

Discourse Analysis in IS Research: Constructing Presence in Virtual Organizing

Niki Panteli

School of Management, University of Bath

Bath, BA2 7AY, UK

Tel: +44 1225 383319, Fax: +44 1225 386473

mnsap@management.bath.ac.uk

Abstract

The paper argues for the use of discourse analysis in information systems research by drawing on a discourse analysis study of virtual organizing. It identifies a range of issues and potentials in the use of discourse analysis both as a theoretical and a methodological approach in this field of research. The paper presents a study of a virtual team project and takes a particular focus on the discursive patterns of presence. It succeeds in identifying three different articulations of presence in virtual organizing which have not been previously recognised in the literature. It concludes with the argument that these discursive articulations of presence are central to understanding virtual organizing and that discourse is an important object of analysis for studies in IS.

Keywords

Discourse analysis, methodology, virtual organizing

Introduction

Advancements in information and communication technologies have enabled new organizational arrangements to emerge by offering the potential to overcome constraints on time and distance around which organizations have traditionally been designed (Fulk and DeSanctis, 1995). Increasingly, these organizational arrangements are formed and operate in virtual space; they have been referred to as virtual organizations. The conventionally structured organization centring around an office whose purpose was to bring individuals together to communicate through face-to-face communication is, theoretically at least, no longer a pre-requisite for business development. The emergence of such new organizational forms means that it is becoming increasingly difficult to study organizations as if they were solid, fixed and bounded. Research attention is required to improve our understanding of the more ephemeral aspects upon which these organizations are formed (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). Following Phillips and Hardy (2002), I argue that discourse analysis provides a powerful way for studying the localised construction of these emergent forms of organizations. Even though discourse analysis has been used in studies on IT-enabled organizational change (Brown, 1998; Brown and Jones, 1998, Davidson, 1997; Heracleous and Barrett 2001), its relevance and applicability in understanding new IS phenomena has not been explored. For the purpose of this paper, particular attention is placed on the construction of presence in virtual organizing.

The existing body of research generally agrees that virtual organizations and virtual teams (Jarvenpaa and Leidner, 1999) consist of a collection of geographically dispersed individuals who work on a joint project or common tasks and communicate

electronically. The remoteness and dispersion of work and the removal of physical proximity appear to be key characteristics of virtual organizing. Following Panteli and Dibben (2001), the paper takes the view that virtual workplaces cannot be apprehended under the simplistic view of a physical organization at the centre that has peripheral, dispersed and electronically-linked segments. Rather it posits that virtual organizations centre around human cooperation and flows of information that bring together and separate at the same time their dispersed segments. In this environment it is through computer-mediated communication that people inform, update, argue, review, instruct and even socialise and gossip. In addition to this, computer-mediated communication can be used to promote collective thinking (Mercer, 2001) and as such it becomes a valuable medium for disseminating and legitimizing routines and structures across geographically dispersed communities and individuals who work on a joint project. In doing so, discourse shapes the project, influences its effectiveness and contributes to the structuring and constitution of an organization. Virtual organizing is not a process that uses discourse as a tool, but rather is a process that is created, produced, and maintained by and within this discourse. Given therefore this important role of discourse in constructing virtual organizing, I argue with this paper that discourse analysis is not a fancy new approach in information systems (IS) research, but that it could indeed make a real contribution to our discipline.

The aim of this paper is to examine the use of discourse analysis in studies on virtual organizing. In doing so, the paper draws on a discourse analysis study of a virtual team project and argues for the need to use discourse analysis both as a methodological approach and a theoretical way to reconceptualise presence in virtual organizing. The paper succeeds in identifying three articulations of presence in virtual organizing which have not been previously recognised in the literature.

1. A Discourse analysis study in Understanding Virtual Organizing

Discourse analysis has long been used in studies on sociology (e.g. Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995), social psychology (e.g. Wetherell and Potter, 1992) and of course linguistics (e.g. Coulthard, 1985; Nunan, 1993). Clearly, due to its cross-disciplinary nature the understanding of 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' are not as straightforward for they have been given different definitions and meanings. As Vaara and Tienari (2002: 278) explain: "linguists seem to understand discourse as language use, psychologists as cognition, and sociologists as social interaction (van Dijk, 1997)". Indeed, several definitions on what is 'discourse' are identified in the literature. For the purpose of this paper, discourse is defined "as an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being" (Phillips and Hardy, 2002:3); the object under study that is brought into being is presence within a virtual team project.

