

Post-Feminism in *Cosmopolitan* and *For Him*

Magazine (FHM): A Critical Analysis

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By

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Abstract

Cosmopolitan and *For Him Magazine (FHM)* are, at present, both the most widely read and, therefore, the most popular “white” consumer magazines in South Africa. They both appeal to young audiences of between 18 and 34 years of age, approximately, and target middle-class, educated groups of readers. My interest in *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* lies in their ability to influence and shape their readers’ actions, values, identities and relationships, in particular with the other gender.

My analysis is focused on the cover pages and the Editor’s letters of six copies of each magazine, ranging from April to September 2003, providing me with a corpus of 12 cover pages and 12 Editor’s letters. I adopt a critical perspective through the use of Fairclough’s (1989) Critical Discourse Analysis, supported by Mills (1995) Feminist Stylistics, McLoughlin’s (2000) textual analysis of cover pages and Kress & van Leeuwen’s (1996) visual analysis tools. By combining these different methodologies my research falls into what is newly termed Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Lazar 2005). The cover page analyses used primarily McLoughlin and Kress & van Leeuwen and provides an element of pure genre analysis, while the analysis of the Editor’s letters were subject to Fairclough’s three inter-related stages of analysis, namely: a Description of the formal textual elements of the letters, an Interpretation which analyses the processes of text production and interpretation, and lastly an Explanation of the socio-historical context. Through an analysis of these magazines, whose interests are being served and how the readers are shaped and positioned by the magazines can be identified.

My analyses revealed conflicting discourses within each magazine, however it was *Cosmopolitan* that revealed more tension and conflict in terms of identifying and representing women, while *FHM* subscribed, for the most part, uniformly to the “new lad” ideology. However, while *Cosmopolitan* attempted to show a forward-thinking and emancipatory view of the roles of men and women in society, both magazines covertly sustain patriarchal dominance and hegemonic masculinity. In conclusion, I reveal the need for consumers of the mass media to become more critically aware of the ideologies that are promoted through the differing tools of the media and that only through this critical awareness can any further movement towards equal relations between men and women be made.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the research topic and the structure of the thesis. The following sections will provide: a background to the research; the research goals and questions; the methodology employed, and the overall structure of each chapter in the thesis.

1.2 Background to Research

Magazines are an important element of the mass media, and help to “reflect and shape the thoughts and actions of the society in which people live, often maintaining a system through perpetuating dominant ideologies” (Thompson and de Klerk 2002:105). These ideologies are what this research aims to reveal, and the extent to which they seem to perpetuate and maintain the present inequalities that exist in society. As Gerbner states: “the media of mass communication – print, film, radio, television – are ways of selecting, composing, recording, and sharing stories, symbols, and images. They are also organizations acting as ‘governments’ (i.e. authoritative decision-makers) in the special domain of institutionalized public acculturation...They are the cultural arms of the industrial order from which they spring” (1985:16). This reveals the large amount of covert authority that the magazines hold over their audiences, the amount of influence they have on their readers and their ability to subtly reinforce dominant ideologies. The reason for choosing the cover pages and the Editor’s letters to analyse is also based on these assumptions.

The cover page is the first thing the reader sees when looking for a magazine to read and/or buy and the most eye-catching one will often be chosen (McLoughlin 2000). They also provide a summary of the articles within the magazine and the main theme(s) of that magazine, for example sex, home, health. In modern magazines, the images and the cover lines overlap, and as Grow comments: “Cover lines appear in front of the cover models, covering significant parts of their images. We see these beautiful people through the cover lines that surround them, as if they were in the bushes and the bushes were made of words. These are pictures of people who are

immersed; at this instant, they are immersed in the topics of the magazine's articles, in the form of cover lines" (2002:18). He goes on to suggest that the covers reflect today's culture and manage to limit our choices and decisions, and calls it "the colonization of our thinking by culture" (Grow 2002:19). However most readers are unaware of this subtlety that lies behind the covers and the naturalisation process that exists in making the reader believe it is normal, "The early 2000s are so immersed in...consumer culture...and objects clamouring for attention that the picture of a cover model cheerfully or seductively immersed in a forest of words may seem to us a mere depiction of daily normality – a normality both reflected by and fuelled by the words on the covers of magazines" (Grow 2002:20).

Editor's letters are the most important vehicles for revealing the ideologies of the magazine, since they represent the voice of the magazine (Morrish 1996). The letter also allows the Editor to communicate directly with the reader and create a bond between them. In addition, it gives the Editor a chance to draw the readers' attention to articles in the magazine that they may not read, or may not be on the cover page (Morrish 1996). Additionally, it can play the role of "a 'leader column' allowing you [the Editor] to comment on the state of the industry, and specifically to point out and uphold the interests of the reader. This is important in establishing an identity of purpose between the magazine and those who read it" (Morrish 1996:134).

There is a long history of research into women's magazines leading back to the 1970s (cf. White 1970, Braithwaite & Barrel 1979, Winship 1981 & 1987, Ferguson 1983, Talbot 1992, Ballaster, Beetham, Frazer, & Hebron, 1991, Hermes 1995, Beetham 1996, Durham 1996, Eggins & Iedema 1997, Gough-Yates 2003 amongst others), while research into men's magazine has only taken place in the last decade (cf. Brittan 1989, Brooks 1995 & 1997, Connell 1995, Benwell 2001 & 2003, Jackson, Stevenson & Brooks 2001, Beynon 2002, Boni 2002 amongst others). Women's magazines and men's magazines are dealt with in detail in 2.5 and 2.6. However, of significance, and not very prevalent, is research that compares the two to each other, since this type of research is limited, and as Tincknell, Chambers, van Loon and Hudson state: "this kind of work would contribute to a better understanding of the continuities and differences between the highly gendered discourses of morality and social agency being offered. Indeed, work on both kinds of magazines rarely addresses wider issues

of citizenship or of morality” (2003:48). This highlights the significance and purpose of my research and forms the underlying reason that this type of research is being undertaken. The results from the comparison are detailed in 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 and in the concluding chapter.

1.3 Research Goals and Questions

The goals of this research are to investigate the discourses of *For Him Magazine* and *Cosmopolitan* magazine (hereafter called *FHM* and *Cosmo*) to explore to what extent the differences and similarities between them represent and define masculine and feminine identities; to consider how they position men and women in Western society at present; to note how this portrayal either supports or challenges the status quo of male dominance and female subjugation, and to reveal the ideologies either foregrounded or hidden within each magazine.

These goals will be achieved through answering the following questions:

1.3.1 What major linguistic differences or similarities are evident in *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* and what does this reveal about the ideologies present in the texts?

This question entails identifying the linguistic differences or similarities between the two magazines, by using Fairclough’s (1989) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and McLoughlin’s (2000) textual analysis framework, in order to reveal the ideologies present in the magazines. By studying the foregrounded or hidden linguistic choices within the texts the ideologies are revealed. “Awareness of this prepares the reader to ask critical questions: why did the writer or speaker make these choices? Whose interests do they serve? Who is empowered or disempowered by the language used?” (Janks 1993:iii).

1.3.2 How does the language differ depending on the gender the magazine is aimed at and the gender of the writer(s)?

This research question involves an investigation into the differences between the genders of the writers, the audiences they are appealing to and the linguistic choices made. Mills’ (1995) *Feminist Stylistics* (FS) places importance on the differing discursive properties of texts depending on the

gender of the text producer and the audience, and her methodology will be used to reveal any relevant and significant results from the study.

1.3.3 How are men and women represented or positioned in society through this language use?

This is one of the most vital of the research questions and can be answered through a combination of the answers from one and two above. However, to investigate this question, Fairclough's (1989) CDA, in combination with Mills' (1995) FS, are used predominantly as the ideological standpoint of the texts, as well as the gender relations analysed will show what the positioning of men and women is and how it is reflected within the texts.

1.3.4 Do these representations reflect or challenge roles of males and females in Western society?

To answer this question it is necessary to have prior insight into the roles of males and females in society, as reflected in magazines (cf. 2.5.2 and 2.6.2), and then to compare these representations to those reflected in the more modern magazines used in this research. From all three methodologies used the results found in this research will be compared and I will attempt to answer the question stated above (cf. Chapter Six).

By answering these four questions, my aim is to reveal the ideological standpoint of the media, in particular consumer magazines, towards masculinity and femininity and to reveal whether the power of the media is being used in a positive and liberating manner, or rather whether it maintains the status quo subjugation of women and patriarchal power.

1.4 Methods of Research

The focus of my analyses is two prominent consumer magazines in South Africa, *FHM* and *Cosmo*. Six issues of each magazine, from April 2003 to September 2003, were chosen in order to provide a representative sample which would in turn make the results generalisable to some degree. In each magazine the cover pages and the Editor's letters will be analysed, providing a sample of 24 texts to be analysed.

The tools used to reveal the ideologies present within the texts are McLoughlin's (2000) textual analysis framework, Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) visual analysis, Fairclough's (1989) Critical Discourse Analysis and Mills' (1995) Feminist Stylistics.

In terms of the cover pages, McLoughlin's (2000) framework and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) visual analysis model are used with Fairclough's (1989) CDA to help interpret the results. McLoughlin's (2000) framework can be used to analyse the entire magazine, however since the cover pages are fairly difficult to analyse as they are not a coherent text, her analysis was used as a guide to discovering the ideologies present on the covers. The analysis looked at the title, the layout and graphology, the lexicon, noun modification, ellipsis, sentence types and functions and identifying any "problems and solutions" or advice cover lines (cf. 3.3.2 for more detail). Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) analysis was necessary since the cover pages are largely visual and the positioning of the text on the cover page is also placed according to visual elements. Their work was particularly appropriate for this research since they have a link to linguistics and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar. Halliday (1985:101 in Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:2) states: "grammar goes beyond formal rules of correctness. It is a means of representing patterns of experience...It enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them". Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) state that the same can be said for the "grammar of visual design", the title of their book.

In terms of analysing the cover pages of the magazines in this research, a selection from Kress and van Leeuwen's framework was chosen which would suit the covers appropriately. Firstly, their discussion on the composition of texts was used as the basis for the analysis, which included looking at "the information value", "salience", and "framing" (1996:183). Secondly, whether the texts were linear or non-linear was important as magazine readers tend to read in a non-linear format and move from the most salient point to the next, thus identifying the salient points was important for revealing the ideologies present. Lastly, since there is a model on the cover pages of all the texts analysed, it was necessary to take into account their discussion of "the image act and the gaze" (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:121), as the image creates a

connection between the readers and the model, and then “demands” something from the reader, a reaction or response. (cf. 3.3.3 for more detail on the visual analysis).

Fairclough’s CDA (1989) is the predominant tool of this research, as “it is an approach to discourse analysis which focuses on inequality in society and the ways in which texts are used to realise power and ideology” (Martin 2000:275). CDA sees language as part of social practice and attempts to make overt the “reciprocal influences of language and social structure” that people are unaware of (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter 2000:147). It is seen as an emancipatory tool, where the results from this type of research can suggest and, if possible, exact change (Titscher et al. 2000). CDA allows any abuse of power, that leads to inequality, to be revealed through analysing “the linguistic structures and the discursive strategies of a discourse in order to uncover the power struggle, social inequality and any other form of social and political problems (van Dijk 1993)” (Flowerdew, Li & Tran 2002:323).

According to Fairclough (1989:26), seeing language as social practice involves recognising that there are three dimensions to any discursive case, that of “the relationship between *texts*, *interactions*, and *contexts*”. Fairclough associates them with his three stages to completing a CDA, namely: Description of the *texts*, Interpretation of the *interaction* between the text and the producers and recipients of the text, and Explanation of the *context* of the discourse in society. Each Editor’s letter underwent these three steps, which means that firstly, the linguistic choices made by the producer were analysed; secondly, the processes of production and the processes of interpretation (how the readers made sense of the text) were examined, and thirdly, the analysis considers the social conditions whereby the text may be influenced by the processes of production and interpretation of each letter analysed, but in particular the influence of the context on the processes of production and interpretation (see Appendices F and K for copies of the letters and cf. 3.3.5 for more detail).

There was a need for this research to combine the gender element with the CDA theory and so Lazar’s (2005) Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) is used as an overarching term in order to contextualise the research. It was necessary to make the research more gender-based (as this was the aim of my research) and move the

focus from Fairclough's main purpose of CDA: "to develop ways of analysing language which addresses its involvement in the workings of contemporary capitalist society" (1995a:1). Lazar's (2005) FCDA brings together work that previously existed but was insufficiently accepted as FCDA. Rather the studies were placed under the term of gender and discourse. If they were noted as CDA and feminist theory, they are briefly mentioned in other works and the representation is constricted and limited. Lazar's aim is "to advance a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining a (hierarchically) gendered social order" (2005:1). This forms the most important aim of my research: to note the impact of the media on gender relations and in turn on society.

Through these tools introduced above, I examine how gender relations are constructed through the language used within the magazines. In Chapters Four, Five and Six I show how these magazines continue to perpetuate and maintain hegemonic patriarchal authority in society. The comparisons between the two magazines show that both female and male writing construct feminine and masculine identities in society that are very clearly anti-feminist.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

My thesis is structured into five main chapters, the details of which will be outlined below.

Chapter Two contains the relevant literature that outlines and guides the research. It is divided into five main sections, *Ideology*, *Gender*, *Mass Media Discourse*, *Women's Consumer Magazines* and *Men's Consumer magazines* (cf. 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6). The section on ideology aims to provide a background to the research, since it underlies the mass media and the relationship between the media and society. A separate section on gender is essential to this research as the link between ideology and gender needs to be made in order for the research to be relevant to my goals. The section on gender deals with the gender/sex distinction, the relationship between gender and discourse and finally defines femininity and masculinity. A discussion of mass media discourse is essential as it contextualises the type of discourse being researched and explains its influence on the producers and receivers of the texts.

Finally, the sections on women's and men's consumer magazines is essential in contextualising and understanding the background to this research, in particular in answering research question 1.3.4. It also aids the interpretation and explanation of the texts and alerts one to the factors that may influence the ideological stance of the producers of the texts.

Chapter Three, the research methodology section, provides a detailed explanation of the data collection procedure, the data used in the research and the tools used to analyse the chosen texts. As mentioned in 1.4 this includes McLoughlin's (2000) textual analysis framework, Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) visual analysis methodology, Fairclough's (1989) CDA, Mills' (1995) Feminist Stylistics and Lazar's (2005) FCDA, and how they combine to focus my analysis on the goals at the core of my research.

The next three chapters provide both the findings and discussion of the two sections of the magazines analysed in the research. Chapter Four discusses the results of the analysis of the cover pages and the Editor's letters of *Cosmo*. Chapter Five is focussed on the analyses of *FHM*, while Chapter Six is the comparative chapter that reveals the differences and similarities between *Cosmo* and *FHM*. In Chapters Four and Five the organisation of the chapters follows the structure used in the analysis; firstly the textual analysis of the texts and then the visual analysis follows within each section. The section on the Editor's letters, since it follows Fairclough's CDA methodology closely, is set out in a similar format: Description, Interpretation and Explanation. However, due to space restrictions, the Description section is placed in the appendices (cf. Appendices G and L). The Interpretation stage includes an interpretation of each month's Editor's letter, followed by the Explanation. An example of the comparative chapter is provided in 6.1, and is structured as follows:

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Cover Pages

6.2.1 Textual Analysis

6.2.1.1 Title and slogan

6.2.1.2 Top-left Hand Cover Lines

6.2.1.3 Noun-modification

6.2.1.4 Minor/major sentences

6.2.1.5 Sentence functions

6.2.1.6 Problems and Solutions

6.2.2 Visual Analysis

- 6.2.2.1 Information Value
- 6.2.2.2 Saliency
- 6.2.2.3 Framing
- 6.2.2.4 Linear and Non-linear compositions
- 6.2.2.5 “Image Act and the Gaze”
- 6.2.3 Conclusion
- 6.3 Editor’s Letters
 - 6.3.1 Introduction
 - 6.3.2 Sex and sexuality
 - 6.3.3 Link between writer and reader
 - 6.3.4 The creation of femininity and masculinity
- 6.4 Towards an anti-feminist development of femininities and masculinities?
- 6.5 Conclusion

The final chapter is the concluding chapter, Chapter Seven, where I answer the research questions and provide a summary of the results. I mention the significance of my study and also deal any problems associated with the research, and the implications and recommendations for further research in this area.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical background to this research, by considering the literature that helped to inform my methodology and had implications for the findings of my research in Chapters Four, Five and Six. The chapter is divided into five major sections, *Ideology, Gender, The Mass Media, Women's Magazines* and *Men's Magazines*, where the major literature surrounding these fields is considered. The section on ideology gives a background to ideology and its role in society, as well as attempting to find a definition of ideology that suits the purposes of this research. The gender section is imperative in research such as this, since in order to avoid the classist ideology of Marx forming the overall focus of the thesis, it needed to turn to more feminist thought. As mentioned in the introduction this research ideally will fall into the newly mentioned category of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Lazar 2005). The section on gender provides a background of feminist theory, defines the difference between sex and gender, attempts to define femininity and masculinity, and finally discusses gender in relation to language ideologies. The Mass Media is discussed in terms of its relation to the popular media, and in particular a discussion of the properties of consumer magazines is elucidated upon in order to contextualise the media being used for this research. The section on women's magazines provides a background to the development of women's magazines, in the West, and the major trends that ran through that development until today's modern magazines. *Cosmopolitan* is also contextualised and explored in terms of its relationship to the prominent ideologies of today's Western society. Lastly, the section on men's magazines attempts to give a general overview of the brief history of these magazines and attempts to provide an overview of dominant ideologies of masculinity and how these affect the role of the magazine. In addition, the section looks at the powerful role of these magazines in creating a specific type of ideal man that the reader aspires to. *FHM* is also discussed to give an understanding of why this magazine was chosen for the research and to provide a context in which to make sense of the findings. Overall, this chapter grounds the research by linking it to the work of the seminal theorists in the fields and by comparing it to past research within this field, while at the same time providing a context for the CDA Interpretation and Explanation analytic stages (cf. 4.3 and 5.3).

2.2 Ideology

2.2.1 Introduction

This section of the literature review aims to create an understanding of the contested term *ideology* and a context in which this research may be viewed. Ideology underlies the mass media and its relationship with society, and it is of great significance to this research to understand how “media language might work ideologically” (Fairclough 1995b:12). An important aspect of the mass media is the extent of its power, and how this is wielded through language (Fairclough 1995b:2): “The power of the media to shape governments and parties...the power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, social identities. A signifying power (the power to represent things in particular ways) which is largely a matter of how language is used”. This statement represents the powerful position of the media and how it can influence many different aspects of society, most importantly, the use of language.

Initially, an historical overview of ideology will be presented, with attempts to define and explain the concept of *ideology*, and expand upon the two opposing views – the Marxist and non-Marxist traditions (Van Dijk 2000). Then the links between ideology, power and discourse will be made in order to validate this research and the prominence of ideology within the mass media. Lastly, the link will be made directly with the mass media and its discourse.

2.2.2 Historical Overview

Attempting to explain and define ideology is often problematic, as “nobody has yet come up with a single adequate definition of ideology” (Eagleton 1991:1), due to what Van Dijk (2000:1) terms “the fuzzy life of ‘ideology’”, and McLellan (1995:1) describes it as “the most elusive concept in the whole of social science”. The term has a variety of meanings which are mostly incompatible with each other (Eagleton 1991), and therefore, if one comprehensive definition were created, which would be almost impossible, it would be extremely unhelpful (Eagleton 1991). As Van Dijk (2000:1) states: “definitions cannot be expected to summarise all the insights accumulated in such bodies of knowledge – even if there were no controversies over the meaning of the central concepts of such disciplines...the various versions of these concepts of ideology are simply scholarly constructs of competing theories”.

Despite opposing definitions, the historical terms of the argument are fairly similar (Van Dijk 2000). Ideology, as a concept, had its origins in 1796, and was used by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (McLellan 1995¹, Thompson 1990, Van Dijk 2000) to describe his development of a new science, “which would be concerned with the systematic analysis of ideas and sensations, of their generation, combination and consequences” (Thompson 1990:29). He argued that it is impossible to separate peoples’ knowledge of things from the sensations created by this knowledge (Thompson 1990) and that by systematically analysing these sensations, a firm basis for all scientific knowledge could be created. He termed this “‘ideology’ – literally, the ‘science of ideas’. Ideology was to be ‘positive, useful, and susceptible to rigorous exactitude’” (Thompson 1990:30). By carefully analysing sensations and ideas an understanding of human nature could be reached, which would in turn “enable social and political order to be rearranged in accordance with the needs and aspirations of human beings” (Thompson 1990:30).

However, the term “ideology” soon acquired a new and different sense, due to its dependence on the situation in France at that time. In 1799, Napoleon drew on many of de Tracy’s and his colleagues’ ideas, however due to their affiliation with republicanism, they were a “potential threat to his autocratic ambitions” (Thompson 1990:31). He therefore ridiculed ‘ideology’ as being separated from the realities of political power, and his view became even more vehemently opposed as his power began to weaken and his empire collapsed (Thompson 1990). In turn, almost all types of “religious and philosophical thought were condemned as ideological” (Thompson 1990:31), and the term acquired a negative association (McLellan 1995).

Once Napoleon had abdicated, de Tracy attempted to restore the programme of ideology, however it was marked by Napoleon’s opposition to it, and “ideology had become one orientation among others and its philosophical claims had been compromised by its association with republicanism...moreover...it ceased to refer only to the *science of ideas* and began to refer also to the *ideas themselves*, that is, to a *body of ideas which are alleged to be erroneous and divorced from the practical realities of political life*” (Thompson 1990:32 (italics in original)). Therefore, the concept of ideology changed from being seen as positive

¹ McLellan (1995:3) comments on the fact that these roots were based in “general philosophical questions about meaning and direction with which the breakdown of the medieval world confronted Western European intellectuals”, and believes that the original pioneers were Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes in 1620, although they did not coin the term “ideology”.

and neutral (de Tracy) to being negative and critical (Napoleon)², and it is this sense that Marx took over (Thompson 1990).

“Marx’s writings occupy a central position in the history of the concept of ideology” (Thompson 1990:33), however his writings are not clear and his view of ideology is ambiguous (Thompson 1990). Thompson describes Marx’s use of the term ideology as the “‘polemic conception’: *ideology, on this account, is a theoretical doctrine and activity which erroneously regards ideas as autonomous and efficacious and which fails to grasp the real conditions and characteristics of socio-historical life*” (Thompson 1990:34-35). According to McLellan (1995:6) it was Marx who placed the concept of ideology in “the forefront of political discourse...[as he] sought to explain the changes in social and political ideas”. Marx’s train of thought has been concerned with “ideas of true and false cognition, with ideology as illusion, distortion and mystification”, which is often termed “false consciousness” (Eagleton 1991:3, Lukács 1923 in Eagleton 1994, McLellan 1995, Mills 1997, Van Dijk 2000). At this stage Marx’s theory is interesting in that it takes the more critical edge advocated by Napoleon; his concept of ideology is made up of two elements (McLellan 1995): Firstly, ideology and idealism are connected, however, this is problematic philosophically, as ideology was contrasted with materialism, and “any correct view of the world had to be, in some sense, a materialist view” (McLellan 1995:9). Secondly, a connection existed between ideology and the irregular allocation of resources and power in society, therefore, “if the social and economic arrangements were suspect then so was the ideology that was a part of them” (McLellan 1995:9). Other theorists who are found in the company of Marx and who built upon many of Marx’s ideas (including ideology) include Engels, Lukács, Gramsci and Althusser.

According to Thompson (1990:44), the concept of ideology held a major role within both Marxism and social sciences after Marx, and manifested itself as a “central tendency...describe[d] as the *neutralisation of the concept of ideology*”. As mentioned, Marx’s sense of the concept of ideology was negative and critical, at no time is there any suggestion “that ideology is a positive, progressive or unavoidable element of social life” (Thompson 1990:45), however, the later theorists tended to “neutralize” the concept of

² It is worth noting that the concept of ideology continued and continues to swing between neutral, positive and negative connotations (McLellan 1995).

ideology. The non-Marxist side includes sociologists and philosophers, of whom Durkheim and Mannheim are the most influential (Van Dijk 2000).

Durkheim's concept of ideology was very strongly anchored in science (McLellan 1995): where "the ideological method' consisted of 'the use of notions to govern the collation of facts rather than deriving notions from them'" (Durkheim 1982:86 cited in McLellan 1995:32). Science tended to leave out any subjective opinions or room for personal observation, as Durkheim believed them to be "innate bents of the human mind" and therefore unnecessary foci of study. The emphasis was on objective study, and this formed the foundation for much later work on ideology.

Mannheim's theory of ideology was supposed to broaden Marx and others' theories: "it would uncover the historically limited and thus partial nature of all political viewpoints and so provide the groundwork for a more harmonious, integrative and progressive interpretation of the discordant politics of his time" (McLellan 1995:36). He was against any belief that there was rigidity in definitions and categories of reason and nature, instead they underwent changes and alterations in meaning over time and he insisted "that thought and expression were firmly embedded in history" (McLellan 1995:36). Mannheim tried to avoid relativism³, and rather supported "'relationism', meaning the location of ideas within the social system which gives birth to them", and he stated that objectivity need not be ignored since, while ideas are internally modified and shaped, "their truth value is not reducible to them" (Eagleton 1991:108). Therefore, Mannheim created what is known as the "sociology of knowledge" (Eagleton 1991:109, McLellan 1995:38, Thompson 1990:49), and its function was "to defuse the whole Marxist conception of ideology, replacing it with the less embattled, contentious conception of a 'world view'" (Eagleton 1991:109). The change that was occurring was that the concept of ideology was returning to its pre-Marxist and pre-Napoleonic view, which was simply "socially determined thought" (Eagleton 1991:109).

There has been much criticism of Mannheim's concept of ideology, Eagleton (1991:110) states that Mannheim "either stretches the term ideology beyond all serviceable use, equating it with the social determination of any belief whatsoever, or unduly narrows it to specific acts of deception". Eagleton believes that ideology is grounded within everyone's own thinking,

³ Thompson (1990:49) defines relativism as "the result of combining the quite legitimate recognition of the socio-historical conditioning of thought with an old and outdated theory of knowledge, a theory which takes propositions that are true analytically...as the paradigm of all knowledge".

thinking which cannot be and is not unbiased. Peoples' thoughts are, whether consciously or not, based on power relationships and justification for their roles in society.

This criticism is supported by Thompson (1990:52), who mentions that Marx's writings on ideology were linked with notions of domination "in the sense that the ideas of representations constitutive of ideology are in some way interwoven with – express, misrepresent, sustain – relations of class domination". Mannheim does not link ideology with notions of domination, and while he has been criticised, and his thoughts have been termed "vague and ambiguous", McLellan (1995) supports Mannheim as one of the first scholars to have considered nearly every aspect of the concept of ideology that was mentioned by present-day theorists.

As Eagleton (1991) comments, when a definition of some term is elusive, it is often helpful to see how a layperson would use that term. This does not mean relying on their definitions, but rather understanding how it is used everyday by laypersons and what their perceptions of the specific words are. What Eagleton (1991:3) did discover was that when someone claims to speak ideologically, it implies that they are "judging a particular issue through some rigid framework or preconceived ideas which distorts their understanding". This also supports Durkheim's view, as he "characterised the 'ideological method' as consisting [of] 'the use of notions to govern the collation of facts rather than deriving notions from them'" (Durkheim 1982:86 cited in Eagleton 1991:3).

2.2.3 Ideology, Power and Discourse

It is at this point that it is necessary to link the concept of ideology with that of power, as according to Eagleton (1991), ideology refers not only to belief systems but also to questions of power. As Thompson (1990:56) states: "the analysis of ideology ...is primarily concerned with the ways in which symbolic forms intersect with relations of power...the ways in which meaning is mobilized in the social world and serves thereby to bolster up individuals and groups who occupy positions of power...*to study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination*". By linking these two concepts the closest definition of ideology, that is most widely accepted, is produced (Eagleton 1991, Thompson 1990), and is the position that is taken in this research. According to Eagleton (1991:5-6, 1994) a legitimization of this power involves six strategies: a) "by *promoting* beliefs and values congenial to it"; b) "*naturalizing* and *universalising*"

these beliefs in order to make them obvious and unavoidable; c) “*denigrating* ideas which might challenge it”; d) “*excluding*” opposing thoughts by some implicit but logical sense; and e) “*obscuring* social reality in ways convenient to itself”. All six of these will interact in various ways, in order to contain social arguments, and form the “ideology as legitimation thesis” (Eagleton 1991:7).

There are, however, various problems with this definition of ideology, as although “theories of ideology are...attempts to explain why it is that men and women come to hold certain views; and to this extent they examine the relation between thought and social reality” (Eagleton 1994:15), not all bodies of belief are associated with a “dominant political power” (Eagleton 1991:6). Seliger (1976:11) broadens this concept of ideology and defines it as “sets of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organised social action, and specifically political action, irrespective of whether such action aims to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given social order”. This definition is advantageous as it can be applicable to everyday usage, although it also broadens it so much so that it becomes trivial and almost worthless and it is thus rejected as the definition of ideology to be used in this context.

The second problem of the “ideology as legitimation thesis” (Eagleton 1991:7) is that it needs to look at the nature of power. Power, according to Foucault (cited in Said 1986:150), “is everywhere. It is overcoming, co-opting, infinitely detailed, and ineluctable in the growth of its domination”. His view of power tends to support rather than oppose it, since, as Couzens Hoy (1986:128) comments, in order to understand society, it is necessary to understand the concept of power. Foucault’s understanding of society is reflected by “mapping the network of power relations that have evolved historically”. Power is “a pervasive, intangible network of force which weaves itself into our slightest gestures and most intimate utterances” (Eagleton 1991:7). Therefore, power and ideology are intertwined and this makes it difficult to limit either term to single meanings or view them without their complexity, and, as Eagleton (1991) states, if ideals and values are not related to power then ideology would cease to exist and the term would become insignificant and unhelpful. Foucault tends to discard the term ideology and replaces it with “discourse”, but this may be too impulsive (Couzens Hoy 1986). Eagleton (1991) comments that Foucault is ignoring a useful distinction: that the influence of ideology is in its ability to distinguish between the power struggles that are the centre of social life, and those that aren’t. For example, important

struggles that would be central to society may include questions of sexual power and gender roles, amongst others. However, while Foucault uses discourse in place of ideology, the term ideology doesn't necessarily have to fall away, as long as it is possible to point out what discourse is non-ideological for the term to have meaning (Eagleton 1991).

Eagleton (1991:9) states that in order to understand this battle between ideology and discourse more clearly, the concept of ideology should be seen as "a matter of 'discourse' rather than 'language'". This means that in order to determine if something is ideological or not, it is necessary to take into account the context in which it is produced, or the discursive environment, rather than simply looking at the linguistic properties of a statement. Therefore, one comment or statement could be seen as ideological in one context, but not another. This links up with ideology's relation to power, in that if something is claimed to be ideological, then it is possible to say that "it is powered by an ulterior motive bound up with the legitimation of certain interests in a power struggle" (Eagleton 1991:16).

The term "discourse" is in itself problematic and can be seen from varying points of view (Fairclough 1989), although Fairclough (1995b) notes that it can be seen in two *main* senses. "One is predominant in language studies: discourse as social action and interaction, people interacting together in real social situations" (Fairclough 1995b:18). The other represents Foucault's view that language and social practices are joined. It is a form of knowledge and reality that is performed instead of used (MacDonald 1995, Fairclough 1995b), the idea that people are "vehicles of power" (Foucault 1980:98). Essentially, the difference lies in discourse as interaction between people and the representation of this, and discourse as practice. This distinction between the two is often referred to as "Discourse" as used in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough's concept) and "discourse" in Discourse Analysis (DA) (Foucault's concept). The two will be briefly discussed.

According to Mills (1997) the term discourse has various meanings which often depend upon the discipline in which they are used. Foucault (1972:80) states that

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.

This quote of Foucault's can be analysed in terms of the three different meanings he has given. The first can be seen as a more general statement and is the broadest definition, in that "all utterances or texts which have meaning and which have some effects in the real world count as discourse" (Mills 1997:7). Secondly, he identifies the fact that there are different types of discourses, which have a coherence and regularity in common, for example a discourse of femininity, a discourse of masculinity, amongst others. This is the definition of discourse that is applicable to this thesis, in that a goal of this research is to identify the differing discourses of femininity and masculinity within each magazine (*Cosmopolitan* and *FHM*).

Fairclough falls into the field of critical linguistics and their definition of discourse is concerned with power relations and how these affect and impact on utterances and texts (Fairclough 1989, 1995b). However, he also draws on discourse analysis and therefore "provides a more complex model of the way that discourse functions, and the effects that it has on participants" (Mills 1997:10).

In this thesis the concept of discourse will bring both theories together, where Fairclough's "Discourse" can be coupled with the interpersonal function of language, and Foucault's "discourse" with the ideational functions of language (Fairclough 1995b).

2.2.4 Ideology, Language and Media discourse

Fairclough (1989, 1995b:14) understands ideology as "meaning in the service of power", in which these ideologies are "propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination". These ideologies are implicit in that they have a taken-for-granted nature, and a natural assumption is that they are presupposed (Fairclough 1995b). In order to show that meanings are ideological, it is important to show the "relations of domination" and how these are served in particular ways (Fairclough 1995b:14). Fairclough is going to be used largely in the methodology of this research (cf. 3.3.5), and it is significant to recognise that by choosing Fairclough, the thesis takes a critical theory stance, however the Foucaultian influence remains with the use of some of his terminology.

When looking at texts, and the language used within them, the following questions are asked (Fairclough 1995b:14-15):

1. "What are the social origins of this option? Where and who does it come from? (*Whose* representation is it, for instance?)
2. What motivations are there for making this choice?
3. What is the effect of this choice, including its effects (positive or negative) upon the various interests of those involved?"

These questions show the relationship between ideology and the analysis of language to represent how these ideologies work (Fairclough 1995b). With reference to the media, he explains how the use of textual analysis can create access to the devices through which social contradictions change and are "lived out":

Language analysis, then, can help anchor social and cultural research and analysis in a detailed understanding of the nature of media output. But only language analysis of a particular sort is capable of making such a contribution...we need to analyse media language as *discourse*, and the linguistic analysis of media should be part of the discourse analysis of media. Linguistic analysis focuses on texts, in a broad sense...but discourse analysis is concerned with practices as well as texts, and with both *discourse practices* and *sociocultural practices*

(Fairclough 1995b:15-16).

The term *discourse practice* is meant in the sense of production by journalists and media practitioners, reception by the audience or intended receiver, and how the texts are distributed. *Sociocultural practices* can be explained as the specific contexts the discourses are part of, and fall into three levels – "the 'situational', 'institutional' and 'societal' levels – the specific social goings-on that the discourse is part of, the institutional framework(s) that the discourse occurs within, and the wider social matrix of the discourse" (Fairclough 1995b:16). Therefore, a discourse analysis of media texts will link the *discourse practices*, the *sociocultural practices* and text.

It is necessary to mention that there are differing opinions to Fairclough's concerning the relationship between the media and ideology and discourse practices. Fairclough's theory sees "the media as pawns in the hands of the powerful" (MacDonald 1995:46), while other theorists such as Foucault differ. He believes that it "is through discourse that the play of power in western societies is conducted...In this sense, Foucault democratizes our responsibility for ideology, bringing it out of the clasp of ruling groups, and into the domain of the everyday" (MacDonald 1995:46). Foucault states that it is through different discourses

that members of society in different spheres of society play for power, and media discourses in particular are not separate from “ways of talking and thinking that exist elsewhere in society, but selectively promote some while neglecting others” (MacDonald 1995:47). In relation to this research, a combination of the two is supported. While the state and government, to a degree, control the media I feel that each person needs to be aware of the presence of dominant ideologies and responsible for either maintaining the status quo or for challenging it.

2.3 Gender

2.3.1 Introduction

While the focus of the literature review up till now has been focussed heavily on ideology, power and language, it is essential that a section purely focussing on gender is discussed, in order to make it relevant to my research. The major focus of my research is gender relations and so while ideology is essential and is a major aspect for the research, the link to gender needs to be clearly made. As the major methodology used in the research is CDA (cf. 3.3.5), the explanation of ideology and power is integral to this chapter. The focus also needs to rest on gender relations. Lazar (2005:3) states: “studies in CDA with a gender focus mostly adopt a critical feminist view of gender relations, motivated by the need to change the existing conditions of these relations”. These “conditions of relations” are different to other systems of domination, and Eckert (1989:253-4 in Lazar 2005:3) points this out:

Whereas the power relations between men and women are similar to those between dominated and subordinated classes and ethnic groups, the day to day context in which these power relations are played out is quite different. It is not a cultural norm for each working class individual to be paired up for life with a member of the middle class or for every black person to be so paired up for life with a white person. However, our traditional gender ideology dictates just this kind of relationship between men and women.

“Gender is embedded so thoroughly in our institutions, our actions, our beliefs, and our desires, that it appears to be completely natural. The world swarms with ideas about gender – and these ideas are so commonplace that we take it for granted that they are true, accepting common adage as scientific fact” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003:9). This statement summarises one of the underpinnings of this research, which is to foreground what is hidden in texts and reveal the ideologies in the texts that perpetuate and maintain these gender differences. The fact that gender appears to be so obvious is what makes research into it so interesting and challenging, challenging in terms of attempting “to uncover the process of

construction that creates what we have so long thought of as natural and inexorable – to study gender not as given, but as an accomplishment; not simply as cause, but as effect” (Eckert et al. 2003:9).

The next sections will define the difference between sex and gender; provide definitions of femininity and masculinity, and discuss the relationship between gender, language and discourse.

2.3.2 Sex and Gender

The distinction between sex and gender should seem a simple one to make, however from as early as the 1970s there has been ambiguity and conflicting descriptions of both terms (West & Zimmerman 1987). Especially since “the received doctrine of gender socialization theories conveyed the strong message that while gender may be ‘achieved’, by about five it was certainly fixed, unvarying, and static – much like sex” (West et al. 1987:126). West et al. (1987:127) carry on to provide clear distinctions between the two terms: *sex* is biological and is defined by a biological classification made at birth, dependent on the genitalia present; whereas *gender* “is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category”. As McNair (2002:2) states in his figure defining sex, sexuality and gender, sex is “biological-genetic”, and gender is “social-cultural”.

Wallach Scott (1999:72) states that one of the problems in maintaining a clear distinction between sex and gender is due to “the universalising impulses of feminism and social science [which] have operated to produce a view of women (across time and cultures) as fundamentally homogenous by taking as self-evident the fundamental difference of ‘women’ from ‘men’”. This implies that any differences (even cultural, for example) that are seen between men and women are taken as inferior to the main difference, which is that men and women have an “antagonistic” and “asymmetrical” relationship, based on the sex-distinction (Wallach Scott 1999:72).

In terms of this research, it is significant to consider the gender differences between the two magazines, and to note either how prominently or not, these differences are based on sex differences (cf. Chapters 4, 5 and 6). As Wallach Scott states, in order to conceptualise these two terms, perhaps a lack of accuracy would simplify the matter, and to take the terms gender

and sex as “concepts – forms of knowledge” (1999:72). This would imply that gender is not a sign of sex and nor can it impress itself upon it, rather sex is a consequence of gender, “Gender, the social rules that attempt to organise the relationships of men and women in societies, produces the knowledge we have of sex and sexual difference” (Wallach Scott 1999:73).

It is this definition and distinction between the two terms that will be used in this research. However, there are also differing opinions and ideas concerning gender, and at present many different metaphors are used to refer to the idea “that gender is something one continually does”, as this challenges the notion that one has a gender (McElhinny 2003:27). These metaphors include “gender as activity, gender as performance, [and] gender as accomplishment” (McElhinny 2003:27). In particular, Butler (1990/1999:13) conceptualises gender as something that is performed. She summarises this as such: “gender is neither something we have, nor is it something we are, rather it is something that we, with variable degrees of volition, do. Gender is a discourse we both inhabit and employ, and also a performance with all the connotations of non-essentialism, transience, versatility and masquerade that this implies”. She clarifies this by stating: “whether gender is fixed or free is a function of a discourse which...seeks to set certain limits to analysis or to safeguard certain tenets of humanism as presuppositional to any analysis of gender...The limits of the discursive analysis of gender presuppose and preempt the possibilities of imaginable and realizable gender configurations within culture. This is not to say that any and all gendered possibilities are open, but that the boundaries of analysis suggest the limits of a discursively conditioned experience” (1990/1999:13). The limits of these analyses are that they are always based on hegemonic cultural values, which result in gender being seen as a binary arrangement, two opposites that are accepted as given. As Butler realises, “constraint is thus built into what language constitutes as the imaginable domain of gender” (1990/1999:13).

This definition of gender means that people and their genders are constantly produced and created through various discourses; and therefore it is a useful definition in terms of analysing magazines in order to see how they define and create the concepts of masculinity and femininity, and it is Butler’s view of gender that will support and form the basis of this research.

Lorber (1994:1) makes a paradigmatic shift from old theories of gender to a new one, “*gender as a social institution*”. She “sees gender as an institution that establishes patterns of expectations for individuals, orders the social processes of everyday life, is built into the major social organisations of society, such as the economy, ideology, the family, and politics, and is also an entity in and of itself” (1994:1). The next section will discuss various definitions of the two gender identities: femininity and masculinity.

2.3.3 Femininity and Masculinity

The need to discuss femininity and masculinity is an essential one for this research. Before either is discussed, however, a brief discussion of Feminism and the Women’s Liberation Movement will be explored in order to conceptualise the concepts of femininity and masculinity.

According to Philips (2003), the Women’s Liberation Movement, which had its roots in America before moving to Europe and the rest of the world, began in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The influence of this movement can be seen in research into gender relations, gender ideologies and discrimination of all types towards women. What propagated this movement was the view that “women [were] not equal to men in American society. They do not have the same control over their own lives and the lives of others that men have. They are dominated by men in their family life, in the workplace, and in other social domains as well, particularly religion and politics” (Philips 2003:254). These beliefs were perpetuated by patriarchy and justified men’s power over women. Philips explains that the “the term ‘patriarchal’ was used to refer to ideologies that either assumed or asserted that men should dominate women, have authority over them, and tell them what to do” (2003:254). She also uses the term ideology in the Marxist sense, where a dominant view was one that served the powerful, i.e. the men, and kept the women subordinate and unaware of that position. Marx’s position is dealt with in 2.2 in detail, but here it is relevant to show that as his work looked at class structures in society, feminists needed to change the focus to gender relations (cf. 1.4 for FCDA). As Philips states, “in replacing class with gender, feminists deeply undermined the privileging of class as the primary relation of domination and subordination of interest to the social sciences, and made power central to the study of women and gender” (2003: 255). The most critical statement that needs to be considered when mentioning patriarchal ideology and attempting to understand its prevalence and solid structure is that the ideology is naturalised, there needs to be a ‘cultural understanding that men should have power and

authority over women that women should not have over themselves or men...the more implicit and taken for granted this assumption is, the more powerful it is" (Philips 2003:255).

When discussing femininity and masculinity, there are various gender identity issues that arise. Ivanic (1998) prefers to use the term identities, rather than identity, as it focuses the word on groups of people rather than individuals. She writes that: "the plural word 'identities' is sometimes better because it captures the idea of people identifying simultaneously with a variety of social groups. One or more of these identities may be foregrounded at different times; they are sometimes contradictory, sometimes interrelated: people's diverse identities constitute the richness and dilemma of their sense of self" (1998:11). This notion of a plurality of identities suggests that there is also a plurality of femininities and masculinities, and this will be discussed next.

In terms of femininities, Van Zoonen (1994) states that there seems to be a reluctance amongst women to be 'feminists', and that the struggles of the past are different to those experience by women today. This links to the difficulties intrinsic in defining femininity, as Milkie (2002) states that media definitions of femininity are resisted by women. She suggests that "studies of resistance to media imagery rarely consider how these critical interpretations play out in the larger cultural and institutional context. It is here – in assessing girls' resistance to images in contest with responses and practices of cultural gatekeepers who produce images of girls and women – that the struggle over defining femininity can be explored" (2002:840).

Talbot (2003:170) states that some theorists maintain that femininity is "a matter of sexualization, a matter of learning to view yourself from the man's point of view and of perceiving your sexuality *as* your identity as feminine (MacKinnon 1982)". In this opinion, women are forced to see themselves through men's eyes and adapt to this by defining themselves in terms of what pleases men, as a result this leads to a preoccupation with appearances (Talbot 2003). If being feminine is linked to a woman's appearance, then femininity can be seen to rest on the visual aspect, which is in turn influenced by the media and society, amongst others. Femininity, however, impacts on every part of a woman's life, "it is a conglomeration of concepts, themes and images, and of kinds of social relation and social practice" (Talbot 2003:171).

Just as femininity is difficult to define and conceptualise, so is masculinity. The next section considers the differing approaches to defining masculinity, which in my opinion can also be used to discuss femininity.

Connell (1995:67) looks into the issues of gender and masculinity, by stating that “all societies have cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the concept ‘masculinity’ ...[today] the term assumes that one’s behaviour results from the type of person one is”. For example, a person who is not interested in sex may be called unmasculine. The most important point that Connell (1995:68) makes, however, is that the concept of masculinity is “*inherently relational*”, in that it does not exist without being contrasted to femininity, and any culture that does not define masculinity as in opposition to femininity, does not view it in the same sense as that of modern Western culture. As Brittan (1989:3) states: “Masculinity, therefore, does not exist in isolation from femininity – it will always be an expression of the current image that men have of themselves in relation to women. And these images are often contradictory and ambiguous”. As is clear from this explanation of masculinity, both masculinity and femininity need each other in order to define the other and therefore the different strategies used to define masculinity, as listed below, will also include examples for defining femininity.

Connell (1995:68-70) discusses four different types of strategies that have been used to define masculinity. These different strategies characterize people differently, but take the cultural standpoint as the status quo.

1. “*Essentialist* definitions usually pick a feature that defines the core of the masculine, and hang an account of men’s lives on that” (1995:68). An example is Freud’s idea of masculine activity versus feminine passivity. This was later seen as being extremely simplified, but illustrates the weakness of this view, in that whichever essence or feature was chosen to define masculinity was arbitrary.
2. “*Positivist* social science, whose ethos emphasizes finding the facts, yields a simple definition of masculinity: what men actually are” (ibid). This is based on psychological scales of “masculinity/femininity (M/F)”, which discriminate statistically between men and women, and are also based on ethnographic discussions of men’s lives, and if a pattern is found, that pattern is called masculinity. There are three problems with this strategy: Firstly, these descriptions cannot be based on neutral assumptions, as the scales must be based on some ideas of gender; secondly,

to put what men and women do into lists, means that they have already been sorted into categories of “‘men’ and ‘women’”, which Kessler and McKenna (1978) state is a process of social attribution; and thirdly, by defining men as “what-men-empirically-are” (ibid) is to stop any possibilities of men having feminine attributes and women having masculine attributes. Acknowledging this possibility is essential to various psychological theories that view personalities as having contradictions, as well as gender analysis, since the terms ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ point to differences that occur within and between the genders themselves.

