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Gender Differentiation in Political Discourse: a case study of the 1996 Taiwan Presidential and Vice-presidential Election.

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Abstract:

This research attempts to account for gender differentiation in political discourse. The metaphorical usage constructed during the 1996 Taiwan presidential and vice-presidential election campaign will be analyzed for its social and cultural content. Metaphors not only help people make sense of complex situations, but also describe, prescribe, and evaluate behavior. Evaluative connotations are inherent in all social interactions, and can be analyzed in documents, newspaper articles and commentaries. Such social interaction allows female candidates to meet the expectations of potential female and male voters regarding characteristic gender roles. However, other valuable characteristics of the candidates are often ignored or disregarded since many of the shared assumptions are unconsciously taken for granted by the public.

Metaphors of role are culturally significant; they both limit and prescribe criteria for interpreting behavior. Our expectations and interpretations of female politicians would be drastically different if we were to apply to them the metaphorical connotations encoded in hunter, warrior, and god, rather than mother, daughter and goddess. By revealing the conventional assumptions underlying the metaphorical entailments, we hope to increase the level of linguistic awareness of sexism in political discourse. The data on metaphorical usage employed for male and female presidential and vice-presidential candidates analyzed here was collected from the newspaper coverage and commentaries during the campaign period in Taiwan, from January to March 1996.

Key words: gender, metaphor, election rhetoric, sociolinguistics, sexism

Introduction

Taiwan held its first presidential and vice-presidential election in 1996. It was a celebrated event made of high drama, international headlines, and military threats from the Chinese mainland. Four sets of candidates, nominated by the three most powerful political parties and a non-party affiliated team, joined the race. One female candidate out of the eight was chosen as a vice-presidential contender. Ms. Wang Ching-feng was a former member of the Control Yuan and an experienced lawyer who had spent most of her time raising funds for battered women and wartime “comfort” women. As a defense lawyer, she also had a reputation of being tough and devoted. Having her on the vice-presidential ticket was certainly a well-calculated decision of the non-affiliated group offering voters a woman with a impeccable credentials, proven ability to compete with men and feminine characteristics helping her to sympathize with the weak and the disadvantaged.

The four sets of candidates came up with various strategies and tactics which were reflected in their election rhetoric (cf. Wei, 1997b). For example, “campaign is war” was the most frequently used metaphor found in the campaign, not only signifying the confrontational nature of the campaign but emphasizing its combatant and destructive aspects (cf. Wei 1997a). There were overlaps and contrasts of metaphors among the four camps, which further suggest that analysis should go further than correlation between linguistic form and its indexical pragmatic function (ibid.). For example, the Kuomintang (KMT), Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and the non-party affiliated candidates all came up with different metaphors such as war, revenge, and a journey to one’s spiritual awakening to make sense of their campaigning. Strategically, the DPP candidates positioned themselves as victims and evoked collective memories of and reactions to the February Twenty-eighth Incident¹. In contrast, the KMT candidates emphasized their efforts on behalf of Taiwan’s

1 The Twenty-eight Incident has become one of the most cited examples of the KMT’s authoritarian rule over Taiwan during the late 1940s. During this incident, most of the Taiwanese active in a rebellion were executed and others who were allegedly involved were jailed or deprived of public rights. Many of the DPP leaders were involved in the Incident or later similar cases and had experienced jail sentences or deprivation of jobs and civil rights. However, the KMT in recent years

economy and democratic developments. The New Party's team, both former prominent figures from the KMT cabinet, emphasized new order, new hope and new leadership in order to differentiate themselves from the old, i.e. the KMT style. Significantly, the only female candidate among the eight, Ms. Wang, used a set of metaphors completely different from her male counterparts.

Metaphors such as daughter of Tainan, Goddess of Justice, Goddess of Protection, and model student of the Control Yuan provided ways to recognize her political credentials and conceptualize Ms. Wang's political aspirations. These sets of metaphors reached out to voters to tell them that she was capable of being an obedient daughter, conscientious mother, model student of Control Yuan, and apotheosis of Justice and Protection. On the other hand, metaphors such as uncle, son, salesperson, and Moses were used by her male counterparts. Each set of metaphors stressed certain candidate abilities while ignoring other potentials. As mentioned, Ms. Wang was no less qualified than any of the other male candidates. Casting her in a different frame might be another well-calculated political decision whose consequences will yet to conclude. The question that needs to be addressed is whether gender plays a role at the highest electoral level, i.e. the presidential election. If so, what kind of role does it play? Do our ways of conceptualizing gender have any consequences for the political discourse in which we all take part? This paper will try to answer these questions by using data from election rhetoric found in the 1996 presidential campaign. It adopts findings from media discourse and political science, in order to lay a foundation for a theoretical basis of inquiry. Conceptualization of gender will be analyzed against previous studies in sociolinguistics: the different/deficient model, the dominant model and the social construction model. Their contributions and limitations will also be considered in order to contemplate an alternative model. The results suggest that treating gender is a dynamic socio-political construct where the real issue is that of neither identity nor social trait. Rather, it is an on-going discourse where participants constantly act out "gender" in order to accomplish what is expected or demanded.

had publicly acknowledged the episode and had tried to make compensation for those had suffered or had lost loved ones.

