

Globalization, Gender and Multilingualism

1. Introduction

When one of the authors of this chapter, Ingrid Piller, was an 11-year-old high school student in Germany in the late 1970s, students could choose the second foreign language they were going to study (the first one being English). The choice was between French and Latin. The advice that our teachers, older students, family, and friends gave us focused on the considerations that Latin, which supposedly trains logical thinking, was better suited to academic high achievers, whereas French, which obviously has the advantage of being a living language, was considered more "practical". Furthermore, students who were considering a university education were advised to take Latin because most university degrees in Germany at that time had a Latin requirement. Whether as a consequence of this advice, or for other reasons, the French and Latin streams became clearly gendered. Girls overwhelmingly took French, and boys overwhelmingly took Latin. I was one of only four girls in the Latin stream, in a class that must have numbered between 20 and 30 students.

The overall consequences of this choice were that, on the whole, women from that time and place, with their proficiency in German, English, and French, were more multilingual when they graduated from high school than their male peers, who were proficient in German and English only. Those who had chosen Latin could certainly read and translate Latin, but their Latin training had focused less on language skills and more on rhetorical theory, law, politics, military strategy, and social theory as it related to the Roman Empire. Furthermore, they had the *Latinum* certificate, an indispensable requirement for university study in fields as diverse as medicine, law, natural sciences, and arts and humanities. In hindsight, the ideologies about French and Latin that I encountered as an 11-year-old were one of many points during my education at which boys were directed towards professional careers and girls were directed towards service sector jobs. The relationship between linguistic ideologies and gendered life trajectories in this case may seem rather indirect, but it is real nonetheless.

It is the aim of the present chapter to examine the interrelationship between ideologies of multilingualism and gender. The study of multilingualism, second language learning and gender is a relatively new but vibrant and expanding field (Davis & Skilton-Sylvester 2004, Langman 2004), to which we have substantially contributed (Pavlenko 2001, 2004, Pavlenko, Blackledge, Piller & Teutsch-Dwyer 2001, Piller & Pavlenko 2004, Norton & Pavlenko 2004, Pavlenko & Piller in press).

This paper is organized as follows: we will start with a brief clarification of how we use the term multilingualism before we move on to a detailed examination of multilingualism and gender. Like many feminists we regard work and family – that is economic production and social reproduction – as the key areas where gender is produced and reproduced (Grob & Rothmann 2005). Consequently, we will structure our examination around gender in multilingual employment and domestic sites – sites that crucially intersect and overlap, and sites that have been subject to enormous changes in recent years, as part of developments that can broadly be termed as globalization. Globalization has been described as consisting of flows (Appadurai 1990) – flows of goods, capital, communication, and people. Many of these flows throw people of widely different linguistic and cultural backgrounds into contact, be it the flows of information and mass media, or be it actual people flows as in migration and tourism.

2. Bilingualism and multilingualism

Our use of the terms “bilingualism” and “multilingualism” is inclusive, and we use them to refer to the use of two or more languages on a regular basis, irrespective of proficiency and age of acquisition. However, we consider it important to distinguish between different types of bi- and multilingualism. It is often assumed that “bilingualism = bilingualism” no matter what the languages involved. However, such a view cannot explain why some forms of bilingualism are highly valued (e.g., bilingualism in German and English in Germany) while others are seen as problematic (e.g., in the same German context, bilingualism in Turkish and German). We therefore follow De Swaan’s (2001) analysis of the world language system and distinguish between three different types of languages¹ resulting in different types of multilingualism. It is useful to distinguish between “English”, “majority languages” and “minority languages”. “Majority languages” in our understanding are languages that have the official backing of a nation state, and are ideologically associated with full citizenship in a nation state (e.g., German in Germany). “Minority languages” do not enjoy such a privileged relationship with the state, and are often negatively associated with full citizenship (e.g., Turkish in Germany). For the purposes of our discussion it is of little consequence whether a given minority language has the backing of a nation state elsewhere or not (e.g., we consider Turkish, which is a national language in Turkey, as much a minority language in Germany as Kurdish, which does not enjoy national language status anywhere in the world). Similarly, we do not find it necessary to distinguish between indigenous minority

languages (e.g., Sorbian in Germany) and migrant minority languages (e.g., Turkish in Germany).

English, as the “hypercentral” (De Swaan 2001) language of globalization, is best placed in a separate category because it is used and highly prized internationally. In contexts where English is a national language (USA, UK, etc.) it is more than a “majority language” because it has a much wider reach, and in contexts where it is a migrant language it would be inappropriate to pretend that it is just another “minority language” – as is of course evidenced by the fact that migrant English speakers are usually not considered migrants at all, but “expatriates”. Furthermore, English is so widely learned as an additional language through schooling, and used as a lingua franca of international communication in domains as diverse as academia, business, diplomacy, and tourism that the distinction between “minority” and “majority” simply does not apply.

