, I agree with Baxter (2003) that it is better to move away from the monolithic model of what women do in language to a more 'local' way of analysing gender. However, the theme of masculinity and public speaking in architecture seems to awaken the sweeping generalizations about women's speech styles. The following extracts from interviews with Fa2, Fa3 and Ma1 demonstrate the notion of effective speech and leadership as linked with masculine modes of speaking. This discourse intersects with the 'double bind' discourse and provokes female students' paradox in doing gender and studying architecture 'the masculine domain'.

Fa2: When we are supposed to present our project proposals we should display our confidence and verbal capacity... but the problem is in authority styles of speaking... so... if a female architect uses a low pitch will be considered as masculine. Personally, I don't have a problem in being assertive when I believe in what I say, but this cannot stop that it would be better if I use more supple and feminine styles.

Fa3: I don't understand why it is unnatural…influential and decisive for female architects when exhibiting their projects. If you speak in a loud voice, you are not good.

Ma1: I find sometimes…sometimes that my female peers are a bit anxious when presenting their designs.. this is perhaps seen in their physical and linguistic behaviour. May be… may… I think this lack of confidence is due to their participation in a hard domain for them. They are… emotional.

Me: Why do you think is it a hard subject for them?

Ma1: Generally, ... I am not specifying… Generally, architecture is a difficult branch but females are not sure what they can give to architecture.

Me: There are also some males who are sometimes not confident about their presentations. Why are you specifying female peers?

Ma1: LAUGH… this is not to underestimate their capacities, but I said this because some female classmates told me that they are not suitable for their hard-working speciality... I say that they usually face anxiety when speaking in front of a large group of audience and this may become worse in the domain of architecture. They think that this arena is suitable only for us (males).

There is not effectively masculine reality about public speaking, but it seems to be indirectly gender-indexed (Mills 2010), that is the linguistic styles prevalent within the public contexts are indirectly related with speech styles associated with masculinity. According to the comments listed above, the stereotypes hypothesize that gender plays a role in one way or another. In this sense, assertiveness, communication skills, self-confidence and authority are all values which seem to index both effective public speaking and stereotypical masculinity (Johnson and Meinhof, 1997). Kiesling (2001) states that there is an arbitrary social acting norm that connects authority with pitch, pointing that a low-pitched voice is indicative of masculinity. It is a positive point that a low-pitched voice is an indicative of masculinity.

It is a positive point that some students are aware of the importance of using language that strengthens the message conveyed. Yet, it is imperative to underlie the present stereotypes about masculinity and public speaking. Bringing back women's choices about whether they adopt the masculine speech styles or employing feminine traits, they may face performance anxiety. In Mill's (2006) study of performance anxiety, she reveals that female academics tend to adopt tentative and indirect speech styles, because public speaking seems for many as a 'masculine domain'.

In the case of Fa1, the gendering of public speaking plays a significant role more than the masculine nature by architecture. Despite of the superiority of Fa1 in her group either in writing exams and even in the base of their projects' designs, she suffers from performance anxiety. She has got an articulate language, but she seems to be more effectively oriented using conciliatory expressions. Unlike Fa3 which seems to represent a subordinate oppositional femininity which was faced with discontent, Fa1 appears to encounter a particular congruence with her female and male peers.

According to Holmes (2006), women have to transgress their gender order to be assertive since the workplace assertiveness and effective leadership are often associated with masculinity. So even if some women are competent, the gendering of the context plays a key role in the manner of social agents' speech styles as they view themselves in relation to their community of practice.

Baxter (2006) reports that female tendency to censure their own sex for 'standing out' is an important explanation of women's difficulty in adopting authoritative or leadership positions later on. Accordingly, Fa1 cannot be considered as deficient, it is rather the fact that socio-cultural and educational discourses which integrate to position females in such a way. The fulcrum of the previous studies demonstrated to

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explain male dominance holds that adopting language styles prevalent in the masculine environments as an indicator of both masculinity and professionalism. Conversely, we should interpret women's adoption of masculine dominant styles as strategic and their positions of institutional status may engender the use of speech styles which pertain to a different approach of 'doing power' (Diamond 1996).