The epistemological assumption of this study draws upon social constructivist discourse analysis. This means that discursive patterns in language are viewed as regularities in text "through which phenomena are constructed, reconstructed and ignored" (Willet and Griffin, 1997: 109). Constructivist discourse analysis should be distinguished from critical discourse analysis, which takes a focus on discursive activity in constituting and sustaining traditional power relations (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). Even though the critical approach is sensitive to wider social issues, it does not consider the individual as an active agent (Heracleous and Barrett, 2001) and therefore does not treat text as a human action and thus a mediator of context. In this

paper text and context, the two key elements of discourse analysis, are treated as being dialectically related.

It follows that constructivist discourse analysis within a virtual context provides the potential for exploring how computer-mediated communication unpacks the creation and ongoing recreation of patterned social relationships. Where, for example, email is the dominant medium of communication, the text of email messages becomes an articulation of participant's relationships within the context of a virtual environment (Panteli, 2002; Ziv, 1996). This mediated language does not only reflect a specific virtual context but also helps in its production, reproduction and transformation.

2. The Object of the Study and Research Questions

Discourse analysis enables an exploration of concepts that have not previously been considered in the traditional organizational literature, but yet are crucial in our understanding of emergent forms of organization. Presence, in particular, is central to our understanding and conceptualisation of virtual organizing (Lombard and Ditton, 1997; Steuer, 1992). Despite this, the issue of presence has not been sufficiently explored nor well-articulated in studies on virtual organizing.

Presence in organizations has been related to physicality, synchronous availability and face to face communication and interaction. This conceptualisation, however, cannot be applied in the case of virtual organizing where presence becomes more ambiguous, fluid, distant and silenced with interesting implications on the nature of organizing in virtual space. Steuer (1992), in his study on exploring presence within a virtual reality context takes a focus on telepresence that he defined as being "the experience of presence in an environment by means of a communication medium. In other words, ... telepresence refers to the mediated perception of an environment" (p.76). Even though this articulation of presence clearly distinguishes the mediated nature of a virtual environment from the unmediated nature of one's immediate physical surroundings, it in fact neglects that any single individual could simultaneously be present in both a virtual and a physical environment and that the latter could have an influence on the former and vice versa. Discourse analysis is used in this paper to reveal the different articulations of presence in a virtual organizing context.

This study examined the organizing process of a virtual team project organised and managed by Alpha. It aimed to explore the constitutive nature of presence in a mediated environment. Discursive practices, I argue, have the ability to constitute and organise the project and the virtual project teams in a particular way by taking account of the shared mediated environment, the personal-mediated environment and the immediate physical environment.

The first research question focused on the processes of social construction: How does presence created in computer-mediated communication lead to the construction of virtual organizing? With this question, it was important to examine the microdynamics of discursive activity – in this way the 'text' was viewed as the representation of the organizing entity (i.e virtual team project). Even though text is the focus of the analysis, the nature of context needed to be taken into account as the virtual setting defines the way people communicate with each other. The content and context of text were analysed in an attempt to unpack the articulation of presence in virtual organizing. The second research question was: What kinds of presence exist and how are these affected by the specific form of mediation, i.e. computer-mediated? This question enables us to examine the role of mediated communication in enabling

team members to experience their presence in the project as well as how these members make use of this technology in their virtual interactions.

3. The Research Site and Method

Alpha is a remote management organization that has the responsibility for organizing and managing client projects on a virtual basis. Alpha forms project teams drawing from its own list of registered individuals in its web-based skills database.