3. “*Normative* definitions recognise these differences and offer a standard; masculinity is what men ought to be” (Connell 1995:69). This definition is what the media use, as it allows men to approach the standard from different directions, although it is problematic in that men tend not to meet the benchmark. For example, most men cannot display the toughness and independence displayed by actors like Clint Eastwood. As Connell states, “what is ‘normative’ about a norm hardly anyone meets? Are we to say the majority of men are unmasculine?” (ibid). An additional problem is that this definition does not acknowledge the presence of a personality, a masculine personality, and it is for that reason that many theorists tend towards the more essentialist position.
4. “*Semiotic* approaches abandon the level of personality and define masculinity through a system of symbolic difference in which masculine and feminine places are contrasted. Masculinity is, in effect, defined as not-femininity” (Connell 1995:70). This approach is based on structural linguistics and the term masculine is seen as the unmarked term, “the place of symbolic authority. The phallus is master-signifier, and femininity is symbolically defined by lack” (ibid), so femininity is ‘not-masculine’ and therefore marked. This definition is useful in cultural analysis and is useful in that it uses the principle of connection, where one symbol needs to be understood within the context of other symbols that apply in the same/similar spheres. For example, masculinity cannot be understood away from the system of gender, as this tends to be the nature of paradigms.

Within these four strategies, there is no one strategy that takes preference over another and they all need to be seen in the context of each other. The *normative* strategy, which is primarily used by the media, will be used in the analysis of the magazines as a basis to aid the interpretation of the magazines’ representation of masculinity. However, the other strategies

will also be considered. What is of importance is that the definition of masculinity needs to take into account the system of gender relations that it finds itself in, and also recognise that masculinity does not exist without femininity.

2.3.4 Gender, Language and Ideology

Language ideologies, in terms of male language ideologies and female language ideologies, have formed a focal point of research for many linguists and researchers. Cameron defines language ideologies as “a set of *representations* through which language is imbued with cultural meaning for a certain community...in terms of *representations* of language rather than say, *beliefs or attitudes* relating to it. The term ‘ideology’ is often used in discourse to denote beliefs or belief systems (e.g. ‘communism’, ‘feminism’...especially likely to be used in connection with belief systems which the speaker takes to be misguided and/or partisan” (2003:447). This is especially relevant for this research since it looks at the language ideologies of men and women, and attempts to reveal whether the magazines support or challenge these dominant ideologies.

Challenging ideologies is one of the aims of feminism, and is important because of the significance of gender in language representations. Cameron lists a number of questions that should be asked when looking at the relationship between gender and language ideologies: “How has the relationship between language and gender been represented in different times and places, and what purposes have been served by representing it in particular ways? Has political (feminist) intervention succeeded in changing the repertoire of representations? How and to what extent do ideological representations of the language/gender relationship inform everyday linguistic and social practice among real women and men?” (2003:448). These questions are pertinent to this research and helped to inform the analyses in Chapters Four, Five and Six. They also link very closely to Fairclough’s questions about ideologies in section 2.2.4.

Ideologies, however, are time- and context-specific, and will change according to these elements. What is essential is to note the ideologies at present and consider whether they are being confirmed or challenged. While this research is only looking at a single period of time in which to discover the ideologies of masculinity and femininity in 2003, a further element of this research could be to compare to the past (cf. 7.3). Although, there is a small element of comparison in that the results found in this study can reveal at a glance whether the

ideologies are consistent with the accepted idea of gender relations at present (cf. 2.5.2 and 7.2). According to Cameron (2003), what does seem to stay constant is the difference between men and women: “gender differences are frequently represented as complementaries...whatever their substance, though, these representations of gender and language are part of society’s apparatus for maintaining gender distinctions in general – they help to naturalize the notion of the sexes as ‘opposite’...[and] help to naturalize gender hierarchies” (2003:452). What is significant is the naturalisation process that occurs, the ability to make society’s actions appear normal and acceptable, and it is this that accomplishes the marginalisation and subjugation of women by men, rather than ideological representations themselves (Cameron 2003), and it is the naturalisation process that confirms and supports the research undertaken in this thesis.

The next sections will discuss in detail women and men’s magazines, drawing on the discussions of gender, ideology and language discussed in the previous sections.

2.4 Mass Media Discourse

2.4.1 Properties of Mass Communication

As an introduction to Mass Media Discourse, it is necessary to explain the properties of Mass Communication (MC) that makes it different from other forms of communication.

The first important distinction is due to the expression “mass”, which clearly means that the messages are sent to large audiences (Thompson 1990). However, some audiences remain relatively restricted and specialised, although they can still reach a large audience, (as would be the case with *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* magazines, which will be expanded upon later), so instead of assuming that “mass” means that it reaches a large number of people, the more appropriate interpretation would be that the products “are available in principle to a plurality of recipients” (Thompson 1990:218). Fairclough (1995b:39-40) also expounds upon this notion and states that the size of the audience accentuates “the potential influence and power of the media, and the interest the state may have in attempting to control it”. However, I feel that there are also many other interested parties (and society broadly), not just the state, that may have interests in controlling the power that some media have over the audiences. These would include the media houses that run the magazines, such as Associated Magazines that publishes *Cosmopolitan* and UpperCase Media that publishes *FHM*. These media houses need support from advertisers and money to stay in business and so they will reflect the

influence of their sponsors in order to keep their magazine in business. The audience also gives power to the media, by spending their money on purchasing the magazines and keeping them in business, albeit in an unwitting and/or unconscious manner of the subtler impact of their behaviour.

The next distinction flows from the preceding one in that MC tends to be one-way, from the “transmitter to the receiver” (Thompson 1990:218), and the audience usually has no capacity to comment on or contribute to the content of the message. As Fairclough states, “this is germane to questions about the power of the mass media”, and since the producers of MC fail to receive feedback, “producers postulate and construct ‘ideal’ audiences partly on the basis of guesses about audience response drawn from the experience and various types of indirect evidence” (1995b:40). This would suggest then that magazines, for example, will emphasise a particular lifestyle and message through their magazine independent of direct feedback from the audience as they want to control and create a certain type of reader. In this way, they manipulate the reader into living the lifestyle that the magazine promotes, by appealing to the readers’ needs and desires.

The third property relates to the temporal and spatial aspects of media texts, that “the time and place of production of a MC text is different from the time and place of consumption when an audience hears or reads it” (Fairclough 1995b:36). In most cases these times and places vary depending on the medium and the context of the audience. For example, in the case of magazines, most viewers receive the magazines from a few weeks to a few months after the articles have been written, and tend to spend anything from a day to a month, even up to a year or more reading and perusing the articles.

These “temporal” and “spatial” settings of MC texts can be linked to the concepts of “private and public domains” (Fairclough 1995b:37). The ability of the media to “mediate” in some way between these two spheres is a vital property of the MC. How the media achieves this is by producing articles or programmes in the public domain, “using predominantly public domain source materials” and then the audience consumes them in the private domain of their homes and families (Fairclough 1995b:37). In order to attempt to bridge the gap between these spheres, a “communicative ethos” and “communicative style” (Scannell 1992 cited in Fairclough 1995b:37) has evolved, and includes the development of a “‘public colloquial’ language” which is a public language fashioned on everyday, informal conversational speech.

While these properties of MC are not magazine-specific, the focus of each property has been related to the magazine style which emphasises the focus of this research. Other theorists have also come up with differing properties of MC that are basically the same as Fairclough's. For example, Thompson (1990:219) breaks up the characteristics of the MC into: "the institutionalised production and diffusion of symbolic goods; the instituted break between production and reception; the extension of availability in time and space; and the public circulation of symbolic forms". .

2.4.2 Media and Language

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, an important aspect of the mass media is the extent of its power, and how this is wielded through language (Fairclough 1995b): the ability of the media to affect governments, political parties, knowledge, societal values and beliefs and create social identities, all through the use of language.

By analysing media texts it is possible to look at three factors of media output that can create awareness about the power of the media. Fairclough (1995b:5) lists them as:

1. "How is the world (events, relationships, etc.) represented?"
2. What identities are set up for those involved in the programme or story (reporters, audiences, 'third parties' referred to or interviewed)?
3. What relationships are set up between those involved (e.g. reporter-audience, expert-audience or political-audience relationships)?"

He calls these "representations, identities and relations" (Fairclough 1995b:5), and a text, at any given time, will in all likelihood be using them simultaneously. If a media text is analysed using these questions (and this research uses them to aid the Explanation stage of the analyses cf. 4.3.5 and 5.3.5), it should be possible to identify the underlying ideologies and assumptions it carries within it, as well as which power interests are perpetuated through these representations. However, the question of power in the media is often cause for concern, as how the media shapes and is shaped by power relations is open to interpretations that may be misleading or misguided. It is important to show that the question of power can not simply be analysed in terms of "representation, identities and relations", it is necessary to look at how power relations affect and are affected by the ideologies that the media perpetuates. Power relations are based on interactions between different ethnicities, classes, and genders, as well as relations between specialists, in fields such as politics, and the greater population (Fairclough 1995b). These issues all relate to the concept of ideology, in

particular how media language may work through ideology (Fairclough 1995b), and the questions pertaining to “representation, identities and relations” are relevant in that they can show how the media may represent the world, and construct identities and social relations in particular ways.

2.4.3 Features of Magazines

At this point, this literature review will focus more closely on one of the important themes of the thesis, that of magazines. This section will provide a synopsis of the different types of magazines and their characteristics, focusing specifically on consumer magazines, the category that *Cosmo* and *FHM* fall into.

Magazines are an important element of the mass media, and help to “reflect and shape the thoughts and actions of the society in which people live, often maintaining a system through perpetuating dominant ideologies” (Thompson and de Klerk 2002:105). Magazines are difficult to define (Morrish 1996) and most definitions are vague, however, McLoughlin (2000:xi-xii) describes magazines as:

an immensely popular cultural form...The easy-to-read format of magazines does not mean that they are not carefully crafted...magazines require us to interact with them in complex ways. Magazines have their own particular ethos and ideologies but they can also reflect and construct cultural values. In order for the texts to work they must draw on the readers’ knowledge of language.

Morrish (1996) comments on how difficult it is to find a definition representative of all types of magazines. In order to reach some clarity, he divides magazines into different groups, according to their type and frequency. For example, “Business-to-business magazines” or trade magazines; “Newsletters” which are simple print publications without any graphics or pictures; “Contract publishing” which creates magazines for particular customers or members of organisations; “House journals” which are produced by contract publishers in particular organisations; “Non-profit and amateur magazines” which tend to be published purely to convey a message or view of the world, and “Consumer magazines” (Morrish 1996: 228-233). In general, consumer magazines tend to be aimed at people with specific interests (for example, sailing) or who form a specific sector of the population (e.g. teenagers). Their readers are found “from a broader sweep of the population and by a more subtle process. Some titles, obviously enough, have a clear target, if a broad one” (Morrish 1996:230). However, within each market, consumer magazines differ in the way they address their

readers and readers tend to identify themselves with one particular title, drawing their identity from the title and its meaning (Renzetti and Curran 1999).

Cosmo and *FHM* can both be defined as consumer magazines. Part of what defines *Cosmo* and *FHM* readers would be reflected in the target market each magazine aims to appeal to.⁴ *FHM* has a total readership of 591 000 readers (All Media and Product Surveys 2004), predominantly educated men aged between 18 and 34, although 28.7% of the readers are female. *Cosmo* has a total readership of 786 000 readers (AMPS 2004), targeting women between the ages of 18 and 35, although 20% of the readers are male. These statistics reveal the type of people that buy the magazines, but there should be an overlap with the ideal reader, as both magazines target people who have an above average income; a fairly high level of education, are either working or studying, and who are English first language speakers (AMPS 2004). While the majority of the readers are white, English-speaking, there are a number of black readers, however they tend to be more assimilated into “Western” culture and the associated norms. These magazines are purely representative of a Western society, despite having a slightly varied readership, and therefore any statements, in this thesis, referring to “society” are made with this premise in mind.

Gordon (1966:108-109) identifies two characteristics of mass consumer magazines, which can be said to characterise consumer magazines such as *Cosmo* and *FHM* as well:

Firstly, “an element of unreality”: Since magazines need to have constant buyers, they “tend to concentrate on issues, topics and themes just slightly ahead of or different from the real world about us”. The style of the magazines tends to be informal and personal and the information provided portrays examples of lifestyles usually a step above the norm (Gordon 1966:108).

Secondly, “a certain ephemeral quality”: Despite the fact that mass magazines have more time and money for research than other media, they do not presume to give the final word on various topics or issues. This gives them a more fleeting and transient nature (Gordon 1966:109). Beetham (1996:9) extends this characteristic by stating that the periodical is ephemeral since it is “produced for a particular day, week or month. Its claims to truth and importance are always contingent, as is clear from the date which is prominently displayed (sometimes on every page)”.

⁴ The following figures are based on the South African All Media and Product Surveys 2004.

While Gordon's (1966) characteristics are fairly dated, they seem to hold with other theorists (Beetham 1996, Morrish 1996, amongst others) and examples of them are evident in the magazines. Magazines also have their own particular ways of representing men and women, which may "reflect dominant social values" (Smith 1985:13). Much work has been done on the study of women's magazines (Beetham 1996; Eggins & Iedema 1997; White 1970; Winship 1987, amongst others). However it has only been in the last ten years, dating from the early 1990s approximately, that men's magazines have been researched (Benwell 2001, Boni 2002). The following sections will look firstly at women's consumer magazines and then men's consumer magazines.

2.5 Women's Consumer Magazines

2.5.1 Introduction

In order to present previous research into women's magazines this section will follow a chronological order of decade by decade, or where these lines are unclear, era-by-era. The majority of this discussion is taken from a British historical point of view, since there is very little research on the magazine industry in South Africa, and what there is, is more recent and will enter the discussion at a later stage. While the British influence therefore is large, it should be noted that the events in their society would have affected the South African market of women's consumer magazines during those times. This would be due to colonialism and the fact that for many years until fairly recently, consumer magazines in South Africa would have appealed to an audience that was largely English-speaking, educated, and the readers would have expected a British flavour as they would be more representative of a Western culture. The historical development of women's magazines does focus largely on British magazines, but since this research is not a longitudinal study of magazines, the focus is on *Cosmopolitan* in the 21st century, in South Africa, and "as could be expected from South Africa's recent history, its magazine market is (still) characterised by definite differences in the readership of magazines amongst the country's different race groups. A decline in traditional mass consumer magazine titles versus the growth of specialist titles also characterizes the industry, as does the growth of magazines specifically aimed at black South Africans, such as Drum" (url: 2).

The significance of women's magazines in society is noted by Ferguson (1983:1), as she states that they

define the position of women in a given society at a given point in time...these journals help to shape both a woman's view of herself, and society's view of

her...[they] are about more than women and womanly things, they're about femininity itself – as a state, a condition, a craft, and an art form which comprise a set of practices and beliefs...this points to a hidden message...the fact that they exist at all makes a statement about the positions of women in society as one which requires separate consideration and distinctive treatment.

The rest of this section will show how women's magazines have changed focus over the years and their significance in modern society, and whether the representations of women and femininity have changed in any way.

2.5.2 Historical Overview

There is a large amount of research into women's magazines, in particular a long and well-researched history, however since this research is not providing a longitudinal comparison of women and men's magazines, and that men's magazines have only had a short history, only a brief overview will be provided (with any major trends highlighted), while the focus will be placed on magazines from the 1990s onwards.

2.5.2.1 The Beginning

The first appearance of women's magazines occurred in the late seventeenth century in Georgian England⁵ (White 1970; Braithwaite & Barrell 1979; Ballaster, Beetham, Frazer & Hebron 1991), with the initial title being *The Ladies' Mercury* dated 1693. However, the term 'magazine' only originated in 1731, coined by Edward Cave, a printer who created a periodical for gentlemen "an entirely new type of journal containing material drawn from many literary sources" (White 1970:27). It was soon imitated by *The Lady's Magazine* (the beginning of the women's periodical press) which was aimed at a variety of readers and "offered a varied editorial diet of both instruction and entertainment" (Braithwaite et al. 1979:5). According to Ballaster et al. (1991:5), the eighteenth century seemed to attempt to define exactly what each gender represented and the differences between them: "writers and readers appear to have been actively engaged in a process, or struggle, to establish gender difference as unambiguous and oppositional".

⁵ It should be noted that initially magazines began in England, however as the overview continues, the emergence of magazines in America begins to show. There is though, no specific focus on American magazines, as Britain was the foremost leader in this market.

2.5.2.2 The “New Woman”

There was a large amount of activity in the women’s magazine print industry since the 1700s, but it was in the 1960s and the later years of the 20th century that women’s magazines developed interestingly and have relevance to this research.

The women’s magazine became extremely important to the print industry in the 1960s, and it was not due to the number of different magazines, as there were fewer then than there had been in the 1930s. Rather, it was the fact that the existing magazines had a much larger readership, drawn from all social classes. This meant that women’s magazines were now “big business”, as “with this kind of command of the market among those who were identified as controllers of family expenditure and consumption” the magazines and their advertisers saw this as a chance to make more money (Ballaster et al. 1991:29).

Since the World Wars there had been many changes in women’s lives, especially in terms of education and job salaries, and they were generally more sophisticated and experienced, therefore, “publishers had to respond to the climate of what life was now really all about and launch new titles for this ‘new woman’” (Braithwaite et al. 1979:32). As Ballaster et al. (1991:111) state, the attempts to revive the economic side of magazines resulted in an entanglement with the “ideological debate about the ‘new’ woman and, even if to a lesser extent, the ‘new’ man”.

1965 saw the launch of a magazine that personified the new angle of the women’s magazine market – *Nova*. “This was ‘The New Magazine for the New Woman’, and *Nova* set straight out to be the answer to the intellectual woman’s magazine needs” (Braithwaite et al. 1979:33). The magazine catered for women who used to work and had a good education, who were now looking after children and needed some stimulation. The articles were candid, intimate, audacious and outspoken in terms of sexual articles and topics not written about before. Despite its success, *Nova* did not carry on past 1974, but it did leave its mark on the magazine industry, and other magazines, like *Woman’s Own*, began to also use ‘risqué’ words and explore novel ideas. This affected the success of *Nova* as the magazine began to lose its uniqueness, and the success was especially affected once *Cosmopolitan* appeared on the scene in 1972 (cf. 2.5.1.3).

However, there were new problems that arose with this “new society” which the magazines failed to recognise and meet, and have only realised in retrospect (White 1970). Due to the fact that young, married women formed the majority of the population, many of them still teenagers (White 1970), there was a population problem. With marriage, came a “baby-boom”, however it was not expected to continue until 1964. Associated with this was that women were having babies at younger ages, and by the time they reached their late-thirties they had passed most of the family responsibilities and still had “half their lives left in which to enjoy the freedom they [had] regained” (White 1970:163). One extremely important and significant freedom that had been granted to women was the ability to control their own fertility, which in turn opened up a new sexual role for women (White 1970). As White (1970:163) states “oral contraception has brought release from the physical and psychological bondage of recurrent pregnancies, which was formerly the greatest single barrier to the full participation of women in the social and economic life of the community”.

However, while these changes supported women’s independence, problems arose that directly affected the situation negatively. These included what Grieve (1964) termed “suburban neurosis”: women dealing with loneliness and the problems related to making new homes as the areas of work and home living changed; White’s (1970) concept of the “two-job women”: women trying to run a home and work at the same time, with little support from either sphere; Gavron’s (1966) “captive wives”, women who stay at home all day, and the “redundant wives” who feel useless now their children have left and cannot work as they have no adequate training, if any at all. These problems tied up with Friedan’s (1963) concept of “The Feminine Mystique”, or “the problem that has no name” (1963:13). Friedan’s work was a landmark in the women’s movement and provided a catalyst for further research and work in this field. She studied women in America and the emotional and psychological problems that they experienced in the mid-fifties and early sixties, by interviewing doctors, gynaecologists, ministers, counsellors, teachers, magazine editors, and paediatricians amongst others. Her findings pointed to a “growing body of evidence, much of which [was not] reported publicly” as it did not support “modes of thought about women – evidence which throws into question the standards of feminine normality, feminine adjustment, feminine fulfilment, and feminine maturity by which most women are still trying to live” (Friedan 1963:28). She found that there was some link between the trend of early marriages, natural childbirth, suburban traditionalism and old problems such as sexual frigidity, menopause, emotional breakdown and suicide in women in their twenties and

thirties, and the passivity and immaturity of American men, amongst others. As a result of this, she found that this unhappiness in women and the “problem that has no name” was not due to education or a loss of femininity, rather it was accepting “the voice within women that says: ‘I want something more than my husband and my children and my home’” (Friedan 1963:29).

This period, while being fairly progressive, was thus also problematic and in addition to the associated emotional and psychological problems there were also problems with advancing technology and related stress on the individual. Society was changing from a community-based, less individualistic and feminine society to a more fast-moving, individualistic society. Where support from families and communities used to be of importance, people were ignoring and moving away from this basis, relying on their own experiences and knowledge (Gavron 1966, White 1970). As White (1970:164) mentions: “families are subjected to internal tensions as the gulf between one generation and the next widens due to education and accelerated social change, and as couples try to adjust to a new concept of marriage which accords the wife higher status than that of a mere sleeping partner in the family firm”.

In terms of the magazine industry, these problems were difficult to address as they were of a social origin (White 1970), and were not acceptable problems that were appropriate for the advice columns and problem pages. As a result, many of these issues were ignored and not addressed through the magazines, although the personal service offered to individuals improved significantly as counsellors, psychologists and experts in various fields contributed to the magazines dealing with some issues in depth. For example, *Woman's Own* in 1961 produced a series called “Get more living out of life” which dealt with issues such as peace in the marriage, sexual issues, and how to deal with unplanned pregnancies of their children, amongst other topics. However, the traditional view of the woman's role was still preserved and both weekly and monthly magazines neglected the issues facing women, and the new “working woman” was almost completely ignored (White 1970).

2.5.2.3 Introducing *Cosmopolitan* and the male nude

Cosmopolitan (hereafter *Cosmo*), was launched in America at the beginning of the century, but 1972 “was the watershed year of post-war women's magazine publishing...the year of the launch of British *Cosmo*, one of the outstandingly successful launches of all time” (Braithwaite et al. 1979:49). The history and details of *Cosmo* will be discussed in a later

section (cf. 2.5.2). The success of *Cosmo*, which was published by the National Magazine Company, had a direct effect on other magazines in the market, and within a month, *Vanity Fair* had stopped publication. *Cosmo*'s second edition featured a male nude, and the American edition ran a similar centre spread with Burt Reynolds. At the same time; due to this new openness, the publication of *Playgirl* was prompted "which flagrantly exploit[ed] the male nude situation. It published pages and pages of male nudes – real nudes with dangling genitalia, they had to dangle because the law would not allow photographs of naked gentlemen in any state of sexual excitement – this would fall into the category of pornography" (Braithwaite et al. 1979:55). The initial excitement soon diminished, although *Viva* took hold of this experiment and published various editions with male nudes. This magazine was American and owned by Bob Guccione, the publisher of *Penthouse*, Britain's equivalent to *Playboy*, and he would have launched a British version of *Viva* if it had been successful. However, the apparent American feel, viewpoint and the more recent lack of interest in the male nude, made it unsuccessful and it was withdrawn in 1978 (Braithwaite et al. 1979).

2.5.2.4 Commercial Femininities

According to Gough-Yates (2003:56), the 1980s focused on creating new forms of "commercial femininities". This in turn linked the advertisers and advertising used in the magazines with the role women played in society, which was significant in that women were slowly becoming direct "targets" of the capitalist market. The different changes in women's working roles impacted upon their leisure time and patterns. For example, women were important decision makers in the purchasing of alcohol. O'Reilly (1983 in Gough-Yates 2003) found that women's decisions were crucial in the purchasing of wine, sherry, vermouth, liqueurs, bottled water etc., while at home they were also engaging in more 'masculine' activities. Industries that had initially only appealed to the male market now realised that women were growing as consumers (Gough-Yates 2003).

The 1980s saw a struggle to identify the "women's market" (Gough-Yates 2003:73-74), and in 1983, one group was identified as "a group of women who had an 'underestimated inclination to spend money on themselves'...[called] 'the Divorcynics'". These women found that value for money was more important than fashion, and marketers decided that it was important to take into account emotions and life cycles (no matter how transitory), which impacted on women's spending habits. Lifestyles were also extremely important to identify,

in that magazines tended to portray certain lifestyles as being desirable, and encouraged the reader to buy the commodities and act in certain ways that would allow the reader to achieve that particular lifestyle (Ballaster et al. 1991, Gough-Yates 2003). In 1985, a piece of research by McCann-Erickson (in Gough-Yates 2003), entitled “Woman Study”, a “sister” report to Restall’s (1985) “Man Study”, was published. Their research aimed to provide a full account of people’s needs, desires, personalities, attitudes and feelings, amongst other aspects. The studies divided the men and women into eight different lifestyle groups (identities which were created and influenced people to mould and adopt a ‘group’), which were further grouped into four “motivational pairs”: 1) “the Avant Guardian and the Lady Righteous” – encouraged by ideals and opinions; 2) “the Lively Lady and the New Un-Romantic” – self-awareness and independence of spirit; 3) “the Hopeful Seeker and the Lack-A-Daisy” – questing personalities; and 4) “the Blinkered and the Down-Trodden” – lack of involvement (Gough-Yates 2003:74). The first group were defined as being leaders, while the other groups were all seen as followers, in particular, the New Un-Romantic and the Down-Trodden were seen as being specifically female-oriented (Restall 1985). This research was useful in that it helped identify and provide insights into women, which in turn helped marketers and editors identify different lifestyles that would appeal to different groups and show “potential gaps in the market” (Gough-Yates 2003:74).

While there was movement towards addressing different women in different sectors of the population, there was a strong feeling that professional women were being left out (Gough-Yates 2003). Campbell-Lyons (1983) argued that magazines were still male-dominated and were aimed at housewives with children, who were only interested in cooking, sex, and clothes, for example. She wanted a new type of magazine that included “intelligent material. An explosive magazine, full of variety. Articles on politics, psychology, world affairs... We are all tired of reading the same old stuff, putting us where the men think we belong – in the home” (Campbell-Lyons 1983:45). There was clearly a need for publishers to listen to what women wanted.

Three new magazines entered the arena and created large competition for many of the older, yet dominant magazines, like *Cosmo*, *Company* and *She*. These were *Elle*, *Marie-Claire* and *New Woman* (Gough-Yates 2003). They were successful in reaching their target markets and therefore, the older magazines had to alter their readerships, and project new images of young, professional women and new ideas of femininity.

Elle targeted the “socio-culturally advanced” women, who had a high income and education and an open-minded attitude. It had a “strong vision of its ‘lifestyle’ target group and was a vehicle for reaching a quality, high-spending, international readership” (Cova, Rad-Serecht and Weil 1993:483). *Marie-Claire* targeted the younger version of *Elle*’s audience, the 20 to 34 year-old women. Like *Elle*, the focus was mostly on fashion, but the readers’ attitudes towards lifestyles and living were of importance and this was what both magazines wanted to target. *New Woman* was significant competition for *Cosmo* in the USA, and the emphasis of the magazine was on women who worked in a variety of different occupations, but who were not defined or governed by their careers (Gough-Yates 2003). *New Woman* also targeted women younger than *Marie-Claire*’s, in the 15 to 24 age group, but who were working.

Cosmo suffered fairly badly from the launch of these new magazines, and according to Gerrie (1987:45 in Gough-Yates 2003:110-111), “the reduced circulation was due to *Cosmopolitan*’s seventies image that radically needs to unload the concept that there is no life without a man, a concept that’s unfashionable for our times – remember the ‘independent, free-thinking woman’. There was a lot of criticism that resulted from this and so studies were commenced in order to find the “*Cosmo* Girl”. Additional improvements took place, and finally *Cosmo* renewed itself with the introduction of Zest, a new body, health and fitness section, and increasing the popular psychology and self-help/agonny aunt columns (Gough-Yates 2003).

2.5.2.5 The 1990s and current day

Gough-Yates (2003) elucidates upon this decade by commenting upon the lack of innovation and boredom that seemed to have affected the magazine industry. Craig (1998:26), an opinion writer for the Sunday Telegraph in the United Kingdom, comments on the situation: “Women’s magazines, she observed, had ‘lost their readers in droves’, and women had become ‘disenchanted with magazines that [...assume] their interests begin and end with shopping, sex and cellulite’”. There seemed to be a sense of forgetfulness about the readers of the magazines and their desires, and this feeling of stagnation within the magazine industry was reflected in the circulation figures. In ten years, from 1988 to 1998, the top six magazines in Britain (*Cosmopolitan* included) dropped from 3,452,716 to 2,098,302 (Craig 1998), surprisingly most publishers were unaware of the declining situation.

From the mid-1990s, most women's magazines attempted to change and modernize "their images of young middle-class femininity by altering their editorial mixes" (Gough-Yates 2003:136). The emphasis in the editorials moved from fashion and beauty to celebrities and "celebrity culture", although there was still a large focus on the former topics (Gough-Yates 2003). Some magazines chose one celebrity as a "guest editor" for a particular month, who would represent a particular lifestyle and symbolize the attitudes and desires of the 'ideal' reader. This chosen celebrity tended to portray a woman who had distinguished herself through her career, "her individualism, often her 'desirable' visage and physique, and her success" (Marshall 1997:x). This new focus improved the sales of the magazines, particularly as the 'glossies' were now competing against extremely popular celebrity magazines, such as *Hello!*, *OK!*, *Here!*, and *Now!* (Gough-Yates 2003). This competition made the magazines work harder to appeal to their audiences.

Another significant change within the 'glossies' was the focus on "women's sexual confidence and independence" (Gough-Yates 2003:137). Sexual positions, discussions of pornography and prostitution were some of the topics that began to fill the pages of the magazines. However, while this increased sales it also brought the ethics of the magazine into question as well as the relationship between young women's lives and the content of the magazines (Gough-Yates 2003). There was much criticism about the focus on sex, which included stating that this new topic was a ruse for increasing circulation figures, and that generally editors were using this marketing tool "against their better judgement" (2003:137). There was also a large amount of worry regarding the relationships between the representation of a young woman's life and reality, and in 1997, a report on women's magazines was published by the (British) Social Affairs Unit (SAU). The report was condemnatory and stated that "the content of contemporary women's magazines was morally reprehensible, offering a 'depressing portrait of the modern British woman'" (Anderson and Mosbacher 1997:18). Most of the magazine editors responded to these criticisms by stating that people read the magazines for the escapist and fantastic quality of life they represented, while others believed that the critics needed "to wake up to the real world...and realise that women's magazines were not for them" (Gough-Yates 2003:138). In more recent years, the level of condemnation has lessened.

In terms of cultural commentary, there have been statements (see McRobbie 1997 and Whelehan 2000) that "new representations of femininity in women's magazines were

indicative of real transformations in gender relations” (Gough-Yates 2003:143). However, other theorists, for example Delamont (2001) and Holland, Ramazonoglu, Sharpe and Thompson (1998) comment that this is all media fiction, that no transformations occurred and differences between male supremacy and female independence still exist (Gough-Yates 2003). Despite changes in the last fifty years, men and women still seem to play the typical roles predicated upon them. Delamont (2001:55) states “whilst there had been *material* shifts in the lives of young men and women over a period of fifty years, there were strong indications that practices for negotiating hegemonic heterosexual identities had altered little”.

It is clear that there was a large amount of disagreement about gender roles in the 1990s, and it is interesting to see how glossy magazines contributed towards the actual situation of the time. The magazines offered new images of gender relations, and commercially this seemed successful in terms of influencing female sexual confidence and independence; however the amount of change they generated is extremely difficult to measure, especially since most young women didn't have lifestyles like those described in the magazines (Gough-Yates 2003). Most editorials in the magazines emphasize the sexual confidence and independence of women, and use them as a “means of continuing to publicize the ability of the magazine industry to ‘map’ femininities...[they seem to] have offered the readers of women's magazines new ways to understand and redefine themselves in the world” (Gough-Yates 2003:144). As a result, most readers seemed to believe and therefore substantiate the idea that there had been a transformation in gender roles and relations, but in reality this is left to question.

2.5.3 *Cosmopolitan*

This magazine was first published in America at the beginning of the 20th century, by William Randolph Hearst, as a fiction magazine. By the 1950s, however, this formula and the magazine were moribund, until Helen Gurley Brown assumed editorship in 1964 (White 1970, Braithwaite et al. 1979). Her mission was “to tap a hitherto ignored audience and to cater to its special needs...these needs are connected with the intimate craft of being a woman rather than the skilled trade of being a housewife”, and the editorial philosophy was based upon two things that women need: “someone to love and some useful work to do” (White 1970:254). She took the role of the elder sister who helped women improve themselves, get the best from their lives and actually live their own life, without needing a man; “the liberated *Cosmopolitan* girl archetype would be out to attract men, hold down a

good job, make the best of herself, and, not least improve her sex life” (Braithwaite et al. 1979:49).

It was therefore inevitable that Britain would publish their own version of *Cosmo*, with the National Magazine Company (NMC), but they needed to solve three problems before they went ahead with the launch. The first problem was to find an editor who would make the magazine successful in Britain and who was of the same calibre as Helen Gurley Brown. She was a leading figure in the magazine industry, as “in a tempestuous era, her *Cosmopolitan* magazine grappled with how women should define themselves, and reconcile liberation with their interest in men” (url: 3). “During the decade of the 1960s she was an outspoken advocate of women's sexual freedom and sought to provide them with role-models and a guide in her magazine. Brown claimed that women could have it all, ‘love, sex, and money’. Due to her advocacy, the liberated single woman was often referred to generically as the ‘*Cosmo* Girl’ Her work played a part in...the sexual revolution” (url: 4). In Britain, Joyce Hopkirk, editor of the *Sun* newspaper, took over this role.

The second problem was that the current young woman’s magazine, *Vanity Fair*, was not doing well and the NMC needed to see if there was room for another magazine in this sector. They decided that the market was fairly inactive then and a new magazine would revive it. The third question was whether the *Cosmo* girl was only an American phenomenon, and if the type of woman it portrayed would find a niche in Britain. They decided that despite demographic and psychological differences, the mentality would be similar and the interests the same, “her job, men, travel, her body, her sex life, clothes, cosmetics, the arts...home interests would be minimal and babies were definitely out...features would be frank and direct when dealing with sexual and social problems” (Braithwaite et al. 1979:51). So, Britain’s *Cosmo* was launched in 1972, was a major success and by 1979 was the second biggest-selling magazine (after *Woman and Home*). Machin and Thornborrow (2003:457) mention the avant garde nature of *Cosmo*, as “show[ing] women as having needs and desires outside of the home and family sphere, both in terms of sex and work”. Their research is seminal in discussing the brand of *Cosmo* and assisting with the analyses in this research (cf. 4.2 and 4.3), and for the realisation that beyond the magazine’s ethos it is the products sold in the magazine that suggest a femininity of consumerism (cf. 2.3.3), as well as a discourse of consumerism that women “signify their roles and identities across the globe” (2003:468).

2.5.4 A Critical Analysis of Women's Magazines

According to Ballaster et al. (1991) the world of women's magazines is constantly focussed on the difference and struggle between men and women who, despite this, are always attempting to pursue the other. The magazines emphasise how relationships are overwhelmed by difficulties, aggravation and disappointments but any possible solutions to these problems, such as taking apart the power structures which legitimate gender differences, are not written about and have no place in the magazines. Possible solutions to these types of problems are not encouraged nor are they meant to be drawn, and therefore a vital question (that leads back to one of the goals of this research) lies in attempting to ascertain how women's magazines "demarcate and delimit [their] own 'reading' of femininity" (Ballaster et al. 1991:8).

Ballaster et al. (1991) discuss various central themes that they and other analysts identified in a sample of magazines in 1988. While their results may be dated they form a useful basis to which more recent research can be compared. Two major issues form the initial focal point, the first being that of "'theme' proper, or subject matter, such as gender opposition, domesticity, royalty, and so on. Second, other issues come under the heading of 'formal textual features' to do with layout, the 'tone' of address to the reader, distribution of advertising, fiction, features, and so forth" (Ballaster et al. 1991:8).

The first main feature, the tone the writer uses to address the reader, is that of inclusivity and intimacy. The writer uses this intimate tone to address the reader, to infer a unity, a "we women" (Ballaster et al. 1991:9, Leman 1980, Stewart 1980, Winship 1981, 1987, White 1970). There is no difference between age, race, class, wealth or status. However, this inclusiveness is not solely on the part of the writer but also on the reader's part as they write letters and true stories for the magazines, which in turn is meant to make the producer and the reader 'one'. This inclusiveness does not exist and is false, as the 'ideal' readers are "middle-class, white, and heterosexual. This inclusivity of address effectively marginalizes or makes deviant black, working-class or lesbian women...[this is therefore] a formal, textual feature of the women's magazine – the intimacy of the editorial or journalistic 'we'" (Ballaster et al. 1991:9).

Another way in which the homogeneity of the women readers is created is by "the invocation of its supposedly 'natural' opposite – men" (Ballaster et al. 1991:9). The women's magazines

showed a tension between showing the desirability and centrality of men in women's lives and the recognition of men as problematic and threatening to women (in terms of their faithlessness, violence, and need for constant upkeep, for example). There was also an awareness of "popular feminism" at this stage and therefore men were also seen as "sexist and oppressive" (1991:9). This point, however, was only mentioned due to the ideological nature of magazines, as they exist as commodities: commodities in themselves and as advertisements of other commodities, and if women were to continue to buy them for themselves and their families, "they cannot also be sold feminist analyses of gender relations" (1991:10).

However, women and femininity also needed to be defined as something positive, rather than what they are not or as "not men" (Ballaster et al. 1991). For women to continue purchasing the magazines, they wanted a particular content of femininity. This is of course a variable point, as the definition of femininity has changed over the years and historically and continues to change in the twenty-first century. Ballaster et al. (1991:10) in their analysis of 1988 magazines noted that an important definition of being a woman was "the repository of the nation's virtue. Virtue is here defined as essentially domestic and private, bound to 'family' ideals of affection, loyalty and obligation, to domestic production or housekeeping". However, this posed a problem in itself, as by addressing these "problems", the magazines were forced to acknowledge problems of poverty, violence and illness that beset many other households – households that were in direct opposition to the "ideal" household that the magazines targeted. Another glaring problem in this definition of femininity was the fact that more and more women were becoming career-oriented and confident in the business world, a large contradiction to the notion of "virtue" as the defining factor of femininity.

While the magazines struggled with these disparities there was also constant rivalry and contradiction *between* magazines – how they distinguished themselves from each other (Ballaster et al. 1991, Braithwaite et al. 1979, White 1970). For example, the *Cosmo* girl versus the *Company* reader. These differences were all determined by "lifestyle", or the woman's "consumption patterns" (Ballaster et al. 1991). Most publishers can identify their readers through their socio-economic class (see AMPS 2004). These lifestyles, however, do not portray most readers' lifestyles or consumption habits rather they promote a lifestyle the reader wants to aspire to, "aspiring to be older (in the case of teenagers), richer, thinner, in a higher class or social bracket" (Ballaster et al. 1991:11). This is a complex issue as most

people, on the one hand, do not have the income to acquire the commodities and achieve the portrayed lifestyle, and on the other hand, even if they did acquire the desirable commodities, they would and could not 'buy' the entire lifestyle. Therefore, magazines are aiming more to reflect a fantasy life than aspiration (Ballaster et al. 1991).

From this discussion three major points emerge. Firstly, there is a large dichotomy between the reader's social and economic status and that of the lifestyle the magazine portrays. Secondly, the concept of 'femininity' portrayed through the magazine is multifaceted, complex and paradoxical; and thirdly, the reader is seen as a consumer of the text and the commodities within the magazine; making these commodities "essential to the business of her 'becoming' or construction" (Ballaster et al. 1991:12).

Despite the contradictions of femininity, at any one historical point, magazines seem to share some common notions of femininity. Firstly, femininity is punishable (Gerbner 1957, Ballaster et al. 1991), in particular female sexuality. This is often evident through the agony columns or problem pages, where women who reveal deviations from 'normal' female sexuality seem to suffer from psychological issues, amongst others, and peace is only attained once they have 'repented', and "if their only sin is that of being female then stoical resignation, passivity and 'goodness' will finally bring its reward" (Ballaster et al. 1991:12). In literature, as well, the stereotype is clear, "sexually assertive women are bad women, and get their comeuppance" (Green & LeBihan 2002). This notion suggests that female sexuality as is, is 'punishable' and in order to go beyond this, women need to be as feminine as possible, and conform to society's ideology of what it means to be a 'woman'. Philips (1978) concurs with this argument in her study of the magazine "*Ms*" and the portrayal of women who are extremely successful, although they are only successful because they were self-less and placed others before themselves. Gill (2003:46) notes that the film industry often "details punishment meted out to women in films whose sexuality is deemed too active or independent".

Secondly, most women are situated in close proximity to the domestic sphere, so even though *Cosmo* supports and encourages independent women, they still have articles on domestic activities. Thirdly, in direct contrast to the domesticity in these magazines, is the lack of articles on political, public and civic life. They do appear, but as Ballaster et al (1991) notes, in three ways: firstly, when discussing homelessness etc. they are aiming to make the reader

look at their own home life. Secondly, discussions with politicians and their wives tend to revolve around domestic issues; and lastly, information about legal and political rights is sold as commodities the reader can buy.

The last important concept and paradox is that “‘natural’ femininity” (Ballaster et al. 1991:14) needs to be worked at. The magazines do not celebrate the natural woman, but rather, as the discussion above showed, women need to consume certain products in order to become real women and live the appropriate lifestyle. However, it is important to remember the importance of consumption in women’s lives and the pleasure derived from it, which implies that people do have a choice in whether to consume or not. As Ballaster et al. (1991:15) state: “We must take care not to overdraw the picture of a population sated on pure consumption...The pleasure of consumption and that of the fantasy of possibilities of infinite consumption is central to the success of the magazine form and we cannot simply afford to reject it as cultural brainwashing”.

2.5.5 Conclusion

This section on women’s magazines has included a discussion of magazines from their origin until the present day, including a section on the theoretical aspect of society’s influence and its significance towards representations of femininity, and lastly, a critical analysis of the magazines. As White (1970:302) states, most research shows the tremendous influence of women’s magazines and the value and social significance of what they communicate to women, “a value which can never be measured statistically, or expressed in the profit and loss account on a firm’s balance sheet”. However, there is a constant need for more research in order to guide the editors and make sure they do not actually regress and reflect an anti-feminist stance. As can be seen from the works of Gough-Yates (2003), there is still a large amount of debate about issues surrounding gender and its representation in society today. Only further research can promote any additional movement in this area, something this current research aims to contribute towards, albeit in a small manner.

The next section will now consider men’s magazines, their historical background and theoretical significance to this study.

2.6 Men's Consumer Magazines

2.6.1 Introduction

While the section on women's consumer magazines is dealt with in depth and a fairly detailed historical overview is provided, men's magazines will be explored in a different way, due to the late advent of men's consumer magazines. There will be a brief overview of men's magazines until the present day, and then a larger section on masculinity in relation to men's magazines will follow, including a critical discussion of the role of masculinity in the media, issues of power and the relationship of masculinity to media discourse.

In terms of men's magazines, the last decade has yielded much research on the concept of masculinity as represented in these magazines. This is directly related to the fact that "over the last few years, there have been more and more men's lifestyle magazines being published" (Boni 2002:465), which Benwell (2001:19) refers to as "an obvious site of an emergent masculinity, since it reflects very self-consciously upon issues of men's identity, the body, and discourse". Benwell's (2001:19) study of male gossip and language play in the letters of men's magazines reveals an interesting aspect of the male psyche and shows that "men's magazines represent an attempt to crystallise masculinity" and can therefore provide insight into "a hitherto largely invisible modern masculinity".

Boni's (2002:465) study of the male lifestyle magazine, *Men's Health*, has revealed that the recent success of these magazines reflects "men's changing gender relations and identities". The emphasis is shifting from being solely on females and their bodies to masculinity and male bodies, and Boni (2002:467) states that many other scholars suggest that today's society is "witnessing a 'crisis of masculinity'... Masculinity and the male body are changing, reflecting men's changing gender relations and self-identities". Kimmel (1987:266) suggests that this change is affecting traditional spheres of masculinity, such as "the breadwinner role, traditionally seen as the core of male identity". A further element of this changing of identities is the claim that men are becoming more like women and women more like men (Meyrowitz 1985, cf. the "new man" in 2.6.3.3), due to the similarity of appearance in terms of their lifestyles, habits and fashions. As Boni (2002:468) states: "the so-called 'private sphere' of men is becoming less private and more open to the gaze and knowledge of women... this movement towards a unisex lifestyle [is seen to be] influenced by the advent of media imagery".

2.6.2 Historical overview

Davis (1988) states that traditionally there have never been equivalent publications for the male market. Those that were attempted often failed, and the term “men’s magazines” became a euphemism for “girlie” books containing nude pictures, and sex stories, although some of the articles were on male fashion, wars, and cars, for example (Davis 1988:11). According to Davis (1988) and Osgerby (2003) the most famous was Hugh Hefner’s *Playboy*, launched in 1954. This magazine, however, began to lose popularity and other magazines were launched around the 1980s to cater for men (*Arena* - fashion-based and *Q* - music-based). At this time, it was found that men’s contribution to the magazine industry was in terms of particular interests, for example golfing, sports, and motoring, especially since it was assumed that all their readers were male. Prior to this, most “interest” magazines focussed on photography, music, and D-I-Y (do-it-yourself) (Davis 1988).

However, it was as a reaction towards the predicament of what it meant to be a man, that men’s lifestyle magazines began (Rutherford 2003). The debate about the role of men and changes in men’s lives has been ongoing for approximately three decades: “it is not a unique historical experience. Whether it be the new man of feeling of the 1790s, the New Man of the 1890s or the New Man of the 1980s, there are moments in history when an epochal social life brings into existence new values and forms of living” (Rutherford 2003: 1). What Rutherford (2003:1) and other authors in Benwell’s (2003) book attempt to address is “the paradigmatic shift from the historical ideal of manliness to the term ‘masculinity’ which became popular in the 1970s and 1980s”. In short, the term ‘masculinity’ arose out of the feminist movement against patriarchy (circa 1950) and is used to portray and define representations and discourses of ways of ‘being’ a man. It is seen as revolutionary since it has created men as a gender rather than simply as a norm (Rutherford 2003). In comparison to ‘manliness’ which was seen more as ethical and virtuous, ‘masculinity’ was a social role that defined how men were supposed to act and feel at any time, based strongly on how men were portrayed in the early nineteenth century. It is this difference which underlies many of the issues inherent in men’s magazines, and it will be addressed in a fair amount of detail in the following section.