Drawing on Foucauldian framework, researchers such as Baxter (2003) and Mills (2003) employ the metaphor of describing 'power' as a 'net' or 'web', rather than a possession that speakers may have. In keeping with this, power is something fluid which needs to be enacted and contested within interactions. Cameron (1998) argues that the most useful approach to the analysis of power and gender is to focus on the resources available to speakers in particular contexts to draw upon strategically. Now, there is a move away from analysing women's subordination or lack of effectiveness towards considering how strong women speakers resist masculine speech forms such as interruption and aggressiveness (Mills 1999).

Commenting on Ma1's interview responses, he reports that his female classmates are more likely to experience performance anxiety when speaking to the audience. He relates this lack of confidence to the marginal position in the architecture sphere which is hard-working and inconvenient for females. I have noticed that Fa1 exhibits some kind of gaze eschewal which is theoretically associated with submissive behaviour. In interviewing the students and asking them some questions about whether they experience performance anxiety and why, I have selected these main extracts:

Fa1: I like what I am doing and I enjoy presenting my findings and displaying my proposals…but I find it difficult when there are large audiences such as lecture theatre and now in the workshop. I am thinking about the day of the viva voce… I am sure about my scientific knowledge, but I am afraid… afraid of making mistakes in French. I don't have a problem in spending sleepless nights preparing my project... I am just worried about teachers' assessment of my work and and presentation.

Ma2: I have never liked public speaking. I prefer if we explain our design to the teachers informally using some colloquial language… it would be better because I find it difficult to prepare a formal presentation and engage in a public speaking.

Fa2: I don't have any problem in speaking in front of the public… I am just worried about what teachers think about our work… Otherwise, speaking in front of our teachers and students brings a sense of self-confidence and enjoyment of what have been done.

What is significant here is that both Fa1 and Fa2 demonstrate that they don't have any fear which comes from hard working in architecture as a masculine domain. In that Fa1 shows that she is competent and has no doubt about her scientific abilities which may engender her performance anxiety. Rather, she adds that her nervousness is sometimes due to her fear of committing language mistakes. So, she worries about the judgment of their teachers and classmates. Fa2 has, however, a fear from teachers' evaluation of their work without manifesting a conspicuous kind of anxiety.

Meanwhile, the male respondent Ma2 describes his anxiety in terms of the formality of the discussion. Although it seemed important for male students to represent themselves as convinced and confident, Ma2 spells that he has a particular reluctance to public speaking preferring smaller groups in order to be at ease while discussing his project.

I was able to find out that students' confidence in public speaking, regardless of its correlation with masculinity, tends to be triggered by teacher/peer approval. I became aware about the dominance of this

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discourse from my interviews which unravel how confidence in public speaking is experienced, in some cases, when students benefit from positive evaluation of the audience's assessment.

'Teacher/peer approval' discourse

I characterised in my observation of teacher/peer approval discourses as interwoven to either afford students with interactional power or confine the possibilities for doing authority. My initial heed about the prominence of this discourse began to engender in my field notes which set down moments where certain students enjoy confidence and popularity from peer support and teacher approval. Whilst these students gain opportunities to construct themselves and potential leaders of their peers, others' chances to be dominant speakers are confined by some interruptions by their peers and sometimes the teachers. The students seem to be less popular when they speak publicly.

Baxter (2003) holds that students' confidence in her study seemed to be developed in a curiously circular process whereby those who were considered popular students are approved by others. Thanks to this approval, they assumed that they were popular and more confident than others. This may be well indicated in the following extracts:

Fa5: In any formal presentation which will be assessed by the teacher, it is important to have an endorsement from our classmates and the teacher in particular.

Teacher 2: It is sometimes notable for me that my positive evaluation to my students is helpful for them as if they are just waiting for appraisal.

Furthermore, Baxter (2003) retains that those who were not popular were also those were not confident. The case of Ma1 and Fa1 seems to refute this assumption; the two students are eminent in their studies and they are popular among their friends and even teachers, but they sometimes suffer from conspicuous lack of confidence when presenting their projects via using oblique commands. Yet, this does not deny that popularity in the classroom contexts and having a positive assessment seem to reinforce the dominant position that students negotiate for. Fa2's leadership position appears to me as being corroborated and maintained by the approval of the members of the community.