3. Gender and multilingualism in employment

We draw on the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1991) in considering language, and specifically multilingual skills, as a form of symbolic capital that can be transformed into economic and social capital in the multilingual marketplace. The way in which the ability to transform linguistic capital into economic capital is gendered is clearly demonstrated in a study by François Grin (2001), an economist studying the economic value of English in Switzerland. In a quantitative study of a sample of around 2,000 Swiss residents, this researcher found that men who are highly proficient in English reported an average monthly income of CHF 7,636. By contrast, the average monthly income of women who are highly proficient in English was CHF 4,096. Apart from the shocking difference in net earning, there is another gender difference: for men, their earnings rise progressively from “no” proficiency in English, via “low” and “basic” to “fluent”, i.e. the most proficient speakers of English are rewarded the most. By contrast, for women there is a progressive rise only from “no” via “low” to “basic”, but no further incremental gain is associated with “fluent” proficiency. As the author explains, this non-linearity is due to the fact that proficient female speakers are more likely to work part-time than their male peers. However, the effect remains even when full-time equivalent earnings are calculated. Clearly, Swiss women who are highly proficient in English are less successful in converting their linguistic capital into economic capital than their male peers.

In order to model the relationship between gender, multilingualism and employment it is useful to distinguish between different types of work. A crucial difference is, of course, the one that holds between paid and unpaid work – a difference that has long been a gender default line, with paid work being more easily accessible to men, and unpaid work – such as subsistence farming, household work, child-rearing and other forms of care work – being

¹ De Swaan (2001) distinguishes between five different types of languages but for the purposes of this paper reference to three will suffice.

women's work. We will discuss the ways in which multilingualism can end up as unpaid women's work in Section 4.2. In most societies around the world, paid work is no longer the exclusive domain of men, and women are as likely as men to take up paid employment. However, crucial differences remain in the type of work that is being taken up. Somewhat crudely, we find it useful to distinguish between three different types of employment because they can be associated with distinct patterns of gendered multilingualism: these are (1) the primary extraction and productive jobs of the "old" economic order, (2) the service jobs of the "new" economic order, and (3) paid reproductive work. We will discuss the ways in which multilingualism and gender intersect in each of these arrangements in turn.

3.1 Gendered bilingualism in the "old" economic order

Gender and bilingualism were first put together in research in the 1970s and 1980s with the emergence of language and Gender Studies. The pioneers of the field - researchers such as Susan Gal (1978), Jane Hill (1987) or Brigitte Schlieben-Lange (1977) - were concerned with bilingualism in minority communities whose economic base was agriculture, primary extraction, and production, and which assigned work in these areas to men and reproductive work to women. In such contexts, men may encounter more opportunities to become bilingual in the majority language, since more chances for interactions in the majority language exist outside the subsistence farm and/or home. Indigenous women in Latin America, for instance, are often less likely than their male peers to be bilingual in Spanish (e.g., Hill 1987, Spedding 1994). Hill (1987) studied the use of Spanish and Mexicano, or Nahuatl, in rural communities in the region of the Malinche Volcano in Mexico. Women in this community had less access to education than men and spoke less Spanish. As a result, it was difficult for them to join the paid labor force, for which the use of Spanish was crucial, and they had limited opportunities to practice whatever Spanish they knew. Often, a vicious circle emerges in which limited proficiency in the majority language limits access to (non-domestic) paid employment, which, in turn, limits interactional opportunities in the majority language.

A further twist is added by the emergence of English as a language that is prized even higher than Spanish (Niño-Murcia 2003). This Peruvian study suggests that rural Peruvians imagine English as the road to a better life. They are aware that Peruvian cities are not offering them better chances because they will be seen as inferior, racialized Quechua speakers. The same awareness does not extend to what it means to be a Latino immigrant in the United States, though. Consequently, learning English takes on a greater significance than learning Spanish because English is imagined to provide the means of escape from the harsh conditions of life in rural Peru.

Minority women often relate their bleak social and economic situation to their use of the minority language. Consequently, they may be ready to

spearhead language shift to the majority language if they have the opportunity. This pattern was first demonstrated by Gal (1978) in her work on the bilingual town of Oberwart in Austria. In the minority Hungarian community there, young women led the shift towards German. They were motivated by a symbolic link between German and industrial work that was becoming available at the time. For these peasant women, German-speaking factory work represented a significant improvement over the drudgery of Hungarian-speaking peasant life. McDonald (1994) reports similar findings for Breton peasant women for whom language shift from Breton to French represented a symbolic journey "from cow-shit to finery". At the time of the research, young women moved away from rural Brittany in droves, in search of a better life in the urban centers.

In sum, in "old" economy contexts the link between employment, gender and bilingualism is indirect: the job opportunities available to minority communities are agricultural and working class jobs, and minority women find themselves in a doubly marginalized position: they are disadvantaged as minority members, and as women. Minority women "misrecognize" - in Bourdieu's (1991) term - language as the cause of their oppression and limited prospects, and consider language shift as a way to improve their employment prospects, and their economic and social prospects more generally.