Importance and Relevant Studies

With the increasing democratization in Taiwan, the various election campaigns run by candidates now represent a wide variety of political beliefs. Candidates have been allowed to advertise their political beliefs in newspapers since 1989. Since 1991, there have been political elections every year. In order to gain recognition and win elections, candidates and campaigners strive to make the best electoral rhetoric. The presidential and vice-presidential election in 1996 proved that electoral rhetoric provided by the Internet, direct mail, newspapers and television were effective new ways to communicate with voters. Voters and readers could also express their opinions via editorials and commentaries. All these materials were researched to understand the interactions among voters, readers and campaigners as they used these sources.

In recent years, major works analyzing Taiwan election rhetoric have appeared (cf. Chang 1994; Chen and Chen 1992; Zheng 1992; Lin 1995; Xia 1987; Huang, P.S.1996; Huang S.D. 1996; Weng and Sun 1995; Lei 1985). All of the scholars were trained in journalism or on political science. Most of the case studies were presented based either on mass communication theories or political science, discussing factors influencing voters' behavior or comparing campaign strategies among candidates from various parties at different election levels. In addition, government restrictions on the media coverage of electoral rhetoric and party ownership over the media were common topics found in these treatises. For example, Huang, S.D. (1996) pointed out that level of education is the most important factor influencing how a voter is affected by a campaign, sex is the second, and media exposure and political exposure is the third. Huang, P.S. (1996) found that the Kuomintang candidates tend to use conventional methods such as networking to reach out to voters, while the New Party prefers the public news network to disseminate campaign rhetoric, and the DPP works on emotional appeals to arouse voters. Most of the results were based on quantitative studies, surveys as well as questionnaires, laying valuable groundwork for further studies of electoral rhetoric.

Studies on gender difference in the media are especially relevant for the current paper.

Many challenging issues such as gender equality among journalists, socio-political discourse and consumerism were discussed in a recent seminar on Media Education and Gender Equality, sponsored by the Ministry of Education and the School of Journalism at Taiwan National University. For example, Lin, H. L. (1998:II-III-I) pointed out that men serve as spokesmen for political and economic discourse. Their viewpoints not only reflected the views of authorities but also became the main source of political and economic information for the public. In public policies dissemination, women rarely serve as spokesmen, nor are their viewpoints on relevant issues often accounted for.

When women are heard from in public discourse, they are represented differently from men. Female politicians are often conceptualized as just additional examples of conventional women whose roles and responsibilities revolve around family and the private sector. In the reduction of female public figures to that of family members, their aspirations and credentials are disregarded. Lin, Z. Z. at the aforementioned conference mentioned that when reporting the debates between the ex Taipei Mayor, Mr. Chen Shui-bian and the Taipei Council mayor, the event was phrased as debates between two mayors. When reporting disputes between two female politicians, the report was phrased as fights between two women (cf. Lin, Z. Z. 1998:II-IV-3). Another parallel observation is that women who promote the public welfare through activities such as setting up foundations and shelters often see their contributions patronized as mere acts of kindness done by “mothers” (Ling, H.L. 1998: II-III-2). They are not credited for their professional contributions and their political aspirations are not publicized accordingly. In short, women’s contributions to and aspirations for public service are disregarded and disguised in socio-political discourse under the non-sequitur of familial obligations.

Work that has been done on gender and language typically has used materials from daily oral and written discourse but not from the political sector. Nor have specific language devices such as metaphor attracted enough attention in the field. Relevant sociolinguistic works on metaphor in Chinese are found in Cai (1994), Cai (1985) and Stibbe (1996). These three studies all treat metaphor as a linguistic device that helps structure our conceptualization of the world. Cai (1994) studied the metaphor of body-parts in Chinese and found that, with regard to internal organs such as heart, liver, guts and gall-bladder, Chinese people give them

interesting metaphorical associations which can only be understood within the context of Chinese culture. Cai (1985) studied the commonality of metaphor in body-parts, sensories and animals across six different languages. The study found a commonality in metaphoricalization despite the linguistic variation. Personal experiences and socio-cultural factors influence our perceptions of a metaphor. For example, Stibbe (1996) investigated the Chinese conceptualization of illness. The study pointed out that contemporary Chinese metaphors of illness draw on two major sources: traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) and conventional Western medicine (CWM). Explicating the incompatibilities between TCM and CWM, the study discussed how the metaphorical constructions of illness within Chinese culture might affect the way that Chinese people think about illness.