2.6.3 Masculinity and Men's magazines

2.6.3.1 Masculinity and Popular Culture

The modern versions of men's magazines (*Arena*, *Esquire* and *GQ*) were launched in the UK in the 1980s and they firmly established themselves in consumer society. These magazines have become an important site for the articulation of masculinity and the male consumer, despite being seen negatively in their contribution to gender politics (Benwell 2003). They are significant in that they represent and are a vehicle for expressing various vital cultural shifts in masculinity in Western society, which in turn reflect the importance of the media and popular culture in maintaining modern identities. According to Benwell (2003:7) "the focus on men's magazines, then, it is argued, is able to illuminate aspects of the condition of modern masculinity and recent discursive shifts associated with gender politics".

There is a powerful connection between masculinity and popular culture, in particular, in terms of its relation to the media (cf. 2.3.3 for definitions of masculinity). Benwell (2003:7) asks various questions in her attempt to define masculinity: "What are its forms and how is it mediated culturally? What is the relationship between cultural representations of masculinity, 'lived' male subjectivities and performances of masculinity? And is it actually possible to make such distinctions in the first place?" What is necessary in order to make sense of masculinity, in terms of popular culture, is the interconnection between different sites in a "circuit of culture" (Stevenson, Jackson & Brooks 2003:114).

Men's magazines can be seen as both "cultural texts" and "cultural phenomena" (Edwards 2003: 134). In order to analyse them as "cultural texts" it is necessary to look at the representation of masculinity within these texts. When analysing cultural texts, there are various aspects that should be borne in mind (Hall 1996). Firstly, when analysing texts, the meaning lies in the interpretation of the text, and thus depends upon the reader and the object that is being analysed. This therefore makes it a subjective process with room for misinterpretation and disagreement. Secondly, an analysis of a text is temporally and spatially specific, which makes it to some degree resistant to analysis in another time and place; and thirdly, it is of great importance to recognise the power relations between the producers and consumers of these texts. What this means in terms of men's magazines is, firstly, that there is a vagueness between supply and demand, and whether magazines were created for the demands of the public or for commercial motivation. Secondly, the attitudes of the men who read the magazines may vary from seriousness and acceptance to scepticism

and cynicism, therefore providing a lack of certainty with regard to the meaning of the magazines. Thirdly, the understanding of men's magazines therefore, is not clear or fixed, but rather uncertain and "contingent" (Edwards 2003).

In terms of men's magazines as a "cultural phenomenon", the phenomenon arose due to the fact that any literature on men's magazines is purely theoretical (Edwards 2003), and there is a lack of empirical research. As Edwards (2003:134-135) states " [existing research] tends to postulate a series of fairly grandiose points related to the sexual politics of the 1980s and 1990s". The first of these points is that men's magazines arose due to commercial and industrial incentives, rather than as a reflection of any change in gender relations at the time. Secondly, "the images presented are often pluralistic and polyvalent in their importance with the implication that the magazines tend to blur various boundaries relating to masculinity, most particularly in relation to sexuality" (Edwards 2003:135); and thirdly, men's magazines are now seen as relating to and influencing broader consumer culture. This evidence supports the contention that men's magazines are related to, influence and are influenced by society, gender politics, sexuality or consumption patterns, and provides an understanding of men's magazines as a cultural phenomenon (Edwards 2003). An analysis of men's magazines as either a cultural text or as a cultural phenomenon is problematic, in that without acknowledging the magazines as both, there is the risk of ignoring the implications each brings to understanding men's magazines. The challenge therein lies in bringing the two together and reconciling them.

2.6.3.2 Masculinity and Power

Benwell's book brings together two views of masculinity as a discourse, "Masculinity as Power Project [and] Masculinity as Identity Project" (2003:8). Both of these are inherently linked with the notion of power, although only "Masculinity as Power Project" will be discussed in detail, since this is linked closely with ideology. Power, which was addressed earlier in this chapter (cf. 2.2.3), has always been linked with gender, in particular masculinity (Benwell 2003), and the understanding of masculinity in this "powerful" position arose in relation to the feminist perspective. This perspective means that there is a necessity for some type of examination of gender or "deconstruction" as Lorber (2000) terms it (cf. 2.3.3 for definitions of masculinity and gender dealt with in more detail). Lorber (1994:1) sees "gender as an institution that establishes patterns of expectations for individuals, orders the social processes of everyday life, is built into the major social organisations of society,



such as the economy, ideology, the family, and politics, and is also an entity in and of itself'. This is however, in direct contrast to Butler's (1990/1999) ideas of gender, as she places the construction of gender within a discourse, and distances herself from feminists who believe it is possible to separate gender from its discursive field. The apparent disagreement of whether to 'abolish' gender or not, is created around "the familiar dichotomy between structure and agency" (Benwell 2003:10), where gender identity is either self-positioned or it is created by societal structures, ideologies and discourses. Deconstruction of masculinity would seem to take place in cultural analyses of popular texts and media, in particular of men's magazines, where dominant versions of gender are observed and fore-grounded and gender continues to dominate (Benwell 2003). In these popular texts, it is also possible to note areas of inconsistency and ambiguity around representations of gender.

While there has been an attempt to define what masculinity is, Brittan (1989) notes that there may be an issue when masculinity and ideology are linked, due to the varying concepts of masculinity. He states that it is necessary to differentiate between three different concepts which are often confused in various discourses. These are namely "masculinity, masculinism and patriarchy" (Brittan 1989:3). Masculinity, he defines as "those aspects of men's behaviour that fluctuate over time" (1989:3). These would include different styles of fashion, behaviour, and self-presentation, amongst others. For example, in Western cultures today men are expected to stay at home and look after children more often, and to take a more active role in the house. The speed at which these changes occur can result in a "crisis in masculinity" – a notion that Benwell (2003:14) calls "'crisis' accounts" and addresses closely in relation to men's magazines. Interestingly, these crises lend themselves to an interpretation that men have identities that are vulnerable to change (Benwell 2003). This is in direct opposition to the idea that men are aggressive, independent, and assertive etc. which most discourses on masculinity propagate, as well as their identities being impervious to change. However, it is necessary to realise that while men may have fragile identities, they are still allowed to act aggressively, independently etc. It is not this behaviour that is under scrutiny rather it is what constitutes masculine behaviour, which is on a different level, that is subject to change. As Brittan (1989:4) states, "there is something about men which transcends their local situation. Men are seen as having natures which determine their behaviour in all situations".

The difference between masculinity and masculinism lies in the fact that masculinity is neither an essence, nor an innate characteristic and the habit of attributing some type of power to masculinity is incorrect. Rather, Brittan (1989:4) states that masculinism is the “masculine ideology...the ideology that justifies and naturalizes male domination. As such, it is the ideology of patriarchy. Masculinism takes it for granted that there is a fundamental difference between men and women, it assumes that heterosexuality is normal, it accepts without question the sexual division of labour, and it sanctions the political and dominant role of men in the public and private spheres”. Therefore, both the terms and systems of masculinism and patriarchy are very similar, and fairly resistant to change, especially in believing that gender is not negotiable. This means that homosexual relations are seen as “abnormal”, they are rather the choice of an alternative form of gender; and that heterosexual relationships are not constructed or political.

Brittan (1989) does not however mean to say that the relationship between masculinity and masculinism is unsubstantiated, since both terms require the other in order to make sense of his proposition that masculinism is a dominant ideology. For example, the fact that male behaviour is varied and changes does not mean that variation is a part of male domination. Alternatively, the fact that there is variation in male behaviour does not mean that these masculinities have nothing to do with male dominance. While he does propose that masculinism is a dominant ideology, he also realises the problems associated with such a statement. Firstly, by assuming that masculinism is a dominant ideology, he assumes that this ideology is imposed upon everyone, including women who are supposed to acknowledge it as accepted and unavoidable. While this is true to a certain extent, to assume that all men form a collective, and impose this one view upon all people, is to ignore any cultural, national, international or individual differences that exist between people. Secondly, “the proposition that masculinism is the ideology that justifies and naturalizes male domination needs to be qualified” (Brittan 1989:5). This means that while men do not actively seek to continue their domination, their power is presupposed by a set of gender relations in both public and private spheres of society, for example the media. The masculine ideology is reiterated continuously in all aspects of life. Even after various events that attempted to change the *status quo* in the sixties and seventies and the introduction of the “New Man” and the “New Lad” (Gill 2003:35), gender relations remained constant. Brittan (1989:6) makes the assumption that despite “feminist analysis and demystification of patriarchy, the masculine ideology remains intact”. Although Brittan’s masculine ideology may remain

intact, masculinity has been changing and shifting to create new subjects of masculinity. However, a question that may arise from this is whether or not a man's ideology remains the same, despite their adoption of a new role, for example the 'new man'? This question cannot be answered without further research, however it is worth considering while addressing the findings of this research. The next section will briefly look at the concepts of "new man" and "new lad", which are essential for this research in helping to identify the type of masculine ideology present in the *FHM* magazines.

2.6.3.3 The "new man" and the "new lad"

Gill (2003:34) looks into the construction of various types of masculinity or rather "masculine subjects", especially those created through the media. These terms "'new boy', 'modern romantic', 'new father', 'black macho'", amongst others, are just some of the terms used to attempt to capture the way modern manhood is lived. Some of these terms are ephemeral while others, two in particular (the "new man" and the "new lad"), have a more resilient place. These two have been selected as they have an extremely powerful way of representing modern masculinity and they have been in use for over a decade (Gill 2003).

It is important initially to state the angle from which Gill views these subjects. She looks at these subjects from a discursive view, with a Foucaultian influence, which in turn means that these subjects are seen as constructions. Foucault's (1980) idea that "power works through the production of subjects", means that "new man" and "new lad" are not neutral terms but rather they "are part of a power/knowledge nexus in which certain people, practices, ideas and way of living are normalized and others are rendered deviant" (Gill 2003:35).

The "new man" and "new lad" are familiar and identifiable stereotypes that have been recognisable in Britain during the last decade. Gill (2003:37) defines the "new man" as "sensitive, emotionally aware, respectful of women, and egalitarian in outlook - and, in some accounts, as narcissistic and highly invested in his physical appearance. He is as likely to be gay as straight". The "new lad", on the other hand, "is depicted as hedonistic, post- (if not anti) feminist, and pre-eminently concerned with beer, football, and 'shagging' women ... a key feature of some constructions of 'new lad' is the emphasis on his knowing and ironic relationship to the world of serious adult concerns". Both of these stereotypes have represented some chronological movement, with the "new man" tending to portray men in the 1980s and the "new lad" taking over in the 1990s. The "new lad" was seen as a reaction

against the “new man” and the feminist movement. Editors of men’s magazine tend to recognize the dishonesty and inauthenticity of the “new lad” and state that this is its success, despite the fact that straight men like to look at pictures of sexy, young women. A Condé Nast press release reported that

GQ is proud to announce that the New Man has officially been laid to rest (if indeed he ever drew breath). The Nineties man knows who he is, what he wants and where he’s going, and he’s not afraid to say so. And yes, he still wants to get laid
(January 1991 in Gill 2003:38).

This emergence of the “new lad”, while attempting to reinvent the “new man”, shows the difficulty associated with creating different heterosexual, male scripts (Gill 2003). As Nixon (2001:383-384 in Gill 2003:38) states “this relates to a clear limited position within the shifts in masculinity associated with the ‘new man’...[B]ecause no new heterosexual scripts were articulated - scripts that were both sexy and anti-sexist - the opportunity for established scripts to re-emerge was always left open”; suggesting that the “new lad” is actually a re-emergence of old ideals and subjects. The “new man” and the “new lad” are both different, however they show the difficulty in attempting to create a new discourse of “‘new manhood’ to address heterosexual men’s sexuality” (Gill 2003:38).

There are three domains in which “new lad” can be seen; namely men’s lifestyle magazines, news/sports/quiz/talk shows on television, and ‘zoo’ radio, although it is men’s lifestyle magazines that have been given the role of “producing new forms of masculine subjectivity - examining ideologies, visual economics, and the kind of subject position on offer” (Gill 2003:49). There has been a charting of the development of the “new lad” in magazines from 1991 onwards by many researchers, including Nixon (2001), Crewe (2003) and Stevenson et al. (2003). The first shift appeared in 1991 in *GQ* and *Arena*, when the number of sexualised pictures of women increased and the magazines attempted to demystify the myth of the sensitive, caring, non-sexist man and replace him with a “hedonistic, libidinous, postfeminist alter ego” (Gill 2003:49). The magazine *Loaded*, supported this shift and wrote in their first editorial, “to life, liberty and the pursuit of sex, drink, football and less serious matters” (*Loaded* May 1994 in Gill 2003:49). The magazines *Loaded*, *Arena*, *FHM* and *Maxim* were all crucial in starting the laddish script that reacted to feminism and created the “new lad” identities.

This discussion is not criticising the different types of masculinity and viewing them as trivial, rather it argues that they should be recognised as alternative discourses that make

sense of contemporary masculinity: discourses that are drawn on at different times and for different occasions, coexisting as alternative choices/formulations of masculinity that are reworked and used against each other to make sense of masculinity. As Beynon (2002:6) states “perhaps what we are currently witnessing at the start of the 21st century is nothing less than the emergence of a more fluid, bricolage masculinity, the result of ‘channel hopping’ across versions of the ‘masculine’”.

2.6.3.4 Visibility and Invisibility

It is worth mentioning at this point the issue of visibility and invisibility in terms of masculinity, which links up to markedness. According to Benwell (2003) and feminist accounts of gender, masculinity is seen as the neutral, unmarked or invisible gender. Most representations of women are seen as different, and in opposition to masculinity, and therefore marked. These representations are often seen in the media, particularly with emphasis upon the sexual or physical attributes of a woman. Up until recently, it has been femininity which has been under scrutiny in this area of research, however masculinity is now coming into focus, due to the fact that men’s experiences and how they are portrayed are seen as the norm. As Gill (2003:34) states “where once men represented the invisible, unmarked norm of human existence and experience, today they are hyper-visible as a gendered group, with academics...and others devoting considerable attention to masculinity or masculinities”. A link can be made at this point regarding the “new man” and the “new lad”. While the “new man” is visible and attempts are made to focus on this masculinity, the “new lad” can be seen as a reaction against this, he is trying to reclaim his unmarked and invisible status.

2.6.4 For Him Magazine (*FHM*)

As one of the leaders of the new representations of masculinity (i.e. “new lad”), and as one focus of this study, the discussion will move to *FHM* in more detail. *FHM* began in the UK in 1994 under IPC and would in time become the new leader in men’s lifestyle magazines (Crewe 2003). By August 1998, *FHM* was leading the market by 775 000 monthly copies. However, it is the discourse and fantasies that *FHM* makes available to the readers which are important. The magazine addresses its readers in a friendly tone, as “mates” and uses the “language of ‘common sense’, with irony being used as a warning against taking anything that is said too seriously...The...mode of address is friendly, ironic and laddish” (Stevenson, Jackson and Brooks 2003:120).

The concept of the 'lad culture' as discussed in depth before, arguably a British phenomenon, moved on to America through the launching of *FHM* in America in 1999 (Bethwell 2003). It was described triumphantly as follows "...a testosterone-charged British sperm is swimming the Atlantic...If the American 'new man' was ever house-trained by feminism to be considerate, sensitive and interested in women's minds rather than their bodies, he is about to be led wildly astray" (Goodwin and Rushe 1999 cited in Beynon 2002:114). This aptly points to a postfeminist and postmodernist approach of masculinity that constitutes the ethos of *FHM* and which is also reflected in the psychographic description provided by *FHM*.

FHM South Africa, also launched in 1999 (url:1), has a total readership of 591 000 readers (All Media and Product Surveys 2004), predominantly educated men aged between 18 and 34, although 28.7% of the readers are female. It targets men who have an above average income, a fairly high level of education, are either working or studying, and who are English first language speakers (AMPS 2004). This magazine is also purely representative of a Western society, and therefore any statements made in this thesis referring to "society" are made with this argument in mind. *FHM* provides a psychographic description of the "*FHM* reader" (see Appendix A.2), which depicts the typical type of man they are aiming at.

There is not a large amount of literature about *FHM* in particular, however the types of men or masculinities these male lifestyle magazines present would probably consist of various combinations of the "new lad" or "new man" discourses discussed above.

2.6.5 Conclusion

This section on men's magazines has briefly discussed the origin of men's consumer magazines; it has attempted to define masculinity and its role in popular culture and the magazine that reflect this; and attempted to explain the relationship between masculinity and power; to consider the new creations of what types of masculinities exist, such as the "new man" and the "new lad"; the role of visibility and invisibility, and lastly places *FHM* in context of the magazine industry and its role in this research.

2.7 Conclusion

Due to the nature of magazines and their ability to reach a large number of the population, they are extremely important in their ability to influence their readers, to perpetuate a lifestyle that they are attempting to sell and to support ideological beliefs of the society within which

they are written and sold. This literature review has noted how powerful the media is in sustaining the power relations within a society, in particular sustaining the dominant ideologies that exist within modern day, Western society. Women's magazines in particular while attempting to create a new, modern day reality for their readers, still struggle with the representation of the female gender within society. After reviewing the history of women's magazines from their inception, there has been a definite move from male control of the market to a more female-centred approach and influence on the content and topics of the magazines. Men's magazines, on the other hand, have had a short history in comparison to women's, but within approximately ten years, they have managed to establish themselves as a cultural phenomenon. Moreover, the identification of different types of masculinities present within these magazines reflects an important purpose of these magazines within our society, that of perpetuating and reflecting the roles of men and women within today's society.

The next chapter describes the methodologies used in this research when selecting, analysing and interpreting the data, in order to uncover the ideological underpinnings in the data upon which this research rests.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research falls into the context of Discourse Analysis (DA): “the analysis of both spoken and written texts...[which aims] to analyse the way texts work across the boundaries of single sentences or utterances to form whole stretches of language” (Carter, Goddard, Reah, Sanger & Bowring 2001:165). However, there are varying levels of discourse analysis, from grammatical or surface level descriptions (Lockett & Chick 1998) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 1995b) to Bhatia’s (1993) “thicker description”, which looks at socio-cultural perspectives, particularly through genre analysis. CDA is an approach that draws on DA and was developed in the Critical Linguistics field (Lockett et al. 1998) and “termed *critical* because it aims to show up the connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power and ideology” (1998:82). Due to the social nature of magazines and their role in society as “powerful vehicles for the representation of ideology” (Durham 1996:21), this research will use Critical Discourse Analysis and Feminist Stylistics (FS). Mills’ (1995) Feminist Stylistics is a fairly central aspect to the research since the main focus of analysis is how gender is represented, specifically in magazines; it is also critical and is closely linked to CDA in its origins and orientation. As Mills (1995:1) states: “Feminist analysis aims to draw attention to and change the way that gender is represented, since it is clear that a great many of these representational practices are not in the interests of either women or men”. These four methods of analysis will be discussed further in later sections, after the reasons for the choice of texts has been explained.

3.2 Choice of Texts

Six consecutive issues of *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM*, from April 2003 until September 2003, were contrasted and compared in the analysis. These two magazines were chosen out of the large selection of English, monthly, lifestyle magazines in South Africa, as they are both the leading magazines in the country in this category (url:1) and share very similar reader profiles, in terms of age groups, race, language and interests (see Table 1 and Appendices A.1 and A.2 for the individual reader profiles). Following a similar pattern to Eggins & Iedema’s (1997:168) methodology, the focus

of the analyses was on the “more/less frequent linguistic and visual patterns expressed” in the following two key sections: the cover page and the editor’s letter. Six issues of each magazine were chosen since this provides half a year of publication, which will present a fairly representative sample of each magazine. The number of texts chosen also shows whether the ideologies present in the texts are generalisable to the year they were published and to a certain period of time surrounding those issues. While ideologies do change over time, it is hoped that this analysis will reveal the ideologies present in modern South African society today. Each section of the magazine analysed uses a combination of the four methods to be discussed below, however the general qualities of the cover pages and the editor’s letters will be discussed separately.

	Readership	Male	Female	Age	Race	Language Spoken
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	786 000	34%	66%	18-35	White	English
<i>FHM</i>	591 000	86.1%	28.7%	18-34	White	English/Other European

Table 1: *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* readership statistics

3.3. Methods of Analysis

3.3.1 Introduction

This section will discuss the four methodologies used to analyse the texts in this research. Firstly, cover pages will be introduced, in terms of the methodologies used to analyse them, and explained in terms of their major features and what makes them worth studying. The front covers were analysed using McLoughlin’s (2000) and Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) methodologies which are then discussed in 3.3.2 and 3.3.3. Secondly, the Editor’s letters are discussed, followed by the methodologies used to analyse the letters (cf. 3.3.4, 3.3.5, and 3.3.6). CDA was used as the primary tool, with aspects of Mills’ (1995) Feminist Stylistics brought in to focus the study on the primary areas of interest of my research, gender and identity.

3.3.2 Front Covers

McLoughlin (2000:5) states that the front covers of magazines are their most important advertisement and identify the readers who buy them: the “front-cover

image and coverlines are persuasive selling tools. They motivate readers – confronted with shelves of front covers competing for their attention – to buy [one] magazine rather than another”.

When analysing the front cover of a magazine, one of the first things to look at is the title of the magazine. The title shapes the readers’ expectations, it is always written in large letters and creates associations in the readers. Some titles are cryptic, for example *FHM* (*For Him Magazine*) where the readers have to work out the acronym; whereas others use words that may have specific connotations to them or are compounds, for example *Cosmopolitan*. McLoughlin (2000:13) states that the use of *Cosmo* suggests that “the intention is to appeal to a well-travelled, sophisticated individual”.

Other aspects on the cover page that are analysed include:

1. The “layout and graphology” (McLoughlin 2000:14): This involves noting where the words are placed on the cover, which cover lines are placed in the most prominent positions and which are not.
2. The lexicon: this means creating lexical sets of the words used on the cover and includes studying the use of noun modification and ellipsis. Noun modification is worth looking at since the text producer needs to fit as much information as possible into a short space, and the choice of words reflects what is seen as important. As important is what is elided.
3. “Sentence types” (McLoughlin 2000:16): this entails studying major versus minor sentence types. Most magazines use minor sentences as they are “complete in intention but often lack a finite verb” (McLoughlin 2000:16). This means that while the sentence is complete in intention, it is not time specific or person/number specific, and it is unclear whether the action has been completed or not.
4. “Sentence functions” (McLoughlin 2000:18): Noting the prevalence of any of the four different types; declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, and exclamatives, and lastly,
5. Identifying the problem-solution function (McLoughlin 2000): often identified by the use of interrogatives to anticipate a problem the reader may be experiencing (McLoughlin 2000).

By using McLoughlin's textual framework it is possible to do a genre analysis of the magazine covers, as well as aid further interpretation of the texts when combining them with the Editor's letters.

3.3.3 Visual Analysis

The visual analysis follows Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) methodology which is strongly linked to linguistics and linguistic terms, in particular Systemic Functional Grammar. Therefore, while this is a visual analysis and not linguistic, it does refer to features that can be studied semiotically as well, and since cover pages of magazines are largely visual with, sometimes, a lack of text it is essential to bring in a visual element.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:183) state that the composition of a text is interrelated through three key "systems":

1. "Information value" which includes how the elements are placed in relation to specific zones (left, right, top, bottom). This also could relate to the text, as according to McLoughlin (2000) the most important information is always placed in the top-left corner of the magazine cover.
2. "Salience" refers to the placement - i.e. are they foregrounded, contrasted, are there differences in size, sharpness etc?
3. "Framing" – is there any? Does it disconnect or connect the text? Does this mean they belong or are they excluded?

The texts will additionally be analysed under these three headings. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) link the Left-Hand side and Right-Hand side with Given and New respectively; lines at the top and bottom of the page with Ideal and Real, and the information revealed from the placing of something in the centre or on the margins. The second system, Salience, includes: size, sharpness of focus, tonal contrast, colour, placement in the visual field, perspective and cultural symbols. The third system looks at any framing that occurs on the cover.

As well as the three mentioned above, another two aspects will also be looked at: Linear and Non-linear composition and "Image Act and the Gaze" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:121).

3.3.3.1 *Information value*

a. Given and New

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:187) distinguish between Given and New, by stating that the Given is seen as “commonsensical, self-evident”, while the New is seen as “problematic or contestable”. The Given is usually placed on the left side, while the New is on the right.

b. Ideal and Real

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:193) state that the information value of top and bottom, then, can perhaps be summarised along the following lines. If, in a visual composition, some of the constituent elements are placed in the upper part, and other different elements in the lower part of the picture space or the page, then what has been placed on the top is presented as the Ideal, what has been placed at the bottom as the Real. For something to be Ideal means that it is presented as the idealized or generalized essence of the information, hence also at its, ostensibly, most salient part. The Real is then opposed to this in that it presents more specific information (e.g. details), more ‘down-to-earth’ information (e.g. photographs as documentary evidence, or maps or charts), or more practical information (e.g. practical consequences, directions for action). This is of course, no less ideological.

In terms of the magazines analysed in this research by looking at the Ideal and Real placements on the covers, it will uncover what is considered of importance to the producers of the texts and in turn what is significant to the reader. However, what is Ideal is not necessarily more significant ideologically than what is Real. In many ways, the Real which is more subtly placed could perhaps be more significant. This is discussed in more detail in 4.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.1.

c. Centre and Margin

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) find that Western visualisation avoids centralisation, and rather polarises the elements into those mentioned above, i.e. Ideal and Real and Given and New. If centralisation is used the element that is centralised will be referred to as the “Centre” and the other elements that are placed around it will be called the “Margins” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:206). However, they state that “for something to be presented as Centre means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information on which all other elements are in some sense subservient. The

margins are these ancillary, dependent elements. In many cases the Margins are identical or at least very similar to each other, so that there is no sense of a division between Given and New/Ideal and Real elements among them”.

In terms of cover pages of magazine, one can identify that there is some sort of Centre and Margin occurring with regard to the model in the middle and the cover lines around her. However, whether the margins are in some way subservient to the picture of the model is another question. In order to account for those visual images such as cover pages, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:208) use the concept of a “trptych”. “The triptych in modern magazines and newspaper layouts is generally polarized, with a ‘Given’ left, a ‘New’ right, and a centre which bridges the two and acts as ‘Mediator’” (1996:208).

Given	Mediator	New
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Fig. 1: Horizontal triptych (1996:211).

3.3.3.2 *Salience*

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:212) talk about saliency in terms of integration codes: “[these codes] serve to produce text, to place meaningful elements into the whole, and to provide coherence and ordering among them”. In terms of the composition of a text, where things are placed and how they are placed in relation to the other elements of a text creates their saliency.

In terms of what is considered significant, composition can be seen as an integration code and saliency is therefore based on visual clues. The importance of various elements is considered an intuitive one, and the greater the “weight” of an element the greater its saliency (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:212). According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:212),

This saliency, again, is not objectively measurable, but results from complex interaction, a complex trading-off relationship between a number of factors: size, sharpness of focus, tonal contrast (areas of high tonal contrast, for instance borders between black and white, have high saliency), colour contrasts (for instance the contrast between strongly saturated and ‘soft’ colours, or the contrast between red and

blue), placement in the visual field (elements not only become heavier as they are moved towards the top, but also appear heavier the further they are moved towards the left, due to asymmetry in the visual field), perspective (foreground objects are more salient than background objects, and elements that overlap other elements are more salient than the elements they overlap)....and also quite specific cultural factors, such as the appearance of a human figure or a potent cultural symbol.

3.3.3.3 Framing

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:215) state that “the absence of framing stresses group identity, its presence signifies individuality and differentiation”. In terms of the magazine covers, the framing inside the magazine could be interesting, as one can note whether aspects are seen as either strongly connected or separate from the whole. This includes looking at context and colours in order to note any separation. On magazine covers this would mean looking at cover lines, the context and the colour of these and how what is represented as most significant and perhaps linked to the most salient elements of the cover reflect the ideological standpoint of the magazine.

3.3.3.4 Linear and Non-linear Compositions

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) state that reading of texts can either be linear or non-linear. Most people read texts in a linear fashion especially texts that have a lot of information and text, however when given a magazine cover, for example, the way a person reads is less strictly organised. People will usually begin with the most salient elements and move on to the next most salient one; sometimes this may follow a linear pattern but at other times it may move in a more circular fashion. The issue of culture will also affect what people categorise as salient. However, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:219) suggest “perhaps texts of this kind are the way they are precisely to allow for the possibility of more than one reading path, and hence for the heterogeneity and diversity of their large readership”.

The use of different types of fonts, colours, bolding, capitalising and subheadings will also affect the rate and path of reading. When these elements are used, readers will tend to jump to different cover lines, and scan the text for those elements that appeal to them and that hold their attention (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996).

“Linear texts impose a syntagmatics on the reader, describe the sequence of and the connection between the elements.....Non-linear texts impose a paradigmatics. They select the elements that can be viewed and present themselves according to a certain paradigmatic logic, the logic of Centre and Margin or of Given and New, for instance, but leave it to the reader to sequence and connect them” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:223).

By analysing this aspect on the magazine cover lines it is possible to identify what is ideologically significant and what the magazine producers want the reader to notice and take in.

3.3.3.5 “Image Act and the Gaze”

There is a difference between pictures or photographs of people that have eye-contact with the viewer and those that do not. When eye-contact is established “vectors” are set up which connect the “eyelines” of the model with the “eyelines” of the viewers, however this only really takes place on an imaginary plane (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:122). In relation to these “eyelines” there are two related functions: Firstly, it creates a direct visual address or acknowledgement of the viewer, a phatic “you”; secondly, it “constitutes an ‘image act’. The producer uses the image to *do* something to the viewer...called...a ‘demand’: the participant’s gaze demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her” (1996:122).

For example, the model could be smiling, which may mean the producers want the viewer to enter into a friendly relationship, one of social empathy; or the model may pout seductively, in which case the producers want the viewer to feel attracted to the model and desire the model. The producers of the text want to elicit a response from the viewer, whether it is to stay away or come closer. By doing this the viewer is also defined, for example, male or female, young or old amongst others, and in turn this excludes, or includes, the relevant parties.

3.3.3.6 Conclusion

This section has explained the various techniques that will be used to analyse the visual aspects of the cover pages of the magazines. Bringing in this additional

methodology was necessary as the cover pages are largely visual and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) methodology also has linguistic connections that help in the uncovering of the ideologies within the magazines. However, of interest is the fact that often their statements do not fit the cover pages being analysed, and therefore reveal some other insights in visual design that will be discussed later (cf. 4.2.2, 5.2.2 and 6.2.2).

3.3.4 The Editor's Letter/Editorial

Most magazines have letters from the editor to the readers. According to McLoughlin (2000:74) "the purpose of the editorial is to introduce the magazine's contents, but it also gives the text producers an opportunity to address the readers directly. The reader synthesised is someone who is thought to share the same views, attitudes and beliefs as the text produced". The style of the letter corresponds to the style of the magazine. Root (1966) states that the editor's letter is an important voice that conveys the magazine's position to the reader, as well as the content and context of the magazine. Morrish (1996) stresses that the value of these letters lies in the ability to create a relationship between the producers of the magazine and the readers.

As the editor's letter is such an important voice of the magazine it is the main focus of this research. The editor's letters reveal the inherent ideologies that underpin the viewpoint of the magazine, and so for this section CDA and Mills' Feminist Stylistics are used (cf. 3.3.5 and 3.3.6). Both aim to uncover the ideologies within a text, in particular Mills adds to the feminist interpretation, which lets this research fall into the field of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, as Lazar (2005) calls it.

3.3.5 Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough has been mentioned throughout this thesis and his theory and methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the most pertinent and is the most closely followed methodology. The theoretical background to CDA is dealt with in depth in 2.2, so a brief background of Fairclough's understanding of the concept of language is provided below, before elaborating on his methodology.

Fairclough (1989:22) uses the term *discourse* to explain the concept of language as "a social practice". What this implies is that language is wholly involved in society, it is

a “social process”, and it “is a socially conditioned process”, conditioned by non-linguistic aspects of society. Fairclough (1989:23) sees the link between society and language as a complex and “dialectical relationship”, internally linked. “Language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* [often]...linguistic phenomena” (1989:23). Linguistic phenomena are social in that they are socially determined, and each event has a set of socially acceptable speech conventions. Social phenomena are linguistic as the linguistic processes that take place are fully involved in and a part of the social phenomenon, the processes and the practices that determine these phenomenon (Fairclough 1989). However, Fairclough (1989) does acknowledge that the two do not have a symmetrical relationship, rather language is only one part of society. So where all linguistic phenomena are social, not all social phenomena are linguistic although most social phenomena have an element of language within them.

Fairclough’s (1989:24) second implication that language is a “social process” needs to be dealt with by differentiating discourse from *text* (cf. 2.2.3 and 2.3.1 for a more detailed discussion on this area). He uses the term *text* in the same way Halliday uses it, and defines it as “a product rather than a process – a product of the process of text production...the term discourse [refers] to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part” (1989:24). So, in addition to the text, Fairclough (1989) identifies a *process of production* and a *process of interpretation*, where the text is seen as a product and as a resource respectively. The *process of production* has properties called “traces”, while the properties of the *process of interpretation* are called “cues” (Fairclough 1989:24). In other words, the text constitutes the ‘traces’ of the process of production and is the ‘cue’ for the process of interpretation. An important part of this process is the interaction between these processes and the “members’ resources” (MR) people have in their heads. These MR are “draw[n] upon when they [people] produce or interpret texts – including the knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions, and so on” (Fairclough 1989:24).

The MR links to the third implication Fairclough (1989:24) makes, which states that “language [is a] social practice: that it is conditioned by other non-linguistic parts of society”. The MR, while being cognitive in that they exist mentally, are socially

conditioned and have social origins. They arise from the “social relations and struggles” that occur in the society and which are distributed disproportionately (1989:24). People then internalise these social productions and use them when participating in a social practice, including discourse. Of importance is that both the cognitive resource and the actual social practice (unique to each type of practice, for example, reading a magazine) are conditioned.

Fairclough (1989:25) refers to “three different ‘levels’ of social organisation [that link with the processes of MR]: the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and the level of the society as a whole”. In essence, he means that peoples’ MR are socially affected or conditioned and this in turn affects the way the texts are produced or interpreted (represented in the following figure).

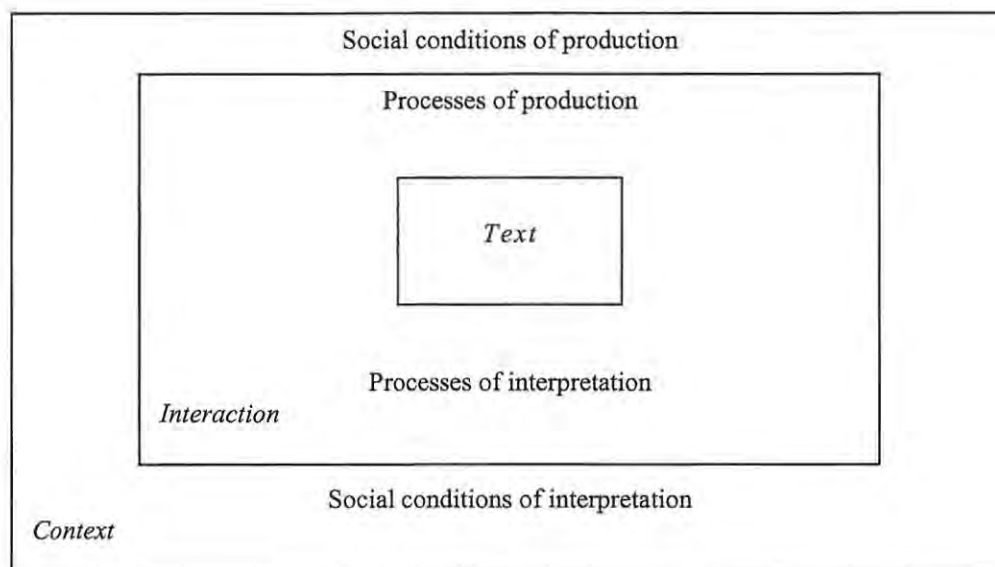


Fig. 2: Fairclough’s (1989:25) “Discourse as text, interaction and context”

Analogous to the three dimensions of discourse, Fairclough (1989:26) distinguishes three stages of CDA, which will be discussed in detail below (cf. 3.3.5.1, 3.3.5.2, 3.3.5.3):

1. **“Description”** – which looks at “the formal properties of the text”.

2. **“Interpretation”** – concerns “the relationship between [the] text and interaction...seeing the text as [a] product [in the] *processes of production* and a resource in the *processes of interpretation.*”
3. **“Explanation”** – looking at “the relationship between interaction and the social context” – the social context of the processes of production and interpretation and how this affects the former and is partly constructed by the latter.

Janks (1998:197) draws on Fairclough’s work and links the diagram above to the three stages of CDA that are mentioned in a clear and understandable manner, delineating exactly how the dimensions of discourse relate to the stages of CDA (Fig.3).

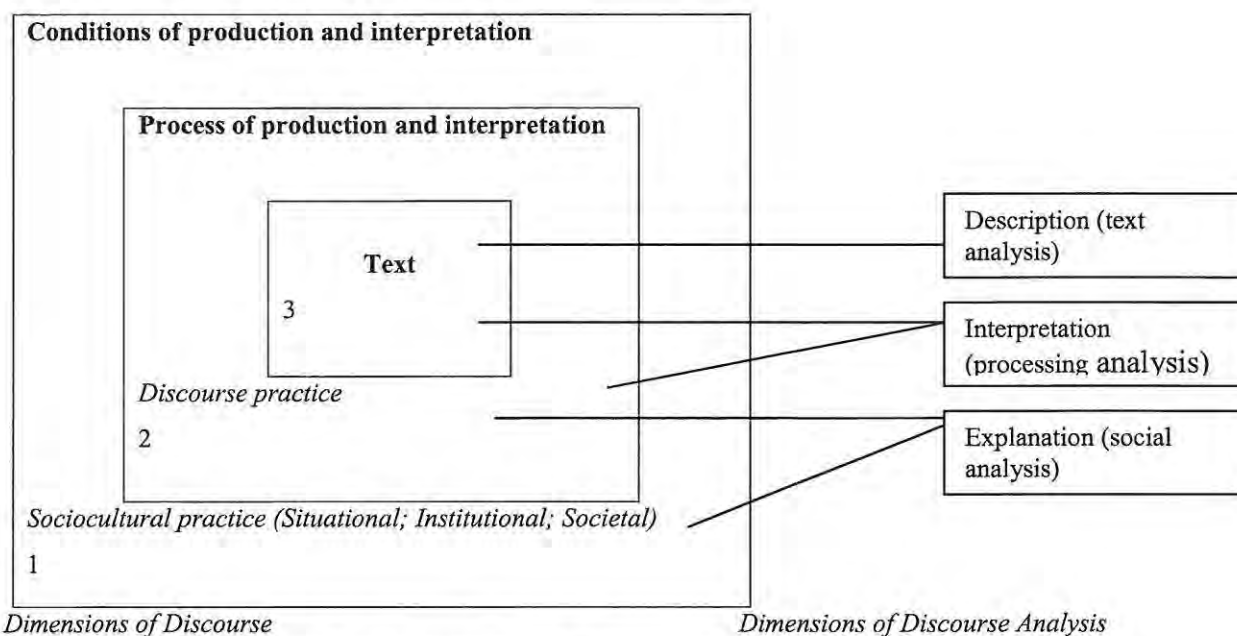


Fig. 3: Jank’s (1998:197) Interpretation of Fairclough’s (1989) dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis

Each dimension of discourse analysis will now be explained in detail.

3.3.5.1 Description

This stage is focussed around ten sets of questions which can be asked about a text. The set of textual features included are selected in terms of significance for critical analysis. While the questions help to see what has been selected, by the

author/producer, in the text and what is related to the particular discourse type, it is essential to also ask what is not there, and if that is significant. These hidden features link with presupposition, reference, cohesion and coherence. All the questions Fairclough (1989:110-111) suggests will be covered below (Table 2); however certain questions were left out during the actual analysis, as they did not suit the texts I was analysing and did not aid me in revealing the ideologies in the texts. In the table below, the questions left out have a star next to them, and after that justifications for each question left out will be provided.

A. Vocabulary

1. What *experiential* values do words have?
 - What classification schemes are drawn upon?
 - Are there words which are ideologically contested?
 - Is there *rewording* or *overwording*?
 - What ideologically significant meaning relations (*synonymy*, *hyponymy*, *antonymy*) are there between words?
2. What relational values do words have?
 - Are there euphemistic expressions?
 - Are there markedly formal or informal words?

3. What *expressive* values do words have?

4. What metaphors are used?

B. Grammar

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
 - What types of process and participants predominate? *
 - Is agency unclear?
 - Are nominalisations used? *
 - Are sentences active or passive?
 - Are sentences positive or negative?
6. What relational values do grammatical features have?
 - What *modes* (*declarative*, *grammatical question*, *imperative*) are used?
 - Are there important features of *relational modality*?
 - Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?
7. What expressive values do grammatical features have/
 - Are there important features of *expressive modality*?
8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?
 - What logical connectors are used? *
 - Are complex sentences characterised by coordination or subordination? *
 - What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C. Textual Structures

9. What interactional conventions are used? *
 - Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others? *
10. What larger-scale structures does the text have? *

Table 2: Fairclough's Description (1989:110-111)

As can be seen, in the table above, there are seven stars next to certain questions that I decided to leave out. The first question concerns the use of processes and

participants. While this is a relevant question, I felt that since the scope of this research was quite large and given the amount of text there was to analyse, by including a question that could mean delving into Systemic Functional Grammar would extend the research even further. The second question concerns nominalisations, and while I began to look for occurrences of these within the texts, the few that there were tended not to be ideologically significant and so were left out. They were also extremely rare. The next two questions fall under how sentences are connected, and while this is interesting, again it was not found to be particularly significant in this context. Lastly, I left out section C, as I felt that due to the nature of my texts, Editor's letters, and the fact that they are not spoken discourse the questions were not relevant. The last question of this section, the larger-scale structures, was again initially studied but after having analysed a few of the texts, these structures were clearly fairly insignificant ideologically and I preferred to focus the attention on more significant questions.

The descriptions of the Editor's letters are provided in Appendices G and L, due to space constraints, and clearly follow the structure outlined above.

3.3.5.2 Interpretation

In the first stage (the Description), Fairclough identifies the values of the linguistic features (expressive, relational and experiential) and states that these may be constrained by power and associated structural effects: it is "evident...that one cannot directly extrapolate from the formal features of a text to these structural effects upon the constitution of a society! The relationship between text and social structures is an indirect, mediated one" (Fairclough 1989:140). Therefore, it is necessary to have an intermediate stage of analysis called the Interpretation stage, in order to understand this relationship.

Fairclough (1989:141) "use[s] the term *interpretation* both as the name of a stage in the procedure, and for the interpretation of texts by discourse participants...[this is] to stress the essential similarity between what the analyst does and what participants do...The stage of interpretation is concerned with the participants' processes of text production as well as text interpretation". The Interpretation is based largely on the analyst's MR, as this informs the point of view of the analyst. However, it is also, in

essence, an investigation into the MR of the discourse participants, in particular the ideal reader or subject of the text. Fairclough (1989:141) refers to the MR as the “*interpretive procedure*”, as it is the ideological meanings and knowledge that are brought to this stage, rather than just background knowledge as it is often (incorrectly) called. Fairclough (1989:142) provides a diagram that summarises his process of the Interpretation stage (cf. Fig. 4).

The diagram contains three columns. In the right-hand column, under the heading Interpreting, are six domains – in the first block are those that relate to the context of the text, while those in the lower box relate to the text specifically. In the left-hand column, interpretive procedures (MR), are domains which function as the analyst’s and discourse participants’ MR, and in turn inform their interpretive procedures. Each MR element is linked to the Interpreting element on the same line, while the Resources in the centre link these two elements. In each stage in the interpretation, the analyst, and discourse participant, draws on a range of resources, which have more than the single input of the interpretive procedure on the left; each box has three to four inputs (shown by the double-sided arrows).

In the lower section of the diagram are four domains. In the right-hand column are those relating to text interpretation, which include “surface of utterance; meaning of utterance; local coherence; and text structure and ‘point’” (Fairclough 1989:143-144). To understand these levels of interpretation, the analyst and discourse participant need to draw on their MR of phonology, grammar and vocabulary; semantics, pragmatics; cohesion, pragmatics; and schemata respectively. The upper section of the diagram relates to the interpretation of context. As Fairclough (1989:144) states “participants arrive at interpretations of *situational context* partly on the basis of external cues – features of the physical situation, properties of participants, what has previously been said; but also partly on the basis of their MR in terms of which they interpret these cues – specifically representations of societal and institutional social orders which allow them to ascribe the situations they are actually in to particular situation types”. The manner in which they do this is by identifying the discourse type that is expected in the relevant context, which in turn affects the textual interpretation of the text (the lower block). In terms of the *intertextual context* however, “participants in any discourse operate on the basis of assumptions about which previous (series of)

discourses the current one is connected to, and their assumptions determine what can be taken as given in the sense of part of common experience, what can be alluded to, disagreed with, and so on” (Fairclough 1989:145).

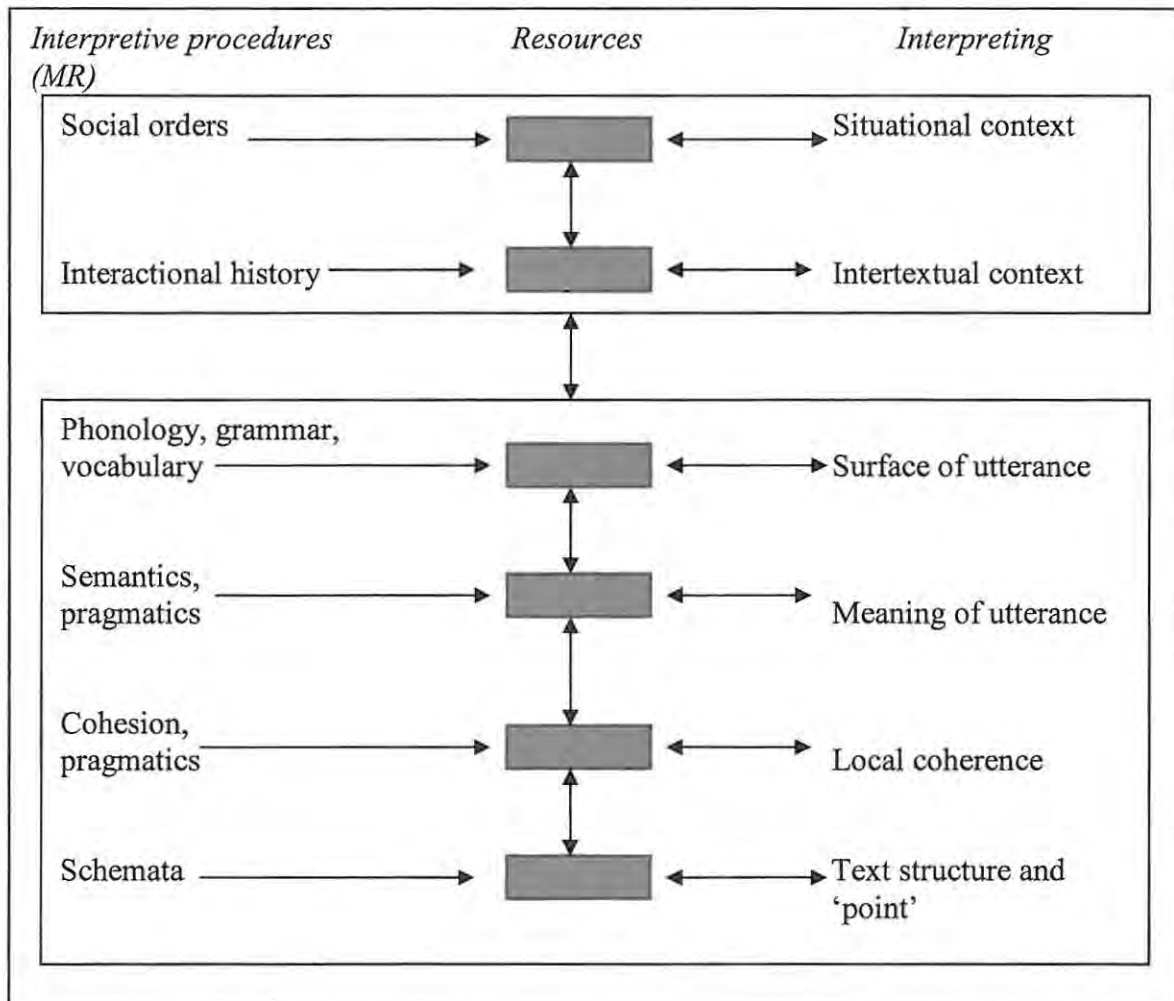


Fig. 4 Interpretation (Fairclough 1989:142)

The boxes in the centre of the diagram refer to the Resources which are drawn upon when interpreting either in the left- or the right-hand columns. The arrows which link the boxes are either double-ended, single-ended, vertical or horizontal, and can be seen as “inputs” (Fairclough 1989:145). For each domain of interpretation, there are double-sided arrows, which means that at any point in interpreting a text, a previous interpretation will provide a ‘resource’ of some sort. The boxes are also linked vertically, which means that resources are drawn from the other domains around them, and create a ‘resource’. Fairclough (1989:145) states that there is also an interdependence between these vertical links, that gives these interpretations “top-

down” or “bottom-up” properties, i.e. higher-level interpretations shape the lower levels and vice versa.