Data were collected with regard to a particular project, namely that of a foreign-language engineering cataloguing project (FLEC) which officially commenced in January 2001 the time when the commercial contract was signed with a US-based organization. Overall, this project involved 25 remote team members including three project team managers and two quality managers, and with additional support from workers in Scotland, England and Spain. The managing director (MD) served as the coordinator of the project while another Alpha executive had the responsibility for negotiating with the client. Email was the chosen medium for FLEC which, though text-based and asynchronous, was widely available and could enable messages to reach multi-recipients almost simultaneously

For the whole duration of this virtual team project, I was given access to all the MD's emails regarding this project; these involved emails with clients, the Alpha executive, potential project members, contracts and other relevant information as well as a sample task sent to members. Furthermore, I was put in the email distribution list of the MD and the project quality manager, which enabled me to follow the project as this was evolving. Emails sent by team members and project managers to the MD were also forwarded to me by the MD. In total, 432 emails were collected. I cannot claim that all the emails exchanged within this team project were collected. However, what I can claim is that the emails gathered were authentic (i.e. genuine) and that they were representative of the experiences of this virtual project team. Therefore, semi-structured interviews took place with the MD, the executive manager, a quality manager and three team members so that a more complete picture of the project experiences might be collected. Further to these, two project team meetings were attended that gave the opportunity to talk to other team members and project managers and hear their views and experiences in being part of the project.

4. Research Analysis Approach

Email texts were analysed using a method which drew on both grounded theory and constructivist discourse analysis. Grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was used in order to categorise the data collected and following from this the discourse analysis was used to identify the discursive patterns through which presence has been constructed in each of these categories.

Initial data analysis took the form of coding where data are broken down, conceptualised, and put back together in new ways (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). At this stage, we took each email and asked: *what seems to be said in this email? What makes it similar or different to the emails exchanged so far?* Once all the data were examined, the concepts were grouped in terms of recurring themes. These themes led to the identification of two sets of broad categories. The first category identified the stages of forming the project and project teams (e.g. Negotiations with client, Information about the project; Negotiating with employees; Selecting and Recruiting employees, Signing contracts) and the second category identified stages and themes related to the development of the project (e.g. Task allocation, Project progress, Team

and Employee management; Feedback; Renegotiating Roles; Staff Withdrawal; File Management; Technical Issues; Meeting Arrangements; Training Arrangements; Encouragement; Personal Information).

Following from this, for each of these categories it was aimed to identify the different ways in which participants talked about presence. In what follows the various types of presence are discussed.

5. Discursive Patterns of Presence in Virtual Space

My analysis identified several recurrent patterns in the discourse interwoven in the computer-mediated communication of FLEC participants. These discourses were found in different and sometimes contradictory ways around three types of environments: the shared-mediated environment, one’s personal (non-shared)-mediated environment and one’s immediate physical environment. Several discursive ways were identified in the email texts that when put together contribute towards the construction of presence in a virtual organizing context: present availability, absent unavailability and silenced availability.

Table 1 presents the different discursive ways in which presence is constructed around the three types of environments.

Table 1:
Discursive Patterns of Presence – The Case of Alpha Virtual Team Project

Patterns of Presence In Virtual Organizing	Constructing a Shared-Mediated Environment	Constructing a Personal-Mediated Environment	Constructing an Immediate Physical Environment
Present Availability	Time Availability; Commitment; Online Accessibility Task Allocation; Completion of Tasks; Meeting Deadlines; Role Reallocation	Other Virtual work commitments (thus, reduced availability on Alpha project); Setting out work Boundaries	Personal commitments that interfere with Alpha project (e.g. college, family); Who is Who; Family news
Absent Unavailability	Role Reallocation	Other work Commitments; Explaining ‘absence’ on Alpha project	Holidays; Trips; Domestic Issues that restrict presence on the project
Silenced Availability	No reply to emails; Team members’ frustration; Power differentials	Silence	Silence

5.1 Present availability

Traditionally, being part of a team project necessitates that a member will work jointly with other team members in a shared (physical) environment to achieve a common task within a specific time frame. In a virtual context, this shared environment is mediated by electronic media such as email and it requires a form of presence that I call present availability. This is the case when people are available to work on the project and this is shown in terms of both time and online availability within the shared-mediated environment.

The need to create a shared-mediated environment for the purpose of the project was clear in much of the talk that took place in category A which saw the formation of FLEC through the selection and recruitment of project members. In one of the earliest emails distributed, the following job advertisement was written by the managing director inviting comments by the Alpha executive:

*“(...-please alter and return, or cut and paste as it is to whoever. OK?)
We are looking for personnel to take part in a large cataloguing / translation contract,...*

...