3.2 Gendered language work in the "new" economic order

The processes of urbanization that researchers such as Susan Gal and Maryon McDonald observed in the 1970s and 1980s of course continue unabated. However, some rural minority communities and particularly women in these communities have been able to turn their languages into a commodity: the commodity being, ironically, a marker of authenticity in tourism contexts. A good example for this process is provided by Nushu (or Nü Shu), the women's script used by women in China's Hunan province. Often used as a textbook example of the only "women's language" in the world, this script was traditionally used as a secret language by "sworn sisters" to lament the hardships of having to leave one's birth family at marriage. As the lot of women improved with the Chinese Revolution, including access to literacy in the standard Chinese script, Nushu fell into disuse. However, today there is a significant tourist market for Nushu, with a language school open only to women in Jianyong City. Jianyong has emerged as an important destination for cultural tourism, and souvenirs include Nushu embroidery and other language-related artefacts: "tourists and academics come to hear the women sing, sew and write". A Nushu museum, sponsored by Hong Kong entrepreneurs and the Ford Foundation, will open in 2007 (Watts 2005).² A similar commodification of minority languages as signifiers of authenticity in tourism and a substantial participation of women in these projects is obvious

² See also the Wikipedia entry on Nushu at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nushu> (08.07.2006).

in cultural and heritage tourist destinations from around the world, even if it has received only limited sociolinguistic attention to date (but see Heller, 2005, for a notable exception).

Multilingual skills are even more obviously commodified in other forms of language work, i.e. any form of labor where the work that is remunerated is linguistic (e.g., language teachers, translators and interpreters, call center staff). The language workforce is heavily feminized. Communication styles that are valued in these jobs are those that have traditionally been considered "female speech styles", as Deborah Cameron (2000a, b, 2005) has repeatedly shown in her work in relation to monolingual English-speaking call centers. About two thirds of call center workers in European and North American call centers are young women, recruited "on account of presumed 'feminine' characteristics, primarily aptitude for communication and personal skills" (Glucksmann 2004). The evidence from multilingual language work, be it English teachers in Germany (Gohrisch 1998) or call center workers in Canada (Roy 2003, Heller 2005), points in the same direction: it is a heavily feminized industry.

However, we do not regard this feminization of multilingual language work a cause for celebration: most language workers, like most service workers generally, work in casual, part-time, relatively poorly paid jobs with little job security (Massey 2004). Indeed, as Heller (2003) demonstrates with reference to bilingual service workers in Canada, their career prospects may be more limited than those of their monolingual peers because the organization of workplaces is such that it ensures that bilingual staff will remain in positions where their multilingual skills are most useful, namely in "front-line" service work. Language work fits in well with typical female biographies: its casual nature makes it possible to combine work with "family", i.e. unpaid reproductive work (see Section 4).

In sum, recent decades have been characterized by fundamental changes in the economic order. These changes have heavily impacted on gender and multilingualism, both independently and in interaction. When minority languages were tied to authenticity, minority women often ended up less multilingual than their male peers, their monolingualism making them in effect "living symbols of tradition" (Cameron 1992). The road to economic advancement under the "old" economic order included the journey from mono- or bilingualism in the minority language to monolingualism in the majority language. The new economic order, of which tourism is a central sector, and where "authenticity" now comes with a price tag, has meant that minority communities, and particularly minority women, have sometimes been able to find economic value in putting their minority language on sale. In the new economic order, the road to economic advancement therefore includes the journey from mono- or bilingualism in the minority language to multilingualism in the minority language, the majority language, and English – it is impossible to sell your commodified language to the tourists if you cannot communicate with them, and English is the language of choice for tourist-

host communication internationally. Additionally, a host of language-related job opportunities has emerged for minority as well as majority women that call for multilingual skills – job opportunities that are heavily feminized, i.e. casual, part-time, junior, relatively poorly paid, and with little job security. However, whatever the shortcomings of language work may be, there is another feminized job sector that is significantly more exploitative, and to which we will now turn.

3.3 Paid reproductive work

Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy (Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2002) is the title of an illuminating book about the profound impact globalization has had on gender relations worldwide. As a consequence of the so-called "structural adjustment measures" imposed by the World Bank and related bodies, the gap between rich and poor has further widened on this globe. The fact of ever-increasing inequality is well-documented (Munck 2005) despite the rhetoric that often heralds globalization as a form of development aid. At the same time that the economic pressures on families in the global South³ increase, the global media bring images of consumerism to almost every household in the world, in a kind of "material striptease" (Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2002).