Sociolinguistics studies in Taiwan rarely use materials from political discourse. Kuo (1994) was one of the very few exceptions where she studied argumentative confrontations between legislators in the Legislative Yuan. Other recent works on metaphor and political discourse are found in Sneeringer (1995) and Stenberg (1993). Sneeringer's study of Weimar Germany found a surprising degree of social consensus that all women share a distinct female nature. From Communist to democratic to Nazi, all party appeals reflected assumptions that women were most interested in social welfare and religion, and acted politically on the basis of their domestic roles as nurturer and culture bearer. In this respect, women were unlike men, who were assumed to act out of economic interest. Even rare occupation-based appeals to women couched economic issues in cultural terms, as though women's nature and their special maternal role put them above the fray of political horse-trading.

Stenberg (1993) showed how that maternalist feminism, stressing women's moral duties and expertise as housekeepers and mothers, proved successful in a London school board election but when applied to local council politics was resoundingly unsuccessful. According to the study, only persistence, political organization, favorable party political conditions and family connections made women's political entry possible.

All these studies help lay a foundation for further analysis as we look into metaphors found in the male and female presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 1996 election in Taiwan.

Ways to conceptualize gender and language: the different/deficient and dominant models

In this section, we will first provide a brief sketch of how gender was treated in previous sociolinguistics literature. We will suggest the contributions and limitations and then provide a more dynamic view of gender in political discourse.

Robin Lakoff (1975) wrote one of the classic works detailing the “differences” between men and women’s speech. This study found that women use polite and standard forms of language while men use rough and dialectal variations; that women are tentative while men are aggressive; and that women speak softly using lots of empty adjectives and hedges while men speak authoritatively with command and control. It has also been pointed out in Jespersen (1922) that women’s different use of language is attributed to her inferior psychological and personal traits. The different/deficient model has gained wide support. Scholars not only compare differences but also find reasons for such differences. Shih (1984) provided lexical and idiomatic differences among men and women’s usage in Chinese. Kuo (1995) investigated gender differences in speech style and communicative strategy in current Taiwan society. Speakers’ conversational styles, their roles, and the speech activity they were engaged in were shown to affect the occurrence and function of simultaneous talk and interruptions.

Tannen (1986, 1990) demonstrated that men and women not only speak differently but they are interested in different topics and prefer different ways of talking about the world. For example, men prefer politics and sports to feelings and relationships. Women do focus on interpersonal relationships and feelings and they use small talks to explore social networks and build up friendships. Men dread revealing personal feelings; women thrive on trading secrets. Men solve problems and give advice while women talk around problems and often take objective advice as a sign of ignorance.

Focusing on differences, such studies emphasize how women and men find difficulty in communicating. Attempts to communicate founder on different vocabulary, roles, goals and styles. The differences in men and women’s ways of talking and their expectations from

such social interactions arise from the different ways they were treated when they were boys and girls. Boys and girls are treated differently, talked to differently and have different expectations laid on them by parents, caretakers and teachers. Boys and girls are taught to play different games, and are expected to thrive on different subjects and conform to different rules dictated by culture and society. By internalizing different values and views of doing and being, boys and girls develop different strategies for talking.

The “difference/cultural” approach is based on Gumperz’s (1982) framework for studying problems in interethnic communication. Members from different speech communities bring their own roles, assumptions and expectations of communication to their conversations with others. Miscommunications and misinterpretations are likely to arise since speakers rely on their own intentions, assumptions and expectations to interpret and understand what is going on. Likewise, men and women carry their respective rules, norms and expectations into conversations, and miscommunications result.

Uchida (1992) criticized the different/deficient model and pointed out the problem of comparing miscommunications between men and women speakers from different cultures such as Japan and America. A Japanese speaker, prior to his or her encounter with an American speaker might not have much exposure to the other’s respective culture and language. The miscommunication between them is thus attributed to lack of understanding and sole reliance on one’s own ethnocentric myopicism. Such explanations are not quite applicable other miscommunication between men and women since members of language and culture groups obviously have access to, information about, and contacts with each other which contribute greatly to understanding.

Other major criticisms for the different/deficient model are that it fails to explain why differences in socialization, expectations and acculturation between men and women exist, why they prevail, and how such differences are produced and reproduced but not challenged or negotiated in everyday language use. Crawford (1995) pointed out that the view of gender and language encoded in the difference/deficient model maintains that fundamental differences between women and men are shaped by the way they talk. The differences are conceived as located within the individual prior to talk, as differences in personality traits, skills, beliefs, attitudes or goals. Gender is difference, and differences are static, bipolar, and

categorical (p.1).

Cameron (1998) argued that gender itself is not a characteristic women and men just “have”. Rather, what we call gender and gender roles are the observable effects created by a complex system involving, for example, sexual divisions of labor, preferential treatment on the job, the exclusion of women from public domains, and so on. Gender should never be used as a bottom-line explanation because it is a social construction needing explanation itself. We need to look, then, for the specific practices that produce gender roles rather than stopping at the roles themselves. Restrictions on and beliefs about language may be part of the construction of gender rather than a simple reflection of it.