Availability:

The contract duration is anticipated to be between 18 months and 2 years, depending on how many people will be involved. We need therefore a reasonable indication of your availability in terms of hours per week, and number of months ahead that you can reasonably agree to prioritise, if you are selected...” (Email No.9, Subject: Work Specification – Tenders Please).

When individuals could not commit to the time availability requested but they had the skills and interest in contributing to the project, they had negotiations with the MD involved to make alternative arrangements. For example, one of the team members made an arrangement to work only one day a week on the Alpha project as she was committed on other projects during the same period of time. Through the negotiations for present availability on the project, team members were also uncovering their presence in other (non-shared) environments; their immediate physical environment (e.g. family and college commitments) and their ‘other’ personal-mediated environment when these individuals were involved in other virtual projects, such as the case of the team member above.

Within category A, a second recurrent theme was the need to access emails regularly. This presence signifies online availability and regular email accessibility. Here presence is directly related to the virtual nature of work context as it recognises the computer-mediated character of communication:

“Email is to be regarded as the prime means of communication for the project. All members of project teams will be expected to check email for messages on a regular basis, and on an absolute minimum of twice per day” (Extract from the Project Manager’s contract).

The dissemination of timely information and responsiveness to urgent queries as well as the allocation and completion of tasks where members meet their set deadlines show participants’ presence on the project unpacking in this way their present availability in both time and online terms. In several instances, this negotiated presence was being renegotiated further during the duration of the project preserving the fluid and flexible character of virtual organizing.

Moreover, during the performing stage of the project (Category B), there was more evidence on the use of discourse to construct one’s immediate physical environment. For example, the MD tended to introduce any new member who joined the project by making reference to their physical location, family circumstances and personal interests. Also, emails were sent to announce new additions to someone’s family (e.g. a baby, Email No. 385).

In sum, online availability and time availability showing commitment in the project were found to be the defining features of present availability in the shared-mediated environment. However, the presence of these individuals in other environments, when talked about, allows for a more comprehensive construction of presence in virtual organizing as it identifies the factors that affect present availability.

5.2 Absent Unavailability

Absent unavailability indicates the case when people are unavailable to work on the project due to commitments in their physical or personal-mediated environment. For example, this was the case with people going on holidays, taking trips away or other personal and family situations have to keep them away from virtual work:

“Apologies all around ---...Got to London to find household in chaos after a particularly invasive burglary last night, so the rest of the day has been spent in talking to police officers, getting locksmiths to come and change the locks (the burglar stole a bag containing the house keys --- very creepy), and hassling insurance companies. So, I am afraid I haven’t had time to do anything I said I would do. And now off to Brussels. So – please forgive me – I shall attend to everything when I am back in London on the 21st...” (Email No. 400).

Furthermore, the quality language manager distributed the following email:

“...re: next week – to flag this up in advance: I am going to have to finish my other job for ActionAid next week – they are being patient, but I will need some days on which I can concentrate more or less entirely on their report in order to do it with any kind of coherence and get it out of the way. I would really like to take as much of next week off as possible – I could be on hand for consultation but hopefully not 14 hours a day every day which is what I’ve been doing. After that I can promise to belong to Alpha exclusively for some weeks ...Does this seem reasonable/possible?” (Email No. 249).

As people explain their reasons for the need to be unavailable, they are doing more than interacting with others; they also cross and create boundaries between the assigned work project and other projects that they participate in as well as between work and personal domains. In essence, they redefine their presence in the project: *“I could be on hand for consultation”*. Paradoxically, through their absence and the explanations they provide for being absent, these virtual team members show that they are real in virtual space. As real people, they have families, they need days off, they get involved in other activities. In traditional environments, people do not usually write about these issues to their colleagues; rather they often talk about them in the coffee room, in the corridor and the like. In virtual environments, however, where email is dominant, these personal and non-work related information is communicated either explicitly or implicitly through text. In so doing, they enable familiarity with each other, contribute in building and maintaining team spirit and even help in reconstructing and organizing their shared mediated environment.

5.3 Silenced Availability

Silenced availability is the case when people are expected to be available to work on the project, but despite this they remain silent. In this way, participants do not respond to emails and other team members do not know whether they are absent, thus do not access their emails, or whether they are present in virtual space, thus they read their emails but do not or cannot reply. As it has been argued *“We communicate when we talk and we communicate by our silence when we don’t”* (Ellis and Beattie, 1986:16)

and for this reason it is believed that silence is itself another discursive way for showing one's presence or lack of presence in an environment.