One of the consequences of neoliberal economic regimes in conjunction with the iconization of consumerism is that women, more than ever before, are on the move. In the late 1990s, the number of migrant women equaled the number of migrant men for the first time in recorded history (ibid.). Female migratory flows mainly originate in South-East Asia, Latin America, and Africa, and are directed towards Europe, the Gulf States, and North America. The overwhelming majority of these "new" female economic migrants do typical "women's work", i.e. reproductive work such as domestic work, child care and elder care, as well as sex work. Indeed the booming mail-order bride industry can be considered part of the same phenomenon (Piller, in press a). These women are linked in what has come to be described as "global care chains" – where, for instance, an affluent North American dual-income couple hires a live-in nanny from the Philippines to care for their children. This woman from a middle-class background has to leave her own children behind in the Philippines, and hires another woman, an internal migrant from a rural area in the Philippines to care for them. This woman in turn has left her own care responsibilities behind, typically as unpaid work for her mother, mother-in-law, sister, or another female relative. The need for reproductive workers has re-emerged in the global North not because women there have taken up paid work outside the home (see above) but rather because men there have NOT taken up unpaid work in the home (Blair-Loy & Jacobs 2003). For many women in the global North migrant reproductive

³ The terms "global North" and "global South" follow the usage of the Brandt Report, as has become the norm in globalization and development studies.

workers provide them with a way out of "the second shift" (Hochschild 2003). What used to be a gender divide – domestic work – is being replaced by a class and race divide that is also gendered (Grob & Rothmann 2005).

How does language play out in these global domestic scenarios? To begin with, the multilingualism of international reproductive workers has, to the best of our knowledge, not been the subject of explicit research, despite an increasing body of sociological work (e.g., Anderson 2000, Chang 2000, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, Parrenas 2001, 2005). On the basis of this literature it is obvious that the women who join the "care drain" are mostly highly educated and from comparatively privileged backgrounds, but even so, they may not speak the language of the host country or have only limited proficiency in it. As Anderson (1997) puts it: "domestic work does not require the worker to speak the language of the host country". Indeed, from the employer's perspective non-existent or limited proficiency in the dominant language may be an advantage: reproductive work involves access to the most intimate details of family life, and limited proficiency may serve as a way to keep up the pretense of distance. Limited proficiency in the majority language may also be one way for the employer to regard the reproductive worker as inferior and to rationalize their unequal status, as one Filipina interviewee in a study of domestic workers in Toronto put it: "they think you are as stupid as your English is" (England & Stiell 1997). Clearly, limited proficiency is a way to curtail the limited freedoms of migrant domestic workers even further. In a recent Australian court trial migrant sex workers – a related sector – were found to have been held in slavery because "while the women were not kept under lock and key, they could not run away as they had no money, no passport, limited English and were told to avoid immigration authorities" (AAP 2006). The quote exemplifies how crippling limited proficiency can be, particularly for reproductive workers, as it often co-occurs with other constraints upon their freedom such as illegal visa status or fear of deportation.

Limited or non-existent proficiency in the majority language exacerbates the vulnerability of migrant reproductive workers. It is also implicated in making reproductive work more strenuous. Again, we are not aware of a systematic exploration of multilingualism in labor that is intrinsically emotionally strenuous, as well as physically taxing. However, it is clear that migrant reproductive workers are extremely vulnerable to emotional stress: they often leave their own children behind to care for the children of others, and the emotional costs of transnational motherhood are well documented (Dreby 2006). In addition to guilt as a key emotion with regard to the children left behind, care work, by its very nature, involves a high degree of emotional work. Not being able to communicate with the persons one cares for may add to the emotional difficulty of the work. In the literature we consulted, lack of linguistic proficiency is a re-occurring aspect of interviews with migrant care workers when they recount the hardships of their work. As an example, we are quoting from an interview with Veronica, a 24-year-

old dentistry student from Ecuador, who, as an undocumented immigrant, works as a live-in care-taker for an elderly man in Tel Aviv:

I started right away working as a live-in caretaker of an old man. The first week was a nightmare. For someone like me who had never done this type of job and, on top of it, in a completely unknown country and without knowing a single word in Hebrew!! . . . I was supposed to be at his side round the clock and stay at home. I could not help but cry the whole week. (Raijman, Schammah-Gesser & Kemp 2003: 738)

In sum, migrant reproductive workers tend to find themselves in the same depressing and isolated situation that full-time unpaid homemakers find themselves in – a staple of the feminist critique of gender arrangements since Friedan (1963). While the isolation experienced by migrant reproductive workers may be similar to those of the American housewife of the 1950s, illegal status, lack of linguistic proficiency and related aspects clearly exacerbate their dependency and vulnerability. Consequently, most migrant reproductive workers regard living-out arrangements as their only "career" option: not only does it give them greater control over the hours they work, and allows them to separate work and private life, it also crucially allows them to learn the language of the host society.

Paid and unpaid reproductive work are linked in numerous ways, as expressed, for instance in the global care chain, described above. We will now turn away from paid employment to focus on the implication of multilingualism in social reproduction. We do so by focusing on the gendered romancing of language and multilingualism.

4. Romancing multilingualism

In addition to work, the family on the basis of heterosexual coupling is the second key site where gender is produced and reproduced. We will address two aspects where gender and multilingualism intersect, namely heterosexual romance and childrearing.