The other prevailing model explaining why men and women speak differently is the dominant/power model. It points out that the reason women speak differently from men reflects of their inferior social status and lack of social resources. Thus, women feel they need to use standard language to lend authority to their speech, emphasize correct grammar to add to their confidence, and favor polite linguistic features for fear of offending those who have power over them (Fishman 1983, West & Zimmerman 1983).

Uchida (1992) pointed out that the dominance/power model should be criticized on two grounds. First, it neglects to conceptualize sex except in terms of power. Its notion of the female-male category system seems too simplistic; power is not the only factor that differentiates the sexes. Second, there are dimensions to power besides gender, such as race, ethnicity, age, occupation, socio-economic status, education, and sexual orientation (p.551).

The different/deficient model and the dominant models have profound influence on how verbal behavior of men and women are seen and on feminism generally since they locate gender in individuals rather than in social relations and process. The following examples from Cameron (1998) and Kira Hall (1995) will testify to the point. Cameron (*ibid*:950) pointed out that by blaming women for their supposed linguistic deficiencies and minimizing conflicts of interest between men and women by redefining them as “communication problems,” research on gender and language are actually reproducing stereotypical patterns while leaving structural inequalities unaddressed.

Hall (1995) documented the language of female telephone sex workers in California. By adopting a “powerlessness” (Lakoff 1975) as a style of speaking, the sex workers are

turning feminine speaking traits into profit making. Such language behavior, or rather performance, was a careful calculation of what the market demands and what one is willing to offer: a transaction between the customer and the performer, a well-rehearsed performance for pay. Each party was well aware of other feminine potentials and the consequence of such transaction.

The behavior of sex workers points to the plural, nonnatural meanings of femininity, but plays up stereotypical differences between men and women. The marketing of sex transactions certainly works against feminism collectively, though it benefits certain individuals. Parallel observations can be made about the effect of using conventional metaphors for male and female political candidates. Such a strategy might help reach certain types of voters yet at the same time reinforce the stereotypes.

Reframing Gender and Discourse: a Social Constructionalist Approach

In contrast to conceptualizing gender and language as static and invariable, we will adopt a more dynamic model to understand the many facets that complicate these two constructs. The social constructionists view gender as a system of meaning that organizes interactions and governs access to power and resources. From this view, gender is not an attribute of individuals but a way of making sense of transactions. Individuals, under this theory are no longer unconscious beings passing up what are given and predicted by the society. Rather, they are very aware of the resources and constraints of the available symbolic capital. Hence, gender no longer exists in personas but in transactions; it is conceptualized as a verb, not a noun (cf. Crawford 1995:12). By bringing in what are available at the individual's disposal, speakers are constantly "performing" a social trait, be it gender, ethnicity or race. We have seen the example of the sex workers in California and will make a parallel case for the politicians in the 1996 presidential and vice-presidential election.

For the purpose of our analysis, we will replace "language" with "discourse" not only because the term language has the historical baggage of being structured, static and rule-

governed but also because it doesn't, at least in some of the sociolinguistic literature, convey the socio-historical dynamics. Thus, we choose to use "discourse" to suggest that, in a Foucaultian sense, metaphorical usage should be viewed as not just forms of talk but beliefs, knowledge and the structures that underlie these forms of talk.

Discourse means not only talk that we engage in in daily life but also the beliefs and power structures that we bring along to maintain and negotiate social identities when engaging in forms of talk. We talk to achieve different pragmatic goals and the beliefs and knowledge that we bring in are also constantly challenged, validated or denied by the participants and the situations that we are in. Thus, discourses are always political, so far as they shape relations among social actors and maintain patterns of dominance in institutions and social processes. These aspects are especially important in analyzing metaphors in political discourse since politicians use them to define, negotiate and reproduce various sets of beliefs and ideals.

By adopting a dynamic and discursive view of gender and discourse, we are thus able to ask questions such as, how are gender relations enacted and maintained in political discourse? How does this enactment contribute to unequal relations between men and women, especially in public arenas such as politics? What are some of the contributing factors for the pervasiveness of metaphors used for a female political candidate?

Theories of metaphors and explanations

Lakoff (1980, 1996) stressed that metaphors not only help people make sense of complex situations but also describe, prescribe and evaluate behavior. Metaphors are constantly used to make sense of the world and the full impact and meaning of their use is rarely recognized. For example, many people may not be aware that laymen commonly conceptualize morals in terms of financial transactions and accounting. That is, if you do me a big favor, I will be *indebted* to you, I will *owe* you one, and I will be concerned about *repaying* the favor (Lakoff 1996:5).