Several cases of silenced availability were identified during the performing stage of the project and this often led to frustrations as members felt that their work (and consequently their payment) was jeopardised. A team person noted the following in an email to the MD:

"...Also, I don't want to appear to be complaining but I wrote to [my project manager] on Thursday and Friday saying I need more files –no response. I finished my last file at 13:30 today and sent him another note –still no reply. Is there a better way of doing this? It's better all round if I can do as many files as I can with the first deadline approaching" (Email No. 68).

The same individual later explained: *"I just wanted the managers to be on the ball and keep me topped up with work - sometimes it was a battle to get new work, even though deadlines were tight ... with better management control/communication I could have processed slightly more"* (Team member 1, interview).

Another participant said:

"I did notice sometimes on [this] project that my team leader did not always reply to all my email queries - this could be very frustrating" (Team member 2, interview).

As Watzlquwick et al (1968:48) put it: "Activity or inactivity, words or silence all have message value: they influence others and these others, in turn, cannot not respond to these communications and are thus themselves communicating. It should be clearly understood that the mere absence of talking or of taking notice of each other is no exception to what has just been asserted....". From the above texts, it is apparent that those who had the tendency to remain silenced were the project managers, or rather one of the project managers. The silence of this project manager (male) led to frustrations among his project team members whose work and thus payment was jeopardised as a result¹. In the unsaid and silenced, we can see evidence of power differentials in email communication (Panteli, 2002); in traditional environments employees are expected to keep their managers informed of their absences, whilst managers do not have similar responsibilities towards their employees.

In sum, the use of discourse analysis in this study reveals that instead of an imposed presence determined by Alpha, presence was fluid, negotiated, renegotiated and discursively constructed even in those words and emails that were silenced.

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to review and discuss the potential of discourse analysis in IS research by drawing on a study of a virtual team project. The position taken is that discourse is the principal means we use to express our reality and thus our identity within organizations. The main argument of the paper is that in order to understand the construction of virtual organizing one must analyse the discourse that constitutes and is constitutive of the specific virtual project under investigation.

It is found in this discursive study that the construction of virtual organizing requires a change in the conceptualisation of presence – from presence narrowly defined around availability on the project to presence that is extended outside the project to include other work assignments as well as family and personal matters. This extended

¹ Although the gender dimension of email communication has not been explored here, it is nevertheless considered important (Panteli, 2000).

articulation of presence has become more apparent in the performing stage of the project where the presence of work was felt more by all parties concerned. Furthermore, presence is found to be a negotiated process not only between the MD and individual members but also between the members themselves. Using the discourse analysis approach, the study highlights that new modes of organizing are not created by the compilation of 'static' contracts signed by the parties concerned, but rather are constituted through the computer-mediated communication and interactions comprising both work and non-work related matters. Therefore, this approach, which provides a framework for understanding presence as a discursive process, encourages an analysis that links processes of social construction and negotiation with the social context (both physical and virtual) in which these are embedded. In this way, discourse analysis has made a significant contribution to our understanding of virtual organizing by uncovering different types of presence. In some cases, presence was even revealed when the email content was about absence and silence.

The role of information technology and computer-mediated communication in particular is critical in our understanding of presence in virtual settings. The use of computer-mediated communication generates presence by discursively producing interaction, revealing availability, unavailability and setting out boundaries. The construction of presence is unpacked with the use of computer-mediated communication as it is through computer-mediated interactions (e.g. email exchanges) that participants show that they are available and accessible. In particular, despite the asynchronous nature of email, the content and frequency of email messages have helped in building and maintaining presence which is vital for the completion of the project. In this way, the study was able to provide a broader and more conceptualised understanding of presence created in virtual space and to show how these are affected and affect the process of virtual organizing.

The richness of the discourse analysis approach is that it enables us to explore the computer-mediated interactions between the constitutive and the constituted and thus to achieve new insights in our understanding of virtual organizing. It is argued, therefore, that discourse analysis needs to be adopted in studies on virtuality as it could contribute to a rich understanding of the virtual organizing process by enabling a close reading and observation of the everyday interactions and direct experiences of virtual participants. Discourse analysis would be a vital methodological and theoretical approach in studies on computer-based communication and virtual interactions and can provide a framework for the conduct of research which may have important implications for substantive social inquiry in IS research.