Fairclough (1989:162) provides a summary of the Interpretation stage in the form of three questions:

1. *Context*: what interpretation(s) are participants giving to the situational and intertextual contexts?
2. *Discourse type(s)*: what discourse type(s) are being drawn upon (hence what rules, systems or principles of phonology, grammar, sentence cohesion, vocabulary, semantics and pragmatics; and what schemata, frames and scripts)?
3. *Difference and change*: are answers to questions 1 and 2 different for different participants? And do they change during the course of the interaction?

The Interpretation stage makes clear/explicit to the analyst what is usually seen as implicit, in particular “the dependence of discourse practice on the unexplicated common-sense assumptions of MR and discourse type” (Fairclough (1989:162). In summary, this step helps the analyst unearth the ideologies in the texts and then the Explanation is there to link these ideologies with the social structures or power relations that exist in the society the text is produced in. The Interpretation stages of the Editor’s letters are provided in detail in Chapters Four and Five (cf. 4.2 and 5.2).

3.3.5.3 Explanation

Fairclough (1989) notes that while the stage of Interpretation is concerned with interpreting what aspects of MR participants draw upon when producing and interpreting texts, the Explanation stage is concerned with how these MR are reproduced, often unintentionally and unconsciously. “The objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourse can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them. These social determinations and effects are ‘mediated’ by MR: that is, social structures shape MR, which in turn shape discourses; and discourses sustain or change MR, which in turn sustain or change structures” (Fairclough 1989:163). These social structures are often related to issues of power and social struggle, and therefore the

explanation sees discourse as a part of power relations and the social struggles that take place within that matrix (Fairclough 1989). At this stage, it is necessary to remember that Fairclough essentially follows a Marxist viewpoint which examines class and social structure in society. This research, however, is studying the gender relations in society and therefore needs to bring in a more feminist angle, which will be examined 3.3.6 when Mills' Feminist Stylistics is discussed, however the structure of Fairclough's methodology is followed closely and so the dimensions of the Explanation will be explained.

The stage of explanation has two dimensions; the first is that of power relations and the other the process of social struggle. What can be seen from this is that these discourses can be explained by studying the effects that social struggles have upon the discourse which places emphasis on the social effects of discourse. Power relations, on the other hand, determine the particular discourses, as they are a result of the struggles that have happened and are usually created by those with the power. The emphasis is therefore on the social aspect of discourse, and as Fairclough (1989:163) states "both social effects of discourse and social determinants of discourse would be investigated at three levels of social organisation: the societal level, the institutional level, and the situational level" (see Figure 5).

In terms of the diagram below, what Fairclough is suggesting is that there are different ways in which participants and in which the analyst can see the same discourse, depending upon which practice they are looking at, i.e. societal, institutional, or situational. This affects the perspective each participant sees the discourse from, and these in turn form the 'determinants' of the Explanation.

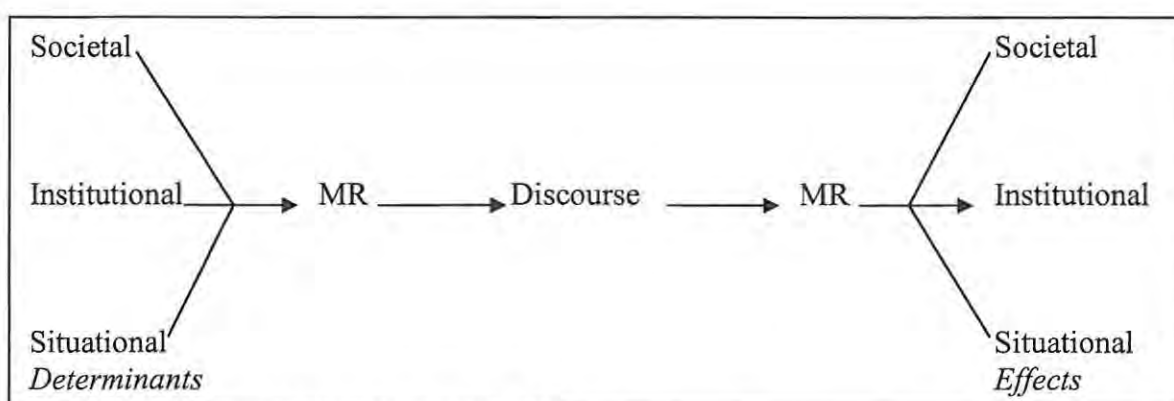


Fig. 5: Explanation (Fairclough 1989:164)

With reference to the 'effects', "a discourse may reproduce its own social determinants and the MR which it draws upon with virtually no change, or it may to a greater or lesser degree contribute to their transformation" (Fairclough 1989:165). This relates to the relationships of the producers to the MR, which can take the form of two different types: "normative" and "creative" (Fairclough 1989:165). It can be normative in that the participant is acting in accordance with their MR, and creative when they transform their MRs and draw upon them creatively. The choice of relationship depends upon the context of the situation. If the situation is unproblematic (i.e. it is familiar), then a normative relation is mostly drawn upon, and therefore if a problematic situation, a creative relation is drawn upon.

The explanation stage is based primarily around the MR, and needs a "specific perspective on MR: they are seen specifically as ideologies. That is, the assumptions about culture, social relationships, and social identities which are incorporated in MR, are seen as determined by particular power relations in the society or institution, and in terms of their contribution to struggles to sustain or change these power relations – they are seen ideologically" (Fairclough 1989:166).

In summary, Fairclough (1989:166) provides three questions that can be asked of a particular discourse in the explanation stage:

1. Social determinants: what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?
2. Ideologies: what elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character?
3. Effects: how is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them?

In summary of CDA in general, while this research is heavily reliant on Fairclough's methodology and it has its merits in that it provides a clear and fairly easily accessible methodology, there are still a few problems. Firstly, as this research is based on gender relations there is a need for more emphasis on this aspect of society, and, as has been mentioned earlier the relationship between men and women is not as simple

to correlate and compare as the relationship between upper-, middle- and lower-classes, for example. As Lazar (2005:3) states: “it is necessary within CDA to establish a distinctly ‘feminist politics of articulation’...by which I mean the need to theorize and analyse the particularly insidious and oppressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social practices”.

Secondly, while studying Fairclough’s methodology I noticed some inconsistencies, of which the most important in my opinion was the seemingly fluid and flexible nature of the methodology. In his analysis of Thatcher’s discourse he changes the order of his analysis around and begins with the Explanation: “...let me briefly contextualise the extract...by sketching out the political context of Thatchersim. In so doing, I shall be pre-empting the explanation stage of procedure...But, as I said in Chapter 5, there is no reason why the procedure should be applied in one order rather than another” (1989:176). While this may have its merits, to me a problem with this is that of subjectivity. To provide the Explanation first is to assume how the ideologies (which have not yet been proven linguistically) are linked to power relations and social structures. This seems to rely to heavily on Fairclough’s own intuition, which many of us could use without having to go through all the steps first, as well as undermining the linguistic basis of this approach.

Generally, CDA is an extremely useful tool, however it is necessary to remain as objective as possible when undertaking this type of research, although my own MR will constrain and colour the research results.

3.3.6 Feminist Stylistics

Mills’ Feminist Stylistics can be considered as a type of feminist CDA. Fairclough (1989:4) states his objective of CDA is “to help increase consciousness of language and power, and particularly of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others”, and Mills responds to this by agreeing with the oppressive nature of “ideologies of gender difference” (1995:2). However, this analysis does not only look at the sexism in the text, but also looks at “the way point of view, agency, metaphor, or transitivity are unexpectedly closely related to matters of gender” (Mills 1995:1). Mills’ aim is to provide readers with a framework for understanding what is occurring in the texts and how they read specific texts, since most readers are not

aware of various messages that could be seen as derogatory or insidious. Language is often seen as simply a tool for expression of ideas, it is not seen as an entity that can shape those ideas. As Lee (1992:8 in Mills 1995:1) states:

Given that language is instrumental for the assignment of the phenomena of human experience to conceptual categories it is clearly not simply a mirror that reflects reality. Rather it functions to impose structure on our perceptions of the world. Language is...highly selective, and in this sense...the process of linguistic encoding involves a significant degree of abstraction away from 'reality'.

It is necessary to be aware of how texts may serve the purpose of one group to the detriment of other people. While Mills agrees with Fairclough's (1989) objective of increasing the consciousness of power relations through language and how this contributes to the domination of one group over another, she feels that ideologies of gender are not always oppressive, neither are they forced on women. Women and men control their own concepts of self, "their own sense of self within the limits of these discursive frameworks, and build their pleasures and emotional development, often in conscious resistance to, as well as in compliance with, these constraints" (Mills 1995:2). The main focus of Mills' analysis used for this research will be to discover how meanings of gender are represented and how they can then be contested or reinterpreted, especially through focusing on how being a man or a woman is represented visually and linguistically.

An important element that needs to be briefly discussed is the notion of stylistics, which can be defined as "the analysis of the language of literary texts, usually taking its theoretical model from linguistics, in order to undertake this analysis" (Mills 1995:4). Theorists tend to discriminate between linguistic and literary stylistics (Carter and Simpson 1989, Mills 1995). Linguistic stylistics, according to Carter and Simpson (1989:4) "is where practitioners attempt to derive from the study of style and language a refinement of models for the analysis of language and thus to contribute to the development of linguistic theory", whereas literary stylistics draws on a general understanding and interpretation of the texts. These two types of stylistics will be used together in order to provide an eclectic interpretation of the texts.

The following section discusses the methodology of Feminist Stylistics, by attempting to interpret the role of gender during this process. The texts can be analysed on three

levels, namely, the word, the phrase or sentence and the discourse. However, only select parts of Mills' framework are used in this research and so only those will be elaborated upon. Before expanding on this, an explanation for the choice of tools I have chosen will be provided. Mills is used in this research as an additional tool to Fairclough's CDA, in order to help highlight the feminist elements of the research, and as such only specific elements of her methodology are used, otherwise there would be many overlaps and repeated areas. Mills provides an extensive list of questions to be asked of a text, however many of them relate to particular types of texts, such as novels and films and therefore are not appropriate for use with magazines, for example her analysis of characters. The questions that are used in the research are chosen more for their applicability to aid the Explanation section of the analyses than any other section, as I feel that Fairclough's description guidelines are sufficient enough.

3.3.6.1 Analysis at the level of the phrase/sentence

Mills (1995:128) states that "when we concentrate on words in isolation, it can sometimes appear that we have a particular view of meaning, i.e. that meaning is located within that word...[so] in much the same way that words themselves make sense in relation to their co-text and their context...[she is now] concerned with the way that phrases and sentences make sense in relation to their co-text, their context, the history of their usage and also the background knowledge which is needed for their making sense". She also recognises the fact that much meaning is not literal, nor is it accessible at the literal level of individual words, and therefore it is necessary to look at the ideological knowledge that informs these words or phrases. Mills looks at three different aspects of phrases, namely ready-made phrases; jokes and humour; and transitivity choices⁶. The first two aspects will be dealt with very briefly now.

a. Ready-made phrases

These phrases tend to include proverbs and formulaic phrases which have meanings which are taken as commonsensical. Most of these phrases are presented in a manner which is impersonal and that seems to present a natural, undisputed view of the world – a view that is difficult to contradict. For example, the phrase "old wives' tale" has a

⁶ Due to the fact that this research does not use Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, of which transitivity is a large part, as part of the methodology, this section will not be discussed.

number of presuppositions, one of which is “to refer negatively to any knowledge or practice which is developed outside the sphere of (implicitly male) expertise” (Mills 1995:129).

Another example is rhyming slang, which is also impervious to criticism in that it has been preconstructed, the humour is used to hide or neutralise the sexism implicit in the message and the speaker/writer holds no responsibility for their actions, for example “trouble and strife” to mean ‘wife’ (Mills 1995:130). However, while these phrases can be analysed they should be seen as a “limit-case” due to the few examples that are significant. The process whereby sentences make sense is much more complex.

Firstly, to understand sentences it is necessary to draw on factors other than the literal meaning of the words within that sentence. Brown and Yule (1983:225) state that there are “three aspects of the process of interpreting a speaker’s/writer’s intended meaning in producing discourse”. The first of these is to find out the writer’s intention or “computing the communicative function”; secondly to use “general sociocultural knowledge”, and thirdly, determining the inferences that need to be made. However, one of the most important elements to consider is that knowledge that is shared between the reader and the producer of the text(s). Some of this information is simple and of a universal kind, for example houses have doors, walls, windows and roofs; while other knowledge is of a more ideological basis, knowledge that is presupposed especially in terms of gender relations and when audiences are either male or female (Mills 1995). Many sentences are written with this presupposed knowledge and are made to sound unproblematic, therefore it is necessary to make explicit the presuppositions and inferences that are being posed and in turn reveal the ideological standpoint of the writer.

Another area worth looking at is metaphor. While others may state it is more meaningful at the level of the word, Mills (1995) and Black (in Ortony 1979:33) state that “metaphors are better regarded as systems of belief than as individual things”. Metaphors are seen as important ways in which people structure their thoughts and are often taken as unproblematic and provide a natural view of the world. Therefore when a metaphor is used, it draws upon a body of knowledge that may distort the

thought about a particular object, especially if the metaphor is a “‘dead metaphor’ (i.e. those metaphors which are preconstructed). The thought-processes then involved in the use of those metaphors may not be as open to analysis as if a less preconstructed phrase was used” (Mills 1995:136). For example, the metaphor “That man is a wolf” refers to male sexuality. It sees man as a predator and animalistic, his sexuality instinctual and difficult to control and in turn the knowledge used to understand this metaphor may well explain why rape is seen as only “natural” (1995:137). Tourangeau (in Mills 1995) states that metaphors are conservative ways of reinforcing stereotypical knowledge. For example, the phrase “the battle of the sexes” assumes that relations between men and women can only be antagonistic and in turn hide other forms of thinking about those specific relations. ‘Therefore, in foregrounding the notion of conflict, other more productive ways of thinking will sink into the background. Metaphors may influence us to think about certain scenarios in particularly stereotyped ways” (Mills 1995:137).

b. Jokes and Humour

Humour is particularly difficult to discuss in relation to sexism (Mills 1995). If there is sexism many readers do not appear to notice it due to its embeddedness within the humour of the text, of poems and jokes⁷. Jokes, in particular, seem to function in a way that affirms sexist ideology in society as often no challenge can be made to them. If a challenge is made, and the joke is not seen as humorous, the teller can rebuff the challenge as a failed sense of humour, rather than a clash of ideologies.

Double entendres are particularly interesting as women are often the recipients of this humour and seen as sexual objects. Mills (1995) discusses this aspect with relation to postcards, which is irrelevant to the current research although *double entendres* do appear in other contexts, but she does mention that this area of humour is one that often picks out the difficulties and tensions about the relationships between men and women, and almost always comes from a male-oriented perspective. So the view of these difficulties works in the interests of males and women are seen as the out-group and object of their laughter.

⁷ While there is much discussion on spoken humour, what is relevant to this research is the written aspect, therefore that will be the focus here.

3.3.6.2 Analysis at the level of discourse

The focus of analysing larger-scale structures at the level of the sentence is to “see content, the substance of texts, as something which is the negotiation of textual elements and codes and forces outside the text which influence both the way that the text is constructed and the way that we decipher what is written” (Mills 1995:159). These larger structures are important in that they determine how the smaller words and sentences are integrated and occur, and in turn link the discourse to particular notions of ideology. Foucault’s (1972) work on discursive frameworks is relevant here, however since Mills’ (1995:159) argument is that all discourse is gendered, she calls them “‘gendered frameworks’ since they function at a stereotypical level to determine the type of language which is produced”. This section will look at language choices in terms of women’s bodies, images of women and the roles women are allocated in writing.

a. Fragmentation

This technique, used widely in pornographic literature, has two effects: firstly, “the body is depersonalised, objectified, reduced to its parts [and secondly] since the female protagonist is not represented as a unified conscious physical being, the scene cannot be focalised from her perspective – effectively, her experience is written out of the text” (Mills 1995:171-172). This concept of fragmentation is therefore associated with what is commonly known as “the male gaze” (Mills 1995) or forms one part of the “centrefold syndrome” (Brooks 1995, 1997:31) – “a pervasive distortion in the way men are taught to think about women and sexuality...an outgrowth of the social construction of male sexuality and the dysfunctional ways that men initially relate with women and intimacy and later encounter women in the sexual arena”.

As Attridge (1988:167 in Mills 1995:172) states: “sexuality thrives on the separation of the body into independent parts, whereas a sexually repressive morality insists on the wholeness and singleness of body and mind or soul”. However, Mills suggests that this argument does not recognise the gender inequality that occurs within these representations; the predominance of women being fragmented rather than men, or the legal restrictions on the representations of men and women. Where women may be photographed in great detail with a focus on their sexual organs, men’s sexual organs may often only be photographed if they are not erect, and therefore do not represent

sexuality or will be viewed sexually (Mills 1995). While men will only be photographed nude for pornographic magazines or movies, women are in general photographed with an emphasis on the sexual, whether nude or dressed and in any medium. These visual and linguistic fragmentations are common in advertisements, romances, poetry, the media and magazines, and many other genres particularly when women are involved. Therefore, as Mills (1995:178) states “this is obviously a strategy which is located at a higher level than the lexical item, but it does determine the type of language which will be used”.

b. Focalisation

Focalisation refers to the “position relative to the story, and degree of persistence” (Mills 1995:178). The position can also be either external or internal to the story, where external focalisation refers to the narrator’s close position to the text - they are the sole source of vision and information (Mills 1995). Rimmon-Kenan (1983 in Mills 1995) suggests rewriting the text in the first-person to discover whether it is internally or externally focalised, and in particular to locate the focalisations that are male-orientated and pose as neutral. An important aspect to note is that the focaliser does not necessarily only remain with one character or narrator, the focalisation can either remain fixed throughout the narrative, alternate between two dominant focalisers or move amongst several (Mills 1995). Mills (1995:181-182) states that “the purpose of the concept of ‘focalisation’ is to provide a means of identifying the consciousness through which a fictional event is presented in a text...Focalisation may manipulate the reader’s sympathies by means of the vision which is presented and the evaluation which is implicit in that representation”. There is a link here to Fairclough’s concept of expressive modality, since modality reflects the writer’s authority, in particular “the modality of the writer’s evaluation of truth” (1989: 127), and depending on the medium the truth is stated as categorical, i.e. the writer is an authority.

In texts there are signals as to the centre of the focalisation, but this is not necessarily the same as the narrative voice, and the focaliser can shift from between internal characters to an external narrator. The main point of concern is that the focaliser slants the emotive and ideological nature of the text (Mills 1995), in particular texts that come across as neutral are often focalised from a male point of view.

c. Schemata

Mills (1995) terms large-scale frameworks that produce different visions of males and females schemata. Brown and Yule (1983:247) state that “schemata are said to be ‘higher-level complex (and even conventional or habitual) knowledge structures’ (van Dijk 1981:141), which function as ‘ideational scaffolding’ (Anderson 1977) in the organisation and interpretation of experience...schemata are considered to be deterministic, to predispose the experiencer to interpret his (sic) experience in a fixed way”. This links up very closely to Fairclough’s CDA concept of MR (1989), discussed in detail in 3.3.5. The MR are in people’s heads and are drawn upon when interpreting or producing texts. Mills (1995:193) argues that sexism is operating at this level of schemata, however there are also “*narratives*” which involve certain ways of thinking about members of a particular group. For example, many women’s magazines draw on a particular schema, which presents itself as an ideology, where women are seen as needing advice on problems they are experiencing. Most articles draw on this schema, although advice columns are the most obvious. As Mills (1995:194) states “the representation of women as having problems and as writing to someone to ask for advice means that the image of women becomes one of ‘there to be advised’. Throughout women’s magazines...there is a tone of advice which pervades all of the information which is given...There is no such tone in magazines which are aimed specifically at males”. Similar frameworks exist with ‘before and after’ or ‘make-over’ articles, where women are seen as “sites of transformation” (Mills 1995:194), and there is not usually a male equivalent, except in magazines which conform to the “New Man” concept, such as Men’s Health (cf.2.6.3.3). Other examples are inspiring articles describing women’s triumphs over life-changing problems or difficulties.

Analysis at the level of discourse is not studying linguistic items in isolation but rather how, combined, they produce different frameworks for masculinity and femininity. Mills (1995:190) refers to Hodge and Kress (1988) when she states that “language items cannot be studied in isolation from the other language items with which they co-occur and also that language items, phrases, or grammatical structures themselves cannot be seen as containing ideological meaning”. Hodge & Kress (1988:3) argue that “to capture the contradiction characteristic of ideological forms, we will talk of ideological complexes, a functionally related set of contradictory versions of the

world, coercively imposed by one social group on another on behalf of its own distinctive interests or subversively offered by another social group in attempts at resistance in its own interests". Ideological complexes exist in order to sustain power and dominance for the benefit of both the subordinate and the dominant (Hodge & Kress 1988). In terms of texts, these ideological complexes are formed by the cohesiveness of the text, the "complex of statements...to form an ideological viewpoint" (Mills 1995:191).

There is a necessity to analyse the language of texts while also looking at the broader context of the text and then make the link between the language choices and ideology, which reflects people's MR. As Mills (1995:197) states

what is necessary is some intermediate stage or structure which determines the choice of language items...one of these structures might be gendered frameworks. These structures are well-trodden pathways, which because of their familiarity, take on an air of commonsense knowledge. It is only by describing these seemingly commonsense structures that we will begin to expose their constructed nature and at the same time their perniciousness.

3.3.6.3 Conclusion

Mills (1995:199-202) provides a framework of questions to ask when analysing a text using feminist stylistics. Some of these questions relate closely to others in the other sections, and some are not relevant for this research. Explanations for the omission of some of the questions is discussed earlier, but many of the questions and concepts looked at, for example Schemata link up very closely to Fairclough's CDA. The selected questions used in the research are placed in Appendix B. As Mills (1995) states, by using these questions, it will be possible to work out how the magazines encode different forms of gender and how these representations form part of the text. The list of questions enables the reader to decipher or uncover hidden assumptions that may be in the text and decode them. "Focusing on language either at the level of the word or at the level of discourse can enable us to track down some of these hidden assumptions" (1995:202). Both Mills and Fairclough attempt to uncover the ideologies present in the texts in this research, and a combination of the two will provide research into what can clearly be called Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Lazar 2005).

3.4 Conclusion

This methodology chapter outlines the various methodologies used to analyse the texts used in my research. Visual analysis and a type of Discourse Analysis are used to analyse the cover pages (cf. 3.3.2 and 3.3.3), while CDA and Feminist Stylistics are used for the editor's letters (cf. 3.3.4 and 3.3.5). This combination of methodologies has added a dimension of variability as well as helping to validate the results of my research.

The following chapters discuss the findings of my research, firstly by discussing the findings of *Cosmo*, including the cover page analyses and the Editor's letters; secondly discussing the findings of *FHM*, in the same format, and finally a comparative section will deal with both *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM*.

CHAPTER FOUR: *COSMOPOLITAN*

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with analyses of the Cover pages and Editor's letters of *Cosmopolitan* (see Appendices C-G for all *Cosmo* material). Initially, *Cosmo*'s cover pages will be analysed and divided into two divisions: the textual analysis and the visual analysis. Then the Interpretation and Explanation of the Editor's letters will be provided (see 4.3. The *Cosmo* Editor's letters and the Description are in appendices F and G, respectively).

The textual analysis of the cover pages of these magazines follows McLoughlin's (2000) methodology, which looks at the following aspects, discussed in more detail in Chapter Three (see 3.3.2): the title; the layout and graphology; the lexicon; noun modification; ellipsis; minor/major sentences; sentence functions, and the concept of problems and solutions (McLoughlin 2000). (The tables comprising the actual analyses are in Appendix D.)

The visual analysis follows Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) methodology which is closely linked to linguistics and linguistic terms, in particular Systemic Functional Grammar. Therefore, while this is a visual analysis and not strictly linguistic, it does refer to features that are part of a broader semiotic analysis.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:183) look at the composition of a text in three ways: the "Information value", "Salience" and "Framing". As well as these three, an additional two aspects will also be looked at: Linear and Non-linear composition and "Image Act and the Gaze" (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:121) (see 3.3.3 for more detail).

4.2 *Cosmopolitan* Cover Pages: April to September 2003

4.2.1 Textual Analysis (see Appendix D)

4.2.1.1 Title and slogan

The title "*COSMOPOLITAN*" is a compound noun (compound in terms of its etymology), but in using it to describe the type of reader it attracts, is an adjective, and

according to the Collins Concise Dictionary (1998:297) means “a person who has lived and travelled in many places, especially one who is free of national prejudices; familiar with many parts of the world; sophisticated or urbane; composed of people or elements from all parts of the world or from many different spheres”. The title has already decided on the type of reader it wants to attract for the magazine, and positions its readers as such. If the readers are not “sophisticated” or “urbane”, they will become this through reading *Cosmo*.

The slogans accompany the titles and tend to focus the reader on what the magazine is offering and any additional information, something that will catch and hold the reader’s attention. For three of the editions studied in this research, the slogan was “There’s more to it than sex!”. From this slogan, it seems as though the magazine is acknowledging that it has a reputation for having a focus on sex, but that it also has more to interest the reader, and is in turn trying to move away from any pre-conceived ideas or reputations that the magazine has for being a sexual magazine. The next three slogans, “Make your world *Cosmopolitan*” (July and August) and “Proudly *Cosmo* Girl!” (September) entail creating a reader who is a “*Cosmo* Girl!”. Their world includes all aspects of what *Cosmo* stands for, the magazine is creating a specific type of person. The impact of the slogans is enforced by the use of imperatives in four of the six slogans which order the reader to become a *Cosmo* girl.

4.2.1.2 Top-Left Hand Cover-lines

This cover-line is the most important one on the cover page of a magazine. Even if it is not using as large a font as the other cover-lines or is not as eye-catching, subconsciously what is written there is noted by the reader. This is due to the writing system of English, which reads from left-to-right and top-to-bottom (Crystal 1997), therefore the cover-line in the top, left hand corner will of the most importance.

On the *Cosmo* covers, all except two relate directly to sex. June mentions marriage and love, which in the end also has links to sex. *Cosmo* tends to equate relationships with sex as well, so the articles usually have some comments that relate to sex or have sexual innuendos. August’s top-left hand cover line links to the type of women men find attractive which indirectly connects with sex as the reader can choose to become

the most desirable type, if necessary, and therefore appeal to a man, have a relationship with him and then have sex.

4.2.1.3 Noun-modification

While there seems to be a choice between pre- and post-modification, pre-modification is the norm. There is never less than 87.5% within each month that uses pre-modification, while the highest amount of post-modification, in a post-subject noun phrase position is 12.5%. In total, 94.5% of the modification occurs in the pre-noun position.

By using modification, the writer can put as much information as possible in one line, they are also building up the readers' anticipation of what is to come. This means that they will leave out unnecessary information that the readers do not need, through for example ellipsis, and in particular of determiners. These tend to be a convention of cover lines and headings.

The greatest number of modifiers used is 5, "*free proudly Cosmo girl bumper sticker*" (August 2003).

Ideologically, this is significant as it shows what the producer of the text thinks is important for the reader. "Free" is a frequent word choice and appeals to the reader's desire for an easy life without effort, and links to the concept of balance (discussed in 4.3).

4.2.1.4 Minor/major sentences

These types of sentences are interesting to study in that they can provide an insight into the meanings made in texts. Most magazines use minor sentences, because as was mentioned before, they are "complete in intention but often lack a finite verb" (McLoughlin 2000:16). This means that while the sentence is complete in intention, it is not time specific or person/number specific, and it is unclear whether the action has been completed or not. This means that cover-lines are therefore easily generalisable to anyone who is reading the cover; it can apply to anyone, at any time, and to more than one person.

Statistically, in the magazines under review, approximately 30% of the sentences are minor, while 70% are major. This means that, while major sentences are used predominantly, some of the sentences are minor and aim to be applicable to anyone at any time in their life, for example, “Avoiding things? How to turn your mountains into molehills” (April), “15 easy ways to sneak a peek at your future” (May), “Tough questions to ask yourself and him” (June), and “How to get over an un-get-overable man” (August). Most of the sentences are major and go against McLoughlin’s classification. Ideologically, this is significant in that the problems and articles are time specific. It reveals a feeling that the magazines need to address situations that are happening at present in women’s lives. Since major sentences also specify the person or receiver, the reader is then chosen and the cover lines are not aimed at readers who do not fit their ideal reader profile.

4.2.1.5 Sentence functions

Sentence functions signal different tones within a magazine, for example if the magazine has a lot of imperatives on the cover it could mean that the magazine has a short, sharp and “snappy” tone. Imperatives also usually have an overt lack of agency, or an implied ‘you’ and therefore they need to be interpreted by the reader.

The majority of sentence types are Declaratives, i.e. making a statement or an assertion, with 68.5% of the sentences falling into this category. The second highest is Interrogatives, with 14.4% falling within this category, which links to the section of “Problems and Solutions” (cf. 4.2.1.6). These are followed by Imperatives, with 9% and lastly Exclamations, with 8.1%.

By using a majority of declaratives, the magazine is being assertive and creating confidence within their readers, it is also the typically unmarked option. By reading the articles inside the magazine the readers will be able to change their lives or find solutions to their problems. The interrogatives are often used to introduce problems the reader may have and then suggest how to find the solution, for example “Is debt making you desperate? Turn to page 134 for help and hope” (May). This also creates a relationship between the reader and the writer. The lack of imperatives shows that the reader has a choice in what they want to read and whether they want to face

certain problems they may be experiencing. Exclamatives are fairly rare as they express emotions, which in this context would take choice away from the reader.

4.2.1.6 Problems and Solutions

This section looks at a format that is fairly unique to magazine covers. The writer expects that the reader may have a certain problem and is in need of some advice. The question-answer format simulates a dialogue and attempts to draw the reader closer and establish a relationship. The question is supposed to make the reader think and perhaps realise that they may have the problem mentioned on the cover, even if they wouldn't have thought so initially. Most questions are followed by a reassuring comment or answer, which reduces the writer's authority in the situation, as they are friends. For e.g. "How stressed are you really? Here's good news that may surprise you" (August), "Need a life makeover? 10 crucial rules of change" (September), and "Avoiding things? How to turn your mountains into molehills" (April).

Some topics may be presented more seriously without reassuring answers, and this probably depends on the topic, for e.g. "Can sex-abuse victims live happily ever-after?" (no solution) (April), and "Should you keep a slacker guy?" (no solution) (July). On every cover page there is at least one example of a "problem and solution", and of the 14.4% of sentences that are imperatives, 56.3% of those are related to the problem and solution function, which makes the use of these significant.

4.2.2 Visual Analysis

4.2.2.1 Information value

a. Given and New

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:187) distinguish between Given and New, by stating that the Given is seen as "commonsensical, self-evident", while the New is seen as "problematic or contestable". The Given is also placed on the left side, while the New is on the right. From the cover lines on each cover, it seems as though most of the Problems and Solutions are presented on the New side, for example "Avoiding things?" (April), "Is debt making you desperate?" (May), "Should you keep a slacker guy?" (July), "Need a life makeover?" (September). It seems as though the magazine has placed these there as the reader doesn't know the answers to the questions, or needs help with particular issues that are "problematic".

The statements on the left are presented as places of departure with which the reader is already familiar, e.g. “Find your happy weight” (April) seems to suggest that most readers are always battling with their weight and they know this. Other examples include sex and sexual activities, e.g. “Brilliant sex advice from surprising people” (April), “Flick your on switch for electric sex” (May), “Are you game to discover your man’s top sexual fantasies?” (June), “The sex-position personality test” (July) and, “How to get from A to Bed!” (September). This suggests that the reader is definitely having sex, and that they are interested in sex. By placing these cover lines on this side of the cover, they are creating and defining the type of reader they want.

b. Ideal and Real

In terms of the cover pages, there was no overall and definite division between upper and lower/Ideal and Real, except for the heading *COSMOPOLITAN* and the other smaller cover lines. This corresponds with Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) definition of Ideal and Real, in that the heading is the overall name for the magazine, and therefore the Ideal, the most important topic and the most generalised, i.e. what is in the magazine. The headings below this represent the Real, the more detailed extension of what is covered in the magazine.

The cover lines however also consisted of Ideal and Real, in that many of the first lines of the cover lines were in a larger font or a different colour and described the general gist of the article or topic to be covered, with a smaller blurb beneath which elaborated on the topic. I found that each heading has a main statement, e.g. “Brilliant Sex Advice” and an extra bit of information underneath, e.g. “From surprising people (including Shakespeare)” (April). The top section represents the Ideal, the important part and the most generalised, and the underneath statement, the Real since it supplies extra detail of a more specific kind. Other examples include “Dangerous times for Dieters (Bigger) When you’re most likely to gain weight (Smaller)” (September); “Babe-licious (Big) Indulge your passion for fashion” (August), and “After-hours rehab (Big) Can you kick an addiction while you get on with your life?” (July).

However, on some of the covers, this is reversed, in that the first line is smaller and provides the detail with the next line larger and giving the overall topic, for example

“Flick your on switch for (Smaller and above) Electric Sex!” (May) and “Baby it’s hot inside! (Smaller and above) Lingerie 2003 (Biggest) Extra 88 pages (Smaller and below)” (September). In general, while there are some cover lines that correspond to Kress et al.’s format, there are also those that go against the rule and it seems in many ways that the size seems to be more important than where it is placed. In the example above of September’s Lingerie cover line, Lingerie 2003 is the largest and most important aspect of that specific cover line and the size represents this rather than its placement.

c. Centre and Margin

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) find that Western visualisation avoids centralisation, and rather polarises the elements into Ideal and Real and Given and New. If centralisation is used the element that is centralised will be referred to as the “Centre” and the other elements that are placed around it will be called the “Margins” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:206) (cf. 3.3.3.1.c).

In terms of the *Cosmo* cover lines, the written cover lines form the Given and New around her, while the model plays the role of Mediator. From now on, the model will be called the mediator rather than the Centre. The mediator is less salient than the Given and New, since they are polarized and therefore their positions are more important. The model links the Given and New by representing all that is mentioned around her, she is the visual affirmation of what is represented through the words/cover lines. However, there is some conflict in terms of what is the most salient component since the model is often the first thing noticed when looking at the covers, especially when purchasing the magazine. Overall, I feel that while the model will attract the attention of a potential reader, it is ultimately the cover lines that will make the reader decide whether they will actually purchase the magazine.

4.2.2.2 Saliency

This section includes analysing the following factors, as outlined by Kress et al. (1996) in 3.3.3.2: size, sharpness of focus, tonal contrast, colour contrasts, placement in the visual field, perspective and specific cultural factors. These factors will be discussed one by one, in terms of how a potential reader or a buyer (i.e. one who is walking past the magazine rack in a shop) will view the cover:

a. Size

COSMOPOLITAN (the heading) is the largest font size on the cover, which is understandable as this is the title of the magazine. The other font sizes vary. Usually the top line of a heading is larger than the detailed section underneath as they want to attract the attention of the reader; this tends to be either the heading of the article or the important words which will catch the buyer's attention.

On each cover there is a large cover line that is situated about half way down the page, generally on the left-hand side, except for June and July which use the right-hand side. For example, "Find your happy weight" (April); "Jeans Genius" (May); "100% Confident!" (June); "Pump up your positives!" (July); "Babe-licious" (August) and, "Lingerie 2003" (September). Sometimes these topics are the specials that the magazine is looking at in that particular month, for example the Jeans issue (May) and the Weight issue (April), but otherwise it seems to be a set format for magazine covers that the cover line half way down the page should be in a larger font size. This also makes these topics more salient than other topics.

b. Sharpness of focus

All aspects of the cover page are very clear and everything is focussed on sharply. This helps when looking from a distance to catch the buyer's attention.

c. Tonal Contrast

"Contrast is the juxtaposition of opposing elements" (Lovett 2005:2), and so tonally, this applies to a difference between light and dark. Generally on the covers the producers like to use contrasting colours to the background colour so that the cover lines stand out. Black and white is almost always used, except on August where there is no white. This is due to the light lemon colour background and therefore white would not stand out.

d. Colour

Cosmo tend to use a range of colours, from different shades of the same colour, for example blue (May 2003), to very striking colours next to each other (August 2003). The colours predominantly used are black and white, for the writing only, while pink and yellow are the next highest, followed by blue, and then red. The types and

shades of colours used range from complementary primary colours to secondary colours, for example luminous lime green, a pale lemon yellow, sky blue and navy blue. The backgrounds on the covers are always one solid colour, rather than a shaded background and this makes everything stand out clearly.

e. Placement in the Visual Field

Asymmetry in the visual field means that readers/viewers place importance on elements that are placed higher up and to the left. Therefore the heading/title, *COSMOPOLITAN*, is considered very 'heavy'. However, the cover line placed lower down to the left and which is also in a larger font-size will also be seen as important, for example "Find your happy weight" (April). Only on the June and July covers is this different, as the cover lines "100% Confidence" and "Pump up your positives" are placed on the right-hand side.

f. Perspective

The model's head always overlaps the heading of the magazine and this places her as salient at that point, however the rest of her body has the headings overlapping/covering her. This makes the content of the magazine seem more important than the model; although by letting her head overlap the title this makes her important enough to have her own section/article, and also implies that because *Cosmo* is so well known it is unproblematic to hide the title. This seems redundant to comment upon since the model's head must be seen, as the concept of it being covered would be unthinkable, and if her body covered the cover lines it wouldn't work. However, the fact that the cover lines do cover the body and are not placed around her is significant. The position of the model and the closeness of the photograph is also relevant, but will be mentioned under 'The Image Act' section.

g. Cultural Symbol

The picture of a female celebrity posing on a cover magazine is specific to the magazine genre and Western culture. The choice of a model to be on a cover page usually relates to the content of the magazines, and so to have a famous, beautiful-looking and successful woman represents all that *Cosmo* stands for. All the cover women are usually actresses, singers and/or models, and tend to be young, between the ages of approximately 20 to 40, which corresponds to the age of the target

market, and their names are provided in small letters at the bottom of the page.. The fact that, Hilary Clinton, for example, would not be approached to appear on *Cosmo*, reflects the values of the magazine. Beauty, youthfulness and success are more important than just success.

4.2.2.3 Framing

The presence or absence of framing indicates either inclusiveness or exclusiveness of various subjects on the text (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996).

The role of the model in the composition of the cover as the Mediator means that she links the Given and New. However, since there is no overt framing on the cover it can mean that everything on the cover is inclusive. The reader can relate to the model; they can achieve/experience the same issues that are talked about on the cover.

One of the only two examples of framing that does exist on the magazine is the different colour text used for each cover line and the spacing between them. However since there are no lines cutting off each cover line from the other, there is still a sense of unity signifying their inclusion in terms of what the magazine stands for. The other example is the coloured text box always present at the bottom of the cover. This box is always in a different colour and always advertises the major competition in the magazine that month. It is separate from the other cover lines in that it is a competition as opposed to a cover line/article within the magazine, and therefore it does not fall into the same category as the cover lines.

4.2.2.4 Linear and Non-linear Compositions

Magazine covers tend to be non-linear. I feel, however, that due to our reading system which is so ingrained in an educated audience, we will nonetheless start from the top-left hand corner and move from there. This means that the cover line on the top-left hand corner will still maintain its relevance and importance in the analysis of these cover pages despite its relative size. The sameness of the font, 'sans serif', and the use of capitals throughout the cover portray a very emphatic and 'no-nonsense' tone. This is significant in that it appears as if the producers are making everything

equally as important, however some will be more important and these will be a different colour and a larger font size.

4.2.2.5 “*Image Act and the Gaze*”

On the *Cosmo* covers, two of the models have a slight smile (April and May), while the others either pout or have no smile, but it is not an unfriendly, aggressive look. They want to make a connection with the readers, one that perhaps recognises that they share something in common as women. On most of the covers there is some evidence of sexuality, as well as provocativeness. This is interesting for *Cosmo* and reveals a sexual tone to the magazine, however the models are not attempting to seduce the readers as this would go against the heterosexual nature of their readers. The models are comfortable with their bodies: their stances, usually with a slightly jutting forward hip, both reveal confidence in their appearance. They do not exclude male viewers but their main audience is definitely female-centred. However, the sexual tone is revealed through many of the poses of the women, hands slipping down their waists, as though to remove their underwear (September); the open wet mouth (June, August and September); and the breasts sensually revealed (June, August and September). The actresses seem to be less sexual than the singers and models, but the sexual aspect is nevertheless there.

For example, on the August issue cover page, Jennifer Anniston is extremely sexual. There is no smile. This could mean she doesn't want to make a very friendly connection, and that she feels superior in some way to the reader, which could be to do with her level of popularity. There is no real attempt to create a bond with the readers. She has a sleepy and disorientated look to her that gives an ambiguous feeling to the image. It is possible to interpret the pose as if she is lying down with her hands tied above her head, in a very submissive pose, ‘oozing’ sexuality by the clothes she is wearing as well, with her slinky dress that almost reveals her breasts. On all the covers the outfits are figure-hugging and fairly minimal.

It seems as though they are trying to portray a woman who is comfortable in her sexuality. The magazine is also overtly sexual and has sex articles, so the models will reflect this choice by wearing sexy outfits that reveal their sexuality.

4.2.3 Conclusion

The textual and visual analyses offered above have attempted to reveal various aspects of the magazine covers in order to suggest what the main thrust and tone of *Cosmo* is. As can be seen from the textual analysis the choices that magazines make reflect the attitudes, beliefs and ideologies present in the ethos of the magazine, as well as serving the function of the magazine, which is to be sold. However, of value is to consider the choices that the magazine did make as well as the choices they did not make. The title and slogans of *Cosmo* are significant in that they ‘in a nutshell’ reveal so much about the magazine: sex, sex and more sex, as does the top-left hand cover line, which is predominantly about sex or a topic closely associated with it. The friendly tone, of the older sister there to give advice, comes through with the problems and solutions section, while the confidant and advisory tone is made evident by the predominance of declaratives. The visual analysis of the cover pages is revealing in that the positioning of the cover lines and the model all have ideological significance in determining what is considered important and what reflects, again, the ethos of the magazine. This would include the sexual look of the model, the capital letters used for all the cover lines which indicates their emphatic nature to the cover lines, and the font size that becomes larger the more significant the topic.

The next section presents the analyses of the *Cosmo* Editor’s letters, in terms of the Interpretation and Explanation of each letter.

4.3 *Cosmopolitan* Editor’s Letters April to September 2003: Interpretation and Explanation

This section will begin by firstly outlining the Ideal Reader of the text (cf. 4.3.1), followed by the Indirect Speech Act (cf. 4.3.2), the coherence of each month’s text, (cf. 4.3.3) and finally a summary of the main ideologies present (cf. 4.3.4). The Explanation will follow after that (cf. 4.3.5).

4.3.1 Ideal Reader of the text

The ideal reader of this text is a young (between the ages of 18-34), middle class woman. She is only responsible for herself and she “puts herself first”. She is financially secure and enjoys her career, one that she develops over time. She is intelligent and determined, interested in the international world and new trends and

fashion. She likes to live as balanced a life as possible, which extends to maintaining a 'good' weight, but enjoys food, shopping, while maintaining control over her finances, and all aspects of her life need to be accounted for and maintained (cf. *Cosmopolitan* Reader Profile Appendix A.1).

4.3.2 Indirect Speech Act

The magazine's aim is to encourage the reader to keep purchasing *Cosmopolitan*, i.e. an indirect imperative to "Buy *Cosmo!*", as well as to create a link between the reader and the magazine that makes them rely on the magazine and use it in an advisory capacity. By purchasing the magazine, the reader will receive advice on all aspects of a *Cosmo* girl's life, such as: relationships, sex, fashion, beauty and health, and career. The secondary aim is to create a need in the reader to have the lifestyle that the magazine advertises and supports, and then follow the magazine to become a "*Cosmo* girl".

4.3.3 Coherence

4.3.3.1 April 2003

The overt point of the text is the fact that men and women are different. Everything is described as being the complete opposite – the antonymy of "boy" versus "girl" (G1.1:e). Things that have positive expressive value for the boys are usually what have negative expressive value for the girls, for example cricket is negative for the females and positive for the males (G 1.1:h).

What is being expressed is that no matter how much people try to understand the differences between the genders, there usually is no possible chance of this occurring. Men and women will continue to be different and the way in which the opposite gender views the other one tends to be more positively for women and negatively for men (G 1.1:h). Men will be more critical of women, and will call women derogatory names, such as "chicks" and "birds", in this way they are conforming to the gender stereotypes that are present in our society. The women on the other hand are also conforming to gender stereotypes and the writer admits this: "Now, listen: I hate conforming to gender stereotypes. But – in the face of precious hours with girlfriends spent discussing...cricket? – desperate measures are called for!" However, while she

is aware that stereotypes exist and will only use them in extreme circumstances, she is also indirectly implying that women dislike cricket.