Likewise, people often use sports to conceptualize politics. The most fundamental and pervasive sports metaphor is that of the "team". It is employed during campaigns to bond candidates and electorates, or in political jargon to express a sense of common enterprise and

loyalty. Entailments can be found in phrases such as “There’s the Washington Tax Increase Team and the Grassroots Opportunity Team,” and “Today the American Opportunity team has the ball back and all of us are scoring touchdowns again (cf. Howe 1988:90).” Metaphors serve not only heuristic purposes but also strategic purposes in political discourse. The “team” metaphor serves to define, even exaggerate, differences between candidates and hence between their supporters. It exploits the delusion shared by many sports fans that they are participants in the game rather than mere observers (*ibid.*)

Comparing the metaphors used by presidential and vice-presidential candidates during the 1996 campaign, we found that male candidates and the only female candidate were described and conceptualized differently. Ms. Wang Ching-feng was connected with metaphors such as mother, daughter, model student, and goddess (Wei 1997b). Examples are found in the following:

1) Tainan de nuer, qing ni lai tengxi. (台南的女兒，請你來疼惜)

Gloss: Tainan possessive marker daughter, please you take care.

Trans: Daughter of Tainan, Please take care of her.

2) Shounan funu de baohushen. (受難婦女的保護神)

Gloss: Distressed women possessive-marker protection goddess.

Trans: (She) is the Goddess of Protection for distressed women.

3) Ruoshituanti de muqin. (弱勢團體的母親)

Gloss: Weak group possessive-marker mother.

Trans: She is the mother for the weak and the disadvantaged.

4) Jianchayuan de mofansheng. (監察院的模範生)

Gloss: Control Yuan possessive-marker model student.

Trans: She is the model student of the Control Yuan.

5) Taiwan zui wusi wuwo de nuxing. (台灣最無私無我的女性)

Gloss: Taiwan most selfless ego-less possessive-marker woman.

Trans: She is the most selfless woman in Taiwan.

By emphasizing Ms. Wang’s moral responsibilities for the weak and the disadvantaged, she was made to reach out to designated voters. By stressing her work ethic, she was associated and evaluated with a higher standard than her male-counterparts. By casting her

as a daughter of Tainan, she was made subordinate as a politician and thus in need of supervision and guidance. Moral responsibilities and familial duties are the underlying considerations for positioning a female candidate. However, Ms. Wang's other political credentials and aspirations were trivialized by the domestic and moral terms.

In contrast, the male candidates were connected by metaphors such as uncle, salesperson, son and Moses, with the qualities, respectively, of respectful family member, able marketer, heir of state, and patriarchal leader. Examples are found in the following:

6) Lee Teng-hui, Lee Moses, lingdao Taiwan renmin. (李登輝，李摩司，領導台灣人民)

Gloss: Lee Teng-hui, Lee Moses, lead Taiwan people.

Trans: Lee Teng hui is the Moses of Taiwan, he will lead the people of Taiwan out of the wilderness of threats from the Communists in China.

7) Lee zongtong, yazhou tuotiao xinwen renwu, zhonghuaminguo de chaoji tuixiaoyuan. (李總統，亞洲頭條新聞人物，中華民國的超級推銷員)

Gloss: Lee president, Asia headline news figure, Republic of China possessive-marker super salesperson.

Trans: President Lee was nominated as a headline news figure by the Asian Times magazine.

He is the super salesperson for the Republic of China.

8) Hao bobo; a-kang bo. (郝伯伯；阿港伯)

Gloss: Hao uncle; a-kang uncle.

Trans: Uncle Hao, Uncle [Lin Yang] Kang. (林洋港)

The above sets of metaphors stress the ability, leadership, respectfulness and respect shown for the male candidates. The aforementioned moral responsibilities and work ethic are absent from these metaphors. The male politicians' administrative ability, authority, and leadership are stressed and essentialized rather than disguised under familial and moral terms as in the case of metaphors used for Ms. Wang.

The use of kinship metaphors is interesting because it entails ingrained socio-cultural connotations for what is expected of a candidate. Under the kinship metaphor, the state (country) is conceptualized as a family and the voters are conceptualized as parents. In Confucian society, the structure of the state is hierarchical, extending from the emperor, to statesmen, to fathers, and to sons. Males in each one of these categories are given a mandate

to command and to carry out responsibilities for those under them. Thus, when we refer to a male candidate as an uncle figure, we not only relate to him as a family member but also place him in a very respectful position. Likewise, by referring to a candidate as a son, he is included as a member of the family; moreover, as an heir of the family. The emphases of the metaphors for the male candidates are authority, significance and ability.