Teacher 1: I think that Fa2 who is appearing confident and persuasive received peer approval. This is significant… Sometimes even when the scientific and technical skill are banal, students who receive a boost from their peers empower them as speakers or presenters.

According to Baxter (2003), dominant speakers in the classroom are those who are able to gain, from their popularity, an incompatible share of the speaking time, and to command regard of what they say. Less popular students like Fa3, have to struggle harder to gain the floor, and what she says and in what manner are often challenged. However, being broadly focused, I have noticed that dominant speakers such as Fa3's and Ma2's leadership roles are distinctly expounded by their classmates. In this, Baxter (2002) states that popular females tend to breed satisfaction from their peers when they try to enact authority and play leadership roles, whereas this is not true for males. This will be illustrated from the following extracts collected from the interviews:

Fa1: Fa3 is so serious… I find that she has to adopt more supple ways to convince others… I think it is better if she leaves a bit the floor for others to speak.

Fa2: Ma2 is very confident in his presentation and powerful when discussing others. This is a good criterion for a successful architect.

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Ma3: I like Ma1's style in presenting… he is very calm, but he creates a certain dominance in his speech… may be certain strategies to control topics. I like these skills… even if he is silent, he can convince others without using aggressive and inappropriate styles.

These arguments tend to uphold Baxter's (2003) view about the fact that dominant behaviours are less acceptable for females than for males. As the interviews demonstrate, both female and male peers did not educe any objection about Ma1's behaviour. By contrast, Fa3's leadership play is deprecated by her peers as being transgressing the norms of femininity not only because the idea of the 'best friend' is central for girls (Maltz and Borker, 1982), but also because of the double bind women face in architecture as a masculine domain (Adams and Tancred, 2000). By this token, female students are no less competitive than boys, but the ideological opposition between femininity and power appears to shackle their possibilities to manoeuvre their status-quo. Female leadership is still a contestable construct within a patriarchal society (Baxter, 2002), and this echoes that male leadership is still considered as a cultural norm.

Besides, I have noticed that teacher approval plays a prominent role in Fa1's negotiation of leadership position for her. Regardless of the lack of confidence experienced in some moments, Fa1 demonstrates that she actively constructs a powerful position by the support she receives from her teachers. When there is a backing from the teacher, Fa1 gains a number of extended turns which seem to create an instant control over the group by her.

Fa1: I confess that most of the time I face anxiety during my presentation… Usually, I suffer from this at the beginning of my exposition. If I feel that my teachers approve my work, I can be more assertive.

In fact, this comment sets that female students can actively adopt flexible speaking styles via swinging from co-operative to competitive strategies, according to the subject positions available to them. So, according to my field-notes and the interviews, I became aware that attention and favouritism of teachers towards some of their students provide a certain boost to establish leadership positions.

'Scientific discourse of architecture'

Akin to the professions within the construction industry, architecture is regarded as a male-dominated career. Fouad (2009) claims that architecture has always been a male-dominated profession; the most prestigious projects, commissions and the highest awards seldom go on women. In general, science is a way of reasoning based on reason, induction, deduction, logic, analysis and synthesis (ibid).

My awareness of the power of the scientific discourse of architecture evolved from my close observation of the significant moments where some female architects adopt the scientific discourse of architecture for scholarly authority and to make effectiveness of what they say. This reflects the way female architects use technical language to report the integration in the architectural domain. For example, Fa1 enjoys her mystifying language to describe issues related to the technical core of her project, emphasizing her scientific knowledge to position herself on the scientific realm. The following example illustrates how Fa1 uses a technical jargon:

- *Shape-memory polymers (SMP) were used here which can reach a soft and flexible state when exposed to heat of around 60 to 70°C… at which point they can undergo geometrical deformations.*

- *In the previous versions of AUTOCAD… surface models can be created by drawing a polyline and assigning thickness 0 to the polyline.*

- ***SKETCHUP 7 was used to produce a simple 3D model of the outer shell of the house.***

Some females can negotiate for empowerment within peer/teacher approval and the scientific discourses. Although masculinity discourse, which is based on a clear perspective of gender differentiation, limits the potential access to the leadership position. In that, Fa1 opens free space for her through the scientific discourse. Fa1 experiences a shifting subject positions as a speaker along a variety of competing discourses. Overall, feminist critiques of science have demonstrated that the scientific thinking is highly masculine, effectively distancing women from full participation in its community (Haraway, 1991).