4.1 Language desire

A while ago, one of the authors, Ingrid Piller, had a conversation with a Swedish colleague about language learning in school, and the colleague shared his disappointment that his teenage daughter had decided to learn Spanish as a second foreign language in school, rather than German, which he considered much more useful. He proceeded to list a number of reasons why German would have been a wiser choice, and eventually I asked him how his daughter had come to choose Spanish in the face of such strong advice for German. He replied, "She said, 'Daddy, German boys are sooo boring'." This is not an example of the idiosyncratic preference of a teenager – the stereotype of the "Latin Lover" is as widely available in European cul-

tures as is the stereotype of boring Germans. In this section, we therefore explore gendered language learning choices that interrelate with gendered romantic desires.

"Relationship English" – English for the specific purpose of conducting a romantic relationship – has become the most recent addition to the offerings of the ever-expanding TESOL industry. In the German-speaking market, at least two "flirt guides" English textbooks were published in 2005: *Flirting and Dating* (The Grooves 2005), and the *English Flirt Guide* ("Flirtsprachführer") published by language textbook market leader Langenscheidt (no author 2005). These publications are part of a wider discourse about the romance of English – a romance that is clearly gendered. In Germany, the romance of English, as a romance with English speakers, can be traced back to the American occupation of post-WW II Germany when large numbers of German "war brides" entered intimate relationships with GIs. Another aspect of the European dream of America is best captured by the pop song "Ich will 'nen Cowboy zum Mann" ("I want to marry a cowboy") from the 1960s. These wider societal discourses that link romance with English-speaking men with learning English have become part of individuals' "language desires", as documented in Piller (2002, in press b) and Piller and Takahashi (2006). The pop-song refrain, for instance, is almost ventriloquized in an interview with a German-born woman, married to an American man, who says about her romantic desires before she met her husband:

I always wanted to marry a cowboy. [...] [L]ike, I just said this jokingly but even as a kid I always wanted to marry a cowboy. I always liked America, and the idea of America, and having married you was NOT AT ALL coincidental, like you just happened to be American. [...] I like English. [...] I studied English. I've always liked English, everything that has to do with English. Old English, Middle English, American English, British English. (Piller 2002: 100f.)

Like many desires, language desire, too, may be hegemonic, and an instrument through which individuals conspire in their own oppression. This becomes very clear in an ethnographic study of Japanese women on a study-abroad experience in Australia (Piller & Takahashi 2006, Takahashi 2006). The participants in the study often had spent their youth in Japan fantasizing about romantic relationships with Hollywood stars such as Tom Cruise or Brad Pitt. Once they followed their dreams and embarked upon an overseas experience in Sydney, they found that Sydney was by no means the welcoming place they had imagined. There, they had imagined themselves becoming fluent in English easily and effortlessly. When this did not happen and they found that it was actually difficult to even enter into interactions with English speakers, their search for an English-speaking romantic partner gained new urgency. An English-speaking romantic partner seemed a way to ensure regular interactions in English. The English speakers they sought out as potential romantic partners were first and foremost White, so that the link between symbolic ownership of English and race was reproduced. While all of

the participants exerted considerable agency in their choices of potential romantic partners, the power imbalance inherent in the emotional relationship that sets up the West as object of desire and Japanese women as the desirers serves powerful market interests. This is the language school and study overseas market, and, on a broader level, the consumption of all the branded goods and services associated with a desirable Western lifestyle. All of the participants stayed on in Sydney beyond the originally intended period, which led most of them into a financially difficult or dependent situation. As the expected rewards of these sacrifices – fluency in English, full participation in Sydney's fashionable society, a handsome, White boyfriend – were not forthcoming, desire could even give way to depression.

Romancing English and an English-speaking romantic partner is one form of language desire. Another form of language desire is bilingual child-rearing to which we will now turn.

4.2 Multilingual child-rearing

Desire that links language learning to a romantic relationship with a speaker of the desired language is but one of the discursive spaces which surround the ever increasing numbers of international intimate relationships – relationships that often result in international families. Like all parents, bilingual parents are the target audience for the burgeoning parenting advice genre. Advice is offered on almost any conceivable aspect of the parent-child relationship from conception (Williams 2006) to training physical superiority (Doman, Doman & Hagy 2006), and does of course also include bilingual parenting. Two major strands of bilingual child-rearing advice can be distinguished: there is the fashion of teaching babies sign language before they learn how to speak (e.g., Acredolo, Goodwyn & Abrams 2002, Garcia 2002, Briant 2004), and there is advice on raising children bilingually in two or more oral languages (e.g., Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson 1999, Harding-Esch & Riley 2003, Tokuhama-Espinosa 2003, Barron-Hauwaert 2004). These and many related products (websites, Internet forums, newspaper articles, etc.) regularly extol the wonderful advantages of raising children bilingually. We do not wish to debate the virtues of being exposed to more than one language from an early age. However, we do want to discuss what "bilingual parenting" means from a gender perspective. Most of the advice literature uses admirably gender-neutral language, and presents bilingual "parenting" as outside of the realm of the gendered division of family labor. However, in the same way that sociologists have observed that men have not taken on their fair share of reproductive work at the same time that women have taken on paid employment outside the home, it can be assumed that the same is true for bilingual parenting. A good example comes from Toshie Okita's (2002) ethnographic research with Japanese mothers in the UK. All of the women in the study had – or had originally had – the ambition to raise their children bilingually in English and Japanese. As they were all married