In contrast, when a female candidate is conceptualized as a mother, daughter, Goddess of Justice and Goddess of Mercy, her various characteristics are called for and patterned in domains such as: maternal, domestic, judicial, and supernatural. The commonalties among these metaphors are the emphases of relationship, subordination and moral responsibility, which are absent from the language used for male candidates. These sets of prescriptions and expectations are also stereotypical of a woman's domestic and maternal responsibilities, not evocative of a politician's aspirations or a vice-president's credibility. The double bind is that when choosing a female as a vice-president candidate, to draw votes from undecided voters. Stressing her conventional feminine traits might help mothers and daughters identify with the candidate. Likewise, stressing moral responsibility or the supernatural powers of the candidate might aid the weak and the disadvantaged to identify the candidate. The problem is that the very same traits not only reinforce the stereotypes but also run counter to what a vice-president should be. Ms. Wang's credentials were just as good as those of the other male candidates, yet her potential and credentials were presented in stereotypical domestic terms. Thus, gender is the inevitable variable that a female candidate has to confront yet its pragmatic functions are those of a double-edge sword: they might help forge an identity with the weak and the disadvantaged yet they limit a voter's perception of a woman as reaching beyond the domestic domains. These prescriptions can exert a pervasive influence when imbalanced power relationships are produced and reproduced in political discourse.

These metaphors exemplified a high degree of implicative elaboration and were more forceful than similes. In other words, a simile such as "Wang Ching-feng is like a model student of the Control Yuan" would not have captured the full force of the metaphor, perhaps because of suggesting that only some properties of the category of model student were to be applied to Ms. Wang. To describe her as like a model student is not nearly so forceful as

identifying her as a model student. The implicit comparison between a model student and Wang Ching-feng not only highlights all the moral responsibility and obligation a model should shoulder but sets Wang Ching-feng apart from her other male-counterparts.

The metaphorical associations of Daughter of Tainan also suggested a specific grouping—Ms. Wang Ching-feng was linked to a specific place, Tainan, and a specific relationship, a daughter. Here, the metaphorical associations were used to communicate a complex set of positive properties in a shorthand form that was understood by the members of a speech community from a similar background. When we say that Ms. Wang Ching-feng is a daughter of Tainan, we communicate all the positive properties that could be attributed to a daughter of Tainan. It is not necessary and – indeed, probably would be impossible—to specify each of those properties directly. In this way, the use of the metaphorical association is more efficient and emotionally affecting than a specific partial listing of properties that are attributed to a woman from Tainan.

The metaphorical associations also alerted voters that specific relationships and expectations were intended, rather than a mere general assertion of similarity. Another case in point is the metaphor of goddess and the type of goddess best exemplified by Goddess of Justice and Goddess of Protection. The supernatural powers associated with these two types of goddesses are compatible with those of mothers who are by nature protective of their children and are by culture paragon of morality. Analogously, Ms. Wang Ching-feng was thus identified with voters who need her protection and with voters who expect her to be a paragon of justice and morality.

Role metaphors are culturally significant because they both limit and prescribe criteria for interpreting expectations (cf. Quinn 1991). Culture also prescribes and influences which and how metaphors are used. The expectations and interpretations of female politicians would be drastically different if the metaphorical connotations encoded in hunter, warrior, and god, but not mother, daughter and goddess, were used. A detailed socio-cultural analysis of role metaphors is needed in order to reveal the conventional assumptions underlying the metaphors.

Socio-cultural contexts of metaphor of roles:

The metaphors of mother, daughter and model student come from a long tradition of Confucius rhetoric, which advocates strict obedience and other proprieties for women. The Three Obediences and Four Virtues (三從四德) have been the rule of thumb for prescribing how a woman should behave and what is expected of her in a Chinese society. They dictate that a woman should adhere to absolute obedience to her father when she is a girl, to her brother if her father passes away and to her husband after she is married. And it prescribes morals, chastity, purity and modesty as womanly propriety.

Gender difference is not only recognized but also reaffirmed in Confucius precepts. Rules of correct conduct for women were recorded, for example, “to be a woman meant to submit” and “in the sexual division of labor a woman was to take no part in public affairs.” These principles were derived from gender-specific norms. They also set up expectations detailing correct behavior for females whether daughters, wives or mothers. Rituals such as birth, schooling, marriage, and burial further served as cultural mechanisms to keep a woman in her domestic, familial and moral places. Women were not even given individual names when they were born nor did they deserve to be remembered as such when they died. It was not until the Communist Revolution that women addressed by their individual names. Such a change in terms of address granted individuality to women. It further stopped the practice of associating women with father, husband or son only and of being addressed only as daughter, wife or mother of so and so. In sum, independent thinking, charisma, and aspiration, which are essential for politicians were, absent from such cultural prescriptions. Under Confucius dictates, these qualities of a woman would not only be improper but immoral.

The metaphorical associations used in Ms. Wang’s campaign also alerted voters that a specific relation was intended, not a mere general assertion of similarity. Wang Ching-feng was linked to a goddess, or to the type of goddess best exemplified by the Goddess of Justice and the Goddess of Protection. Diana Paul (1985) stated that two themes or prototypes of woman are found cross-culturally in world religions. According to the first prototype, woman is destructive, close to nature, elusive, a temptress, evil and dangerous to the male,

therefore needing to be controlled or suppressed by the male. According to the second, woman is gentle, maternal, creative, and compassionate, her sexuality rightly ordered in marriage or transcended in celibate life. The second theme is widely adopted in Chinese religion and is exemplified in the story of Guan-Yin (觀音), Goddess of Mercy.