References

- Brown, A. (1998), Narratives, Politics and Legitimacy in an IT implementation, *Journal of Management Studies*, 35, 1, 35-59
- Brown, A. and Jones, M. (1998), Doomed to Failure: Narratives of Inevitability and Conspiracy in a Failed IS Project, *Organization Studies*, 19, 1, 73-88
- Coulthard, M. (1985), *An introduction to discourse Analysis*, 2nd edition, Longman, London
- Davidson, E.J. (1997), Examining Project history Narratives: An Analytic Approach, In IFIP TC8 WG 8.2: Information Systems and Qualitative Research, A.S. Lee, J. Liebenau and J. I. DeGross (Ed), Chapman & Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA, 123-145

- Dunford, R. and Palmer, I. (1998), *Discourse, Organizations and Paradox*. In Grant, D., Keenoy, T. and Osrick, C. (Eds), *Discourse and Organization*, Sage, London
- Ellis A and Beattie G (1986), *The Psychology of Language and Communication*, Weidenfeld and Nickolson, London
- Fulk, J and DeSanctis G. (1995), *Electronic Communication and Changing Organizational Forms*. *Organization Science*, 6(4), July-August: 337-349
- Glaser B. and Strauss A. (1967), *The discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies of Qualitative Research*, Wiendefeld and Nicholson, London
- Heracleous, L. and Barrett, M. (2001), *Organizational Change as Discourse: Communicative Actions and Deep Structures in the Context of Information Technology Implementation*, *Academy of Management Journal*, 2001, 44, 4, 755-778
- Jarvenpaa S. L. and Leidner D.E. (1999), "Communication and Trust in Global Virtual Teams", *Organization Science*, (10), 791-815
- Lombard, M, and Ditton, T. (1997), *At the Heart of It All: The Concept of Presence*, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 3, 2, September
<http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol3/issue2/lombard.html>
- Mercer, N. (2001), *Words and Minds: How we use Language to think Together*, Routledge, London
- Nunan, D. (1993), *Introducing Discourse Analysis*, Penguin, Harmondsworth
- Panteli, N. (2000), "Gender Differences in Email-Based Communication: A Focus on Text-based Attributes". Refereed paper at the IFIP, WG 9.1 Women, Work and Computerization Conference, 'Charting A Course to the Future', Vancouver, Canada, June 8-11, 2000
- Panteli, N. (2002), "Richness, Power Cues and Email Text", *Information & Management*, 40, 75-86
- Panteli, N. and Dibben, MR. (2001), "Revisiting the Nature of Virtual Organizations: Reflections on Mobile Communication Systems", *Futures*, 33/5 (March), 379-391
- Phillips, N. and Hardy, C. (2002), *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*, Sage University Series on Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 50., Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA
- Steuer, J. (1992), *Defining Virtual Reality: Dimensions Determining Telepresence*, *Journal of Communication*, 42 (4), 73-93
- Strauss A. and Corbin J. (1990), *Basics of Qualitative Resdearch: Grounded Theory, Procedures and Techniques*, Sage, Newbury Park, CA
- Vaara E and Tienari J (2002), *Justification, Legitimization and Naturalization of Mergers and Acquisitions: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Texts*, *Organization*, 9 (2), 275-304
- van Dijk, T.A. (1997), *Discourse as Structure and Process*, Sage, London
- Watzlqwick P, Beavin J. and Jackson, D. (1968), *Pragmatics of Human Communication*, Faber, London
- Wetherell, M. and Potter, J. (1992), *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation*, Harvester Wheatshead, Hemel Hempstead
- Wilkinson, S. and Kitzinger, C. (eds) (1995), *Feminism and Discourse: Psychological Perspectives*, Sage, London
- Willott, S. and Griffin, C. (1997), "'Wham Bam, am I a man?' Unemployed Men talk about Masculinities", *Feminism & Psychology*, 7 (1), 107-128
- Ziv, O. (1996), *Writing to work: How using e-mail can reflect technological and organizational change*. In S. C. Herring (ed), *Computer-Mediated Communication:*

Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Philadelphia