Overwording (G 1.1:c) in terms of what women are referred to supports the stereotypes of women reflected in the letter: chicks appear five times, and birds once. The writer is acknowledging the stereotypes that are out there, but she still conforms to them.

The agency of the writer is very clear, as is the use of active sentences, which reflects her authority on this matter, especially regarding the conflict and differences between men and women. She openly admits that at times she cannot be as politically correct as she should be, so while stating that she does not approve of gender stereotypes, she in this instance, has to conform to them as she sees no other way of dealing with the topic (G 1.2:a,c).

The use of pronouns (G 1.2:g), in particular “we”, links the reader to the writer and they are included and expected to agree with the writer’s statements and way of thinking. The use of “we” also separates the women from the men, as does the use of “you” when the men and women are talking to each other. The use of these pronouns also makes the assumption that the reader is a heterosexual woman, who has or has had a boyfriend.

4.3.3.2 May 2003

Like the other Editor’s letters, this letter endorses the typical Western female, one who is heterosexual, is fashion- and weight-conscious and for whom men form a large part of their every-day thoughts. The overwording of the words “jeans” and “unfaithful” and “men” emphasise this point as they are the most frequently used words in this letter (G 2.1:d).

Through the use of the positive and negative expressive values of the text (G 2.1:h), there seems to be a contradiction, and this is evident throughout most of the *Cosmo* Editor’s letters: a constant ambiguity about what it entails to be a woman. “Fashion” is used positively and negatively, on the one-hand women want to be fashion-conscious but on the other hand there is a desire not to seem frivolous or focussed on

trivial things. The positive expressive values are also only used with regard to thinness – “slinky”, “sexy”, “thin” while all words that connote fatness or something that would make a person put on weight are seen as negative: “cupcake”. However, there is again the contradiction in that being slightly overweight is seen as normal and that it is in reality difficult to always be thin, normal people struggle with their weight, and it is not all about being perfect: “Stretchy” and “generous-spirited”.

There is also a blatant desire to seem unconcerned what people think about women but to make people’s own stereotypes transparent, for example equating the word “bird” with herself (G 2.1:e). Since the writer tends to use quite a large amount of humour in her letters, it suggests that she is aware of stereotypes and uses them in a humorous fashion. This humour, however, while being amusing, allows stereotypes to persist, especially under the guise of “harmless jokes”, and provides an example of the naturalisation process of texts in terms of ideology and how they, in turn, resist criticism.

The use of positive and negative sentences brings focus onto the negative characteristics of men as seen in this letter (G 2.2:d). The only negative sentences are those that relate to men or talk about the men: “a picture of a really not-*very-nice* guy I may or may *not* have snogged once”, “I *can’t* be sure”, “when I kissed him (or *didn’t*)”. The men in this letter are seen as “not-very-nice” and “skanky” and “unfaithful”, but this is also directly seen as being the writer’s own opinion. Through her use of the active sentence she is very clearly stating her own opinion and acknowledging this (G 2.2:a,c), although, at the same time, the overt expression of opinion, “I think...” lowers the expressive modality of the text somewhat, as it is not asserted as fact.

The writer tends to avoid the use of “we” and rather uses “you” as an inclusive pronoun to refer to the reader and try and make them relate to what the writer is talking about. They must also have had to try and get into tight jeans and have also had similar instances of weight-gain (G 2.2:g). There seems to be the suggestion here that balance must be achieved in terms of weight. The writer suggests that most women ‘yo-yo’ with their weight and to achieve balance by not being too thin, but still being sexy is important.

What also relates to this complete dominance of the writer's opinion is that there is fairly high expressive modality (G 2.2:h); most of her statements are written with absolute conviction by the writer that what she is writing is truth, for example "So here you are: a 100-page *COSMO* special on the All-Time Greatest Fashion Item *plus* a bumper issue of the all-time greatest magazine feature that we know you love", a statement of fact that the reader likes jeans and will appreciate this extra edition.

4.3.3.3 June 2003

Once again this Editor's letter is endorsing the typical Western image of a young, middle-class woman. Additionally it emphasises the constant contradiction and ambiguity that exists about what a woman is/should be. On one hand they should be independent but on the other they want to be happily married. But is this new woman able to be independent and happily married? For example, the manner in which the writer introduces Madeleine reflects her own concern with this conflict, "The terrible, fantastic Madeleine – she of the roaring libido, hefty bank balance, stellar ex-boyfriends and sexy voice – has finally got married"

The use of overwording (G 3.1:d) supports this ambiguity in some way. The words "marriage/marry" and "lucky" are the most frequently used. While the word 'lucky' mostly refers to how the male sees himself, it could also imply that luck and marriage are mutually inclusive. The use of synonymy (G 3.1:e) for the word marriage also reveals a slight hidden suggestion; on the one hand it is seen as something that is "long, good, lasting love" while on the other it is seen as "It", which someone will "Do". This could imply a negative connotation for marriage, in that the phrase "Do It" appears to be used in a euphemistic manner (G 3.1:f). Again this ambiguity is evident by the first words that the editor uses to describe Madeleine: "terrible, fantastic". Who she is, is reflected in her behaviour, which includes going against society's rules, living a life that isn't seen as proper and yet she's "seizing the day" and seems to be happy because she's being liberated, independent and taking what life offers her. The writer seems to imply that the reader needs to keep a balance between being sexy, desirable, independent and self-sufficient and settling down, with a husband.

The letter also tries to give a realistic impression of the differences between men and women, however they are very clearly from a female's point of view. In fact, the writer's tone is almost mocking in that it uses typical phrases that one would find written by men, for example Man = Mr Madeleine (synonymy) (G 3.1:e). The writer is playing with the habit of women taking the husband's surname.

Age is seen negatively and this ideology suggests that growing old is a bad thing, it only means deterioration (G 3.1:h). This negativity is seen in the lexical set for age, which includes words and descriptions such as: "creeping cellulite, wrinkles and grumpiness" for women, something that no one wants to experience (G 3.1:a).

There is high relational modality (G 3.2:f), emphasising the power difference between the writer and the reader. The writer uses a lot of "must" in order to put her point across about what the reader has to do if she wants to have a happy marriage and marry the right man, although this does also depend on a theory, it is also high expressive modality. High expressive modality (G 3.2:h) is also reflected in that most of what the writer says she believes to be true and this again empowers the writer over the reader, as the reader would be reading this magazine and this letter in order to gain information and advice on issues pertaining to their lives.

The conclusion of the letter brings into focus another ideology which usually pertains to the masculine-side of relationships, that of being a predator. The phrase "happy huntin'" suggests that it is now the women who have to hunt for a partner, rather than being passive and docile women waiting to be picked up by a man. It again supports the idea that women have to now be more in control of their lives, take risks, make their own decisions and look for men, but at the end of the day they will still have their fairy-tale wedding.

4.3.3.4 July 2003

A concept that is alluded to here for the first time in these editor's letters is that of prudishness versus sexual freedom (seen as a classification scheme G 4.1:a and antonymy G 4.1:e). The writer acknowledges that many of the ideas mentioned in the magazine and its topics are too liberated for her: "but I've always been a little prudish for this job" and does not necessarily support what is published. However, she

recognises the importance of keeping up-to-date with the times and fashion and needs to inform the readers of what is happening. This is an interesting revelation on the part of the editor, as she seems to be separating herself from the magazine's ethos. However, while prudishness is not an overt part of the ideology of *Cosmo* and the emphasis is on sexual freedom and liberation, this prudishness still underlies the ideology, and forms part of the conflict that exists. The tension between these two terms implies, again, this need for balance in the reader. They can be sexual but not to the extremes.

The acknowledgement of the writer's disagreement with the Brazilian waxes gives the readers an option to also disagree with the magazine. It attempts to encourage the freedom of choice of the readers and help them to determine whether they will be critical readers or not. Additionally, there is a lot of negative expressive value (G 4.1:h) associated with the words used in conjunction with Brazilian waxes, but again we are introduced to an ambiguity of what is negative is also positive and often words seen as negative are also seen as positive. For example the meaning of "commando" will differ depending on the reader/writer. Both the reader and writer of the letter are in conflict: whether to accept the fashion of "going commando" as a good thing or whether it will turn out to be a fashion faux pas like "puffball skirts and platform takkies".

Within this Editor's letter is again a seemingly unconscious idea of the amount of influence the writer of the letter and the magazine has over the public/reader. The editor's disclaimer of "Had I gone to sleep and woken up Very Influential Indeed?" supports this statement. However, she modifies this statement with the use of hedges and draws attention away from the power of influence of the magazine and makes it the reader's problem, "Well. Last month's *Public Displays of Affection* was sort of inspiring. I suppose...". By using the word "inspiring", she is moving the responsibility of action from herself to the reader. There is a serious element implicit in this context, and although there are not many formal words used in the editor's letters (G 4.1:g), they do occur in this context: "influential, inspiring". There is extremely low relational modality (G 4.2:f) which acts as a counter against seemingly being too powerful/influential on the part of the writer. This is perhaps deliberate, as

the writer either does not want to come across as being too powerful as she is attempting to counter what Elaine, the beautician, makes obvious to the editor.

There is a link between “public displays of affection” and Brazilian waxes, this suggests that the reader will have the wax for her partner, not necessarily for herself, especially since the Brazilian wax links to words conjuring up painful images of waxing and wearing no underwear, such as “drippy, hot, wax, yeeuch, revolting, yanked, uncomfortable”. The use of words such as “yeeuch” and “revolting” also reveals a disgust for women’s genitalia; an uncomfortable-ness with that part of women’s bodies, and links very clearly to the classification scheme of prudishness. The lexical choices made here do not celebrate sexuality but rather undermine it and suggest that open sexuality is something disgusting.

4.3.3.5 August 2003

The most overt ideology here is the weight issue, which pushes the ideal, thin/slim Western woman (classification scheme of fat/thin G 5.1:a). But once again there is an ambiguity in that you shouldn’t have to nibble on lettuce leaves to be thin, but be able to have a healthy appetite. However you will still have to follow some sort of diet, unless you are a lucky woman who is naturally thin! While the writer supports the idea that it’s acceptable to be a healthy weight, you don’t have to be extremely thin, she still alludes to the fact that it is embarrassing to admit one is on a diet; “I slunk into a Weight Watchers meeting last week”, “Everyone looks shifty and embarrassed when they see each other. ‘Oh! I didn’t realise you were on WW!’” The use of the words “slunk”, “shifty” and “embarrassed” enforces the negative connotations associated with being overweight, as well as the fact that people rarely like to admit they are not in control of any aspects of their lives, such as weight.

The ideologically contested words of “diet” (G 5.1:b) and “big”, which is used as a pun, while talking about Randy’s parents, alludes to their size and their wealth. The letter is trying to be politically correct about being fat/large/big while trying to make people comfortable about their weight. The writer is trying to demystify weight issues, make them humorous and let the reader feel as though they aren’t alone, however her equation of Weight Watchers to Alcoholics Anonymous, reveals a different feeling: it is as embarrassing to be overweight as it is to be an alcoholic.

There is also a sense of failure that accompanies needing help from others to overcome something that is personal, and the idea is that many people are weak if they can't control their own weight. She uses this as a metaphor (G 5.1:i), as it is seen as a disease by the use of the word "cure" when referring to WW: "Whether WW will cure me of my lifelong love affair with carbohydrates remains to be seen." Her use of "the" before "problem" also presupposes that if you are "overweight" there *is* a problem, and enjoying carbohydrates is problematic in that it will make you fat (G 5.2:i).

Her choice of words also reveals this ideology, the majority of words relating to weight, trying to manage weight and food items have negative expressive value (G 5.1:h), for example: "diet, slunk, shifty, embarrassed, meetings, church halls, pasta, carbohydrates, personality, rebellious, shirty, lazy, rogue, kilos, weight, nibbling, lettuce leaves, Weight Watchers, Alcoholics Anonymous".

There is, additionally, an emphasis in this letter on money and its relation to women and the dating world. There are many words relating to money, such as "cash, rich, wealthy", and while initially there is a sense that wealth in potential partners is not that important, personality and humour are more important, she then turns this around and uses the word "endowed" with positive expressive value (G 5.1:h). "So perhaps it follows that their son was better endowed with cash than he was blessed with a sense of humour." The friend of the writer also carried on dating the man despite his lack of personality or humour: "My friend, then a struggling student trying to find her way in a big city, said: 'A date is a date.' My father – world dating expert – would have said: 'You never know. He might have a nice friend.'"

However, the writer's style is slightly different in this section, as she uses more modal verbs and lowers her belief in the statements she makes (G 5.2:h), such as: "Mr and Mrs Perelman *could* as easily have called him Rover", and "My father – world dating expert – *would* have said: 'You never know. He *might* have a nice friend.'" This also makes it difficult to really understand the full implication of what she is trying to say. On one hand, she seems to say "go for men who are wealthy, there are benefits to it", but on the other hand she also says "men have to have a personality and humour, and those are the ideal ones. If they have money, then all the better". What is clear is that

women who are starting to date shouldn't be 'fussy' as they may meet a person they like through whoever they are dating at the time.

The last point is the use of the word "gospel" at the end of the letter: "And remember the *gospel* according to *COSMO*: a happy weight is achievable, healthy and allows you to enjoy yourself. A life of nibbling lettuce leaves is simply not a life worth living." This implies that there is a certain belief or behaviour that should be connected to *Cosmo*. The magazine is a "bible" for the reader, telling them how to live their lives in the best way: such as following *Cosmo's* advice as they guide women through a difficult and confusing life that exists today. The most important commandments are ambiguous: eat good foods, but stay slim; go out with men and feel free to sleep with them, but settle down one day and don't be too promiscuous. These 'commandments' link to the concept of balance that is being uncovered through the analyses of the letters. The reader needs to attain balance between eating and staying slim, to date many men but not to come across as licentious.

4.3.3.6 September 2003

The most overt ideology present is that women don't and shouldn't enjoy certain forms of sex or be able to express their sexuality through whatever means that takes, for example pornography. Men, on the other hand, have the freedom to watch pornography and talk about it, and in turn express their sexuality through whatever means they want. This is seen through the amount of words with negative expressive value (G 6.1:g), such as "porn sites, yuckier, perving, shame, exposed, sleaze bag, sheepish". The fact that men are "allowed" to look at porn and be sexually expressive, is seen through the Intertextual link to John Gray's book "Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus", where the writer has changed the title to "Women are from Mars, Men are from Penis". This saying also indicates an implication that men only think about their penises and sex, while women do not, and suggests that men cannot change and are naturally focussed on sex, which in turn provides an excuse for their behaviour. For example, she says: "What's so exciting about porn sites anyway?", and links this to two websites, designed for women viewers, "*naughtymaleschoolteachers.com* or *whippingwalter.co.za*". However, these websites are selling a specific type of sexual fantasy and not just what may be

considered more “normal” pornography, and she uses these extreme versions to imply her disgust and disapproval of pornographic websites in general.

This links to July’s editor’s letter where the writer is torn between being liberal and prudish, when talking about sex and parts of the body, such as women’s genitalia which in that issue were seen as disgusting and something that should be covered up and avoided.

The proportion of negative sentences (G 6.2:d) in this editor’s letter is relatively high compared to the other letters analysed. This seems to link to the topic which is fairly taboo and seems to represent a hesitant approach on the part of the writer. While she does not hide agency, she asks more questions of the reader and hedges many of her statements, which seems to indicate a slight anxiety on the part of the writer in questioning her own beliefs. “Well, that last bit is *not* strictly true...”, “I *don’t* get it.”, “Has he *no* shame?”, “*Doesn’t* he have a snoopy girlfriend?”, “*Wasn’t* he worried she would find out?”, “*Didn’t* the thought of being exposed as a Sleaze Bag put him off?”. However, these also imply that women would automatically disapprove of males consumption of pornography, as well as the fact that pornography is negative.

Something else alluded to in the text is that women like to snoop, and are almost expected to snoop. “They’re a gift to snoopy girls with too much time on their hands.” and “Doesn’t he have a snoopy girlfriend? Wasn’t he worried she would find out?” While this snooping is not overtly considered as negative, it is something that is perhaps seen as a flaw in women, and that they should be ashamed of, similar to looking up ex-partners on the Internet. Presupposed here though is that men will not be honest and tell women they are watching pornography and therefore women have to snoop if they want to know. This links to the concept of “appearances can be deceiving”, as most of the writer’s past boyfriends have changed in terms of what she thought they were like, and her friend “Sean T” is apparently very different to what he is like on the first date, “I’ve been friends with Sean T for years, so let me tell you this: on a date, you’d find him absolutely, charmingly normal. Great company and innocent looking. Let’s-take-him-home-to-Mom material. But, clearly, dates fuelled by Bison grass vodka, good lighting and even better behaviour are a lousy way of checking out a person’s credentials”.

However, of interest is the overwording of “people” in this letter (G 6.1:c). The writer uses it five times and for the first time this letter is aiming at people in general rather than a specific gender. “You” is only used twice in the last paragraph and there is no use of “we”, which could indicate a different audience in mind in this letter, perhaps including more male readers (G 6.2:g).

4.3.4 Summary of Ideologies

The overall ideologies present in all the letters will be presented in bullet point format, for clarity.

- Men like pornography, women shouldn't like it.
- Women cannot have weight problems, it means a lack of control.
- Wealth is a positive thing.
- Women should do anything to be beautiful/attractive/keep up with the fashion.
- Getting and keeping a partner is very important.
- Women should be heterosexual, any other preferences are not accounted for.
- Clothing/what you look like is the most important aspect for a woman.
- Being thin is fashionable, but you should also never deny yourself.
- Don't let men treat you badly, but don't be alone – once you realise they're bad, dump them and then find another one.
- Men and women are very different.
- Men and women will never understand each other and it's not worth trying.
- Balance is the key factor of living a “*Cosmo* girl's” life.

As is evident from this list of ideologies there is a large amount of tension evident in the texts, especially in terms of what it means to be a woman. In terms of what it means to be a “*Cosmo* girl” there is constant conflict between what they should be and what they are. Balance is the overarching ideology and this is what is needed to be a real “*Cosmo* girl”, however it is almost impossible to achieve the balance between the conflicting discourses, for example, be slender and healthy, but don't diet and starve yourself. These will be dealt with in the detail in the following section.

4.3.5 Explanation

While the previous section has looked at and analysed the processes of production and the processes of interpretation of the six editor's letters, this section studies the context of those processes of production and interpretation. This includes questioning the socio-historical context of the text; the power relations that influence and are perpetuated by the text (i.e. how they shape and are shaped by the discourse), and the position of the text and whether it "sustain[s] or transform[s] existing relations of power" (adapted from Janks 1997:329 and Fairclough 1989).

Firstly, the socio-historical context of the *Cosmo* is dealt with in depth in Chapter Two (cf. 2.3.2). Of significance is the main ethos of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, on which the editorial philosophy is based, and that is two things that women need: "someone to love and some useful work to do" (White 1970:254). The magazine takes the role of the elder sister who helps women improve themselves, get the best from their lives and actually live their own lives, without feeling like they *need* a man: "the liberated *Cosmopolitan* girl archetype would be out to attract men, hold down a good job, make the best of herself, and, not least, improve her sex life" (Braithwaite et al. 1979:49, own italics). While there is an inherent contradiction within these statements relating to the role men play in the reader's life, such as not needing a man in their lives, but having to have one in order to have a good sex life, this is one of the core conflicts present within the letters, and will be discussed in due course.

The writers cited within this research date from the 1970s, but within their philosophies lie some of the most important ideologies found within the modern texts analysed now. However, the focus needs to shift to more recent theorists, such as Gough-Yates (2003), Craig (1998), McRobbie (1997) and Whelehan (2000) who stated that the modern magazine industry (around the 1960s) needed to revamp itself as it seemed to have entered a period of boredom with the reader (cf. 2.5.2.2). As a result many magazines decided to change their editorial content from "shopping, sex and cellulite" (Craig 1998:26) to a focus on celebrities and their lifestyles. The other topics were not ignored completely, but a celebrity was chosen each month as a figurehead for a lifestyle the reader should attempt to emulate. This chosen celebrity tended to portray a woman who had distinguished herself through her career, "her individualism, often her 'desirable' visage and physique, and her success" (Marshall

1997:x in Gough-Yates 2003:136). An additional element that occurred in these more recent editions was the more detailed focus on sex, pornography and prostitution. This incurred a large amount of criticism, especially for ethical reasons, as it was felt that the editors were using this to increase circulation figures. Other worries were the misrepresentation of young women's lives in reality (Gough-Yates 2003). Lately this condemnation has lessened, however the link between reality and the use of magazines for escapist reasons is still under scrutiny.

In terms of cultural commentary, there have been statements (see McRobbie 1997 and Whelehan 2000) that "new representations of femininity in women's magazines were indicative of real transformations in gender relations" (Gough-Yates 2003:143). However, other theorists, for example Delamont (2001) and Holland (1998) comment that this is all media fiction, that no transformations occurred and differences between male supremacy and female independence still exist (Gough-Yates 2003). Despite changes in the last fifty years, men and women still seem to play the typical roles they always have. Delamont (2001:55 in Gough-Yates 2003:144) states "whilst there had been *material* shifts in the lives of young men and women over a period of fifty years, there were strong indications that practices for negotiating hegemonic heterosexual identities had altered little". The *Cosmo* letters analysed here still seem to perpetuate typical "female" behaviour. The letters seem to push women's independence, in terms of being sexually liberated (Madeleine's wedding – June 2003), being financially independent (August 2003) and being in control of their own lives generally. Most of the ideals, however, still take into account men's opinions and women still seem to want to change for men. For example, "going commando" and waxing your pubic hair is seen as sexy, but generally only because a man may find it so (July 2003); and even if a woman is sexually independent and doesn't need a man, eventually marriage is the final aim (June 2003).

The magazine seems to offer new images of gender relations, and commercially it seems successful in terms of influencing female sexual confidence and independence; however the amount of change they propagate is extremely difficult to measure, especially since most young women don't have lifestyles like those described in the magazines (Gough-Yates 2003). Most editorials in the magazines emphasize the sexual confidence and independence of women, and use women's confidence as a

“means of continuing to publicize the ability of the magazine industry to ‘map’ femininities...[they seem to] have offered the readers of women’s magazines new ways to understand and redefine themselves in the world” (Gough-Yates 2003:144). As a result, most readers seem to believe and therefore substantiate the idea that there had been a transformation in gender roles and relations, but in reality this is highly questionable, and as such this socio-historical context will help reflect whether the *Cosmo* magazines analysed here have made progress in transforming gender relations.

The magazine is aimed at heterosexual readers, who are or have been in a relationship with a man. Each letter has some relationship to men or sex and naturalises the male-female relationship. Very briefly, April tried to understand men; May linked each pair of jeans to a memory of a man, resulting in jeans being considered more reliable and men unreliable; June examined weddings, marriage and relationships; July covered Brazilian waxes (linked very closely to sex) and introduced the prudish versus liberated conflict; August confronted dating and the type of men women should date, and lastly September tried to uncover what men find interesting about pornography, women’s lack of interest in it and generally that looks can be deceiving.

However the most important and overarching ideology, to which all other ideologies in the text connect, is that of “balance”. This word also appears in the brief of the ideal reader provided by *Cosmo*. The reader is encouraged to lead a balanced lifestyle by enjoying her food, but not overeating and becoming fat; to enjoy sex with men but not to be too promiscuous or adventurous; to date many men and learn what they like but to know that one day they will settle down and have the “Barbie-doll” wedding every woman dreams of having. The lifestyle that is also implicitly expected of the reader is one in which money is easily accessible or they have a fair amount of money from their successful careers with which to enjoy and live the lifestyle described. This includes the ability to pay for special treatments, such as Brazilian waxes and good pairs of jeans, to go out for dinner comfortably, to travel, and to generally create a life that is balanced. This perpetuates the Capitalist society that the readers live in, as the magazine ultimately promotes a lifestyle that needs to be bought and paid for and in turn encourages a consumerist society. To look good and wear the right clothing, you need to shop at certain shops and buy particular labels, and to be sexually desirable and look beautiful you should go to a trained beautician to help

create a particular look. However, all these demands placed on the reader are meant to occur naturally, without any real effort on the part of the woman. This can perpetuate feelings of inadequacy within the reader, which in turn makes them more reliant on *Cosmo* to guide and advise them. This psychological and emotional manipulation makes the reader buy the magazine every month and inherently creates another ideological conflict, that of independence versus dependence.

Before moving on to the next ideology present in the texts, the notion of capitalism and consumerism needs to be linked to this Explanation (c.f. 2.2 where Marx and Fairclough's notions of ideology are discussed in detail). Fairclough (1989:35) mentions that Marx's notion of capitalism, which is centred on "monopoly" by large corporations, has expanded increasingly over the years to become international, "a relatively small number of massive multinational corporations now dominate production in the capitalist world". Simultaneously, the capitalist society has begun to include aspects of society that were previously not seen as connected to production, such as "intangible" commodities (1989:35). This means that advertisers and the media now sell intangible products as commodities: products such as happiness, insurance, and security. Maslow, a leading figure in the development of humanistic psychology, created a hierarchy of needs of which the first level, physiological, was one that needed to be satisfied before any others could be fulfilled (Louw & Edwards 1997). This first level included very basic level needs, such as food, shelter and sleep. The higher levels move up from "safety", "love and belonging", "esteem", "self-actualisation" and finally to "transcendence" (Louw & Edwards 1997:449); most of which could be considered as "intangible goods" as they tend not to be products that can be bought in shops but are rather emotional states which will in turn create a satisfying life. However, it is these states or needs that media producers advertise as achievable through buying certain products or following articles in magazines, for example. As Fairclough also states it is now that "an even greater focus has been placed upon the consumption of [these] commodities, a tendency summed up in the term *consumerism*". Consequently, people's lives are imposed on in their private spheres by the "commodity market" through magazines and the mass media in general (1989:35). It is this consumerist culture that continues to maintain the status quo in society, as while magazines provide examples of lifestyles that the readers want to

have, through their ‘purchasing’ of this lifestyle they continue to support society, as it is in all forms: capitalist and sexist.

There is a tension between consumerism and the need for achievement in all aspects of the readers’ lives that underlie many of the ideologies present in these editor’s letters (cf. 2.5.2). While the emphasis is on consuming and taking/buying products to achieve happiness, thinness, sexual attractiveness and therefore a partner, amongst other things, the reader also has to control themselves and be successful naturally. This is evident strongly in the next ideology to be discussed, in that the reader should be thin but they should also be able to eat whatever they want, as is mentioned in the *Cosmopolitan* reader profile “She loves to eat, but exercises regularly”. There is a naturalisation process that occurs whereby the reader ends up feeling guilty and inadequate because they cannot achieve or live the supposed “ideal” life that is always advertised and encouraged through the magazines. This also continually links back to the overarching ideology of ‘balance’ as the reader needs to stay healthy but be excessive in terms of consumption at the same time.

Health and well-being are important notions that are brought up overtly in some of the letters, but covertly in others. While some letters, for example August and May, discuss body weight and mention it directly, the others allude to it through comments about other people or general health issues. There is a conflicting discourse between being naturally thin/slender/healthy and having to make an effort or “work at it”. August and May both bring up weight issues and confront them directly. August’s issue focuses on Weight Watchers (WW) and finding a happy weight, however belonging to WW is negatively portrayed, “Everyone looks shifty and embarrassed when they see each other”. This suggests that while people may need to work on their weight, to acknowledge it would be a sign of weakness and lack of control. May’s issue is less overt as the writer coyly acknowledges that weight gain or loss is inevitable and normal, but once again needs to be controlled, since weight is gained through lack of control: “I have jeans for every shape and size I’ve ever been. Slinky, sexy ones which took me everywhere in New York the last time I went there, the last time I was slim. Stretchy generous-spirited ones which I can rely on to forgive me the last cupcake (or three)”. In line with this, the writer also mentions Scarlett O’Hara’s corset and equates that to very tight jeans. The suggestion of corsets takes the reader

back to a time when the female form was also controlled and the use of the corset helped attain the desirable body shape. The image of the tight jeans playing the same role as a corset suggests that today the same rules apply with regards to fashion and maintaining an ideal body shape. Women will and should wear clothes that help them achieve a perfect and accepted look, whether they are comfortable or not. These constant reminders of the need for women to be desirable and healthy keeps linking back to the notion of 'balance', and the necessity for women to keep their lives in balance and be a perfect women. However, the continual feeling of inadequacy maintains women in a subordinate role to men, as many women cannot achieve this balance in their lives. In turn, as will be discussed in the *FHM* section, men do not need to undergo constant reflection on their lives.

The conflict however comes about when linking these ideologies to the word "balance". The reader is told, covertly, to enjoy their food and not to allow it to rule their lives, for example, "An hour-and-a-half later, after the pizzas have been eaten and the beers and wine flattened" (April 2003), but they do need to be in control and watch what they eat so they do not become overweight/fat: "Whether WW will cure me of my lifelong love affair with carbohydrates remains to be seen. It's my personality, of course, that's the problem – rebellious, shirty and lazy. It would take a lot to keep my rogue kilos off...a happy weight is achievable, healthy and allows you to enjoy yourself. A life of nibbling lettuce leaves is simply not a life worth living". As was commented on in 1.2 and 2.5, Eggins and Iedema note that magazines while attempting to empower change within the readers, actually do the opposite, "there is a mismatch, a contradiction between the magazine's emphasis on change and transgression, and the disempowering nature of the devices it uses to realise these concerns" (1997:191). While the magazine is encouraging the readers to live a healthy lifestyle and a maintain a "happy weight", the devices they use to empower the readers actually do the opposite.

In terms of sexual relationships and sex within these letters, there is again an attempt at balance. The ethos of the magazine is to help liberate women sexually and emotionally, however they must behave in moderation. For example, while advising women that to have sex with more than one man is acceptable, and that they should be encouraged so as to discover their "hidden sexuality" and learn what type of man they

like, they must not become promiscuous (cf. 2.5.2.5). In June's letter, which talks about Madeleine, "The terrible, fantastic Madeleine – she of the roaring libido, hefty bank balance, stellar ex-boyfriends and sexy voice", illustrates this ideology skilfully. The description of Madeleine reveals the writer's conflicting emotions about this woman. She is a woman who seems to know her own mind, and in terms of sex and relationships, may be considered by other women and by the writer as "over-the-top" and promiscuous, although the writer probably admires this woman's freedom from the norm, through her use of "fantastic". However, when Madeleine does finally get married she settles for what all women are supposed to want: "the Barbie-doll moment" and there again is the conflict. While she is allowed to go against the norm and be a truly liberated woman for a period of time, she will only be accepted as long as she eventually subscribes to what women are "supposed" to be.

Another ideology concerning sex in these letters is the large emphasis on women being independent and satisfying themselves sexually, however there is a limit to the extent to which they can be adventurous and be in tune with their own sexuality (cf. 2.5.2.4). For example, the September letter addresses the issue of pornography. What is revealed in that letter is that it is acceptable for men to watch pornography and it is almost expected, but women shouldn't enjoy pornography. If they do watch it or have an interest in it, then it is something that should be kept as a secret as it is potentially embarrassing and shaming.

This letter also gives an insight into the way *Cosmo* women see men. Concepts of male sexuality are unilateral; they are presented as undisputed truths, for example that men will watch pornography, even though they may come across as respectable. April's classification of men supports this argument as they describe the men they are dating as only thinking about breasts and cars and sports, and then the magazine conducts a "survey" to find out whether men really do just think about breasts, cars, and sport, and finds that they do. By so doing, the magazines are maintaining the patriarchal system: in that men are as they are but women need to change and subscribe to ways of being that suit the patriarchal society in which they live.

However, it is the discussion of female sexuality that is important here, and while so far it is suggested that women should enjoy sex and be sexually aware, the hidden

ideology is that it should be “normal” sex and that *Cosmopolitan* should be the guide to every woman on how far is acceptable. As has been realised, “normal” means balanced and taking the more conservative route than actually allowing the reader to explore their sexuality in any way they want. This also links to how women perceive their own bodies and how comfortable they are with them. In July’s letter, the writer and Beautician mentioned in the letter both have a certain amount of disdain and repulsion when talking about genitalia and more private parts of the body, “Brazilian waxes! All your fault!...‘You can’t imagine the view! Yeeuch. If I’d wanted to be a gynaecologist, I’d have been born smarter!’” It is in this letter that there is evidence of conflict that the writer is experiencing in terms of prudishness versus liberalism or sexual confidence, “Unhygienic and uncomfortable is what I’d call it, but I’ve always been a little prudish for this job”. This conflict is one of the most important ones when discussing the sexual aspects of these letters as it defines an inherent battle that women face in society, how sexual should one be and when is it too much? Despite comments that women’s magazines are promoting change in the ideological status of men and women in society and the relationships between the two are becoming more equal and balanced (McRobbie 1997), women (from these letters) seem to still be unsure of their position in society and how far they can actually go, as the messages sent by the producer of the text are mixed, and often contradictory.

One final point of discussion is the silences prominent in the texts; what is not mentioned, discussed or acknowledged. There is never mention of religion, except for the mention of a church hall used for Alcoholics Anonymous or Weight Watchers, which has negative expressive value in the text, “Meetings take place in church halls and it’s very, ‘Hi. I’m Vanessa. I’m a person who eats more pasta than she should.’” (August 2003). This suggests that religion is not something that a *Cosmo* reader should value or even that it is important. Having children is never acknowledged or mentioned, except for a brief mention of gynaecologists in July’s letter, and this again has negative expressive value within the text, “‘You can’t imagine the view! Yeeuch. If I’d wanted to be a gynaecologist, I’d have been born smarter!’”. Abnormal sexuality, such as fetishism, bestiality, lesbianism (in this case) and paedophilia are never mentioned or considered, and the main assumption is that all the readers are heterosexual. Marriage is talked about in one letter (June 2003), but while it is seen as something to aim for and to do, it is not important at present for the *Cosmo* reader,

unless they are nearly 40 years old. This suggests that there is a time limit on liberation and freedom, while it is acceptable to follow this lifestyle at present; once a woman becomes about 40 it is the end of those times. They now must become responsible and take on everything that is alluded to but never mentioned in the magazine. This indicates a “superwoman” existence, in that while society appears to perpetuate independence and women’s liberation, women will still have to fulfil old expectations held of them. The emergence of new societal norms does not mean that the old ones have been eradicated. Women’s lives are in many ways becoming more complex, more demanding and more confusing, while at each level they attempt to maintain balance of some sort. This balance should be attained naturally and without effort, and this is where the major ideological issue arises.

According to the theory discussed in 2.5, women’s place in society and the magazine are strongly linked. The women’s magazine, while seeming to attempt to be a liberating tool for many women, has tended to reflect the current system at the time, and still (from these analyses) seems to today. As Ballaster et al. (1991 in 2.5.4) state women and femininity tend to be defined as ‘not men’ and unmasculine, and in many ways this stringent attempt to constantly prove what women are not, manages to maintain the status quo of society. Women continuously trying not to be men places men in an automatically superior position. A celebration of “natural femininity” (Ballaster et al. 1991:14) would eliminate the subordination of women and would allow women to accept who they are without a constant comparison to men (cf. Chapter 6 for the comparison of the magazines, which will reveal this issue more critically).

In conclusion, while there are various ideologies present within the letters, which reveal the underlying beliefs of the producer of the text and the society in which it is produced, the main ideology is that of “Balance”. The other ideologies present, such as promoting the ideal, Western, thin body; the sexually aware and confident woman; and the heterosexual or normal woman all are based on the ideology of “Balance”. The producer of these texts uses this concept of “Balance” to cover up the irreconcilable conflict that exists in the lifestyle they are promoting. The capitalist lifestyle that they subscribe to is also full of inherent contradictions and imbalances. The reader is supposed to create a balance between living to excess, i.e. partying;

drinking; eating food they enjoy; shopping and spending lots of money to create the lifestyle they are expected to have, while managing to work successfully and, if appropriate, without a hangover; stay slim and healthy; have a stable bank account and save and live responsibly. *Cosmopolitan* covers this up, hides the inherent problems and makes this lifestyle seem accessible to the reader. In turn, when the reader's lifestyle is not as it should be, they become more reliant on the magazine to help them with their problem areas. This manipulation and deception on the part of the magazine is what makes it so successful and so addictive. It promises a life that the reader could never have, while appealing to their inner desires and naturalising the process. The life they promise should come naturally and should be balanced, a lifestyle that most readers will never achieve.

4.4 Conclusion

In the chapter the findings of the analyses of *Cosmo's* cover pages and Editor's letters have been discussed. From the cover page analyses it is evident that the visual designs and choices made play an integral role in selling the magazine as well as subtly revealing the significant aspects of the magazine. The use of colour, placement and the word choice all reveal what creates the main focus and 'core' of the magazine, that of Sex, ironically disputing their slogan of "There's more to it than sex!". The Editor's letters have also revealed the prominence of sex, however more importantly they have uncovered the main ideological conflict of *Cosmo*, that of "balance". The next chapter will focus on *FHM* and is constructed in an identical manner to this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: *FHM*

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses firstly, the analyses of the cover pages of *FHM*, presented in two sections: the textual analysis followed by the visual analysis (cf. 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), and then secondly, the analyses of the *FHM* Editor's letters, divided into Interpretation and Explanation (cf. 5.3). See Appendices H to L for all the *FHM* data.

5.2 *FHM* Cover Pages: April to September 2003

5.2.1 Textual Analysis (see Appendix I)

5.2.1.1 *Title and Slogan*

The title *FHM* (For Him Magazine) as it is more commonly known, is an acronym. Most people see the magazine title as *FHM* and then have to decipher what it means. This can signify a specific character type, one where the magazine is attempting to entice the reader to buy the magazine and read further by implying that not everything is written on the cover page. This also links to the fact that there are fewer cover lines on the front of *FHM* than on *Cosmo*.

The slogans accompany the title and for *FHM* it never changes; it is constantly "It's a guy thing!". While this is not overtly talking about sex, it is constructing a specific type of male, one who falls into the group of "guys", and this would include talking about sex and other male interests that are portrayed on the cover. It has already identified the reader the magazine wants. The use of the word "guy" also insinuates exclusivity, as an older man may not use the word "guy", and suggests it is an identity that the reader can buy into.

Another meaning that could be interpreted from the slogan, is that if you aren't a "guy" you won't understand what the magazine is about. It is excluding any readers who are either female or not the type of man the magazine is aiming at.

5.2.1.2 *Top-Left Hand cover lines*

As mentioned before, these are the most salient cover lines of the magazine and reflect the major focus of the magazine. Five of the six cover lines in this position are about sex, the only one that does not directly mention sex is "Exclusive! Jennifer

‘Love Hewitt stars in our sizzling shoot’ (July). However, while not overtly about sex, the article is selling a sexual “sizzling” fantasy that men “lust” after, and the picture of her on the cover page adds to this. There is also a play on the word “stars” as the magazine gives her occupation for the benefit of the readers, but insinuates that her ‘claim to fame’ underlines her sexual contribution.

5.2.1.3 Noun-modification

Modification aids the writer in adding as much information as possible to the cover line, but in turn they need to leave out unnecessary information, such as determiners. There is 100% pre-modification on the cover pages, with the greatest number of modifiers used being three, for example "*FHM's handy seduction guide*" (August).

The use of modification is significant as it reflects the producer’s choice of what is important in terms of attractiveness to potential readers. In this case, the producers use a large amount of superlatives, such as “worst”, “bloodiest”, “sexiest” and “best-ever”. Everything in the magazine is the most extreme of its type and the most impressive, which will attract specific types of readers.

5.2.1.4 Minor/major sentences

As mentioned before (cf. 4.2.1.4), minor sentences contain no finite verb and lack purpose. This means that they can apply to anyone at any time, as they show no number (i.e. singular or plural) nor do they show tense/time difference (i.e. past, present, future). This means that they would be inclusive of the reader.

My analysis shows that 17.7% of the sentences on the cover of *FHM* are minor sentences, while 82.2% of the sentences are major. This means that while *FHM* does not generally create cover lines that are applicable to most people and that maintains the timeless quality of the magazine, they do use some minor sentences. This predominant use of major sentences suggests that the magazine is providing the readers with articles that include the most modern toys, gadgets and fashionable women.

5.2.1.5 Sentence functions

Sentence functions signal different tones within a magazine, and in this case, the highest function is Declarative type sentences, with 57.4% falling into the category; second highest are the Exclamatives, with 23.5%, third are the Imperatives with 18.3% and lastly, the Interrogatives with 0.8%.

As the Declaratives are the most prominent, this means that the statements being made are talking about issues that are important and should be discussed. Exclamatives as second highest is interesting in that these are used to show a strong opinion and emotion. This may be representative of the fact that the writer is portrayed as male, is assertive and has strong feelings about what will be mentioned within the magazine. This may also link to the fact that the magazine deals with sexual issues which are inherently emotive. Imperatives are also used as they give orders about issues, and don't give the reader much choice in what kind of a "man" they should be. Interrogatives are the least used, and this is reflected in the fact that they have no problems and solutions cover lines, and they are not really trying to make an emotive connection with the reader. Interrogatives also imply a lack of certainty and can be used as hedges, however the covers suggest that there is no need to hedge if the reader is a "guy". Generally, the cover lines reflect articles on topics that a "guy" would find interesting, for example sex and machines. The readers do not have to do anything except read the magazine, if the readers had to act it would suggest a deficit or a problem with not being "guyish" enough. This again links to the slogan, "it's a guy thing!".

5.2.1.6 Problems and Solutions

As is evident, there are no cover lines that fall into this section. The writer does not try to advise the reader or suggest that there may be some problem within their current lives.

5.2.2 Visual Analysis

5.2.2.1 Information value

a. Given and New

Most of the *FHM* cover pages do not have many cover lines. However, the left-hand-side always contains the sex articles and the articles which form the main focus of the

magazine that month, for example a seduction guide (August), bondage for beginners (June), martial arts (August), girlfriend test (July). They also generally have one woman each month, for example Candice Hillebrand (May), Holly Valance (June), Jennifer Love Hewitt (July), Megan McKenzie (August), except for South African sportsmen's women (September) and the stars from Baywatch (April), which had six and nine respectively.

The right-hand side or New side, except for the April issue, always has the "Plus!" section. This is a smaller font section with all the additional features and articles in the magazine. This side has the features that readers may want to know about that have changed and that may be different from the usual contents of the magazine.

b. Ideal and Real

The headline name, *FHM*, acts as the Ideal for the overall cover page. It represents a generalised view of what the magazine is about and the smaller cover lines below that act as the Real. They provide the detail of what is in the magazine. Each cover line however is slightly different. Generally, each top line is in a larger font size, represents the Ideal and introduces the topic of the article, except for the cover lines that are used for the models that month. Here, the line above the name is always smaller and has detail that would be more suited to the "Real", for example "POP'S NEW PRINCESS! HOLLY VALANCE! In a shoot so sexy you'll weep!" (June). The "Pop's new princess" is playing the role of the Ideal but actually functions as the Real in that it is giving more detail to who Holly Valance is.

c. Centre and Margin

This is the same as *Cosmo's* cover page and uses the horizontal triptych, which consists of Given, Mediator and New (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). The model is the Mediator and links the Given and New by representing all that is mentioned around her, she is the visual affirmation of what is represented through the words/cover lines. This is ideologically significant since the model reflects the large focus of the magazine on sex, as well as all that makes the readers "guys".

5.2.2.2 *Saliency*

a. Size

“*FHM*” is always the largest font on the magazine cover, as this is the title of the magazine. The other font sizes vary however: the “Free!” on the right-hand-side next to *FHM* and the title that usually has to do with the model on the cover are the next largest and stand out compared to the other cover lines on the page. For example, “Baywatch Bonanza!” (April), “Candice!” (May), “Holly Valance” (June), and “Jennifer Love Hewitt” (July). The significance of this is that there is a high value given to the word “Free”, as it is as important as the title. By making the word “Free” important reflects an inherent ideology that life should be simple and uncomplicated and therefore come “free”, but it also plays a simpler function in that it entices the reader by offering something that costs nothing.

b. Sharpness of Focus

In order for buyers to be able to see the cover of the magazine, everything is focussed on clearly and sharply. The background, however, is usually unclear and blurry, and is either a plain background of colour (for example, July and September), a textured background of colour (June and August), or a blurred image of water or landscape (April and May). The models and the cover lines are very clear, as they need to be eye-catching. Additionally, the writing of the cover lines does not cover the models’ breasts or faces, it is placed over their hips and arms but never their breasts. While the face is understandably avoided, the avoidance of the breasts is significant and they are an important part of the body to attract male readers.

c. Tonal Contrast

The contrast between light and dark is used as a shadow effect around the title, *FHM*. The letters always have a black border around each one. This also makes the letters look three-dimensional. Black and white are always used, however the tonal contrast is not obvious except on July’s cover. The effective use of black on a grey/white background shows the impact of tonal contrast.

d. Colour

FHM’s covers tend to use only a few colours on the cover pages, and they are usually primary colours, as well as orange. White, red and black are used predominantly,

followed by blue, then orange and lastly yellow. All these colours however are used in their purest, brightest form, compared to *Cosmopolitan's* more muted tones at times. The backgrounds on the *FHM* covers however are usually a blurred background view or a patterned wall. Except for July and September (2003) which have plain white backgrounds, all the others have some sort of shading or are a view/picture, for example the sea (April 2003).

e. Placement in the visual field

The heaviest objects are the “*FHM*”, always in the top-left corner, and the “Free!” which is always placed next to it. Although it is on the right-hand side it has salience in that it is a large font size and is placed at the top. The next most salient headings are those placed on the left-hand side slightly lower down, i.e. the first heading underneath *FHM* (e.g. “Baby, you better fetch a towel” (April), “SEX Overload!” (May), “Sorry, Tracey can’t come to the phone right now..” (June). However, if font size is taken into account, then the cover lines that relate to the models on the cover are salient and are also placed on the left-hand side, for example “Exclusive Jennifer Love Hewitt” (July), “Megan McKenzie” (August) and “Sportsmen’s babes” (September). Additionally, the use of exclamation marks after many of the cover lines aids their prominence on the page and their salience.

f. Perspective

Whether there are one or nine models on the cover page they are all salient in that their heads overlap the *FHM* heading. The rest of their bodies are covered by the other cover lines however they are placed carefully around areas of the body that should not be hidden, for example breasts. As mentioned in b. the lack of cover lines over the breasts and face places these areas of the model’s body into the forefront of the picture, and reveals significance for those parts of her body. Breasts tend to be considered appealing parts of a woman’s body to men and so importance is placed there in catching a reader’s eye when perusing the magazine covers. It also indirectly reflects the position of women within the magazine and the role that they play: to be desired and “gazed” at (cf. 5.2.2.5).

g. Cultural Symbol

Having a woman celebrity pose seductively on a front cover is culturally significant in that the Western world allows for this. It is also significant as the woman/women are often only celebrities due to their connection with famous men. For example, the Sportsmen's babes on September's cover, are only posing on the cover because they are "hotties" that help Joost van der Westhuizen and other sportsmen achieve in the sports arena. Every aspect of the photographs, including the clothes, if any, are Western and there is no acknowledgment of aiming for different readers from different cultures or religions. It is purely "a guy thing!", where "guys" can be considered as white and Western.