Stafford (1991) provided that quite a large proportion of the religious activity in Taiwan, particularly that associated with spirit mediums, is directed at the protection of life and other health-related concerns. A favorite example of Guan Yin's power is taken from the period of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, which ended in 1945. American warplanes bombing Japanese targets in eastern Taiwan flew over Beicun (北村), a fishing village of about 600 people. The people ran up into the hills, looked out over the Pacific as the planes flew past, and saw a woman in the sky catching the American bombs in her skirt and tossing them into the ocean. The Americans concluded that Beicun women were *lihai* (厲害) --fierce and extraordinary-- but the villagers knew that the woman was Guan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, protecting those who had in secret worshipped her faithfully throughout the occupation (*ibid.*:368).

Just as Guan Yin diverted American bombs, all deities are believed capable of diverting the potential disasters of sickness and death, and on a day-to-day basis they simply help to keep people well. Thus, by describing Ms. Wang Ching-feng as Goddess of Protection and Goddess of Justice, she not only was transformed to a spiritual figure but also took on all the specific supernatural properties of these two goddesses.

The metaphorical associations of "Daughter of Tainan" also suggested a specific grouping-- Ms. Wang Ching-feng was linked to a specific place, Tainan, and a specific relationship, a daughter. Here, the metaphorical associations were used to communicate a complex set of positive properties in a shorthand form that was understood by the members of a speech community who came from a similar background. When we say "Ms. Wang Ching-feng is a daughter of Tainan," we communicate all those positive properties attributed to a "daughter of Tainan." It is not necessary—and indeed, it would probably be impossible to specify each of those properties directly. In this way, the use of the metaphorical association is more efficient and emotionally affecting than a specific partial listing of those properties that are attributed to a woman from Tainan.

Physical and moral obligations of kinship metaphor

The use of kinship also signifies significant metaphorical entailments. In practical terms, children have three obligations to their parents: they must give them grandchildren, support them in old age, and worship them after death. These are not just obligations prescribed for sons, but are requirements for women taught through school doctrines on filial piety. Women especially should fulfill the duties for their own parents as well as their parents in law.

Stafford (1991) further argued that women specifically have a vested interest in the protection of their children from harm. This is perhaps because it is expected that a woman will be responsible for the spiritual care of her children, just as she is responsible in general for their health and welfare. But it is also arguably because she has a very real interest in their survival. In fact, a son is of great symbolic and practical importance to his mother. Because they live longer, women more often than men are entirely dependent on the economic support of sons. Furthermore, women are in some senses only made part of a family by giving birth to sons: a woman leaves her natal home and is only truly accepted in her new family upon the production of a male descendant (*ibid.*:375).

Emily M. Ahern (1978) provided similar accounts and stated that the power women have is their capacity to alter a family's form by adding members to it, dividing it, and disturbing male authority; the danger they pose is their capacity to break up what men consider the ideal family (*ibid.*:276). The moral obligations of mother to protect their sons are further exemplified in the following slogan:

9) Zhebushi yichang emeng? Zhazheng buzaishi dianying, feidan luozai Taiwan menkuo, haizi quehaizai Jinmen dangbing, Taiwan de muqing! Nineng zuoshemene? (這不是一場惡夢？戰爭不再是電影，飛彈落在台灣門口，孩子確還在金門當兵，台灣的母親！你能做什麼呢？)

Gloss: This is not a nightmare? War no longer is movie, missiles dropped Taiwan doorstep, children still Kinmen military service, Mothers in Taiwan! You can do what?

Trans: Is this not a nightmare? Wars are no longer in movies, missiles are dropped at doorsteps and our children are performing military service in Kinmen. Mothers in Taiwan, What can you do?

10) You yibao baimi, jiuneng guoyibeizi? You shijiwan meijin, neng liulangguo duoshao sui Yue? Yizhang jipiao, nineng liuluodao nageguojia? Meilide baodao, niweisheme buzaishi jiaxiang? Taiwan de muqin! Niweisheme biancheng zheyang? (有一包白米就能過一輩子？有十幾萬美金，能流浪過多少歲月？一張機票，你能流落到那個國家？美麗的寶島，你為什麼不再是家鄉？台灣的母親！你為什麼變成這樣？)

Gloss: Have one bag rice, survive one life? Have tens of thousands of US dollars, pass time? Have a ticket, you emigrate to which country? Beautiful island, no longer is homeland? Mothers in Taiwan! What made you become like this?

Trans: A bag of rice will sustain one's entire life. How long will you survive in exile with thousands of American dollars? Where will you land with a plane ticket? Why can't we call Formosa our homeland? Mothers in Taiwan, why have you made yourselves like this?