In general, the scientific discourse denotes the strategies harnessed by female architects to negotiate leadership and recompense the moments of powerlessness they may encounter along other discourses such as the double bind and masculinity dominance. Fa1 comment is suffice to point out that the fine-grained knowledge about technical architecture is a source of empowerment to control the floor and proves the eligibility to be a member in the architecture community of practice.

Fa1: It is true that our teachers' positive assessment fosters my level of confidence…but the basic knowledge of architecture is also very important… yes, it is hard architecture. It is not easy for a woman to spend eight sleepless nights preparing a project. But to be a scientist and to be able to…to explain her thoughts in an accurate scientific language is a powerful guarantee for your place in the architecture domain.

By way of a parallel example, Ma2 sustains that some female students are skilful in addressing the scientific knowledge of architecture.

Ma2: Fa1 and Fa2 are skilful in presenting their projects and designs in a scientific way. I find it a good point because it is not always easy for us to interpret scientifically what we think about a particular phenomenon or what we manage to do in the future.

I find that the scientific discourse of architecture serves a redeeming power for female architects to deconstruct their negative representation and leave room for the silenced voices along the discourses. This would rectify females' exclusion in the 'masculinity and public speaking discourse'. This holds the view that women use language supportively to bind and build rapport. In light of the dominant discourse of masculinity with the view of male as norm-entrenched, women's perception as irrational is at odds with the scientific discourse of architecture. Fa2 reports that there is a jostle between the gender norms which term women as undue in the masculine/scientific domains and their 'power' to the 'scientist'.

Fa2: This is reality…we…women are emotional and sensitive, but when it comes to our study, we can assert that we are logical thinkers. I feel that I am powerful and deserves my place as a female architect when I discuss issues such as 3D printing, laser cutting for example, and techniques of SKETCHUP… Even if I am a woman, but I think by the brain not my heart.

This extract shows how certain women are continuously adopting multiple subject positions. Within the discourse of masculinity, females may be powerless whereas in other subject positions, such as the scientific discourse, they can be distinctly powerless (Baxter 2003). I have encountered the theme of female's emotionality, but I did not find it powerful discourse unless it is fastened with the dominant discourse of masculinity. Females' representation as irrational and intuitive (Litosseliti 2006) is deep-seated in the discourse of masculinity which sustains that males are logical thinkers and rational. Brewis (2001) suggests the discourse of 'gender difference' should be seen in a connection with a discourse of 'scientific modernism', which connects to reinforce understandings and representations of women as being inapt to

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organizational life. In notable contrast, the 'scientific discourse' appears to be, in my study, a platform where females seem to be powerfully located which permits for potential possibilities to negotiate leadership positions and enacting authority.

Double Voicing Discourse

My primary source which allows me to detect the dominance of this discourse is the use of double-voices strategies within spoken interactions in the classroom. According to their subject positioning, speakers may or may not be able to adopt double-voicing as a resource for linguistic expertise. This discourse involves setting others' voices into one's own voice, either through direct or indirect quotation, or more subtly through mimicry or tone (Bakhtin 1981).

Baxter (2011) employs the term 'double-voiced discourse' to examine the ways which use language consciously and strategically to compensate for their marginalized status in male-dominated environments. Through the readability of my field-notes, I have learnt that some female students like Fa1 and Fa2 use moderating strategies such as inviting responses, self-deprecating comments, proposing a compromise, attempting to hand about the feeling of others and other aspects in order to achieve more effective role in discussing the project with their peers and teachers. The following snatches of conversation can be expository to this linguistic strategy.