to British men with limited or no proficiency in Japanese, it was clear that they would have to take on the task of teaching their children Japanese. One of the many consequences this had was that the stay-at-home-mum model became the only viable option during their children's preschool years to ensure sufficient exposure. Alternative care arrangements – from having family and friends look after the children to institutional childcare arrangements – necessarily meant curtailing input in Japanese. Thus, bilingual mothering was hard work for these women, and it was the harder because it was not recognized as work; like many forms of emotional and reproductive work it is “invisible work” – invisible even to some of the fathers in the study. Indeed, one of the reasons why bilingual childrearing became so stressful for these women is because their partners failed to recognize their work and support them. This researcher is clear about the gendered implications bilingual child-rearing has for mothers: it “lead[s] to disempowerment, intensified pressure, guilt and personal trauma” (Okita 2002: 230).

5. Conclusion

Multilingualism is a form of practice, and it is a gendered practice. We have structured our discussion of the intersections between multilingualism and gender around the two key domains where gender is produced and reproduced, namely economic production and social reproduction. These have changed considerably in the context of globalization, and with them the interrelationship between multilingualism and gender has changed. We see two broad ways in which gender structures multilingualism in these domains: gender structures access to language as symbolic capital, and “doing multilingualism” may in itself be a gendered practice. Access to valued languages or language varieties is gendered in all those contexts where a strong public-private distinction is apparent. These are “old economy” gender relationships predicated upon the model of the male breadwinner and the stay-at-home housewife, but also the new (or renewed) domestication of women as migrant care givers. It is of course obvious that gender alone cannot explain how access to valued languages is denied to migrant women who are reproductive workers: gender needs to be understood as a global relationship which is predicated upon the North-South divide, and the exploitation of the global South. How can we improve access to the dominant languages for these women? It seems to us that this question needs to be rephrased to ask: how can we advocate for greater global justice? Anderson (1997) tells the story of a Filipina who came to Paris to work as an undocumented maid, and became depressed when she realized that she had left her small children behind in order to look after her employer's dogs. No doubt, learning French would be in a way beneficial to this woman but the fundamental problem is an unjust world where choices are as bleak as this one, nothing more than the best of a bunch of bad options.

In addition to issues of access, multilingualism as a (commodified) practice has in itself become gendered. Language work, language learning, and bilingual childrearing have all become sites that are implicated in the reproduction of hegemonic gender ideologies. Be it “authentic” minority languages on display in heritage tourism, be it the marketing of studying English in Australia as a way to be swept off one's feet by an English-speaking Prince Charming, or be it bilingual child-rearing as an addition to the innumerable invisible tasks of “women's work” – multilingualism becomes a discursive space where hegemonic notions of femininity and masculinity are produced. These are domains where we see our own profession – as language teachers and academic linguists – directly implicated: extolling the virtues of language learning, studying abroad, or childhood bilingualism as if these were intrinsically valuable without reference to their social context is at best naïve, and at worst politically dangerous.

References

- AAP. “Sex Slavery: First Woman Jailed.” *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 9, 2006.
- Acredolo, Linda, Susan Goodwyn, Douglas Abrams. *Baby Signs: How to Talk with Your Baby before Your Baby Can Talk*. New York: McGraw Hill, 2002.
- Anderson, Bridget Jane. *Doing the Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*. London: Zed Books, 2000.
- . “Servants and Slaves: Europe's Domestic Workers.” *Race and Class* 39:1 (1997): 37-49.
- Appadurai, Arun. “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy.” *Theory, Culture and Society* 7 (1990): 295-310.
- Barron-Hauwaert, Suzanne. *Language Strategies for Bilingual Families: The One-Parent One-Language Approach, Parents & Teachers Guides*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004.
- Blair-Loy, Mary, Jerry A. Jacobs. “Globalization, Work Hours, and the Care Deficit among Stockbrokers.” *Gender and Society* 17:2 (2003): 230-249.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity, 1991.
- Briant, Monta. *Baby Sign Language Basics, Hay House Lifestyles*. Carlsbad, CA: Hay House, 2004.
- Cameron, Deborah. “Communication and Commodification: Global Economic Change in Sociolinguistic Perspective.” *Language, Communication and the Economy*. Eds. Guido Erreygers, Geert Jacobs. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005, 9-23.
- . *Feminism and Linguistic Theory*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- . *Good to Talk? Living and Working in a Communication Culture*. London: Sage, 2000a.
- . “Styling the Worker: Gender and the Commodification of Language in the Globalized Service Economy.” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4:3 (2000b): 323-347.