5.2.2.3 Framing

Framing only occurs subtly in the use of different colours for each cover line and in the occasional use of a circle, which resembles a sticker. It is used, for example, around "10 Wildest parties ever!" (August), "The honey search is on" (September), and the blocked out "Plus!" Section, which is on every cover except for September.

The magazine cover is therefore inclusive of all sections of the magazine and uses the instance of framing for effect. Separate issues, for example the "Plus!" section, include a large amount of information that is in the rest of the magazine, but it is considered not as important as the other cover articles or features and is therefore framed.

5.2.2.4 Linear and Non-linear compositions

There are similarities to the *Cosmo* cover in that due to the effects of bolding, italicising, capitalising and the use of different colours and fonts, the readers notice the parts that catch their eye first. However, *FHM* tends not to capitalise all their cover lines, and often uses lower case print. In particular, they place the important part of the cover line, which is usually the Ideal section, in capitals and then the extra information section in lower case. For example, "'BABY, YOU BETTER FETCH A TOWEL!' Satisfy your lady friend again and again!" (April). This suggests that while the reader may naturally read from left to right and top to bottom, their eyes will focus on different fonts and larger fonts, creating salience at different points on the cover.

5.2.2.5 “Image Act and the Gaze”

All the models on the *FHM* covers create eye-contact with the readers and while most look head-on at the reader, some also look from the corner of their eyes. None of them smile properly but leave their lips slightly apart as though breathless, or they pout or they have a small enticing smile. The looks acknowledge the reader and want to engage them in a relationship, however, this is not a friendly one but rather a sexual relationship. All the women are dressed in very skimpy clothing, either bikinis or dresses and bustiers that reveal a lot of skin and the sexual areas of the body. They all also stand in very sexual positions, thrusting out hips and breasts and usually placing their hands on their hips, with their fingers pointing down towards their groin area.

For example, in the cover picture of Holly Valance (June), she looks head on at the reader. She is not smiling but her lips are slightly curved in a knowing look, and her eyes are slightly narrowed. She is acknowledging the reader and enticing/challenging them to come closer and engage in a relationship. This isn't a friendly engagement, but rather a sexual one. The fact that all she is wearing is a tiny black and white bikini, which actually looks as though it has been tied around naked skin with the black ribbons, exposes her body very sexually. She is standing provocatively with breasts thrust forward, legs apart and hips tilted provocatively; this again makes the engagement very sexual. The placement of her left hand on her hip and the other lying low down on her thigh is also sexual. The placement of the hands on all the models generally seem to frame and draw attention to the genital area.

The audience for these magazines is male-centred and eliminates female readers who are not interested in looking at nearly completely naked women in a sexual way. The assumption that is generated through this, as well, is that the readers are heterosexual men only.

5.2.3 Conclusion

This section has provided a textual and visual analysis of the *FHM* covers pages. The textual analysis revealed the specific choices that the producers of *FHM* made when writing the cover lines. These included always placing articles about sex in the most prominent reading position; the large amount of superlatives to describe the actions or

articles within the magazine; the large amount of emotive language used to catch the readers' attention, as well as the imperatives to direct the reader to be a "guy", and the lack of advice given to the reader. The visual analysis considered the placement of the text on the page; the positioning of the model and her function on the cover; the use of different fonts and colours, and the use of framing to include and exclude significant aspects of the covers. Both analyses help to reveal the ideological decisions made by the producers of the text and the magazine as a whole, which tend to show a predominant focus on sex, where women are used for male pleasure and voyeurism. The colours and appearance of the cover maintains the "guy thing", as does the use of language, with the superlatives. The next section looks at the Interpretation and Explanation of the Editor's letters of *FHM*, and it is here that all the ideological assumptions and values of *FHM* will be revealed and discussed.

5.3 *FHM* Editor's Letters April to September 2003: Interpretation and Explanation

This section will begin by firstly describing the Ideal Reader of the texts (cf. 5.3.1), followed by the Indirect Speech Act of the magazine (cf. 5.3.2), the coherence of each month's letter (cf. 5.3.3) and finally a summary of the main ideologies present (cf. 5.3.4). The Explanation will then follow, where the main conclusions will be explored (cf. 5.3.5).

5.3.1 The Ideal Reader of the text

The *FHM* ideal reader is a young man, between the ages of 18 and 34, although the emphasis is on the younger man, who is independent and without commitments. He is definitely heterosexual and enjoys looking at women, and *FHM* caters for this by providing the 100 Sexiest Women in the World (July 2003). He loves cars, gadgets, gizmos and appliances, amongst other "toys" and he has a fairly high income that allows him to enjoy this type of lifestyle. He is educated and is very sociable and active, and enjoys going out with his friends and "always has time for a drink with his mates" (*FHM* psychographic description, see Appendix A.2). He is sporty and likes to keep his body in good condition, but he is not obsessed with gym or diets. He is generally a happy man who is popular, has an active social life, and enjoys women and sex.

5.3.2 Indirect Speech Act

FHM wants to keep encouraging the readers to carry on purchasing the magazine so the letters attempt to make the readers equate their own lifestyles with those of the writer's. The writer is reproducing a particular lifestyle of the readers. All the letters also try and create a bond with the readers by discussing different activities and hobbies that the readers would be interested in, such as racing cars, women, drinking, carnage, lesbianism and/or threesomes and sex, gadgets, appliances, making money and the lifestyle that accompanies wealth. It also provides a specific identity of the type of reader they want to encourage, in particular the "new lad".⁸

5.3.3 Coherence

5.3.3.1 April 2003

The first assumption in this text is that the readers are heterosexual. The first line "I'm sure you're familiar with English glamour model Jordan", immediately assumes an interest on the part of the readers in women and female models and positions the reader where the writer wants them to be. It is almost phrased as a question, since the reader has a choice, at this point to decide whether to read further or not. He could respond negatively and, in turn, realise that maybe he should read another magazine or realise he doesn't meet the standards of a *FHM* reader and should read further. Or the answer is "Yes, of course". If the answer is "yes, of course" then this indicates an interest in attractive, young women and famous models who have sexual appeal, and may be "buxom English girls who can't keep their clothes on" (April 2003). The overwording of breasts and lady (L 1.1:d), the lexical sets of breasts alone (L 1.1:a), and the rewording of women and breasts (L 1.1:c) support this interest, as they form the basis of the letter.

The letter goes on to compare women and their breasts to racing cars and their technological advancement over the years (L 1.1:c, i). Most of the words used to describe both the cars and breasts have high positive expressive value (L 1.1:h) except when the writer considers how modern technology has taken away the uniqueness of both cars and breasts. However, the ideological bias is shown through the terms used to describe women: the same as those used for the cars, "re-fuel injected sisters",

⁸ However, since the term "lad" is more an English term than South African, the use of "guy" in this context can be equated to "lad".

“finely proportioned”, and “gallon of silicone” (L 1.1:e). This links to Mills’ (1995) explanation of the use of metaphors or extended metaphors (as used here) to represent a normal and uncomplicated view of the world (cf. 3.3.6.1). The comparison of Jordan’s breasts to cars reveals a conservative way of reinforcing stereotypical thoughts and knowledge. The description of the women and the way the writer describes Jordan is aimed to place her at the same level of importance as cars, and equate Jordan and other women to racing cars, and men’s toys.

The equating of women to objects leads to a deeper ideology that suggests that women are still possessions to be owned and manipulated by men (L 1.1:i). Even the use of the words “tastiest and owner” in “In our efforts to bring you the tastiest Pit Girls for this year’s annual *FHM F1 Guide*, of which you are now the proud owner...” encourages and subtly suggests that the reader now owns or wants to possess a woman or these women, through having the F1 guide. The word “tastiest” also suggests that women are like food, to be bought and enjoyed, they can be delicious. The use of “enforced” relating to breast size in “...a size limit should be enforced so things don’t get out of hand...” again insinuates that men want to control and need to control or have a degree of control over women, especially when it comes to parts of the body that men like, or what arouses men. However, it is a pun that appears to make it humorous and therefore can be claimed to be inoffensive.

5.3.3.2 May 2003

This letter again also assumes that the readers are heterosexual, although this is only mentioned and alluded to once, at the end of the letter, with “If your tastes don’t run to amputation, feast your eyes on our free *Girls of FHM 2003* supplement, full of the world’s hottest honeys”. However the main gist of the letter is the adventurous nature of men and their desire to break the rules somewhat and risk danger. The writer uses cars and driving to bring out this trait that he feels men have, and the youthful nature of men, especially when they have just turned 18 and have got their driving license and are also allowed to drink alcohol, “Everyone knows that there are few things as untrustworthy as an 18-year old with wheels and few things more lethal than a well-oiled male driver who just got his license” (L 1.1:a and lexical sets). While the writer does admit that it is reckless to drive while under the influence of alcohol, the majority of words relating to driving and alcohol have high positive expressive value

(L 1.1:h), and the story is written with a large amount of humour which suggests that men are allowed to get away with this kind of behaviour, it is expected of them and that it is all about growing up and becoming a man.

It is also assumed through this letter that many men enjoy gruesome pictures and stories about accidents and massive destruction, “For more amusing carnage see ‘Ooh! That’s Gotta Hurt!’” (see classification scheme of peace/carnage L 2.1:a). It implies that violence and aggression are acceptable and “cool”, real men should enjoy bloodshed and pictures or repercussions of those violent actions and many of these words have positive expressive value (L 2.1:h). It is written with a very humorous tone which softens the tone of carnage.

If the reader doesn’t fit the profile of enjoying bloodshed and violence, they can look at pictures of “free Girls of FHM”, which insinuates that men have certain interests and these are cars or toys and women. So, when the ideal reader profile of *FHM* states that men are interested in self-improvement there is no overt link to this in the letters, but rather the acquisition of possessions and fulfilling their own desires is considered self-improvement. The readers are rather portrayed fairly simply with basic needs and desires. This again links to the concept of the “new lad” (cf. 2.6.3.3) versus the “new man” where the focus with the former is on “beer, soccer and shagging women” and tends towards a post-feminist outlook, in comparison to the “new man” who is sensitive, caring and interested in self-improvement.

5.3.3.3 June 2003

This letter takes a different approach to the others in that it is all about women and the writer trying to understand them. However, it is not what would be considered a normal story about women, if the *Cosmopolitan* letters have revealed the typical woman. This letter addresses lesbianism and threesomes, two women and one man, and how men react when faced with this. Although the underlying ideology that arises is that while some women may experiment with other women, it is probably just a period of experimentation and they will revert to heterosexual behaviour and desires. The way in which the writer addresses the phenomenon of “monthly girl-on-girl shagfest[s]” is to make it seem slightly humorous, not serious and therefore desirable to the men, “If this sounds too good to be true to you, it did to me as well”,

“While the idea admittedly has a trouser-stretching appeal...” (see the classification schemes in L 3.1:a). However, he brings up the inherent issue that may suddenly be in peril, that of male sexuality and dominance, particularly in bed, “...it also carries with it certain concerns. If straight girls are turning to their sisters for sex it must mean that we men aren’t satisfying them in the sack. Perhaps we’re not the studs we all imagine ourselves to be and our girlfriends are getting that little extra from their girlfriends on the side...”, also revealed through the use of words with negative expressive value, such as “concerns”, “disturbing”, “panic” and “experimentation”, amongst others (L 3.1:h). This is the first time that there seems to be some sort of conflict for the males, in that they aren’t sure whether they are pleased that some women enjoy participating in sex with other women, or whether they are scared that women might begin to prefer to have sex with other women rather than in addition to men. This is a critical difference to female ways of thinking, and is reflected in the style of the different editor’s letters. Women, as portrayed in *Cosmo*, would be reflecting back on themselves and considering improvements or changes. Men, on the other hand, aren’t wondering what they can do to change themselves to make women want to stay with them, they are only thinking on the level of sex, hoping that it’s only a stage the women are going through and they are not thinking any deeper. The doubt that the men feel is reflected in the low expressive modality found in the letter, which is combined with negation and this shows a lack of belief in their “stud status”. For example, “perhaps we’re not the studs we all imagine ourselves to be” and “it must mean that we men aren’t satisfying them in the sack” (L 3.2: h).

This is the first letter so far in which the writer is attempting to create some connection with the readers and he uses the pronoun “we” more often to create that link (L 3.2:e). This letter is also the first one to be overtly contrastive between men and women, however the interesting aspect is that the focus is on sex (L 3.1:e). The writer also seems to be shocked to some extent that women are also as interested in sex as men are, in particular in adventurous, and what would be considered experimental, sex: “threesomes”, “lesbian sex romps” and “girl-on-girl shagfest[s]”.

All the letters use mostly declarative sentences, rather than interrogatives or imperatives, which means that the letters generally seem to be statements of fact (L 3.2:d). The writer generally does not ask questions, unless it is to illustrate a point,

such as asking Julie what she does on her “girls’ night in”: “Watching *Sex and the City* while drinking Chardonnay? Discussing home décor tips and swopping recipes? Sitting around talking about vibrators?” (June 2003). Here he is surprised that his female friend does not conform to the typical stereotypes that exist about women and their girls’ nights out.

5.3.3.4 July 2003

Individuality is the overall theme of this letter and it is seen as a very positive feature of humans, in particular how different men are and the types of women they find attractive: “It’s a strange and wondrous thing what individual men find sexy”. This is seen through the use of “sexy” as an ideologically contested word (L 4.1:b) and the many different words used to describe women that have positive expressive value (L 4.1:h), for example “jaw-droppingly sexy”, “large babes”, “big chests”, amongst others. However, while the letter accepts certain types of women as being attractive, such as “large babes with big chests and voluptuous lips, while the waif-like Kate Moss look gets others all hot and bothered. For a mate of mine it’s pretty much any girl who doesn’t tell him to piss off within three seconds of meeting him, and one of our staff admits Kathy Bates does it for him!” there is still a certain amount of uniformity that exists. The lexical set of sexiness reveals this uniformity to an extent, as the words all fall into a particular type of women, such as “luscious, voluptuous, lips” (L 4.1:a) amongst others.

While the writer accepts that some men have tastes that go against the general norm, such as the actress Kathy Bates, the men have to generally conform to what is seen as the norm, and any deviations are considered unnatural, for example bestiality is unacceptable. Other examples include, “we had to weed out some strange votes from the tens of thousands that came in. We had a few girls who clearly spent weeks voting for themselves as none of us had ever heard of them – nor had the Internet. There were votes by some sicko for “gran”, a few for a dog named Hagrid and several for Barry Ronge”. The negative expressive value associated with the type of people who do this reiterates this fact, such as “sicko”, “strange”, “weird” and “psychosis” (L 4.1:h). The women who voted for themselves are considered as “sad” or unnatural, as are any people who would find older women attractive, which could be interpreted as an example of ageism. Additionally, the readers have to be heterosexual, as Barry

Ronge is male and gay, and homosexuality is not approved of unless it is between women and not exclusive, as seen in June's letter. If the reader falls into any of these categories, they are not the ideal *FHM* man. The same sexual constraints are evident for women in *Cosmo*.

While the way in which this is written is humorous, the underlying ideology here is that deviation from the norm is not really acceptable, one can be an individual, but not too individual. This reveals a conflicting discourse in this letter, that a person can be individual and be unique, however they must conform at the same time. This is strongly evident in the fairly high expressive modality that exists in the letter (L 4.2:h). For example, "It's a beautiful thing", "it's large babes with big chests", "it's pretty much any girl" and ""the fact is that we all have tastes as individual as our DNA" all seem to suggest that people can have different tastes, however the writer is also asserting the typical *FHM* woman, and it is not "gran, Hagrid the dog or Barry Ronge".

5.3.3.5 August 2003

The emphasis on what it means to be a man is strong in this letter. The writer relates a story about his own life, where he "roughed it", "Back in the day I was pretty much happy as long as I had a toothbrush, a roll of dirty clothes to lay my head on and enough cash for a sixpack". He then goes on to examine what it means to be a man and that while men can "rough it" for a while, "it is our manly destiny, and indeed our right, to spend ridiculous amounts of money on sexy little appliances, gadgets and gizmos made by Japanese people". The writer uses a large amount of humour in this letter and is very "tongue-in-cheek". He seems to use humour as a way of mocking what men are like, however there is also no desire to change who men are. There seems to be a tone to these letters that suggests that the writer is aware of sexism and the need for change, so he is writing in a manner that attempts to mock men and their ways, however what seems to come through the letters is that there is actually no need for change and "boys will be boys". This links to Mills (1995) comments about humour and how it manages to maintain sexist relations (cf. 3.3.6.1), as well as to the "new lad" concept (2.6.3.3).

The idea of “all the trappings” (*FHM* psychographic description 2003) comes across through this letter as being something that all men are supposed to want and will give up human contact for, in order to “play” with their gadgets. This idea is proved in contrast to what women are like and again, men and women are seen as opposites (L 5.1:e), “The truth is, and girls just don’t get this, most men would rather spend their quality time with some sort of home appliance than with people. Girls seem to prefer actual human contact and the occasional conversation”. However, while they are seen as opposites, women are seen, indirectly, as lesser than men as to be called “like a girl” is considered derogatory: “But if, like a girl, you’d prefer humans, the delectable Megan McKenzie will keep you company on page 100.” The negative expressive value of “girl” and “humans” also supports this (L 5.1:h), and links to the classification scheme of personal contact versus isolation (L 5.1:a).

The concept of a “man Cave” (with positive expressive value L 5.1:h) is also another subtle ideology that suggests that the ideal man in this text needs his own space and the suggestion of moving in with a woman is not appropriate for the reader. It also suggests a hierarchical nature of the relationship between men and women, where men are more important than women, and while men want to live alone in their “caves” designed as they want, with all the gadgets and gizmos they need and hours to play on their own (positive expressive value L 5.1:h), they can use the magazine with inserts of beautiful women to keep them company if they need it. They do not need the real thing, but rather the magazine insert will probably be easier to manage than a real woman. This also links to the classification scheme of work and laziness (L 5.1a) where the readers want life to be as easy as possible. This also links to the Free! section (cf. 5.2.2.2 a) that is on every cover of *FHM*, as receiving things for free is easier than having to work for them.

Most of this letter is also written with high expressive modality (L 5.2:h), the writer is taking a stance as an authority on the matter, due to his own experiences, and aims to influence the reader in such a way that they will follow his suggestions. However, the constant humour in the letter contradicts the actual reasoning behind the letter to an extent, but still manages to maintain the power behind being a man and the relations between men and women.

5.3.3.6 *September 2003*

The focus of this letter is on money and being wealthy (L 6.1:a). The writer of the letter seems to enjoy not having succeeded in making as much money as his friend, despite the fact that he would like to have made some money to fulfil his dream, “My dream, conceived early one morning in the Eighties, is one day to have the cash to get the newspaper delivered to my house!” The concept of money and wealth is alluded to in the other letters, however it is subtle but seen as a positive desire (L 6.1:h), in line with the Capitalist society in which the writer and the audience of the letter live. In this letter the importance of wealth is obvious and seen as something that most people desire and strive to have. However, there is a conflict in the letter between people who are determined to make money (Roger) and people who are content to work to make enough to live on without sacrificing to make that money (the writer) (classification scheme of working/laziness L6.1:a). He seems to suggest that there are two different types of people that exist in this world, those that are good at making money and those that aren't. This alludes to an acceptance of a “normal” middle-class, where one doesn't need to be extremely rich to have status, and therefore allows a male to be more irresponsible than before. This is also seen by the words that are given negative expressive value, such as “up before daybreak”, “physical labour”, “getting up early” and “loathe”, amongst others (L 6.1:h). Throughout many of these letters, there is a fun, irresponsible and almost sloth-like existence encouraged in men, such as not working too hard to make money anymore (September 2003); spending time drinking (May, August 2003), and playing with toys and gadgets (August 2003), and living in hovels (August 2003).

However, what comes through more and more in the letters is that the writer accepts that people are who they are, especially men. He makes it humorous but doesn't seem to feel that there is a need for improvement or change in males, that they are acceptable as they are. The two different types of men that he contrasted in the letter, himself and Roger, are both accepted as they are despite their differing relationships with money, they seem to be born that way as these differences have been there since they were young. While he sounds interested and slightly jealous of Roger's wealth (positive expressive value of Roger's acquisitions L 6.1:h), he prefers his existence and does not seem to aim too high to acquire more than he has. However, he still

succumbs to the demands of a capitalist society and encourages his readers to do the same (August's letter of acquiring gadgets), and in this way money is a valuable and necessary thing, and is also noted through the overwording of cash (four times) and money (seven times).

The other subtle ideology present in the text, and this is only alluded to once, is that when one is wealthy, one owns everything - women included, "I don't recall what his next scheme was, but suffice to say that today Roger owns several houses, a boat and has a series of very attractive girlfriends". It supports the adage that "everything[one] has a price" which includes women.

5.3.4 Summary of ideologies

- Men are heterosexual.
- Women are objects to be owned.
- Men are adventurous and enjoy taking risks and facing danger.
- Men like cars, toys, gadgets and gizmos.
- Men are protective of their sexuality.
- Men want women to need them and feel threatened by those who do not.
- Men like to be independent.
- Wealth makes men feel independent and in control.
- It is acceptable to be lazy and irresponsible.
- Sex, sloth and alcohol are the basis of a male personality.
- Men do not need to change – the most significant and important of the ideologies.

Of significance in this list of ideologies is the lower amount of conflict that exists between the ideologies, as compared to *Cosmo*. Most of the ideologies are straightforward and there is no tension between what men are and what they should be, rather the ideologies reveal an almost congenital type of man, with no desire to change. This is in significant contrast to *Cosmo* where the conflict is evident and forms a major focus of the letters, with women desiring to change who they are in order to be acceptable to men. This comparison will be discussed further in the comparative chapter (cf. 6).

5.3.5 Explanation

These Editor's letters have revealed an interesting phenomenon in what it means to be a man. The letters seem to have a complacent quality to them in which there is no desire to change or "improve" themselves as there is in *Cosmopolitan*, but rather the writer writes about stories that have happened to him, or opinions he has on certain activities, for example Formula One, and how this relates to the magazine of that month. The male identity is easier to define as there is no tension or as much conflict as there is in the *Cosmo* letters. The ideology is secure and uncontested. So, what the writer does comment on does not seem to question any ideas of men's position within this Western society, in which *FHM* falls, but rather states how it is. This links back to the "new man" to "new lad" transition, discussed in 2.6.3.3, where the sensitive, feminist egalitarian "man" has given way to a "lad" who is hedonistic, anti-feminist and, as Gill (2003:37) states, "[has a] knowing and ironic relationship to the world of serious adult concerns".

The writer doesn't seem to question where he comes from, his thoughts or the society in which he lives, rather he states what men are like generally and succumbs completely to the ideological bias in which he was brought up. As was discussed in 2.2 about the inherent ideologies of a society, Marcuse (2002) states that the ideology of a society has now been absorbed within the producer, so even though they may feel they are differing from the reality of society's ideology, whether they realise it or not, they produce it within the texts anyway. Marcuse believes that the absorption of the ideologies of the society in which the writer lives has become so rooted within the mind of the individual, that any attempt at disassociation is futile and "the intellectual and emotional refusal 'to go along' appears neurotic and impotent" (2002: 12). While the individual may have "introjected"⁹ the outer ideologies of the society in which they live, they may still reject these ideologies and maintain an individual conscience that remains aloof from the public view (Marcuse 2002:12). However, according to Marcuse (2002), the problem has now become greater in that with the proliferation of mass media and technologies, the individual does not even introject but goes on to identify completely and immediately and comply with the society in which they live and the greater society. The letters of *FHM* tend to assume that the readers will

⁹ "Introjection suggests a variety of relatively spontaneous processes by which a Self (Ego) transposes the 'outer' into the 'inner' (Marcuse 2002:12).

identify with what is written, and not question it, as the humour with which it is written and the naturalised way in which men are portrayed are subtle in maintaining this “new lad” identity.

There is a loss of individualism where people begin to submit to life and to the repression of the individual as a whole (Marcuse 2002). The irony here is that in one of the editor’s letters (July 2003), the writer goes on to celebrate the joy of individualism and choice, however in actual fact the readers are all made to desire the ideal ‘woman’ that is advertised in the 100 Sexiest Women in the World. The women that are good enough to be part of the publication usually have a particular look, one that is generally considered desirable, and that all women attempt to look like (cf. *Cosmo* 4.2 for more clarity on this issue). Marcuse states how effective the system is in lessening the individual’s recognition of this situation, “if the individuals find themselves in the things which shape their life, they do so, not by giving, but by accepting the law of things – not the law of physics but the law of their society” (2002:13). What this ultimately links to is that the individual’s true consciousness becomes their “false consciousness”, a term coined by Marx and used prolifically through any text dealing with ideology (cf. 2.2). What they believe to be true is actually false, and they absorb the ideologies of the society in which they live, and as Marcuse alluded to earlier and states now, “this absorption of ideology into reality does not, however, signify the ‘end of ideology’. On the contrary, in a specific sense advanced industrial culture is *more* ideological than its predecessor, inasmuch as today the ideology is in the process of production itself” (2002:13).

So, as the society creates products that “sell” various lifestyles to the consumers, it is indirectly imposing the system on to the consumer. The desired products, entertainment, food and relationships amongst others,

“carry with them prescribed attitudes and habits, certain intellectual and emotional reactions which bind the consumers more or less pleasantly to the producers and, through the latter, to the whole. The products indoctrinate and manipulate; they promote a false consciousness which is immune against its falsehood...it becomes a way of life...[and] thus emerges a pattern of *one-dimensional thought and behaviour* in which ideas, aspirations, and objectives that, by their content transcend the established universe of discourse and action, are either repelled or reduced to terms of this universe”.

(Marcuse 2002:14)

These letters in *FHM* promote this false consciousness that is immune to any change and does not seem false. Women are seen as opposites to men (July, August) and objects to be possessed and owned (April, June, July and September). There is no attempt to change this way of thinking, in fact I think that the writer does not even realise the implications of his statements and allusions. However, to link back to the “new man” and “new lad”, the “new lad” is seen as a movement in reaction away from the “new man”, and so the ideologies behind each type of “male” has shifted from caring and feminist to hedonistic and anti-feminist, therefore their relationship with and towards women will move from being respectful to one of disrespect and objectification. In each letter which has reference to women, they are mentioned in relation to objects to be possessed or looked at. There is no desire to please women, even in the lesbian letter (June 2003) or how men could relate more closely to women, rather it is the reverse and men should celebrate their independence (April, July, August and September 2003).

The way men are portrayed through these letters comes across as being intransigent and acceptable. Society does not want to change who and what men are, nor do they need to and men rest on this fact. Men are also portrayed, I feel, as rather one-dimensional. The writer does not seem to reflect a picture of men that is particularly deep or complex, rather they are simple creatures who enjoy women, cars or sports, alcohol, like to have lots of gadgets around them and like to live dangerously when they can. Any behaviour that may be seen as disreputable or “bad” is addressed humorously and is forgiven as being part of boys growing up or a mistake that was made. For example, the drunken driving story, in May, is told humorously, no severe consequences were dealt out and the writer got away with being young and “having gods who protect the young and reckless” (May 2003).

It is suitable at this point to discuss the use of humour in these letters. All the letters use humour to a large extent, and it is used in an extremely successful way in that it protects the writer from offending anyone and it also tones down the ideologies. As Mills (1997) states, jokes and humour are often used in order to affirm the sexist ideology within the text and society, as it rarely allows for a challenge to be made. If a challenge is made, and the joke is not seen as humorous, the teller can rebuff the

challenge as a failed sense of humour, rather than a clash of ideologies. Therefore, since all the letters are written in a “tongue-in-cheek” fashion, the writer can distance himself from them and soften the ideologies so that they are not so blatant. It also gives the writer a chance to laugh at the lifestyle portrayed in the letters, while describing the fantasy world that men would like to live in.

Compared to *Cosmo*, the *FHM* readers’ lifestyle is natural, it seems uncomplicated, although there are conflicting ideologies present, such as conformist versus individuality. They are, however, not dealt with openly whereas *Cosmo* addresses the issues overtly. There is also a high level of superiority, which links to markedness. Men are better and “normal”, there is no need to change, no need to improve and question their shortcomings, their ideologies are unmarked, simply accepted as such. In many ways, this makes the ideologies in these texts more difficult to explain. However, the lifestyle portrayed here continues to perpetuate inequalities between the genders, as it addresses women as objects to be owned and admired and submits completely to the anti-feminist “new lad” ideology; it promotes patriarchy; maintains the status quo of the Capitalist society that encourages spending large amounts of money on gadgets and gizmos, and naturalises their lifestyle as something that is their “manly destiny” (August 2003).

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the findings and discussion of the analyses of both the cover pages and Editor’s letter of *FHM*. The cover page analysis revealed, again, the predominant focus on sex, especially with the lack of cover lines and the focus on a seductively-posed and -dressed model. The high number of imperatives and lack of interrogatives reveals the male use of language that reinforces the “guy thing”, where they have no problems and need not change or improve the people they are. The Editor’s letters supported these findings by revealing the ideologies present in the magazine. Ideologies such as the lack of a need for change, the focus on sex, sloth and alcohol as the tenets of men, and the use of women, as objects, to satisfy their sexual needs, all support the dominance of men in society and reinforce patriarchal thought. The “new guy” is only concerned with sport, drinking and “shagging women” (Gill 2003:37).

The next chapter will contrast and compare the *Cosmo* and *FHM* ideologies present in the texts analysed and come to a conclusion of the state of femininity and masculinity at present.

CHAPTER SIX: *COSMOPOLITAN VS FHM*

6.1 Introduction

This chapter compares and contrasts *Cosmopolitan* magazine to *FHM* magazine in terms of the cover pages and the Editor's letters. Firstly, the cover page comparisons will be provided (cf. 6.2), followed by the Editor's letters, in which the main ideologies will be discussed and revealed, especially in terms of any progress made for gender relations (cf. 6.3).

6.2 Cover Pages

6.2.1 Textual Analysis

6.2.1.1 Title and Slogan

The titles of both magazines are quite different, in that *Cosmo* is a compound noun, acting as an adjective to describe the readers, and has a definition that automatically explains the type of reader they want to attract, while *FHM* is an acronym which needs to be deciphered in order to make sense of it. Both titles, however, automatically place their readers in a position of choice; they can either carry on reading and "become" or carry on being the people the magazines perpetuate, or they can leave it, i.e. the magazines provide an identity.

The slogans are more telling of the kind of information that each magazine sells and who they want to attract. *Cosmo's* changes every two to three months and they try to focus on different desires of what women want. For example, they moved from "There's more to it than sex!" to "Make your world Cosmopolitan!" to "Proudly Cosmo Girl!". Initially, they wanted to change the stereotype that *Cosmo* is just about sex and encourage readers to buy the magazine for other reasons. They then wanted to sell the magazine as a lifestyle choice, the kind of life that is in the magazine is attainable, you just need to buy the magazine. Lastly, they are empowering the reader by encouraging them to buy the magazine. If the woman buys the magazine, she can be a confident woman but she must also not be ashamed that she reads *Cosmo* (echoes of Proudly South African!) This constant change of slogan could also be seen as indicative of a willingness to consider new identities and look at the possibility of change for women/the reader.

FHM's slogan, on the other hand, remains unchanging – “It’s a guy thing!”. The slogan clearly states what type of reader they want, ideally a typical “guy”. He should be into sex and cars and sports, amongst other things (cf. Appendix A.2). The information on the cover page defines the type of reader they want, and so if you are not a typical heterosexual male, who likes to play pranks and get drunk, do not buy *FHM*. *FHM* does not seem to want to appeal to any man, but by being blatantly unconcerned with who does read the magazine, it indirectly appeals to many men who aspire to be a “guy”, men who probably are quite far away from the ideal advertised on the cover. This conflict is significant since the ethos of the magazine is uncaring, despite the many aspirant “non-guys” who may read the magazine. So, while self-improvement does not form part of the ethos of the magazine, it nonetheless models a way of being male that many would aspire to be: a lazy, drunk and chauvinistic “lad”.

Both magazines are trying to draw readers in, however the different approaches used are revealing. *Cosmo* is apparently more ‘caring’ in that they try and include everyone by making them believe they can be what the magazine is. *FHM* is harsher, the slogan is not as long, it is always the same as well as being blunt and to the point. Both magazines use “younger” words to refer to men and women, i.e. “guy” and “girl” respectively. Both these words probably appeal to the younger spectrum of readers and perhaps make older readers feel young again. The connotations, however, of the two words differ and have an ageist quality to them. The term “girl” is generally considered to have negative connotations, among academics and educated people, when referring to women, as they are seen as young, innocent or naïve, immature and dependent. The word “guy” on the other hand, makes a man sound “cool” and “hip”, usually quite sexy and worldly in comparison to the innocent “girl”.

6.2.1.2 Top-Left Hand cover lines

Both magazines have the same number of cover lines that refer to sex articles, with only one on each that does not relate directly to the topic of sex. These two unique ones both have links to sex, in that *Cosmo's* is about relationships and getting married (June), while *FHM's* is about Jennifer Love Hewitt, an actress, in a “sizzling shoot”, which explicitly conjures up “sizzling HOT” sexual images (July). She is also not an actress that is renowned for her ability but rather her sexiness.

There are however, some very similar cover lines in this position, for example *Cosmo's* (August) is:

"Smart
Sporty
Girl-next-door
Vamp (bordering on tramp)...
Which type do men honestly prefer?"

While *FHM's* (August) is very similar:

"Supermodels! Lapdancers! Your best mate's babe!
With <i>FHM's</i> handy seduction guide any girl can be yours!"

Of interest with these months' cover lines is that the different types of "girls" described come from a male perspective and both are described in terms of a male's preference.

6.2.1.3 Noun-modification

Both magazines use a high amount of pre-modification: *Cosmo's* 94.5% and *FHM's* 100%. However, *Cosmo* often places more modifiers in front of the noun than *FHM* does, up to five modifiers compared to *FHM's* three. Both magazines also use very positive and "extreme" modifiers, for example "worst", "best", "wildest", "huge", and "best-dressed", which seems to imply that they offer the best advice and articles compared to other magazines.

6.2.1.4 Minor/major sentences

Both magazines tend to use a high number of major sentences, which is untypical of magazine cover pages as they should use more minor sentences. However the magazines do use minor sentences at times to reflect a timelessness.

6.2.1.5 Sentence functions

Sentence functions signal different tones within a magazine. The four functions which can be used, Declarative, Imperative, Interrogative, and Exclamative, all have different purposes and portray different tones. Both *Cosmo* and *FHM* use the Declarative function predominantly, as they both use fairly assertive statements in

order to catch the attention of the readers. Interestingly though is that they differ in terms of their next highest function. *Cosmo* uses Interrogatives as their second function (14.4%), in contrast to *FHM*'s 0.8%. This relates to the tone the magazine uses, one that is caring and advisory and it also signals an attitude that allows for the questioning of the world generally. The interrogatives are used often for the "Problems and Solutions", for example "Is debt making you desperate? Turn to page 134 for help and hope" (May). *FHM* uses a higher amount of Exclamatives (20.3%) and Imperatives (18.3%) than *Cosmo*. Their tone is more straight-forward and to-the-point, with high emotion, for example "It's the massive FHM bike special!" (July), where the use of the definite article 'the' presupposes that it is the biggest bike special in that year. The high proportion of Imperatives is also revealing as they tend to order the readers to do certain actions and behave in particular ways, for example "Seduce any woman! Score one-night stands!" (May). As mentioned before, *FHM* seems to take a carefree attitude in attracting readers, they make the topics sound appealing but they use a different persuasive technique to *Cosmo*'s more 'caring' and modifying approach.

6.2.1.6 Problems and Solutions

FHM's lack of the use of Interrogatives is in extreme contrast to *Cosmo*'s fairly high use, and this relates particularly to the Problem and Solution format that is popular on the *Cosmo* covers. *Cosmo* takes a 'caring' attitude and appeals to a woman's insecurities, making her believe that there may be ways she can improve or better aspects of her life. The use of these problems also implies an acceptance that women have these problems in the first place. The lack of this format on *FHM* may indicate that men do not look for ways to improve issues they have but that the articles themselves will indirectly focus upon problems that may exist. This may link to what has been revealed in the Editor's letters, that the male readers tend to be complacent and accepting of themselves as they are; the "guys" are not confused since it is obvious what it means to be a man, in comparison to women, who are constantly trying to find ways to improve and change problematic areas of their lives, and are not clear on what it means to be a woman.

6.2.2 Visual Analysis

6.2.2.1 Information Value

a. Given and New

Both magazines seem to employ the Given and New functions, in that the right hand side always contains those newer items, for example the “Plus!” section in *FHM* and those which are questioning and play the role of “Problems and Solutions” in *Cosmo*. These cover lines need answering and explanations, while the ones on the left are standard, as given. The articles and cover lines on the left are those feature articles which are always there; they are the regulars which just change topic, i.e. it is assumed that the readers have sex so they will produce an article for the month that the reader needs to address. For example, “Bondage for beginners” (*FHM* June) and “Flick your on switch for electric sex!” (*Cosmo* May). What is ideologically significant here is that most of the Given topics relate to sex articles, which shapes the focus of the two magazines towards the importance and assumed nature of sex in the readers’ lives.

b. Ideal and Real

Both magazines use this function in the same way, both have the title at the top (as the Ideal), with the cover lines below (Real). Then within each cover line the first line is generally the Ideal, while the next lines form the real. The different ones are the articles that are unique each month, for example the models on *FHM* and the specials in *Cosmo* (e.g. lingerie (September), jeans (May)). These cover lines usually have a smaller cover line above the main words, for example “Special Section (small font and above) JEANS GENIUS (larger font) 100 Extra Fashion pages (small font again). This seems to have the format of Real-Ideal-Real. From this, it seems that Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) framework does not necessarily always work or fit the magazine covers. What is salient on the covers is the size and colour of the cover lines, and those which are salient receive the brighter colours and the larger font size. This is also ideologically significant in that what the most important words are, which the producer of the text wants readers to focus on, are in the larger font sizes and the brightest colours, regardless of where they are positioned.

c. Centre and Margin

Both magazines use the horizontal triptych, where the models/celebrities play the role of Mediator and the cover lines form the Given and New around them. Since these are both polarised they are supposed to be more salient than the model. As was mentioned before, on *FHM* the models never have cover lines over their breasts or their faces. This shows which parts of the models' bodies are considered salient, and in turn ideologically significant, as well as being in line with the large focus on sex. While the cover lines are salient in revealing the articles within the magazines, on the *FHM* covers there are fewer cover lines than on *Cosmo's* and in this regard I feel that a large amount of focus is placed on the model. She draws the male readers in by being sexually alluring, and as Grow (2002) states the fewer cover lines on a magazine, the more arrogant the magazine, as the producers do not feel it necessary to work to draw readers in, but rather the name alone will work, as well as the picture on the front. This is ideologically significant as it reinforces the notion that *FHM* have a 'take it or leave it' approach and only want to attract "guys".

6.2.2.2 *Salience*

The general salience of the two magazines is very similar. Both use large fonts for the headings and a cover line lower down and to the left. The other fonts are generally smaller. Everything is focused upon clearly as this is necessary for potential readers to buy the magazine and see it from a distance. The use of tonal contrast appears and is effective in making some cover lines stand out and the heading of *FHM* more prominent. Where cover lines are placed is also used similarly as this seems to be a standard layout process, with the headings in the top-left being the most salient and then those to the left lower down becoming less salient but more so than those on the right.

The colour choices made are interesting in that *Cosmo* uses a variety of colours and various differing shades within those colours, for example sky blue, navy blue and a grey-blue. The backgrounds are also always bright, solid colours. The cover pages are very bright and bold and colourful. *FHM*, on the other hand, uses fewer colours and tends to stay with primary colours, in particular black, white, red and blue. The backgrounds, however, are different to *Cosmo's* in that they are sometimes patterned or use a real background and makes them less neutral.. Khouw's (2005) research into

differences between the genders in terms of colour, revealed that both genders are affected strongly by the combination of the colours and how they are used, rather than by preferences for one colour over the other. Research by Greene (1995) revealed that women had a larger spectrum of colours that they could identify, whereas men stayed with the primary base colours. This is supported in many ways by this research since the *FHM* covers do not use many tonal colours, varying in shades, but prefer the primary colours. *Cosmo* uses a variety of different shades and colours to appeal to the female market.

The perspective is identical with the models' heads overlapping the title but the cover lines crossing the bodies lower down, while revealing the important parts (e.g. breasts) on *FHM*. Culturally, both *FHM* and *Cosmo* are aimed at young, Western, middle-class people and the models on the covers appeal to that audience, as does the language and colours used. Both magazines manage to maintain a specific construction of gendered identities through these varying techniques. If the salience of the magazine covers are taken as a whole, the differing approaches on the magazine covers still manage to promote and enforce the ideologies present within the magazines. From the list of ideologies provided in 4.3.4 and 5.3.4 and the identities each magazine is aiming to construct, it is possible to define the type of man and woman the magazines are constructing. *FHM* has a sexy, female model on the cover; the colours are bright and bold; the top-left hand cover line always relates to sex, while the other topics are about toys, carnage and drunkenness. This creates a man who is highly sexual, objectifies women by making them objects of their desire, and by the use of colour maintains a 'typical' male "lad" identity.

Cosmo also has a female model on the cover, however not as 'skimpily' dressed as the *FHM* cover models. The colours used are more female-orientated, with more saturated colours and a larger variety, such as pinks, oranges, yellows, greens and blues. However, the focus on sex is just as important as *FHM*'s, with the top-left hand cover lines focussing on this and the models also looking and dressing sexily. The identity this is creating is a woman who should be typically feminine, however be sexually liberated and comfortable within herself.

6.2.2.3 Framing

Again, both magazines are very similar in that there is generally an absence of framing, creating an inclusive cover from the cover lines to the models. Each cover line however is exclusive in that it is written in a different colour, making it stand apart from the other topics. There are also smaller, more insignificant, sections that are separated from the cover page by circling, or cutting off and placing in a different colour background. These tend to be things that do not relate to the articles on the cover, for example the competitions in *Cosmo* and the free guides or surveys that will take place in *FHM*.

6.2.2.4 Linear and Non-linear compositions

The manner in which a reader will follow the cover page of a magazine is unique to each person, however due to bolding and colour usage, amongst other devices, people will tend to read covers in a non-linear fashion. They will move from the most salient onwards. This usually begins in the top-left hand corner anyway, however where they look next relates to size of font, colour, and bolding. They would however, seem to move generally in a top-left to bottom-left fashion as this is where the covers place their more salient articles. For example, on *Cosmo* (August) the reader would begin with the heading COSMOPOLITAN and then move down towards “Babe-licious” on the lower left hand-side. Then perhaps move to the right to “Free”. These are in different colours and in a larger font size, than the other cover lines. However while moving down to Babe-licious they would subconsciously take in the top-left hand article “Smart, Sporty, Girl-next-door, Vamp...”.

Between the two magazines the major areas of focus tend to be: the heading, top-left cover line, and then middle-cover line in a slightly smaller size font than the heading. By focussing on these areas of the magazines it is possible to identify the type of *Cosmo* and *FHM* worlds they are trying to create. The *Cosmo* focus tends to be on sex, confidence, weight and dieting, and clothing and fashion, while *FHM* is concerned with sex, and the article on the cover page model of the issue. This reveals what is important to both magazines and there seems to be an inordinate amount of interest in sex (particularly in *FHM*, since the cover model’s articles focus on them as sexual objects) and then other more self-help orientated articles in *Cosmo*. This again

confirms and links back to the difference between the insecure woman and the hedonistic “lad”/“guy”.

6.2.2.5 “Image Act and the Gaze”

Both magazines are very different here in that they are firstly and primarily appealing to a different audience, *FHM* to young males and *Cosmo* to young females. This is evident in how the model on the cover is posed and portrayed. *Cosmo*'s females, while being sexy and comfortable in their bodies, are friendlier. They do not want to initiate a sexual relationship with the reader or entice and seduce them rather they want to make a connection woman-to-woman. *FHM* on the other hand is all about sex. The models come across as sexually desirable, they pose provocatively, they pout and they wear incredibly sexual and revealing outfits, enticing and appealing to young, sexual males. Although on both magazines the women are stereotypically beautiful. They represent what succeeds in the world, which seems to be women who are sexually desirable to men and who use men as a bench-mark for their place in the world. This is generally accepted as being something for “normal” women to aspire to.

Both magazines eliminate readers they do not want through the use of the model on the cover as well as the language, the slogans, and the articles they talk about.

6.2.3 Conclusion

This section has compared and contrasted the textual and visual aspects of the cover pages of both *Cosmo* and *FHM* respectively. Through this comparison of the two magazines, it has been revealed that there are very clear differences between the two magazines, in particular how the reader is positioned through the use of language to conform to notions of male and female identity. The major ideologies, which link to those mentioned in 4.3.4 and 5.3.4, are that: *Cosmo* appeals to women's insecurities, their need to improve themselves and make themselves desirable to men. *FHM*, on the other hand, appeals to men's sense of adventure, their interest in gadgets, cars and toys and their lust for good-looking women and sex. Both reflect culturally dominant ideologies about the differences between men and women and position the reader into a situation where the magazine will fulfil their needs and encourage them to do whatever they can to satisfy themselves.

The next section will reveal even more about the positioning of men and women through the analyses of the Editor's letters of both *Cosmo* and *FHM*. The section will provide a comparative section to the Interpretations and Explanations discussed in detail in 4.3 and 5.3, and will suggest an understanding of how these two magazines are continuing to reflect and promote dominant ideologies of feminine and masculine identities.

6.3 Editor's Letters

6.3.1 Introduction

This section compares the Editor's letters of *Cosmo* and *FHM*, looking at any major differences and similarities between the two, and finally considering the main point of this thesis, which is to determine how these magazines position men and women in South African society.

Cosmo's main ideology is for women to achieve "balance", for the readers to live as balanced a life as possible, incorporating all the important elements in their lives, such as sex, relationships, health, improving oneself and being as independent as possible. These elements all have their own underlying ideologies which help to position the reader. *FHM's* overarching ideology is that the readers are "fine" as they are and subscribes to the "new lad/guy" ideology. From here other ideologies are generated, in particular those of "sex, sloth and alcohol". In order to compare the two magazines, each ideological standpoint concerning the various elements of the male and female identities will be compared and discussed.

6.3.2 Sex and sexuality

In Machin and Thornborrow's (2003:462) research into the Cosmopolitan brand, they revealed a constructed version of female sexuality that while "suggest[ing] empowerment and emancipation" rather constructs a version of female sexuality that is suitable to the Cosmopolitan brand and the greater assumptions of society. Women are supposed to be liberal and independent sexually, but the letters promote a prudishness, and as Machin and Thornborrow suggest, a naïvety towards sex. This also creates a distance from real sex between real people. The letters suggest that

being sexually independent is acceptable to a certain stage, a woman can kiss and date many men but she must not be promiscuous; she can be adventurous in going for Brazilian waxes, but not in any actual sexual acts, except in heterosexual relationships. It is also suggested that these waxes are done in part for their partner's pleasure. Women should not enjoy pornography, that is a male-domain and it is not seen as particularly acceptable either. So while women are told to be in control and self-pleasing, they also appear as slightly naïve and desirous of pleasing the man.