The metaphorical entailments of mother are further problematicized if we take the nationalistic and patrilineal ideologies into account. As Stafford stated, "But mothers, who both derive power from sons and depend upon them for support, face a dilemma when confronted with nationalist and patrilineal ideologies, or perhaps these ideologies face a dilemma when confronted with women (cf: 1991:375)." The same could be said of male-oriented nation, which depends upon women for its future citizens and soldiers. To have soldiers, one must have sons, but a 'good son' who gives priority to his family duties may not be fully available for his national duties. Both patrilineal and nationalist ideologies construct themselves around representations of seemingly eternal chains of men, thus rendering the presence of women problematic.

Conclusion and discussion

Various sets of metaphors used for male and female candidates have been analyzed based on election rhetoric found in the 1996 Taiwan presidential and vice-presidential election. Metaphors not only help voters conceptualize a candidate but also evaluate and predict their

potentials and performance. Casting male and female candidates into conventional gender roles helps attract certain voters, yet at the same time plays up traditional differences between men and women, resulting in reinforcement of the stereotypes. We see that gender in such context is not an identity, nor a social trait. It is a socio-political construct, carefully manipulated by campaign strategists in order to win votes and gain popularity. Parallel observations can be made about telephone sex workers who provide conventional “powerless” feminine talk on the job. All parties are aware of other feminine traits yet deliberately choose certain types of characteristics for pragmatic purposes or monetary gain. Such findings point out the plural, non-natural aspect of gender, which emphasizes the subject’s conscious manipulation of available resources and the inter-subject aspect of such manipulation. It will be interesting to see if such gender performance will have similar effects on different levels of election and at different locales.

We have tried to argue that gendered ideologies behind the metaphor of roles both prescribe and limit the female vice-presidential candidate political potential. The elaborated examples of metaphor roles allow female candidates to meet the expectations of potential female and male voters, regarding characteristic gender roles. Meanwhile, other more pertinent characteristics of the candidates’ political and economic qualifications are often ignored or disregarded. Metaphors such as daughter, mother, goddess, and model student all support what Helen Haste (1993) claimed, that female superiority lies in child care, and also in virtues which can be sustained only by distance from corrupting or roughening influences-- gentleness, purity and innocence. Male superiority, in contrast, rests in instrumentality, leadership, work, rationality and competition. Women’s service and serving of men is to provide physical and psychological support such as physical care, stress reduction, and boosting of morale (*ibid*: 61).

However, the actual evaluation of these attributes rests on what is taken as the standard. If male attributes are the norm, then servicing of those attributes by the female confirms that her strengths are strengthened only in the service of his weakness and do not have an independent value. The relationship of servicing is not merely a matter of who does what to whom, but what is implied in what is needed to be done; it is one partner meeting a deficit in the other. Femininity should not solely be identified with serving emotional and physical

demands where that results in woman's own needs being subsumed by her definition as need-meeter to others. Our expectations and interpretations of female politicians would be drastically different if we were to apply to them the metaphorical connotations encoded in hunter, warrior, and god, rather than those of mother, daughter and goddess. By revealing the conventional assumptions underlying the metaphorical entailments, we hope to increase the level of linguistic awareness of sexism in political discourse.

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Gender Differentiation in Political Discourse: a case study of the 1996 Taiwan Presidential and Vice-presidential Election.

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摘要

本文試圖將政治論述中性別的差異作一解析。主要是針對 1996 年台灣總統、副總統競選口號中隱喻的使用(metaphorical usage)，並藉由文化及社會情境分析，來探討不同隱喻使用之來源、功能及意義。本文分析引述 George Lakoff (1980, 1996) 之論點，認為隱喻使用為一極普遍之語言現象，並非只有點綴修、飾語言的功能。競選口號中的隱喻使用，一如日常生活中的隱喻使用，除了幫助我們認知週遭事物、尋出脈絡外，也幫助我們形容、框架(prescribe) 和評估候選人。日常論述(discourse)，報刊報導和評論都會反映出此種種隱喻的情形。候選人當然可以利用媒體和文化論述中常見的隱喻，來提醒或加深選民對自己的印象，以利當選。但吊詭的是，常見的隱喻，尤其是與女性相關的使用如：母親、女兒、模範生、正義女神；強調的是女性服務、包容、服從或超高道德的標準。對於各方能力、經驗不亞於其他男性候選人的女性候選人而言，其他方面的特質和能力如：行政魄力、領導能力、或激勵忠誠極熱情的才能(charisma) 就相對的被忽略了。因此，與性別相關的刻板印象隱喻使用，就如一把兩刃的刀：一方面提醒、加深了選民對特定女性特質的印象，另一方面，也限制了女性候選人在政治舞台發展的空間。

關鍵字：性別、隱喻、競選文宣、社會語言學