- Chang, Grace. *Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000.
- Cunningham-Andersson, Una, Staffan Andersson. *Growing up with Two Languages: A Practical Guide*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Davis, Kathryn A., Ellen Skilton-Sylvester, eds. Special issue: Gender and Language Education. *TESOL Quarterly* 38:3 (2004).
- De Swaan, Abram. *Words of the World: The Global Language System*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2001.
- Doman, Glenn, Douglas Doman, Bruce Hagy. *How to Teach Your Baby to Be Physically Superb: From Birth to Age Six: The Gentle Revolution*. New York: Square One Publishers, 2006.
- Dreby, Joanna. "Honor and Virtue: Mexican Parenting in the Transnational Context." *Gender and Society* 20:1 (2006): 32-59.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara, Arlie Russell Hochschild. "Introduction." *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. In Ehrenreich, Hochschild, 2002, 1-13.
- , eds. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan Press, 2002.
- England, Kim, Bernadette Stiehl. "'They Think You're as Stupid as Your English Is': Constructing Foreign Domestic Workers in Toronto." *Environment and Planning A* 29:2 (1997): 195-215.
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1963.
- Gal, Susan. "Peasant Men Don't Get Wives: Language and Sex Roles in a Bilingual Community." *Language in Society* 7:1 (1978): 1-17.
- Garcia, Joseph. *Sign with Your Baby: How to Communicate with Infants before They Can Speak*. Mukilteo, WA: Northlight Communications, 2002.
- Glucksmann, Miriam A. "Call Configurations: Varieties of Call Center and Divisions of Labour." *Work, Employment and Society* 18:4 (2004): 795-811.
- Gohrlich, Jana. "Zur Situation des Anglistischen Nachwuchses [the Situation of Junior Academics in English Studies]." *Anglistik: Mitteilungen des Verbandes Deutscher Anglisten* 9:2 (1998): 131-140.
- Grin, Francois. "English as Economic Value: Facts and Fallacies." *World Englishes* 20:1 (2001): 65-78.
- Grob, Rachel, Barbara Katz Rothmann. "Parenting and Inequality." *The Blackwell Companion to Social Inequalities*. Eds. Mary Romero, Eric Margolis. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005, 238-256.
- Harding-Esch, Edith, Philip Riley. *The Bilingual Family: A Handbook for Parents*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Heller, Monica. "Globalization, the New Economy, and the Commodification of Language and Identity." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7:4 (2003): 473-492.
- . "Language, Skill and Authenticity in the Globalized New Economy." *Noves SL: Revista de Sociolinguística* 4 (2005).
<<http://www6.gencat.net/llengcat/noves/hm05hivern/docs/heller.pdf>> (17.08.2006).
- Hill, Jane H. "Women's Speech in Modern Mexicano." *Language, Gender, and Sex in Comparative Perspective*. Eds. Susan Philips, Susan Steele, Christine Tanz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 121-160.

- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. *The Second Shift*. New York: Penguin, 2003.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. *Doméstica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Langman, Juliet. Special issue: (Re)constructing Gender in a New Voice. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 3:4 (2004).
- Massey, Doreen. "Space, Place and Gender." *The City Cultures Reader*. Eds. Malcolm Miles, Tim Hall, Iain Borden. London & New York: Routledge, 2004, 307-310.
- McDonald, Maryon. "Women and Linguistic Innovation in Brittany." *Bilingual Women: Anthropological Approaches to Second-Language Use*. Eds. Pauline Burton, Ketaki Kushari Dyson, Shirley Ardener. Oxford & Providence, RI: Berg, 1994, 85-110.
- Munck, Ronaldo. "Social Exclusion: New Inequality Paradigm for the Era of Globalization?" *The Blackwell Companion to Social Inequalities*. Eds. Mary Romero, Eric Margolis. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005, 31-49.
- Niño-Murcia, Mercedes. "'English Is Like the Dollar': Hard Currency Ideology and the Status of English in Peru." *World Englishes* 22:2 (2003): 121-141.
- No Author. *Flirtsprachführer Englisch [English Flirting Guide]*. Munich: Langenscheidt, 2005.
- Norton, Bonny P., Aneta Pavlenko, eds. *Gender and English Language Learners*. Alexandria, VA: TESOL, 2004.
- Okita, Toshie. *Invisible Work: Bilingualism, Language Choice and Childrearing in Intermarried Families*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2002.
- Parrenas, Rhacel Salazar. *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- . *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Pavlenko, Aneta. "Bilingualism, Gender, and Ideology." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 5:2 (2001): 117-151.
- . "Gender and Sexuality in Foreign and Second Language Education: Critical and Feminist Approaches." *Critical Pedagogies and Language Learning*. Eds. Bonny P. Norton, Kelleen Toohey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 52-71.
- , Adrian Blackledge, Ingrid Piller, Marya Teutsch-Dwyer, eds. *Multilingualism, Second Language Learning, and Gender*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001.
- , Ingrid Piller. "Language Education and Gender." *The Encyclopedia of Language and Education*. Ed. Stephen May. Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic Publishers, in press.
- Piller, Ingrid. *Bilingual Couples Talk: The Discursive Construction of Hybridity*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2002.
- . "Cross-Cultural Communication in Intimate Relationships." *Intercultural Communication*. Eds. Helga Kotthoff, Helen Spencer-Oatey. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, in press a.
- . "'I Always Wanted to Marry a Cowboy': Bilingual Couples, Language and Desire." *Cross-Cultural Couples: Transborder Relationships in the Twenty-First*