In comparison, *FHM's* perspective on sex is excessive. It is all-pervasive, in every letter there is some allusion to sex and women's bodies and what pleases men. What is represented through the letters is a self-satisfying version of sex, women are there to be enjoyed and this should be taken full advantage of, without necessarily having to get into a relationship. Women are compared to cars and their breasts are discussed very openly and humorously; posters, supplements to the magazine and calendars are provided with many of the issues, as well as articles dedicated to the model or woman of the month that are there for men to ogle and lust after, if the other articles don't interest them. However, with the use of humour throughout all the letters, this presents a position that I feel is protecting the writer from any offence he may cause, and gives him the ability to step back from the ideologies and take no responsibility for the views presented. Out of all the letters, there is only one that suggests a vulnerability for men and their sexuality, and that is in June's issues, discussing the "girl-on-girl shagfest". The writer describes conflicting emotions, as on the one hand this event has "trouser-stretching appeal", but it also impacts heavily on the evaluation of male sexual prowess. Unfortunately, they "capitalise" on this, and turn it around so that they get pleasure from this trend and do not consider self-improvement or changes within themselves necessary.

This emphasis on change, or lack thereof, is a highly important element of the letters and magazines as a whole. *Cosmo* focuses largely on self-improvement, mentally, physically, emotionally and sexually, while *FHM* seem to accept things as they are and will find the positive aspects or humorous aspects to deal with any issues that arise.

6.3.3 Link between writer and reader

I feel that this is an important comparison to look at between the two magazines, as it reflects the differences between the genders. *Cosmo* tends to take a “friendship” approach to writing the letters. The Editor wants to create a bond between the readers and herself and make the reader feel comfortable and understood. She uses a high proportion of the pronoun “you” and the inclusive “we” (cf. Appendices G). As Talbot (2003:184) states a defining feature of modern magazines is the “addresser-addressee relationship”. The writer needs to imagine the reader and so creates a friendly interaction between herself and the reader. As was mentioned in 2.3, Fairclough (1989:62, and Talbot 2003) calls this “synthetic personalisation” which leads the reader to believe they are being treated individually, while the writer is actually addressing a large group. Talbot identifies three facets to this synthesis: “an impression of two-way interaction, an informal style that is closely linked to positive politeness and the establishment of common ground” (2003:185). Different magazines have different styles and this is what is interesting in *Cosmo* and *FHM*. Both *Cosmo* and *FHM* use the direct address to “you” quite often, but the inclusive “we” is used predominantly in *Cosmo*. It creates a closer bond with the readers and implies common ground between them. *FHM*, on the other hand, rarely uses “we” and when it is used, it usually reflects the magazine’s editorial body, “...we had to weed out some strange votes...” (July 2003). (See Appendices G and L.)

The underlying difference between the two seems to be that *Cosmo* wants to be the reader’s best friend, advise them and create a very close bond, while appealing to as broad an audience as possible. *FHM* tends to be more carefree and simplistic, either one is a *FHM* reader or one is not and this fits the supposed attitude of the reader too, “if you don’t like me, tough!”. If the reader doesn’t fit in then they can go and read another magazine, the importance of creating a bond between the writer and the reader is not as important or as strong compared to *Cosmo*. This reflects interestingly on the ideological placement of women and men in society. It seems to reflect a strong need on the women to fit in, to be part of something greater than they are, while it is more obvious what it means to fit in if you are a man. This supports the patriarchal status quo of society at present. Even though women are supposed to be becoming more independent and successful, they are constantly evaluating and

assessing their roles and positions within that society and striving for greater acceptance through self-improvement.

6.3.4 The creation of femininity and masculinity

Both *FHM* and *Cosmo* attempt to create, define and identify what it means to be masculine and feminine. As was mentioned in 2.3.3., in terms of femininity, MacKinnon (1982 in Talbot 2003:170) states that “it is a matter of sexualization, a matter of learning to view yourself from the man’s point of view and of perceiving your sexuality *as* your identity as feminine”. While this statement seems to be unrealistic, evidence from the analysis of these Editor’s letters suggests that on the part of the women, this is partly true. The women, while perhaps not seeing themselves through men’s eyes, place great value on men’s opinions and beliefs about women, even the use of “birds” and “chicks” (April and May) to refer to themselves reveals an acceptance of men’s perceptions of women.

Talbot (2003:171) states that femininity “involves...a particular mode of consumption” and that in order to have a feminine identity a woman needs to work hard at creating that appearance, involving grooming, and beautifying amongst other activities. This does not mean that women are only sexualizing themselves as suggested by MacKinnon, although beautifying and grooming are linked to sexuality, but are rather creating a person and a self that conforms to societal expectations. Talbot also states: “gendered identities are determined by capitalist social conditions and constructed in capitalist social relations. Women have a lifelong relationship with consumerism” (2003:171). This relationship is enhanced by the use of magazines that women read in order to create their feminine identity and so the use of magazines intensifies the definition of femininity as a “mode of consumption”. Throughout all the letters there is a push to the reader to be a “Cosmo girl” and this links to creating a female identity, through purchasing clothes, food products or weight-loss ideas, going to beauticians to have waxes in order to be more sexy, and spending money in order to have the fairytale wedding.

Masculinity, in particular as defined by *FHM*, needs to be hegemonic masculinity. As Talbot (2003:191) states, this masculinity “is the dominant form, the one that counts as normal, that traditionally [had] the blessing of the church, the support of the state

and, ultimately, has all the force and obviousness of common sense. Hegemony is not achieved by force – although that helps – but by consent”. This links so closely to the ideal man that is identified through the *FHM* Editor’s letters, something that is natural and obvious and just *is!* The total acceptance of what it means to be a man as evidenced in the *FHM* letters supports this “obviousness of common sense”. The reader doesn’t have to think about what it means to be a man, but rather acknowledges that they are this way and that’s the way it should be. Hegemonic masculinity only exists in relation to women or subordinate masculinities, and is defined through this. This is why in both the *FHM* and *Cosmo* letters there tends to be comparisons to the other gender, as neither can be defined without mentioning the other gender.

Hegemonic masculinity is also defined through violence (Talbot 2003). Men should and can enjoy acts of violence or watching violence. The *FHM* letters support this, as in the May letter, the writer describes accidents that were violent and had repercussions: “Take Alex Zanardi, for example...had his car, his legs and his career cut short...For more amusing carnage see “Ooh! That’s Gotta Hurt!” on page 68”. And as is evident, if the reader doesn’t enjoy this, then they can look at pictures of women instead, which reflects an acceptance of violence but not its centrality to who men are. At the same time though the actions of the reader have to fall in with the definition of a defined masculinity, a hegemonic masculinity.

This masculinity also depends on the subordinate masculinity of homosexuality. This is crucial in that in order to define hegemonic masculinity it must rest on the negation of homosexuality (Talbot 2003). Throughout the Editor’s letters the emphasis is on heterosexuality, the possibility of homosexuality amongst the readers is not plausible, as it is taken for granted that the readers are interested in the world’s sexiest women, the “hottest honeys” and women’s sexual activities, while votes for Barry Ronge are rejected. This links to Gill’s (2003:49) “new lad” again, where the “lads” are “hedonistic, libidinous, postfeminist alter ego”. This is the same in *Cosmo*: there is never the possibility that their readers are homosexual, all the letters talk about men and their role in their lives, getting married, and having sex with men.

6.4 Towards an anti-feminist development of femininities and masculinities?

Through the analyses of these magazines, the vital point is to see whether there are any changes in what masculinity and femininity are and whether there is movement towards real equality between the two genders. The letters of both *Cosmo* and *FHM* serve to perpetuate and retain the social structures that have always been there. While the emphasis is on self-improvement, independence and liberation in *Cosmo*, the *FHM* letters show a placidity and acceptance of where men are and who they are, but does this mean that there are any changes in stereotypes of both the genders? Talbot (2003) suggests that any changes that are noted actually serve to sustain hegemonic masculinity, rather than break it up. While there are more different types of masculinities being represented in society, it does not mean that any change is happening. Hanke (1992 in Talbot 2003:213) asks a valid question: “how is masculinity redefining itself in order to remain hegemonic?” And he states that hegemonic masculinity can include new things, like domesticity, but at the same time it can cover up the major inequalities that still exist in society. The concept of the “new lad” (Gill 2003) also arose as a movement against feminism and the “new man”, and in this way the “new lad” is a re-emergence of old values and ideals.

In terms of femininity, there also seems to be a covering up of any real change. On the surface women have attained equal status in society, can have successful careers and make money, however, these hide any real changes in terms of liberation from male dominance. Women still determine their worth and sexuality with reference to men and through men’s eyes. The aspect of consumerism that seems to be intertwined with women and their identities is what makes magazines such as *Cosmo* so successful. Since women do not really have their own identity they have to associate it with a brand, such as the “Cosmo girl”, and as Machin and Thornborrow (2003) state, the conflicting discourses within the magazine push women towards social interaction rather than intellectual activities, and they must use their sexual power to advance in life. The support of *Cosmo* in these endeavours gives the readers a support base on which to align themselves. However, *Cosmo* is really made up of the products it sells and so to be independent one has to buy the products within the magazine: “independence and fun can today be bought from the church of neo-

capitalism. Thus the heritage of 1960s' feminism has become intertwined with consumerism, allowing consumerism to become a discourse with which women can and do signify their roles and identities across the globe" (Machin & Thornborrow 2003:468).

6.5 Conclusion

The analyses of these two extremely successful magazines, *Cosmo* and *FHM*, have revealed a view of current society that is regressing back towards a pre-feminist society. The relationship between men and women is such that the dominance of men is supported and the subjugation of women is maintained. Men are reverting to the "new lad/guy" who has little respect for women, and is simply interested in instant self-gratification; while women are now still unsure of their place in society. They are constantly re-evaluating their identity and their abilities to fit in with a society that forever seems to want to control them, especially now that feminism has been appropriated by consumerism.

The use of language sustains and maintains these unequal social relations and power differences between the two genders, and this thesis, by analysing the language and some visual elements of *Cosmo* and *FHM*, has identified that the unequal relations of power still exist, albeit more subtly and in more complex ways than before.

The chapter above has presented the findings from my analyses of the cover pages and Editor's letters of both *Cosmo* and *FHM*, in a comparative manner. In the concluding chapter to follow I present a summary of the main findings from my study, and the extent to which they have answered my research questions (outlined in 1.3). A discussion of the limitations I faced and possible suggestions for further research related to my study is also provided.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present a summary of the main findings of the research (cf. 7.2), from Chapters Four, Five and Six. In order to do this, I return to the research questions presented in the Introduction (cf. 1.3), so as to discover the ways my research has answered them. I then present suggestions for further research in this field, based on the limitations and problems experienced in my own research (cf. 7.3).

7.2 Summary of Main Findings

The aim of my research was to answer the four questions presented in 1.3. by analysing the cover pages and Editor's letters of six *Cosmopolitan* and six *FHM* magazines.

In light of my first research question:

What major linguistic differences or similarities are evident in *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* and what does this reveal about the ideologies present in the texts?

I attempted to show how the magazines present their view of reality and in so-doing present their ideologies, through the linguistic choices they made. McLoughlin's (2000 cf. 3.3.2) textual analysis framework was used for the cover pages, while Fairclough's (1989 cf. 3.3.5.1) Description stage was used for the Editor's letters.

Both magazines subscribe to the typical cover page format and design, using noun-modification, some minor sentences, and placed their most significant story in the top-left hand position which identified the most salient focus of both the magazines, that of sex. Sex and sexuality both are the most focused upon topic in the magazines. However, the two differed in terms of their advisory capacity. *Cosmo* used the problem and solution function to identify issues that women are experiencing and to act as a sister or friend. This function also highlighted one of the most inherent ideologies present in the magazine, that of the need for women to constantly improve themselves. *FHM*, on the other hand, never once used the problem and solution format as the need for advice is unwarranted. The readers do not need to change who

they are, rather the magazine focuses on the “new lads” that they are and how they can maintain and enjoy this situation.

The use of female models on the cover pages, for both magazines, reinforces the ideologies mentioned above. By placing a sexually desirable model on *FHM*, they are encouraging the male fascination with women and sex, and using the women on the covers as objects to draw in more readers. *Cosmo* uses female models on the cover pages as images to aspire to, and reiterates the ideology of self-improvement and change that women need to go through. By placing a woman on the cover, who is successful through being beautiful and sexually desirable, the magazine again conforms to the ideology that women construct their identities through male appreciation and approval.

In terms of the Editor’s letters, both magazines overall used similar techniques that are typical of Editor’s letters: the personal opinion and therefore clear agency; they both tend towards the more informal use of language as this aids the creation of a relationship between the readers and the writer, as well as the use of the personal pronouns of “you” and “we”. However, *FHM* used the “we” less frequently and in a different capacity to *Cosmo*, which was very inclusive of the reader. *FHM* tended to use this rather as an editorial “we”, which heightened the power difference between the reader and the writer, especially since there was no need felt to establish a relationship with the readers.

Cosmo also has a more conversational tone to the letters, whereas *FHM* tells a story but does not then attempt to engage the reader, rather the writer will end the letter with an imperative that tells the reader what to do. *Cosmo*’s familiar and friendly tone is in contrast to *FHM*’s “laddish” talk which uses words such as “babe”, “dodgy”, “hammered” and “studs”, amongst others. These linguistic choices, made by the producers of the texts, shape and position their readers (cf. 2.2.3) and help to perpetuate and maintain the dominant ideologies as mentioned in 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4.

My second research question:

How does the language differ depending on the gender the magazine is aimed at and the gender of the writer(s)?

This question is answered by comparing the analyses of the magazines. From the Ideal Reader of the text, as described in 4.3.1 and 5.3.1, an idea of the type of audience can be formed, and tend to be predominantly male for *FHM* and female for *Cosmo*, as are the producers of each magazine.

As was mentioned in the first question *Cosmo*'s approach to their readers is in a casual, conversational and inclusive "we" manner. Both the covers and the letters use declaratives and interrogatives to make a connection with their readers, and in particular the use of the interrogatives simulates a conversational style, although the readers' answers are predicted. However, this prediction aids the producer of the text in shaping the reader's response to the magazine, as well as defining the type of reader they want. The ideology of creating a "balance" in the readers' lives and of improving themselves is perpetuated through the use of the advisory tone and the comparison to other women (for example, the models on the cover pages).

FHM, on the other hand, knowingly use a "laddish" speak that is directed specifically to men. The high proportion of exclamatives and imperatives in the letters and on the covers creates high emotion and directs the readers to act. As has been mentioned before, *FHM* tends to use fewer inclusive pronouns; rather it is exclusive in terms of its readership. The writer does not attempt to include all men, but rather focuses his language towards "lads" who are typical of the *FHM* male, and has a 'take it or leave it' attitude.

In comparison, female-to-female language is very 'caring' and inclusive and attempts to address all types of women who are interested in self-improvement and have a large interest in sex, although their readers are specifically targeted. The male-to-male language is exclusive, it attempts to isolate the desired target audience from the population of all potential male readers, and these 'chosen' readers have to subscribe to the three components of an *FHM* male, as outlined in Chapter Five, "sex, sloth and alcohol". It is therefore clear that when directing communication towards specific genders, the tone and style of the language used changes dramatically, and in

particular is carefully used in positioning the reader where the producer wants them to be, and subtly directing the ideologies towards the readers.

My third question,

How are men and women represented or positioned in society through this language use?

This is a particularly significant question in the thesis, since it is by analyzing the two magazines that I wanted to reveal how men and women are represented in current society. The answer to this question is focused on largely in 6.4, and reveals the main ideologies produced in the magazines and how these shape the readers.

As discussed in 6.4, the ideologies in *Cosmo* are based primarily around the concept of “balance”, and for women to achieve a balance in their lives. However, this concept of “balance” is closely linked to male appreciation and attaining the almost unobtainable. Additionally, the focus on sex forms a major part of the magazine, as was revealed in 4.2 and 4.3, and permeates all aspects of the magazine. For example, the reader is advised not to diet but to maintain a healthy weight, as indirectly, this will add to her sexual desirability. She needs to maintain a balanced weight, but she also needs to make sure that she subscribes to the Western image of a beautiful, desirable woman and constantly focus on self-improvement. This kind of conflict and tension permeates all aspects of the magazine and a woman’s life, however it is only through the analysis that this is revealed and to an uncritical reader, the conflict is hidden beneath the *Cosmo* lifestyle that seems achievable but is in reality unobtainable.

The *Cosmo* readers, and women in general, seem to be positioned in society as inconstant elements that relentlessly mirror their abilities and achievements against the norm, the male ideal.

FHM also sustains traditional roles of men in society and supports the concept of the hegemonic male, and what Gill (2003) calls the “new lad”. This man is egotistical, a philanderer, enjoys spending money and playing with “toys”, watches sport and loves alcohol. This “new lad” arose as a reaction to the “new man” (cf. 2.6.3.3) and in turn is also a reaction to feminism. The manner in which women are portrayed in the

magazine is purely on an objectified level, where women are seen as sexual objects to satisfy men's pleasure and not as girlfriends or wives, to be treated with respect.

There is less conflict in *FHM* and the tension is not as overt, however the manner in which the magazine can perpetuate this "new lad" is through using large amounts of humor. Humour is a tool that can reinforce stereotypes in such a way that no challenge can be directed at them, as they are stated in a joking manner (Mills 1995). This use of humour thus reinforces and sustains dominant ideologies within society.

Both magazines are regressing in terms of equality between the two genders, since *Cosmo* while appearing independent and supportive of women's liberation; constantly uses male behaviour and achievement as a benchmark for their position in society. *FHM* is openly supporting male dominance and power over women by placing them in positions of subjugation and sexual obedience.

The final question is whether...

...these representations reflect or challenge roles of males and females in Western society?

This question is partly answered in the question above in that it reveals how men and women are represented in the media at present. However whether it challenges representations of men and women is another aspect that should be considered. The picture that this research has provided in terms of men and women today does not seem to reflect the changes that theorists believe should have been happening since the advent of feminism in the 1960s (cf. 2.3, 2.5 and 2.6). While there is the desire for men and women to be equal, both *Cosmo* and *FHM* portray a different reality.

The overt changes for women are presented, such as women having careers, leading seemingly independent lives, sexually and financially, and not having to get married and settle down as soon as possible. However, it is the silences in the magazine that are disturbing (cf. 4.3.5) and it is through these silences in *Cosmo* that marriage, settling down with one man and having children will occur. As mentioned before, as well, the constant comparison to men and desire for men's approval overshadows women's independence and makes it null and void.

FHM is also regressing. No longer are the men portrayed as supportive of women's independence and 'caring' towards women (the "new man"), but rather the women are there to be lusted after and used as sexual objects, while men enjoy all aspects of their lives without the interference of women.

There is a need for readers and consumers of the mass media to become more critical and to question representations of men and women in the media, since it is these representations that ultimately shape and will either aid or hinder the journey towards true equality between men and women.

7.3 Limitations of the study

Most research is limited in one way or another due to time constraints, length constraints and scope of the research. In the following section I briefly outline four limitations of my study.

- 1) Firstly, while the research is fairly generalisable, it could analyse more sections of the magazines, similar to Eggin's and Iedema's (1997) research. Their research covered six sections of the magazines and noted the consistency of editorial style throughout the magazine, even the letters to the editor.
- 2) My own subjectivity in the interpretation of the results of the research lent towards a slightly biased angle. Being a female it was difficult to distance myself completely from the analysis of *FHM* and not stand upon a pedestal and react to sexist language and male behaviour, while at the same time it was sometimes difficult to objectively analyse the representation of women in *Cosmo*.
- 3) There is a plethora of literature on women's magazines, while men's magazines are underrepresented (although this is rapidly changing), and this often made it difficult to balance the two in my own mind and the literature review.
- 4) Finally, the research was very "white" and "western" based, and in South Africa today, there is a need for more culturally diverse research.

7.4 Suggestions for further research

From the problems identified in 7.3, it is possible to draw on them for suggestions for further research.

- 1) Firstly, in order to make the research more generalisable, a larger corpus could be used, either articles within the magazines, or more magazines of a similar genre.
- 2) Specific focus could also be applied to various sections in the magazines, for example the issue of sex, relationships, health issues amongst others, to reveal more defined and specific ideologies.
- 3) A longitudinal study of the magazines over time could reveal the different ideologies present and whether there has been any change or to what extent change has occurred. This would enable one to see how the ideologies have changed over time and whose interests they serve.
- 4) A study that compared different cultural interpretations of the same magazines would be interesting and reveal differing ideologies and relations of gender in different cultures, whether within South Africa or the rest of the world.
- 5) Finally, combining quantitative tools with other qualitative tools, including questionnaires, focus groups and interviews could reveal an alternative, triangulated interpretation of the magazines as it would take the research to the people and see how the magazines are actually being interpreted and how they affect their readers. It would also help by making the research less subjective and more generalisable.

7.5 Conclusion

An important aspect of the mass media is the extent of its power, and how this is wielded through language (Fairclough 1995b): the ability of the media to affect governments, political parties, knowledge, societal values and beliefs and create social identities, all through the use of language. This research has attempted to reveal exactly how powerful two consumer magazines, *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM*, are in positioning their readers to conform to stereotypical representations of women and men. My research has revealed that while *Cosmo* overtly attempts to support current beliefs of equality between men and women, it is in fact doing the opposite; and *FHM*

makes no attempt to support feminist thought. In turn both magazines continue to support patriarchal thought and dominance over women.

The analysis of the cover pages of the magazines, while only a fleeting analysis into the visual design of the covers, has revealed that this power to influence and change people's perceptions and thoughts is not only realised through language but also through visual images and compositions. The cover pages are subtler in their representations of the magazine and women, however they are as important as the Editor's letters. However, it is mainly in the analyses of the Editor's letters that the covert ideologies are revealed and show the continual repression of women and dominance of patriarchal thought. The use of a combination of Fairclough's (1989) CDA, Mill's (1995) FS, Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) visual analysis and McLoughlin's (2000) textual analysis have together provided research that while focussing on the power relations in society, has managed to make it gender specific and reveal the gender relations that are present in South Africa's modern white society. The combination of these methodologies has allowed this research to fall into the newly termed field of Lazar's (2005) Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. As Lazar notes: "as feminist critical discourse analysts, our central concern is with critiquing discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order: that is relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group" (2005:5).

As was suggested in 7.4, more research is urgently needed in this field, specifically in the gender area and it is with this in mind that a focus needs to be placed more carefully on the receivers of the mass media. More attention needs to be focused on making readers and consumers of the media more critical and aware of the material they purchase and whose interests are promoted through this consuming. It is only through an awareness of power relations and, particularly, through becoming critical readers that members of society can challenge media representations and what lies behind them.

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url: 1 Media 24 – Magazines

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url: 3 Helen Gurley Brown

http://www.salon.com/people/bc/2000/09/26/contest_winner_brown/ (13 January 2006).

url: 4 Helen Gurley Brown

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helen_Gurley_Brown (13 January 2006).

APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Magazines' Ideal Reader Profile

A.1: Cosmopolitan Readership Profile

COSMOPOLITAN is read by a woman in her freedom years: she's between 18 and 34 and in a phase of her life when time and money are her own; when she can - and does - put herself first.

The COSMOPOLITAN reader is smart and ambitious; establishing a career, not just doing a job.

She knows that balance in life is all-important - love is as vital as work; her physical health as vital as her mental well-being.

She loves to eat, but exercises regularly.

She loves to shop and is a passionate sampler - willing to experiment with new products. She's neither set in her ways nor wedded to a particular product.

COSMOPOLITAN tells her what's new in the world of fashion and beauty.

She's interested in international and local news, breakthroughs and trends. She's aware and fascinated by the world around her. She's intelligent and warm - and keen on the relationship and psychological features that make up COSMOPOLITAN's editorial heart.

COSMOPOLITAN, the world's most successful women's magazine, is her first choice.

A.2: FHM Psychographic Description

Broadly, he's 18 to 34 years old. Specifically, a younger man in the 'glory years' of his mid-twenties. He's independent, educated, more-than-likely single, with a high personal disposable income. He's a highly active consumer, sociable, gregarious, seeking entertainment and information on a wide variety of topics. He's interested in fashion, good looks and self-improvement, as long as it's presented to him in the right context and environment. Strangely enough, he's not obsessed with health, gym or new-age diets. He participates and watches lots of sports, but loves rugby and cricket most.

He loves a good gag or anecdote, has a hobby or two, collects things, loves all the trappings – cars, computers and all other gadgets, watches, clothes – and always has time for a drink with his mates.

He's adventurous, open-minded, eager for knowledge and likes to think he's fairly popular.

Recognise him?

Appendix B: Mills' (1995: 199-202) Framework for Feminist Stylistics

(Only the questions used in the research to aid the analyses will be placed here)

1. What sort of text is it?
 - 1.1 What genre does it belong to? (novel, advertising, newspaper, song)
 - 1.2 Is it a text which has status? (canonical, literary, popular)
 - 1.3 Is there a tendency for women or men to be associated with this type of text? (as readers, as writers, as representational objects)
 - 1.4 How is it produced? (Is it authored or produced anonymously?)
 - 1.5 Does the text use pronouns such as 'you', 'I' and 'we'?
 - 1.6 Do you feel that the position which you are reading from is aligned with one of these pronoun positions?
 - 1.7 Does the text address you directly in other ways, by referring to your assumed profession, marital status, age, race, interests, 'life-style', wishes/desires? Are these linked to your supposed gender identity?
 - 1.8 Does the text assume that you have certain elements of background knowledge? Make explicit what the text assumes that you know or agree to.
 - 1.9 Is this background knowledge drawing on stereotypical assumptions about men and women? Are these stereotypical assumptions about all men and women or only certain groups of men and women?
 - 1.10 Does the text assume that you will agree with certain of its statements? Are these statements about gender?
 - 1.11 Are metaphors or figurative language used which draw upon gendered assumptions? Are males and females compared with different elements?
 - 1.12 Is the text humorous? What propositions do you have to agree to in order to find the text funny? Why is the text using humour? Is it a difficult area? Is the text addressing you as a male? What type of male?
 - 1.13 Whose point of view does the text emanate from? Who is speaking? Who is telling you this? Who does the text focus on? Does the focalisation shift at any point in the text? Whose interests does the text seem to be working in? Whose information does the text seem to be endorsing as true?

Appendix C: Cosmopolitan Cover Lines

C.1: Cosmopolitan Cover Page – April 2003

There's more to it than sex!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

BRILLIANT SEX ADVICE FROM SURPRISING PEOPLE (INCLUDING SHAKESPEARE)

STING IN A SEX SHOP! AND OTHER JAW-DROPPING SNIPPETS OF CELEBRITY GOSSIP

10 NEW RULES OF LOVE

FIND YOUR HAPPY WEIGHT!

- THE 8 TRENDIEST DIETS Will any of them work for you?
- Why you should EAT LIKE A FRENCH GIRL
- What your HEALTHY DIET is missing

BEFORE YOU CHUCK IT ALL IN TO TRAVEL

RIGHT SIDE

AVOIDING THINGS? HOW TO TURN YOUR MOUNTAINS INTO MOLEHILLS

CAN SEX-ABUSE VICTIMS LIVE HAPPILY EVER AFTER?

“HE LEFT ME THE DAY I WAS DIAGNOSED WITH CANCER”

APRIL FOOLS FOR LOVE RUDE JUDE LAW, SAD SADIE AND NAUGHTY NICOLE KIDMAN

THE COSMO SURVEY

“CHICKS, BREASTS, CARS...” SA MEN TELL US WHAT’S (REALLY) ON THEIR MINDS

C.2: Cosmopolitan Cover Page – May 2003

There's more to it than sex!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

FLICK YOUR ON SWITCH FOR ELECTRIC SEX!

WORK OUT LIKE A WARRIOR

NICE AT WORK, MEAN AT HOME? YOU COULD HAVE BITCH IN THE HOUSE
SYNDROME

SPECIAL SECTION

JEANS GENIUS

100 EXTRA FASHION PAGES

THE TATU STORY

SICKO SCHEMES + UNDERAGE SEX

= HUGE SUCCESS

RIGHT SIDE

FREE THERAPY

FIVE LIFE PROBLEMS SOLVED

15 EASY WAYS TO SNEAK A PEEK AT YOUR FUTURE!

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF YOUR TATTOO

IS DEBT MAKING YOU DESPERATE?

TURN TO PAGE 134 FOR HELP AND HOPE

AT LAST! SOME STRAIGHT TALK ABOUT CELLULITE

C.3: Cosmopolitan Cover Page – June 2003

There's more to it than sex!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

BEFORE YOU MARRY THE WRONG MAN

- TOUGH QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF (AND HIM)
- PRE-WEDDING COUNSELLING THAT REALLY WORKS
- LEARN FROM HIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER WOMEN
- SECRETS OF LASTING LOVE
- WARNING SIGNS

HEALTH FLASH!

INSOMNIA COULD BE MAKING YOU FAT

WHY? WHY? WHY?

THE WEIRD (SEXY) APPEAL OF JUSTIN TIMBERLAKE

THE BIG 5

ARE YOU GAME TO DISCOVER YOUR MAN'S TOP SEXUAL FANTASIES?

RIGHT SIDE

COSMO KICKS BUTT!

JOIN OUR SELF-DEFENCE CAMPAIGN AND FEEL POWERFUL AGAIN

100% CONFIDENT

HOW NOT TO CARE WHAT ANYONE THINKS

HELLO GOOD BUYS!

BE THE BEST-DRESSED BABE ON ANY BUDGET FROM R100 TO R2000

C.4 – Cosmopolitan Cover Page – July 2003

Make your world Cosmopolitan

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

THE SEX-POSITION PERSONALITY TEST

WHAT YOU CAN LEARN ABOUT HIM FROM THE ANGLE OF HIS DANGLE

WHAT KIND OF EX WILL HE BE?

AFTER-HOURS REHAB

CAN YOU KICK AN ADDICTION WHILE YOU GET ON WITH YOUR LIFE?

‘I’M IN LOVE WITH MY COUSIN’

HOW TO STOP OLD INSULTS DAMAGING YOUR SELF-ESTEEM

HOLLYWOOD’S MOST HORRIBLE

6 STARS BEHAVING BADLY – VERY, VERY BADLY

RIGHT SIDE

RELATIONSHIP ROULETTE

WHY GIVING A MAN AN ULTIMATUM IS A DANGEROUS GAME

DUMP YOUR NEGATIVES

PUMP UP YOUR POSITIVES!

AND FIND YOUR SIGNATURE STRENGTHS

SHOULD YOU KEEP A SLACKER GUY?

C.5 – Cosmopolitan Cover Page – August 2003

Make your world Cosmopolitan

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

- SMART
- SPORTY
- GIRL-NEXT-DOOR
- VAMP (BORDERING ON TRAMP) ...

WHICH TYPE DO MEN HONESTLY PREFER?

HOW TO GET OVER AN UN-GET-OVERABLE MAN

HOW STRESSED ARE YOU REALLY?

HERE'S GOOD NEWS THAT MAY SURPRISE YOU

ARE YOU TOO CLOSE TO YOUR FRIENDS?

BABE-LICIOUS!

INDULGE YOUR PASSION FOR FASHION WITH 30+ PAGES

- SHOP LIKE A STAR
- NEW IDEAS FOR WORKWEAR
- WINTER'S PRETTIEST LOOK
- BRILLIANT BUDGET BUYS

DISCOVER YOUR DIET PERSONALITY – IT'S YOUR BEST BET FOR A
HAPPY WEIGHT

RIGHT SIDE

FREE PROUDLY COSMO GIRL BUMPER STICKER

SAVE YOUR MAN'S LIFE – GET INTO HIS PANTS!

FROM BRRRR! TO GRRRR!

GO ON TIGER, TRY OUR WINTER-WARMER SEX POSITIONS

C.6 – Cosmopolitan Cover Page – September 2003

Proudly COSMO Girl!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

HOW TO GET FROM A TO BED!

THE COSMO DATING GUIDE

- CRINGE-FREE CHAT-UP LINES
- SEXY SA MEN TELL US WHAT THEY WANT
- THE SECRET INGREDIENT YOU NEED
- THE NO-FEELINGS-SPARED REASONS YOU'RE STILL SINGLE

DANGEROUS TIMES FOR DIETERS

WHEN YOU'RE MOST LIKELY TO GAIN (OR LOSE) WEIGHT

COSMO LOVES A BAD BOY

COLIN FARRELL ROCKS!

BABY IT'S HOT INSIDE!

LINGERIE 2003

EXTRA 88 PAGES

SPORTY SEX POSITIONS

TRY THE MOUNT-ME-MOTORCROSS OR THE RAUNCHY RUGBY SCRUM

AND MAKE YOUR MAN YOUR NO.1 FAN

RIGHT SIDE

NEED A LIFE MAKEOVER?

10 CRUCIAL RULES OF CHANGE

HOW ONE NORMAL GUY GOT HOOKED ON ONLINE PORN

		Sentence types		
		Ellipsis	Minor	Major
Noun-modification				
Pre-modification	Post-modification			
"Brilliant sex advice"	"from surprising people"	lack of	"avoiding things?"	"will any of them work for you?"
"surprising people"		dets	"all in to travel"	"why you should eat"
"jaw-dropping snippets"	"of celebrity gossip"	throughout	"how to turn"	"what your healthy diet is missing"
"celebrity gossip"				"Find your happy weight"
"10 new rules"				"can sex-abuse victims live ..."
"happy weight"				"he left me... I was diagnose d"
"8 trendiest diets"				"SA men tell us"
"french girl"				"before you chuck it"
"healthy diet"				
"sex-abuse victims"				
"rude jude law"				
"sad sadie"				
"naughty nicole kidman"				
"Cosmo survey"				
"on switch"	"for electric sex"		"five life problems solved"	"you could have ..."
"electric sex"			"to sneak a peek"	"flick ..."
"bitch in the house syndrome"				"is debt making you ..."
"special section"				"turn ..."
"jeans genius"				"work out ..."
"100 extra fashion pages"				
"Tatu story"				
"sicko schemes"				
"underage sex"				
"huge success"				
"free therapy"				
"five life problems"				
"15 easy ways"				
"straight talk"				
"wrong man"			"to ask ..."	"you marry ..."
"tough questions"			"learn from ..."	"could be making ..."
"pre-wedding counselling"			"game to discover"	"cosmo kicks butt"
"lasting love"			"not to care ..."	"join our...and feel powerful..."
"warning signs"				
"health flash"				
"weird (sexy) appeal"				
"big 5"				
"top sexual fantasies"				
"self-defence campaign"				
"good buys"				
"best-dressed babe"				
"sex-position personality test"			"how to stop ..."	"you can learn ..."
"after-hours rehab"			"...damaging ..."	"what kind of ex will he be?"
"relationship roulette"			"...behaving ..."	"can you kick ...get on with..."
"a slacker guy"			"dump ..."	"in love with..."
			"pump up ..."	"...giving a man... is a dangerous game"
				"should you keep ..."
				"find your..."
"an un-get-overable man"			"how to get over ..."	"how stressed ..."
"good news"				"here's good news ...may surprise you"
"new ides"				"it's your best bet..."
"work wear"				"save your man's life - get into his pants"
"winter's prettiest look"				"which type do men honestly prefer?"
"brilliant budget buys"				"indulge your passion..."
"diet personality"				"shop like a star"
"best bet"				"discover your..."
"happy weight"				"try our..."
"free proudly cosmo girl bumper sticker"				
"winter warmer sex positions"				
"The Cosmo Dating Guide"	"Colin Farrell Rocks!"		"to get from..."	"...tell us..."
"Cringe-free chat up lines"				"you're still single"
"Sexy SA men"				"you're most likely..."
"secret ingredient"				"cosmo loves..."
"no-feelings spared reasons"				"it's hot..."
"dangerous times"				"...guy got hooked ..."
"bad boy"				"try the..."
"sporty sex positions"				"make your man..."
"mount-me-motorcross"				
"raunchy rugby scrum"				
"life makeover"				
"10 crucial rules"				
"normal guy"				
"online pom"				

Appendix E.1: Cosmo Cover Page - April 2003

COSMO **MAGAZINE**

R19,95 (incl VAT) NS19,95 (Namibia)
R17,50 (other countries)

APRIL 2003

BRILLIANT SEX ADVICE
FROM SURPRISING PEOPLE
(INCLUDING SHAKESPEARE)

AVOIDING THINGS?
HOW TO TURN
YOUR MOUNTAINS
INTO MOLEHILLS

STING IN A SEX SHOP!
AND OTHER JAW-DROPPING
SNIPPETS OF CELEBRITY GOSSIP

**CAN SEX-ABUSE
VICTIMS LIVE
HAPPILY EVER AFTER?**

**10 NEW RULES
OF LOVE**

**'HE LEFT ME
THE DAY I WAS
DIAGNOSED
WITH CANCER'**

**FIND YOUR
HAPPY
WEIGHT!**

**APRIL FOOLS
FOR LOVE**

THE 8 TRENDIEST DIETS
Will any of them work for you?
Why you should **EAT LIKE
A FRENCH GIRL**
What your **HEALTHY
DIET** is missing

**RUDE JUDE LAW, SAD SADIE
AND NAUGHTY NICOLE KIDMAN**

THE COSMO SURVEY
'CHICKS, BREASTS, CARS...'
SA MEN TELL US WHAT'S
(REALLY) ON THEIR MINDS

**BEFORE YOU CHUCK
IT ALL IN TO TRAVEL**
READ PAGE 64

WIN A GLAMOROUS WEEK IN MAURITIUS WORTH R45 000

9 770256 028004 04146

COSMO COVER STAR SANDRA BULLOCK

Appendix E.2: *Cosmo* Cover Page - May 2003

COSMO **LITAN**

R16.95 (incl VAT) NS19.95 (Namibia)
R17.50 (other countries)

MAY 2003

FLICK YOUR ON SWITCH FOR ELECTRIC SEX!

FREE THERAPY FIVE LIFE PROBLEMS SOLVED

WORK OUT LIKE A WARRIOR

15 EASY WAYS TO SNEAK A PEEK AT YOUR FUTURE!

NICE AT WORK, MEAN AT HOME? YOU COULD HAVE BITCH IN THE HOUSE SYNDROME

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF YOUR TATTOO

SPECIAL SECTION

JEANS GENIUS

IS DEBT MAKING YOU DESPERATE?
TURN TO PAGE 134 FOR HELP AND HOPE

100 EXTRA FASHION PAGES

AT LAST! SOME STRAIGHT TALK ABOUT CELLULITE

THE TATU STORY
SICKO SCHEMES + UNDERAGE SEX = HUGE SUCCESS

COSMO COVER STAR
RENEE ZELLWEGER

WIN SLINKY SWATCH WATCHES AND ACCESSORIES WORTH R40 000

9 770256 028004 05147

Appendix E.3: Cosmo Cover Page - June 2003

COSMO POLITAN

R19,95 (incl VAT) NS19,95 (Namibia)
R17,50 (other countries)

JUNE 2003

BEFORE YOU MARRY THE WRONG MAN

- TOUGH QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF (AND HIM)
- PRE-WEDDING COUNSELLING THAT REALLY WORKS
- LEARN FROM HIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER WOMEN
- SECRETS OF LASTING LOVE
- WARNING SIGNS

HEALTH FLASH! INSOMNIA COULD BE MAKING YOU FAT

WHY? WHY? WHY? THE WEIRD (SEXY) APPEAL OF JUSTIN TIMBERLAKE

THE BIG 5 ARE YOU GAME TO DISCOVER YOUR MAN'S TOP SEXUAL FANTASIES?

COSMO KICKS BUTT!
JOIN OUR SELF-DEFENCE CAMPAIGN AND FEEL POWERFUL AGAIN

100% CONFIDENT!
HOW NOT TO CARE WHAT ANYONE THINKS

HELLO GOOD BUYS!
BE THE BEST-DRESSED BABE ON ANY BUDGET FROM **R100 TO R2 000**

COSMO COVER STAR BEYONCÉ KNOWLES

WIN A SPICY-HOT WEEK FOR TWO IN ZANZIBAR PLUS GOODIES WORTH R45 000

06148
9 770256 028004

Appendix E.4: Cosmo Cover Page - July 2003

COSMOPOLITAN

R19.95 (incl VAT); N\$19.95 (Namibia)
R11.50 (other countries)

JULY 2003

THE SEX-POSITION PERSONALITY TEST
WHAT YOU CAN LEARN ABOUT HIM FROM THE ANGLE OF HIS DANGLE

RELATIONSHIP ROULETTE
WHY GIVING A MAN AN ULTIMATUM IS A DANGEROUS GAME

WHAT KIND OF EX WILL HE BE?

AFTER-HOURS REHAB
CAN YOU KICK AN ADDICTION WHILE YOU GET ON WITH LIFE?

DUMP YOUR NEGATIVES
PUMP UP YOUR POSITIVES!
AND FIND YOUR SIGNATURE STRENGTHS

'I'M IN LOVE WITH MY COUSIN'

HOW TO STOP OLD INSULTS DAMAGING YOUR SELF-ESTEEM

HOLLYWOOD'S MOST HORRIBLE
6 STARS BEHAVING BADLY - VERY, VERY BADLY

SHOULD YOU KEEP A SLACKER GUY?

9 770256 028004 07149

COSMO COVER ANGEL CAMERON DIAZ

WIN 5 NIGHTS FOR TWO + SPA TREATMENTS AT ZIMBALI WORTH R44 000

Appendix E.5: Cosmo Cover Page - August 2003



COSMOPOLITAN

R19,95 (incl VAT) NS\$19,95 (Namibia)
R17,50 (other countries)

AUGUST 2003

SMART
 SPORTY
 GIRL-NEXT-DOOR
 VAMP (BORDERING ON TRAMP)...
WHICH TYPE DO MEN HONESTLY PREFER?

FREE PROUDLY COSMO GIRL BUMPER STICKER

HOW TO GET OVER AN UN-GET-OVERABLE MAN

SAVE YOUR MAN'S LIFE - GET INTO HIS PANTS!

HOW STRESSED ARE YOU REALLY?
HERE'S GOOD NEWS THAT MAY SURPRISE YOU

ARE YOU TOO CLOSE TO YOUR FRIENDS?

BABE-LICIOUS!

INDULGE YOUR PASSION FOR FASHION WITH 30+ PAGES

- SHOP LIKE A STAR • NEW IDEAS FOR WORKWEAR
- WINTER'S PRETTIEST LOOK • BRILLIANT BUDGET BUYS

DISCOVER YOUR DIET PERSONALITY - IT'S YOUR BEST BET FOR A HAPPY WEIGHT

FROM BRRRR! TO GRRRR!
GO ON TIGER, TRY OUR WINTER-WARMER SEX POSITIONS

IT'S REIGNING JEN!
COSMO COVER STAR JENNIFER ANISTON

WIN DIVINE DONNA KARAN LUXURIES WORTH R43 500

Appendix E.6: Cosmo Cover Page – September 2003

COSMO **TAN**

R19,95 (incl VAT) NS19,95 (Namibia),
R17,50 (other countries)

SEPTEMBER
2003

HOW TO GET FROM A TO BED!
THE COSMO DATING GUIDE

- CRINGE-FREE CHAT-UP LINES
- SEXY SA MEN TELL US WHAT THEY WANT
- THE SECRET INGREDIENT YOU NEED
- THE NO-FEELINGS-SPARED REASONS YOU'RE STILL SINGLE

NEED A LIFE MAKEOVER?
10 CRUCIAL RULES OF CHANGE

DANGEROUS TIMES FOR DIETERS
WHEN YOU'RE MOST LIKELY TO GAIN (OR LOSE) WEIGHT

HOW ONE NORMAL GUY GOT HOOKED ON ONLINE PORN

COSMO LOVES A BAD BOY
COLIN FARRELL ROCKS!

BABY IT'S HOT INSIDE!
LINGERIE 2003
EXTRA 88 PAGES

SPORTY SEX POSITIONS
TRY THE MOUNT-ME-MOTOCROSS OR THE RAUNCHY RUGBY SCRUM AND MAKE YOUR MAN YOUR NO.1 FAN

WIN VERSACE SUNGLASSES AND TWO LAPTOPS WORTH R80 500

COSMO COVER STAR OLUCHI

09151
9 477025 61028004

Appendix F: *Cosmo* Editor's Letters April to September 2003

F.1: *Cosmopolitan* Editor's Letter – April 2003

Girls, Interrupted

Two girlfriends and I take our men out to dinner. We all arrive and sit down, conventionally – boy, girl, boy, girl, boy, girl. You know the drill. One girlfriend's partner (Guy No. 2) looks panicked – because he's sitting next to me – and stares longingly down towards the end of the table where Guy No. 3 delivers his sparkling conversation-opening gambit. "Jeez! Did you see that new Airbus flying overhead at the cricket? It's huge!" He makes a one-that-got-away gesture, indicating plane size for his appreciative audience. The men look enthralled. Guy No. 2 cranes his neck hopefully as Guy No. 3 expands on his point. "Huge! L-o-n-g!" And then they're off – plane size leads to a long discussion about the opening ceremony of the world-cup thingy, the opening game, the *next* game the SA team lost and the next and the next...

Now, listen: I hate conforming to gender stereotypes. But – in the face of precious hours with girlfriends spent discussing...cricket? – desperate measures are called for! "I'm moving!" says Girlfriend No. 2, and suddenly we have a perfect configuration of women at one end of the table and men at the other. Just like at a school disco (except we don't want them to come over and talk to us).

An hour-and-a-half later, after the pizzas have been eaten and the beers and wine flattened, the three of us tune back in to the conversation at the male end of the table. "Jeez it was *huge!* L-o-n-g!" says Guy No. 3. Then three faces look expectantly at us. "We're finished," they chorus with one voice, and get up to leave. WE, of course, have only just begun.

"I know why you lot are called chicks and birds," says my man as we troop put. "All that chattering and tweeting. Don't you get bored? Don't you run out of things to say to each other?" Perhaps, I think to myself, if I only discussed plane size, chicks, breasts, sport, cars, more chicks and more breasts, I would get bored.

There's nothing I love more than being proven right, as it happens, and this evening reminds me of when COSMO writers Catriona Ross and Cathy Lund told me that the men I hang out with are dinosaurs, and the men *they* know and love are infinitely more evolved. I'm sure the words fiction, emotion and world peace were mentioned when we discussed what their men discussed. Sceptically, I sent them off to survey as many men under 35 as they could to back up their claims. What did we find? "Chicks, breasts, sport, more chicks...". You'll get the picture on page 88.

Men. Sometimes it's easier to keep them well-fed and happy than try and understand what goes on in their brains.