- *Fa1: It is a huge project, but I know that it is not easy to admit the extermination of your prefabricated houses.*

- *I don't want you to feel sorry for that.*

- *Look! We are in guard of all your worries.*

- *I will be happy if you enrich our project with your propositions.*

This 'mitigating' double voicing allows speakers to reduce the social distance between themselves and the interlocutors. Baxter (2010) sets forth that effective speakers use a variety of socio-pragmatic strategies to enact power in the workplace interaction. In the study of UK senior management meetings, Baxter (2011) finds that women managers engaged in a more 'double-bind' discourse, whereby they manipulate and regulate their speech styles in order to evade any possible elimination. She adds that managers who are anxious about how they are perceived are more likely to be self-reflexive in their language use, as it is the case for Fa1.

Fa1 tends to demonstrate a particular awareness and responsiveness to the interests and thinking of peers. This can be clearly reflected in her language use to serve her perspective and those of her classmates. This mitigating double voicing strategy is used in doing 'politeness' (Holmes and Stubble 2003). Politeness is considered as a substantial strategy in which people engage in social and professional relationships (Brown and Levinson 1987). Borrowing the term from Baxter (2010), Fa1 is doing 'warm' politeness by exhibiting a veritable concern in the others and providing space for the participation.

Baxter (2011) infers that the double-voiced discourse is not simply a survival strategy but an avenue to practice different types of leadership at different moments. Accordingly, women in leadership adopt eloquent ways of being less harsh and sharp. From Bakhtin's (1984) perspective, Fa1 uses double voicing

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either to enact power or to resist it. Put simply, male/female speakers may employ double voicing not just to 'save face', but in order to negotiate complex power relations in their social and professional lives.

The following extract from Fa2's conversation demonstrates the use of authoritative double voicing to deepen the influence on the others and exhibit personal power. This double-voicing can be difficult to identify linguistically, and often depends on tone, but it is often marked by linguistic expressions of authority such as meta-pragmatic or qualifying clauses, followed by a directive (Foucault 1995). Fa2 also employs stronger directives to enact authority.

- *Fa2: I realize that is a big change which might not be easy... but even if you disagree now to apply this project, you have to think deeply about what will happen to you and to your health if you maintain your prefabricated houses.*

This extract mixes between mitigating and authoritative double voicing which expresses the presumed quibble other peers or teachers will make, and follows this by 'but even if you disagree' to strengthen her dominant position and secure her leadership from any potential threat, objection or criticism. She is reinforcing her authority by inviting others to deeply consider the issue of 'adjusting the current project of prefabricated houses'-by employing stronger directives. The functions of double voicing are evident here in which Fa2 mitigates the effect of her authority.

Previous research has indicated that double voicing does not always echo linguistic expertise. This strategy can, however, indicate a speaker's sense of linguistic 'insecurity'- enclosing an apparent lack of confidence, or a sense of disempowerment (Fishman 1983). The poststructuralist perspective of linguistic insecurity is to re-consider it as behavioural and material 'effect' of discursive positioning (Butler, 1990), and to re-conceptualize in security as a semiotic sign of consistent positioning of a speaker subject as disempowered (Baxter, 2003). Indeed, even within the same interactional context, a speaker may shift in their use of double voicing to express their linguistic expertise or mitigate their linguistic insecurity.

Conclusion

The feminist research requires playing social and discursive construction of gender at the centre of its investigation. My awareness of the significance of the interaction of certain discourses in the research setting was almost subconsciously upon the re-readings of my field-notes, as they were actively constructing and mediating classroom practices. My research journey is based on FPDA which provides space for female voices, which have been marginalized or silenced by discursive practices which split the speaking context into two categories in which male speakers are more powerful the female speakers. As revealed earlier, this is not derived from an emancipatory agenda; it is rather a part of post-structuralist consideration to bring a deeper and richer understanding of ideas, viewpoints and voices. FPDA focuses on the complexity of female subject positions and recognizes the existence of competing discourses which multiply locate speakers. This offers ways to challenge expected norms through the exploration of language and its role in creating, sustaining and reinforcing discourses. From my observation of the presentations and discussions in the architecture classroom, I became aware of a complex and often ambiguous ways in which speakers (women) are simultaneously positioned as relatively powerless within certain discourses and as relatively powerful in others.

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