- Century. Eds. Terri A. Karis, Kyle Killian. Binghamton, NY: Haworth, in press b.
- , Aneta Pavlenko. "Bilingualism and Gender." *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Eds. Tej K. Bhatia, William C. Ritchie. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, 489-511.
- , Kimie Takahashi. "A Passion for English: Desire and the Language Market." *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression, and Representation*. Ed. Aneta Pavlenko. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2006, 59-83.
- Raijman, Rebeca, Silvina Schammah-Gesser, Adriana Kemp. "International Migration, Domestic Work, and Care Work: Undocumented Latina Migrants in Israel." *Gender and Society* 17:5 (2003): 727-749.
- Roy, Sylvie. "Bilingualism and Standardization in a Canadian Call Center: Challenges for a Linguistic Minority Community." *Language Socialization in Multilingual Societies*. Eds. Robert Bayley, Sandra R. Schecter. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2003, 269-287.
- Schlieben-Lange, Brigitte. "The Language Situation in Southern France." *Linguistics* 19 (1977): 101-108.
- Spedding, Alison. "Open Castilian, Closed Aymara? Bilingual Women in the Yungas of La Paz (Bolivia)." *Bilingual Women: Anthropological Approaches to Second-Language Use*. Eds. Pauline Burton, Ketaki Kushari Dyson, Shirley Ardener. Oxford & Providence, RI: Berg, 1994, 30-43.
- Takahashi, Kimie. "Akogare and English Language Learning: Japanese Women in Australia." PhD, University of Sydney, 2006.
- The Grooves. *Englisch Lernen mit the Grooves: Flirting & Dating*. Digital Publishing, 2005.
- Tokuhamma-Espinosa, Tracey, ed. *The Multilingual Mind: Issues Discussed by, for, and about People Living with Many Languages*. Westport, CT & London: Praeger, 2003.
- Watts, Jon. "Mother Tongue." *Mail & Guardian Online* 7 December (2005).
- Williams, Christopher D. *The Fastest Way to Get Pregnant Naturally: The Latest Information on Conceiving a Healthy Baby on Your Timetable*. New York: Hyperion, 2006.

Renate Haas

Language Teaching as a "Woman's Job": Historical and Current Perspectives¹

For a long time, languages have been considered a special interest and domain of women. Even today teaching would seem to constitute the central profession for German women, with German and the other languages playing the key role. In the 1960s, as many as two thirds of West Germany's working female academics were teachers (Ammann 2004: 96), and also concerning the 1990s, experts have assumed that teaching, for women, still outweighed all other professions (Enzelberger 2001: 334). In the next generation, no landslide is likely either: in 2004, over 70% of the first-year students aiming at a teaching career were female, and the subjects chosen most frequently were German and English (Statistisches Bundesamt, *Hochschulstandort* 2005: 49).

The idea of a feminisation of the teaching profession is being critically analyzed above all in sociology and pedagogy. What has been achieved for women so far is certainly still insufficient. For good reasons, Marianne Horstkemper, therefore, postulates that it will only be through a systematic critique and deconstruction of the gender hierarchy that the professionalisation of teaching can receive a decisive impulse (2000: 87f.).

How best tackle the complex task of presenting language teaching as a "woman's job" within a short survey? Perhaps through a literally radical approach: back to the roots of our foreign language teaching both in an individual and a collective sense, and at the same time, back to a fundamental element of the relevant gender constructs.

The beginnings of our foreign language teaching lie in the Middle Ages, and in the first part of this paper I will look at two early materials from England, *Femina* and *Femina nova*. They have been badly neglected, particularly with respect to gender, despite their titles, and highlight the fundamental element of gendering just mentioned: the concept of the mother tongue with its central component of the mother as the source of one's basic language. In its very opening, *Femina nova*, a later adaptation of *Femina*, claims the following:

Lyber iste vocatur femina quia sicut femina docet infantem loqui maternam sic docet iste liber Iuvenes rethorice loqui gallicum prout infra patebit. (1909: 1)²

¹ I dedicate this essay to the memory of my mother, Anna Haas (1918-2006).

² This book is called "Femina", because just as the woman teaches the infant to speak the mother tongue, this book teaches young people to speak French eloquently, as will become apparent below (my translation, RH).