F.2: Cosmopolitan Editor's Letter – May 2003

IT'S IN THE JEANS

In the latest issue of *Style* magazine, there's a picture of a really not-very-nice guy I may or may not have snogged once on a school rugby field, years and years ago. Given my selective grasp on the misdemeanours of my past, and my memory for faces being what it is, I can't be sure. I *think* I probably did, and even now that possibility makes me blush (just a little). I do, however, remember exactly what I was wearing when I kissed him (or didn't): a pair of very dark, very *very* tight, stretch-denim jeans. The kind you got into by lying on your back on the bathroom floor while your best friend straddled you to yank the zip up. Corsetry for the contemporary teenager – take *that*, Miss Scarlett O Hara!

I've always loved my jeans, each and every pair of them. To a person of limited enthusiasm and aptitude for fashion, such as myself, jeans have always been the star fall-back item. The wardrobe essential.

I've still got an ancient almost-faded-to-white pair which originally belonged to the unfaithful ornithologist (circa 90-91). They're peppered with peck-holes around the fly. 'A wattled crane attacked me,' he explained. Take *that*, ornithologist! All I can say is he was lucky it wasn't *this* bird attacking him. If it had been, he wouldn't have got away with his pecker intact. In 1991, I lost the man but kept the jeans. A pretty good result, as far as I am concerned.

I have jeans for every shape and size I've ever been. Slinky, sexy ones which took me everywhere in New York the last time I went there, the last time I was slim. Stretchy generous-spirited ones which I can rely on to forgive me the last cupcake (or three).

As I look around the office this morning all I see is jeans: COSMO girls love jeans! So much so that we thought the time had to come to really celebrate them. So here you are: a 100-page COSMO special on the All-Time Greatest Fashion Item *plus* a bumper issue of the all-time greatest magazine feature that we know you love. Such as really sensible relationship advice. For instance: don't waste your time on unfaithful, skanky men. I should have read COSMO all those years ago!

F.3: Cosmopolitan Editor's Letter – June 2003

AT MY BEST FRIEND'S WEDDING

The terrible, fantastic Madeleine – she of the roaring libido, hefty bank balance, stellar ex-boyfriends and sexy voice – has finally got married. In a meringue. With a choir. She's 40 but looks 32. Her man, um, make that husband, is 32 and looks very pleased with himself, thank you very much. 'You look radiant,' I say to her, under the honey-suckle- and rose-draped canopy. 'You look ... smug,' I tell him. 'Of course I am,' he yodels back. 'I'm very, very lucky!'

Lucky? You bet he's lucky! I do love Mr Madeleine. The fact that he understands just how lucky he is, and is grateful that the vision in Vera Wang has decided to marry at all – never mind marry him – has to endear him to a sceptic such as myself. I've had theories about what makes marriage work for as long as I've worked on women's magazines. One of them is that a woman must marry a man whom she considers an 8 out of 10. (Room for improvement but pretty damn good.) A man, on the other hand, must marry a babe whom he considers to be at least an 11 and who is, in his opinion, practically perfect in every way. He believes every other man wants to swipe her away from him, thinks he'd better try a little harder and remains blissfully unaware of the creeping cellulite, wrinkles and grumpiness that comes with age. (This theory must be true, because Oprah said it: Gratitude is very important in any relationship.) Result? They live happily (she confidently, he gratefully) for ever and ever. The End.

'Give her a mark out of 10,' I say to Mr M. '100!' he yells as he is swept away to be congratulated by at least 50 of her ex-boyfriends. Theory number two: you must get any sexual friskiness out of your system before you Do It. Which is why, I suspect, it took Madeleine until her 40th birthday to settle down.

Of course, you've also got to get all that wanderlust – that travel-bug stuff – out of your system as well. In this case, at this wedding, it's case proven. My eye drifts over the evidence: Madeleine's smorgasbord – the Spaniard, the Brit, the Hollywood prince ... oh, and the Sweedie, the too-nice-for-her Scandinavian.

Maybe they will live out the fairy tale many of us wish for in our Barbie-doll moments. I hope so. I even think they might. After all, the search for a long, good, lasting love is an honourable one. Our COSMO tip? If you want the right marriage, do not choose the wrong man. Pages 81 to 100 will tell you how. Happy huntin'.

F.4: Cosmopolitan Editor's Letter – July 2003

Commando No No No!

Elaine, who waxes my legs occasionally, cracks me up. She is usually sunny, funny and quick as lightning. But yesterday she was in prickly form. 'You!' she said with an evil glint in her eye, 'I've got a bone to pick with you...' Now this, as you can imagine, is hardly what a girl wants to hear from someone wielding a strip of hot, nasty, drippy wax over her sensitive winter legs. But Elaine was off – there was absolutely no stopping her: 'Brazilian waxes! All your fault!'

Gosh. How did that happen? Had I gone to sleep and woken up Very Influential Indeed? 'It's that COSMO mag!' she said. 'First you tell people what Brazilians *are*, then you suggest different varieties of Brazilians!' Oh. Well. Last month's *Public Displays of Affection* was sort of inspiring. I suppose...Not to me, though.

'I'll just have half a leg please, Elaine,' I asked meekly. She completely ignored me. 'You can't imagine the view! Yeeuch. If I'd wanted to be a gynaecologist, I'd have been born smarter!' she snapped, as she splattered down a strip of wax and yanked it off. Hard. Ouch!

I think I'll shave my legs from now on, particularly after Elaine has read this month's issue. According to our features editor, Catriona Ross, going commando is this year's Big Thong (er, Thing). Why is it called 'commando'? Don't ask me. Unhygienic and uncomfortable is what I'd call it, but I've always been a little prudish for this job. As Elaine says, if I'd wanted to be a gynaecologist...Still, it's always been our mission at COSMO to bring you the very latest in trends and, if I'm honest, I think puffball skirts and platform tackies were far more revolting than wearing no knickers.

There's nothing like a good magazine to take your mind off the pain of a vicious leg wax, so, if you can't stomach tales of the knickerless (page 60), you can discover the secrets of a no-regrets ultimatum (page 88), read what it's like to love a slacker (page 94), gasp at the horrorstories of Hollywood's most horrible (page 98) and, then when you're feeling stronger, take the sex-position personality test (page 100). You go, girl!

F.5: Cosmopolitan Editor's Letter – August 2003

Rich Guy – Poor sense of humour

My friend once dated an American guy called Randy Perelman III. His idea of a joke?

Q: What do you call a good-looking woman in Philadelphia?

A: A tourist.

Oh ho-ho! How we all laughed at that one. You've got to ask what a man like this really has going for him. It certainly isn't his first name. Randy? Mr and Mrs Perelman could as easily have called him Rover. Or Butch. And as for a sense of humour? Obviously not.

My friend, then a struggling student trying to find her way in a big city, said: 'A date is a date.' My father – world dating expert – would have said: 'You never know. He might have a nice friend.' I can't remember whether Randy introduced her to nice friends, but she certainly met a few rolling-in-it-rich ones. For Mr and Mrs Perelman were extremely wealthy. They were also, er, *big* in the diet industry. So perhaps it follows that their son was better endowed with cash than he was blessed with a sense of humour.

I thought of Randy as I slunk into a Weight Watchers meeting last week, wondering if he'd still, after all these years, find a 'Save the whales – harpoon a fat chick' bumper sticker funny.

At the moment I love WW. It is, I imagine, like Alcoholics Anonymous for people who can't get enough pasta. Everyone looks shifty and embarrassed when they see each other. 'Oh! I didn't realise you were on WW!' Meetings take place in church halls and it's very, 'Hi. I'm Vanessa. I'm a person who eats more pasta than she should.'

Whether WW will cure me of my lifelong love affair with carbohydrates remains to be seen. It's my personality, of course, that's the problem – rebellious, shirty and lazy. It would take a lot to keep my rogue kilos off. Our feature on page 144 helps you find the type of diet that best suits your personality – and so gives you the best

chance of succeeding. And remember the gospel according to COSMO: a happy weight is achievable, healthy and allows you to enjoy yourself. A life of nibbling lettuce leaves is simply not a life worth living.

Oh, and PS: In our quest to stamp out unfunny bumper stickers, we've come up with a ballsy one. Stick our 'Babe on Board!' prominently on your car, and behave accordingly! Wear the clothes your youth lets you get away with (see page 83), light your man's fire (page 76) and give unfunny guys the elbow – in any language (on page 71). And stay a proudly COSMO girl.

F.6: Cosmopolitan Editor's Letter – September 2003

Ex on the Net!

I love search engines. They're a gift to snoopy girls with too much time on their hands. When I Googled my ex, the Movie Guy, I discovered he was as over-achieving, rich and famous as ever, but that his cousin Aubrey was a nerd who'd created a family website with fabulously unflattering pictures of Movie Guy all over it. I was meanly delighted to note that he'd become thicker in the waist and thinner around the hairline since last I saw him.

I also Googled the under-achieving ex who dumped me for a Swedish actress, and discovered, sadly, that he is now producing movie videos for 'N Sync and REM. There's no justice.

I even Googled my first love – about whom I haven't thought much in years – to see what had become of him. He'd become a serial killer.

Well, that last bit is not strictly true. I'd forgotten that he has the same name as the notorious Son of Sam, who terrorised New York about 20 years ago. About my ex – the man who wasn't a murdered, just a nice Jewish doctor – I found nothing.

I'm not the only one who Googles guys (see page 71). People can waste hours messing about online. People do. Apparently, most people, statistically, go straight to porn sites. The yuckier the better. Writer Sean Thomas spent so much time perverting at porn sites, he landed up in hospital (see page 122). Weird.

I don't get it. What's so exciting about porn sites anyway? More evidence that if Women are from Mars, Men are from Penis.

Has he no shame? Doesn't he have a snoopy girlfriend? Wasn't he worried she would find out? Didn't the thought of being exposed as a Sleaze Bag put him off?

I feel sheepish enough just imagining what people will think when they discover I've been Googling my exes – never mind what they'd think if I was visiting

naughtymaleschoolteachers.com or *whippingwalter.co.za* or whatever porn sites are meant to appeal to women.

I've been friends with Sean T for years, so let me tell you this: on a date, you'd find him absolutely, charmingly normal. Great company and innocent looking. Let's-take-him-home-to-Mom material. But, clearly, dates fuelled by Bison grass vodka, good lighting and even better behaviour are a lousy way of checking out a person's credentials. You need COSMO's Dating Special (see page 83) for help with that. And a good search engine, of course!

Appendix G: *Cosmopolitan* Editor's Letter, Description

April - September 2003

G.1: Cosmo April 2003 – Editor's Letter

G.1.1. Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

Girls/Boys

Gossip/Chicks, breasts, cars, aeroplanes

Interesting/Boring

Deep/Superficial

Boy/Guy/Man

Lexical Sets

Males

Tweeting

Dinosaurs

Evolved

Well-fed

Happy

Men

Partner

Guy No 1/2/3

Chicks

Breasts

Sport

Brains

Boy

Topics of conversation

Cricket

Airplanes

Plane size

Opening ceremony – world-cup thingy

Opening game

Chicks

Breasts

Sport

Cars

Fiction

World peace

Emotion

Females

Girlfriends

Girl

Women

Chicks

Birds

Chattering

b. Ideologically Contested Words

Talk, gossip

c. Overwording

Breasts x3

Chicks x5

Girlfriend x4, Girl x3

Guy x5

Men/Man x9

Male x1

d. Rewording

Chicks, birds, women, girls, girlfriends

Men, boy, guy, male, partner, dinosaurs

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations**Synonymy**

Males-men

Females-girls

Males-guys

Females-girlfriends

Males-boy

Females-women

Males-partner

Females-chicks

Female-birds

Antonymy

Men-Women

f. Dysphemistic Expressions

Beers and wine flattened

g. Formal

Sparkling conversation-opening gambit

Configuration

Appreciative

Enthralled

Informal

you know the drill

jeez

World cup thingy

Beers and wine flattened

Chicks and birds

Chicks

Chattering and tweeting

h. Expressive values**Positive**

precious hours

perfect configuration

school disco

fiction

emotion

world peace

Negative

World cup thingy

Hate

Gender stereotypes

cricket

chattering

tweeting

chicks

birds

plane size

i. Metaphors

Men and women are chalk and cheese

“One girlfriend’s partner (Guy No. 2) looks panicked – because he’s sitting next to me – and stares longingly down towards the end of the table where Guy No. 3 delivers his sparkling conversation-opening gambit.”

“I hate conforming to gender stereotypes. But – in the face of precious hours with girlfriends spent discussing...cricket? – desperate measures are called for! “I’m moving!” says Girlfriend No. 2, and suddenly we have a perfect configuration of women a one end of the table and men at the other. Just like at a school disco (except we don’t want them to come over and talk to us).”

Men are dinosaurs/animals

“that the men I hang out with are dinosaurs,”

“I sent them off to survey as many men under 35 as they could to back up their claims. What did we find? “Chicks, breasts, sport, more chicks...”.

“Men. Sometimes it’s easier to keep them well-fed and happy than try and understand what goes on in their brains”

G.1.2. Grammar**a. Agency**

Very clear, the writer is taking full responsibility for her role and the comments that she makes, she is not afraid to state her role as the agent.

b. Nominalisations

“his sparkling conversation-opening gambit”

“a one-that-got-away gesture”

c. Active or Passive sentences

All active sentences as the agency of the letter is clear. There is no attempt to hide the writer, or leave the reader wondering whose opinion this is.

d. Positive or negative sentences

All positive sentences, except for three negative sentences when reference is made to the other sex, and there seems to be a desire not to blend the two sexes or admit that there may be commonality between the two.

“(except we don’t want them to come over)”

“Don’t you get bored?”

“Don’t you run out of things to say to each other?”

e. Modes

Declarative predominantly with 8 imperatives and 4 interrogatives. These however appear during instances of direct speech usually in the case of the males speaking. E.g. “Jeez! Did you see the new airbus flying overhead at the cricket? It’s huge!”

f. Relational modality

None

g. Pronouns

“We” is used both inclusively and exclusively. Inclusively in that it groups all the females in the text and any female readers, however it distances the females from the

males. For example, ““We’re finished,” they chorus with one voice, and get up to leave. WE, of course, have only just begun”.

Here the capitalised WE excludes the males and shows a very clear division between the two genders.

“You” is rarely used and tends to only be in the instances of direct speech. It is used very exclusively though, again emphasising the differences between the two genders, e.g. “Don’t you get bored? Don’t you run out of things to say to each other?”

h. Expressive modality

The use of “are” to express belief or truth in a statement. So, the writer uses “desperate measures are called for” as she believes that something needs to be done regarding the organisation of the seating so that all participants achieve maximum pleasure from the experience.

“Catriona Ross and Cathy Lund told me that the men I hang out with are dinosaurs, and the men *they* know and love are infinitely more evolved”, these are statements of fact and belief made by the speakers however the writer aims to prove them wrong and because this fact is attributed it means the expressive modality of this sentence is low..

i. Reference to inside and outside the text

Determiners are one of the features used for this. Some tend to code presupposition, e.g. “You know the drill” – everyone should know that when a mixed group go out for dinner they sit in a certain way – boy, girl, boy, girl etc.

It can also be used very inclusively or exclusively, e.g. “the men I hang out with...the men they know” – the men are grouped together as “males” but are then divided into yours and theirs.

Negative sentences also position the ideology as being/having been made elsewhere, for example, “Don’t you get bored?” said by the man, implies that if he was to be a woman he would get bored with the topics women talk about.

G.2: *Cosmopolitan* Editor's Letter, Description – May 2003

G.2.1 Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

Fashionable/Unfashionable

Genes/not in the genes

Fat/thin

Old Fashion/New fashion

b. Ideologically Contested Words

Sexy

c. Overwording

Jeans x7

Unfaithful x2

Guy/Man x3

d. Ideologically significant meaning relations

Synonymy

Woman-bird

e. Formal

selective

misdemeanours

enthusiasm

aptitude

ornithologist

Informal

Not-very-nice guy

Snogged

straddled

yank

peppered

fly

pecker

slinky

stretchy

generous-spirited

skanky

f. Expressive values

Positive

Snogged

Jeans

slinky

sexy

slim

stretchy

generous-spirited

fashion

Negative

selective

Misdemeanours

Corsetry

Fashion

Unfaithful

cupcake

skanky

g. Metaphors*Clothes as memories*

“...my memory for faces being what it is, I can't be sure... I do, however, remember exactly what I was wearing when I kissed him (or didn't)”

“I lost the man but kept the jeans. A pretty good result, as far as I am concerned.”

Jeans are elastic

“...very dark, very *very* tight, stretch-denim jeans... your best friend straddled you to yank the zip up. Corsetry for the contemporary teenager...”

“jeans have always been the star fall-back item”

“jeans for every shape and size I've ever been”

“Slinky, sexy ones... The last time I was slim”

“Stretchy generous-spirited ones which I can rely on to forgive me the last cupcake (or three)”

G.2.2 Grammar**a. Agency**

Very clear, the writer is taking full responsibility for her role and the comments that she makes, she is not afraid to state her role as the agent.

b. Nominalisations

None

c. Active or Passive sentences

All active sentences as the agency of the letter is clear. There is no attempt to hide the writer, or leave the reader wondering whose opinion this is.

“...I may or may not have snogged...”

“I think I probably did”

“I've always loved jeans”

d. Positive or negative sentences

Generally positive sentences unless talking about the men in this situation or context. It seems as though she is trying to say clothing, such as jeans, are more reliable than men.

“a picture of a really not-very-nice guy I may or may not have snogged once”

“I can't be sure”

“when I kissed him (or didn't)”

“he was lucky it wasn't *this* bird attacking him”

“he wouldn't have got away with his pecker intact”

“don't waste your time on unfaithful, skanky men.”

e. Modes

Declarative predominantly with only 4 imperatives. These appear during periods of almost direct speech acts that show her feelings about the situation.

E.g. “...take *that*, Miss Scarlet O Hara!”, “Take *that*, ornithologist!”

f. Relational modality

“...I may or may not have snogged once...”

Permission is irrelevant here as this statement does not apply to anyone other than the writer.

g. Pronouns

There's one instance of "we" and this is used to refer to the Cosmo group, but mostly lots of use of "you". Generally, the letter is about what happened to the writer and her interpretation of those events, however she does include the reader and makes them feel they are the same and should think the same way as the writer by the use of "you".

"...The kind you got into by lying on your back on the bathroom floor while your best friend straddled you to yank the zip up"

"So here you are..."

The implicit idea is that you have also worn tight jeans and had to yank jeans up.

h. Expressive modality

The use of the simple present to express belief or truth in a statement.

"They're peppered with peck-holes around the fly." – this is a statement of fact about how the holes were made in his jeans.

"So here you are: a 100-page COSMO special on the All-Time Greatest Fashion Item *plus* a bumper issue of the all-time greatest magazine feature that we know you love."

- a statement of fact that the reader likes jeans and will appreciate this extra edition.

i. Reference to inside and outside the text

Determiners and pronouns are the features used for this. The use of determiners in this editorial are not particularly significant, but the pronouns "he" and "you" refer to things outside of the text. Referents of certain behaviour, the "he" and the readers "you".

There is also an Intertextual link to DNA genes, used in the title to link to jeans. It suggests that clothing and a desire for fashion is in the blood, and most women have that.

G.3: *Cosmopolitan* Editor's Letter, Description – June 2003

G.3.1 Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

Single/married

Grateful/ungrateful

Male/female

Old/young

Experienced/inexperienced

Lexical Sets

Age

Creeping cellulite

Wrinkles

Grumpiness

b. Ideologically Contested Words

Marriage

c. Overwording

Lucky x4

Grateful/gratitude x3

Marriage/marry/married x7

Numbers x12 (40, 32, 32, 8, 10, 11, 10, 100, 50, 40, 81, 100)

d. Ideologically significant meaning relations

Synonymy

Man=husband

Smug=Lucky

Happily=confidently

Man=Mr Madeleine

Happily=gratefully

Marriage=Do It

Wife=vision in Vera Wang

Marriage=long, good, lasting love

Wanderlust=travel-bug stuff

Antonymy

Right marriage vs. wrong man

e. Euphemistic Expressions

Wanderlust (and has negative expressive value)

“Do It”

f. Formal

endear

sceptic

smorgasbord

Informal

Roaring

Hefty

swipe

friskiness

wanderlust

travel-bug stuff

huntin

g. Expressive values**Positive**

Fantastic
 Roaring
 Libido
 Hefty
 Stellar
 Sexy
 Radiant
 Smug
 Lucky
 Grateful
 Fairy tale
 Marriage
 Blissfully
 Babe
 Gratitude
 Mark

Negative

terrible
 sceptic
 friskiness
 wanderlust
 smorgasbord

h. Metaphors

Women are princesses in fairytales

“The terrible, fantastic Madeleine – she of the roaring libido, hefty bank balance, stellar ex-boyfriends and sexy voice – has finally got married. In a meringue. With a choir.”

“...the honey-suckle- and rose-draped canopy...”

“...the vision in Vera Wang has decided to marry at all – never mind marry him...”

“They live happily (she confidently, he gratefully) for ever and ever. The End”

“...the fairy tale many of us wish for in our Barbie-doll moments.”

“the search for a long, good, lasting love is an honourable one”

Relationships are games

“...a woman must marry a man whom she considers an 8 out of 10. (Room for improvement but pretty damn good.)”

“Happy huntin”

G.3.2 Grammar**a. Agency**

Very clear, the writer is taking full responsibility for her role and the comments that she makes, she is not afraid to state her role as the agent.

b. Nominalisations

None

c. Active or Passive sentences

Mostly active sentences as the agency of the letter is clear. There is no attempt to hide the writer, or leave the reader wondering whose opinion this is.

“‘You look radiant,’ I say to her....”

“‘You look...smug,’ I tell him...”

“I’ve had theories...”

d. Positive or negative sentences

All positive, except for “If you want the right marriage, do not choose the wrong man”. This emphasises the impact of choosing the right person to get married to.

e. Modes

Mostly declarative, apart from two interrogatives, “our COSMO tip?” and “Lucky?” and a few exclamation “I’m very, very lucky!” and “You bet he’s lucky!”

f. Relational modality

“...a woman *must* marry a man she considers an 8...”

“A man, on the other hand, *must* marry...”

“you *must* get any sexual friskiness out of your system...”

g. Pronouns

“you” is used quite often either to refer to Madeleine or Mr M, or else it refers to us as readers, especially towards the end, e.g. “...you must get any sexual friskiness out of your system...”

No use of “we”

h. Expressive modality

The use of “are/is” to express belief or truth in a statement.

“She’s 40”

“Her man...*is* 32”

“You bet he’s lucky”

“The fact that he understands just how lucky he *is*, and *is* grateful”

“One of them *is* that a woman must marry a man whom she considers an 8 out of 10.”

“A man...and who *is*, in his opinion, practically perfect in every way.”

“Gratitude *is* very important...”

“...he *is* swept away...”

“...the search for a long, good, lasting love *is* an honourable one.”

“This theory *must* be true...”

i. Reference to inside and outside the text

Determiners and pronouns are the features used for this.

“you” is used to refer to people within and outside the text, the people the editor is writing about and the readers of the letter.

G.4: *Cosmopolitan* Editor's Letter, Description – July 2003

G.4.1 Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

Prudish/Relaxed-Liberal
 Fashionable/unfashionable
 Waxing/shaving
 Sexy/Unhygienic-Dirty

Lexical Sets

Body parts

Legs
 Eye
 Bone

Brazilian waxes

Wax
 Public displays of affection
 Gynaecologist
 Going commando
 Unhygienic
 Uncomfortable

b. Ideologically Contested Words

Commando
 Brazilian wax

c. Rewording

thong-thing-knickerless-commando

d. Overwording

Wax/waxing/waxes x5
 Brazilian x3
 Girl x2
 Commando x3
 Gynaecologist x2
 Leg(s) x4

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations

Antonymy

Commando-unhygienic-uncomfortable
 Prudish-sexually free

f. Euphemistic Expressions

None

g. Formal

wielding
 influential

Informal

Cracks me up
 drippy

inspiring
gynaecologist
prudish
unhygienic

gosh
sort of
splattered
yanked
slacker
gasp
Mag
Yeeuch
Bone to pick
Tackies
You go

h. Expressive values

Positive

Sunny
Funny
Quick as lightning
Very influential
Affection
inspiring
gynaecologist
smarter
commando
thong
thing
trends
knickers
good
magazine
secrets
no-regret
ultimatum
stronger
sex-personality
test
girl
love
very latest

Negative

prickly
evil
glint
Bone to pick
Hot
Nasty
Drippy
Wax
Brazilian
Waxes
Yeeuch
Gynaecologist
Splattered
Yanked
Hard
Ouch
commando
unhygienic
uncomfortable
prudish
puffball skirts
platform tackies
revolting
vicious
horrorstories
horrible

i. Metaphors

Sexiness is like getting caught in sinking sand

“...a girl wants to hear from someone wielding a strip of hot, nasty, drippy wax over her sensitive winter legs...”

““You can’t imagine the view! Yeeuch. If I’d wanted to be a gynaecologist, I’d have been born smarter!” she snapped, as she splattered down a strip of wax and yanked it off. Hard. Ouch!”

“Unhygienic and uncomfortable is what I’d call it, but I’ve always been a little prudish for this job. As Elaine says, if I’d wanted to be a gynaecologist...”

“...our mission at COSMO to bring you the very latest in trends and, if I’m honest, I think puffball skirts and platform tackies were far more revolting than wearing no knickers.”

“...the pain of a vicious leg wax,”

G.4.2 Grammar

a. Agency

Agency is very clear. The writer states her opinion and does not try and place agency elsewhere, except when telling the story of the waxer. The waxer’s agency is also very clear.

“‘You!’ she said with an evil glint in her eye, ‘I’ve got a bone to pick with you...’”

“I think I’ll shave my legs from now on, particularly after Elaine has read this month’s issue.”

b. Nominalisations

None

c. Active or Passive sentences

All active.

“I think I’ll shave my legs...”

“...she splattered down a strip of wax...”

d. Positive or negative sentences

Mostly positive apart from three negative sentences:

“I suppose...Not to me, though”

“Don’t ask me.”

“...so, if you can’t stomach tales of the knickerless...”

e. Modes

Mostly declarative, apart from some exclamatives “You!”, “Brazilian waxes! All your fault!” amongst others and three interrogatives, “How did that happen?”, “Had I gone to sleep...Indeed?” and “Why is it called ‘commando’?”

f. Relational modality

None

g. Pronouns

“You” is used often to refer to the writer from her beautician’s point of view, i.e.

“‘You!’ She said with an evil glint in her eye...”

“First, you tell people...”

It is also used to refer extensively to the reader:

“Now this, as *you* can imagine...”

“...to take *your* mind off...”

“...if *you* can’t stomach tales...”

“*you* go, girl!” – this one however, deals directly with the reader, where the previous ones were partly inclusive of both reader and writer.

No “we”, except for “...*our* mission at Cosmo...” links the writer and other people who work in the magazine. They are seen as a whole group, with ideas in common.

h. Expressive modality

The use of “are/is” to express belief or truth in a statement.

“She *is* usually sunny, funny and quick as lightning. But yesterday she *was* in prickly form”

“Now this, as you can imagine, *is* hardly what a girl wants to hear...”

“‘*It’s* that COSMO mag!’ she said”

“Last month’s *Public Displays of Affection* *was* sort of inspiring” – low modality

“...going commando *is* this year’s Big Thong (er, Thing). Why *is* it called

‘commando’?” – low modality

“Unhygienic and uncomfortable *is* what I’d call it...”

“...*it’s* always been our mission at COSMO to bring you the very latest in trends”

“*There’s* nothing like a good magazine...”

“...read what *it’s* like to love a slacker...”

i. Reference to inside and outside the text

Determiners and pronouns are the features used for this.

Pronoun “you” used to refer to the readers, but there is also intertextuality linking this to other ideologies in the world, such as gynaecologists have to be clever, leg hair must be removed, and to do this you should ideally wax, but if you can’t do that then you should shave your legs.

G.5: *Cosmopolitan* Editor's Letter, Description – August 2003

G.5.1 Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

Funny/Not funny
 Dating/Staying single
 Wealthy/Poor
 Fat/Thin

Lexical Sets

Wealth
 Rolling-in-it-rich ones
 Wealthy
 Big
 Endowed
 Cash

Weight
 Big
 Diet
 Weight Watchers
 Fat chick
 Pasta
 Rogue kilos
 Weight

b. Ideologically Contested Words

Sense of humour
 Date
 Wealthy
 Diet
 Weight watchers
 “big” (playing on the word ‘big’ in the dating world would mean fat, but here they are also wealthy)

c. Rewording

Wealth-Cash-Rich-rolling-in-it rich ones-wealthy

d. Overwording

Date/dating/dated x4
 Diet x2
 Guy(s) x3
 Randy x3
 Rich/wealthy x2
 Life x3
 Weight-watchers (WW) x4
 Man x2
 Girls x1
 Babe x1

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations**Synonymy**

Weights Watchers=Alcoholics Anonymous

Personality=diet

Big=wealthy=fat(?)

Antonymy

Rich=poor

Wealth=sense of humour

Personality=diet

f. Euphemistic Expressions

None

g. Formal

Expert

Endowed

Rebellious

Succeeding

Gospel

prominently

youth

Informal

Guy

Ho-ho

Struggling

Rolling-in-it-rich ones

Slunk

Chick

Bumper sticker

Shifty

Shirty

Rogue

Kilos

Nibbling

Ballsy

Unfunny

h. Expressive values**Positive**

Dated
 Joke
 Sense of humour
 Friend
 Student
 watchers
 succeeding
 gospel
 weight
 achievable
 healthy
 enjoy
 ballsy

Negative

Randy
 Dated
 Joke
 struggling
 wealthy
 diet
 slunk
 shifty
 embarrassed

World dating expert
 Nice
 Rolling-in-it rich ones
 wealthy
 diet
 endowed
 weight
 meetings
 church halls
 pasta
 carbohydrates
 personality
 rebellious
 shirty
 lazy
 rogue
 kilos
 weight
 nibbling
 lettuce leaves
 unfunny
 Weight watchers
 Alcoholics anonymous

i. Metaphors

Good personalities are priceless

“You’ve got to ask what a man like this really has going for him... And as for a sense of humour? Obviously not.”

“So perhaps it follows that their son was better endowed with cash than he was blessed with a sense of humour.”

Struggle is a journey

“My friend, then a struggling student trying to find her way in a big city, said: ‘A date is a date.’”

““You never know. He might have a nice friend.””

Women are like babies

“My friend, then a struggling student trying to find her way in a big city, said: ‘A date is a date.’ My father – world dating expert – would have said: ‘You never know. He might have a nice friend.’”

Weight problems are like mud on a persons face

“I slunk into a Weight Watchers meeting last week”

“It is, I imagine, like Alcoholics Anonymous for people who can’t get enough pasta”

“Everyone looks shifty and embarrassed...”

““Oh! I didn’t realise you were on WW!””

A weight problem is a disease

“Whether WW will cure me of my lifelong love affair with carbohydrates...”

Cosmopolitan is a bible

“And remember the gospel according to COSMO”

G.5.2 Grammar

a. Agency

Agency is very clear, the writer’s ideas and comments are accounted for and so are any other participants in the letter.

“I thought of Randy as I slunk into a Weight Watchers meeting last week...”

“Meetings take place in church halls and it’s very, ‘Hi. I’m Vanessa. I’m a person who eats more pasta than she should.’”

b. Nominalisations

None

c. Active or Passive sentences

Mostly active sentences as agency is clear and there is no attempt to hide the agent.

“My friend, then a struggling student trying to find her way in a big city, said...”

“I can’t remember...”

“I thought of Randy as I slunk into a Weight Watchers meeting last week...”

d. Positive or negative sentences

All positive, apart from six negative sentences:

“It certainly isn’t his first name”

“Obviously not.”

“I can’t remember whether Randy introduced her to nice friends”

“It is, I imagine, like Alcoholics Anonymous for people who can’t get enough pasta”

““Oh! I didn’t realise you were on WW!””

“A life of nibbling lettuce leaves is simply not a life worth living.”

e. Modes

All declarative, apart from 4 interrogatives – “His idea of a joke?”, “What do you call a good-looking woman in Philadelphia?”, “Randy?”, and “And as for a sense of humour?” and no imperatives.

f. Relational modality

None

g. Pronouns

“You” is used to refer to the readers and writers and is used in the same sense as “one” – “*You’ve* got to ask what a man like this really has going for him.”

“We” is sometimes used but to refer to the group of people the writer is familiar with – it does not include the reader – “How *we* all laughed at that one”

h. Expressive modality

The use of “are/is” to express belief or truth in a statement.

“It certainly *isn't* his first name...”

“So perhaps it follows that their son *was* better endowed with cash than he was blessed with a sense of humour.” (low modality)

“It *is*, I imagine, like Alcoholics Anonymous...” (low modality)

“...*it's* very, ‘Hi. I’m Vanessa. I’m a person who eats more pasta than she should.’”

“*It's* my personality, of course, that’s the problem...”

“...a happy weight *is* achievable, healthy and allows you to enjoy yourself. A life of nibbling lettuce leaves *is* simply not a life worth living.”

The use of modal verbs in these examples also gives high expressive modality:

“Mr and Mrs Perelman *could* as easily have called him Rover”

“My father – world dating expert – *would* have said: ‘You never know. He *might* have a nice friend.’”

“I’m a person who eats more pasta than she *should*.”

“It *would* take a lot to keep my rogue kilos off”

i. Reference to inside and outside the text

There is a reference here to sexist jokes and the fact that the writer doesn’t find them funny. She responds sarcastically to Randy’s joke and the readers agree with her. She also states that there are people in the outside world that would think this joke was funny, but the writer and her friends don’t, and neither should Cosmo readers.

The “rich guy, poor humour” links back to the expression “rich man, poor man”.

The way she talks about Weight Watchers is very closely aligned with Alcoholics Anonymous – the way they talk, where they hold the meetings, I feel that she likes Weight Watchers but it is embarrassing to be seen there and so links it to AA, which is potentially embarrassing and rather taboo in society.

Also the use of “the” before “problem” presupposes that one is overweight.

G.6: *Cosmopolitan* Editor's Letter, Description – September 2003

G.6.1 Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

Current lover/Ex lover

Past/Present

Sought/Found

Good-looking/Ugly/deteriorated

Normal/Perverted

Prudish/Liberal

Old/Young

Lexical Sets

Relationships

Ex

Dumped

First love

Date

Dating special

Pornography

Porn sites

Yuckier

Sleaze bag

Naughtymaleschoolteachers.com

Whippingwalter.co.za

b. Ideologically Contested Words

Snoopy

Porn

c. Overwording

Search engine x2

Googled/googles/googling x5

Ex x5

Porn x4

People/person x5

d. Ideologically significant meaning relations

Synonymy

Search engine=Google

Google=snoop

Antonymy

Under-achieving=over-achieving

Thicker=thinner

e. Euphemistic Expressions

“dates fuelled by Bison grass vodka...”

f. Formal

notorious
terrorised
credentials

Informal

Snoopy
Dumped
googled
messing about
yuckier
perving
weird
sleaze bag
sheepish
lousy
porn
take-him-home-to-mom

g. Expressive values**Positive**

Love
Gift
Over-achieving
Rich
Famous
Fabulously
Delighted
charmingly
innocent
credentials
search engine
take-him-home-to-mom

Negative

snoopy
nerd
unflattering
meanly
under-achieving
dumped
sadly
Notorious
Terrorised
Messing about
Porn sites
Yuckier
Perving
Shame
Exposed
Sleaze bag
Sheepish
Lousy
Thinner
Thicker

h. Metaphors

Sexually adventurous and free people are like dirt

Apparently, most people, statistically, go straight to porn sites. The yuckier the better. Writer Sean Thomas spent so much time perving at porn sites, he landed up in hospital (see page 122). Weird.”

“Has he no shame? Doesn’t he have a snoopy girlfriend? Wasn’t he worried she would find out? Didn’t the thought of being exposed as a Sleaze Bag put him off?”

Men are animals

"I don't get it. What's so exciting about porn sites anyway? More evidence that if Women are from Mars, Men are from Penis."

"I feel sheepish enough just imagining what people will think when they discover I've been Googling my exes – never mind what they'd think if I was visiting *naughtymaleschoolteachers.com* or *whippingwalter.co.za* or whatever porn sites are meant to appeal to women."

Women are like sniffer dogs

"I love search engines. They're a gift to snoopy girls with too much time on their hands"

"Doesn't he have a snoopy girlfriend? Wasn't he worried she would find out? Didn't the thought of being exposed as a Sleaze Bag put him off?"

G.6.2 Grammar**a. Agency**

This is very clear, the writer is not hiding her opinions and feelings and states them explicitly.

"I love search engines."

"When I Googled my ex..."

"I even Googled my first love..."

This is used because the writer wants the reader to connect with them and realise that everyone has similar feelings etc.

b. Nominalisations

"...take him-home-to-mom-material..."

"...the under-achieving ex..."

c. Active or Passive sentences

Mostly active sentences with no attempts at agent deletion.

"I was meanly delighted to note..."

"I also Googled the under-achieving ex..."

"I'd forgotten that he has the same name as the notorious Son of Sam..."

"People can waste hours messing about online."

d. Positive or negative sentences

Mostly positive, except for 9 negative sentences (a higher proportion than in the others).

"...about whom I *haven't* thought much in years..."

"Well, that last bit is *not* strictly true..."

"...the man who *wasn't* a murderer, just a nice Jewish doctor..."

"I'm *not* the only one who Googles guys"

"I *don't* get it."

"Has he *no* shame?"

"*Doesn't* he have a snoopy girlfriend?"

"*Wasn't* he worried she would find out?"

"*Didn't* the thought of being exposed as a Sleaze Bag put him off?"

e. Modes

Mostly declarative, except for 5 interrogatives –

“What’s so exciting about porn sites anyway?”

“Has he no shame?”

“Doesn’t he have a snoopy girlfriend?”

“Wasn’t he worried she would find out?”

“Didn’t the thought of being exposed as a Sleaze Bag put him off?”

f. Relational modality

None

g. Pronouns

“You” is used only twice in this letter, which is quite different to others in which it is used much more often. It is only used in the last paragraph when the writer wants to finally link the issues she’s been talking about to the reader.

“...so let me tell *you* this:...”

“*You* need COSMO’s Dating Special ...”

No “we” used.

h. Expressive modality

The use of “are/is” to express belief or truth in a statement.

“*They’re* a gift to snoopy girls...”

“...he *was* as over-achieving, rich and famous as ever, but that his cousin Aubrey *was* a nerd who’d...”

“I *was* meanly delighted...”

“...he *is* now producing movie videos for ‘N Sync and REM. *There’s* no justice....”

“*What’s* so exciting about porn sites anyway?”

“More evidence that if Women *are* from Mars, Men *are* from Penis.”

i. Reference to inside and outside the text

“The” is used mostly to refer to the people in the writer’s life who she is talking about, “*the* under-achieving ex...”, “*the* Movie Guy” etc. and presupposes there are real categories.

She uses “he” to refer to men outside, that she has not met but is talking about generically – “has *he* no shame?”, “doesn’t *he* have a snoopy girlfriend?”. By talking about men as “he”, it makes female readers group together.

Appendix H: FHM Cover Lines

H.1: FHM Cover Page – April 2003

It's a guy thing!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

“BABY, YOU BETTER FETCH A TOWEL!”

Satisfy your lady friend again and again!

Together at last: nine babes on one fold out cover!

BAYWATCH BONANZA!

PLUS! One man's torture-chamber hell, monster fuel guzzlers, sporting losers, Martin Scorsese, win prizes worth R90 000, a new Ferrari, Pollock vs Pollock, and a guy who carts around dead folk

RIGHT SIDE

FREE MAGAZINE!

Bumper fashion manual!

FREE FHM F1 GUIDE 2003

H.2: FHM Cover Page – May 2003

It's a guy thing!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

SEX OVERLOAD!

Seduce any woman!

Score one-night stands!

Hear girls talk dirty!

10 VILLAINS!

300 COPS!

15 000 ROUNDS!

The world's bloodiest shootouts ever!

'FIFTEEN FERRARIS AND A LEARJET, PLEASE!'

The mad German who blew R50m in a day...

WELL, HELLO...CANDICE!

Turn up the volume – she's ready to rock!

RIGHT SIDE

HOT, FRESH HONEYS FREE!

THE GIRLS OF FHM BONUS MAG!

WORST CRASHES EVER!

PLUS! The sexy Hilton sisters, how to kick a conversion, cycling underwater, Bob Skinstad, a stripper school, Shaggy, get high legally, and a loo shaped like a rocking horse

H.3: FHM Cover Page – June 2003

It's a guy thing!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

'SORRY, TRACY CAN'T COME TO THE PHONE RIGHT NOW...'

Bondage for beginners

ON TONIGHT'S MENU – YOU!

Meet the loathsome parasites that are eating you alive!

MORONS AT WAR!

The worst military blunders of all time!

POP'S NEW PRINCESS!

HOLLY VALANCE!

In a shoot so sexy you'll weep!

RIGHT SIDE

FREE!

Threesome-fantasy pin-up poster

PLUS! Rio Ferdinand, 50 great fashion ideas, babes talk dirty, The Matrix, chainsaw art, Bikini Heaven winner, the new Airbus, and how to zombie proof your house!

DO THE FHM MAN TEST!

H.4: FHM Cover Page – July 2003

It's a guy thing!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

EXCLUSIVE! JENNIFER LOVE HEWITT stars in our sizzling shoot!

THE FHM GIRLFRIEND TEST

How does yours measure up?

EAT DIRT! BURN RUBBER! POP WHEELIES!

It's the massive FHM bike special!

'GRAVITY, YOU BASTARD!'

The man who crash-landed twice in one day

RIGHT SIDE

FREE!

100 SEXIEST WOMEN IN THE WORLD 2003!

PLUS! Gina Athans, prison gangs, how to become a saint, when real men ruled the earth, test your girlfriend, and a robot that brings you beer!

H.5: FHM Cover Page – August 2003

It's a guy thing!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

SUPERMODELS! LAPDANCERS! YOUR BEST MATE'S BABE!

With FHM's handy seduction guide any girl can be yours!

'DON'T MESS WITH ME CHINA – I KNOW JUDO!'

Our man gets moered trying out six martial arts!

POO AND LEARN!

365 fascinating facts to learn on the bog!

SHEEZ! IT'S SA'S SEXIEST!

MEGAN MCKENZIE

Join her inside for shower hour!

RIGHT SIDE

It's like dating twins!

Double-sided poster

FREE!

PLUS! Victoria Silvstedt, a guide to sloth, boeremeisies talk dirty, an attack chopper,

Shane Warne, 54 cool gadgets, and how to get rid of a corpse...

10 WILDEST PARTIES EVER!

H.6: FHM Cover Page – September 2003

It's a guy thing!

1. Cover page headings (Starting from top left corner)

LEFT SIDE

50 WEIRD TURN-ONS!

25 TOP MOVIE SCENES!

8 WAYS TO SMUGGLE DRUGS!

1 ENTHUSIASTIC RENT BOY!

SPORTSMEN'S BABES

Glorious fold-out cover: the hotties who make sure Fish, McKenzie, Joost and the boys always score at home...

RIGHT SIDE

The best-ever joke Book

FREE!

You'll hose yourself!

THE HONEY SEARCH IS ON!

Issue	Title		Layout & Graphology
		<i>Slogan</i>	<i>Top-Left Hand Caption</i>
FHM (For Him Magazine)			
April '03	FHM	"It's a guy thing!"	"Baby, you better fetch a towel!" " Satisfy your lady friend again and again"
May '03	FHM	"It's a guy thing!"	"Sex Overload! Seduce any woman! Score one-night stands! Hear girls talk dirty!"
June '03	FHM	"It's a guy thing!"	"Sorry, Tracy can't come to the phone right now...' Bondage for beginners"
July '03	FHM	"It's a guy thing!"	"Exclusive! Jennifer Love Hewitt stars in our sizzling shoot!"
August '03	FHM	"It's a guy thing!"	"Supermodels! Lapdancers! Your best mate's babe! With FHM's handy seduction guide any girl can be yours!"
September '03	FHM	"It's a guy thing!"	"50 weird turn-ons! 25 top movie scenes! 8 ways to smuggle drugs! 1 enthusiastic rent boy!"

Appendix J.1: *FHM* Cover Page - April 2003

FHM

FREE!
MAGAZINE
Bumper fashion manual!

IT'S A GUY THING
APRIL 2003
R24.95 (incl VAT)

**'BABY, YOU BETTER
FETCH A TOWEL!'**
Satisfy your ladyfriend
again and again!

**FREE!
FHM
F1 GUIDE
2003**

Together at last: nine babes on one fold-out cover!

BAYWATCH BONANZA!

PLUS! One man's torture-chamber hell, monster fuel guzzlers, sporting losers, Martin Scorsese, win prizes worth R90 000, a new Ferrari, Pollock vs Pollock, and a guy who carts around dead folk

9 577 1562 4 69000 0
04040

Appendix J.2: FHM Cover Page - May 2003

FHM

**HOT, FRESH HONEYS
FREE!
THE GIRLS OF FHM
BONUS MAG!**

IT'S A GUY THING
MAY 2003 R24.95 (incl VAT)

**SEX
OVERLOAD!**
Seduce any woman!
Score one-night stands!
Hear girls talk dirty!

**10 VILLAINS!
300 COPS!
15 000 ROUNDS!**
The world's bloodiest
shootouts ever!

**'FIFTEEN FERRARIS
AND A LEARJET, PLEASE!'**
The mad German who
blew R50m in a day...

**WELL, HELLO...
CANDICE!**
Turn up the volume - she's ready to rock!

**WORST
CRASHES
EVER!**

PLUS!
The sexy Hilton
sisters, how to kick a
conversion, cycling
underwater, Bob
Skinstad, a stripper
school, Shaggy,
get high legally,
and a loo shaped
like a rocking horse

9 771582 489000
05441

Appendix J.3: FHM Cover Page - June 2003

FHM

FREE!
Threesome-fantasy pin-up poster

PLUS!
Rio Ferdinand, 50 great fashion ideas, babes talk dirty, The Matrix, chainsaw art, Bikini Heaven winner, the new Airbus, and how to zombie proof your house!

IT'S A GUY THING
JUNE 2003 #24,95 (incl VAT)

'SORRY, TRACY CAN'T COME TO THE PHONE RIGHT NOW...'
Bondage for beginners

ON TONIGHT'S MENU - YOU!
Meet the loathsome parasites that are eating you alive!

MORONS AT WAR!
The worst military blunders of all time!

POP'S NEW PRINCESS!
HOLLY VALANCE!
In a shoot so sexy you'll weep!

DO THE FHM MAN TEST!

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Appendix J.4: *FHM* Cover Page - July 2003

A photograph of Jennifer Love Hewitt, the cover star of FHM magazine. She is shown from the chest up, wearing a white strapless corset-style top. Her hair is dark and styled, with some strands blowing across her face. She is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. The background is a plain, light color.

FHM

IT'S A GUY THING
JULY 2003 R26,95 (Incl VAT)

FREE!
**100 SEXIEST
WOMEN IN THE
WORLD 2003!**

EXCLUSIVE!
**JENNIFER
LOVE
HEWITT**
stars in our sizzling shoot!

**THE FHM
GIRLFRIEND TEST**
How does yours
measure up?

**EAT DIRT!
BURN RUBBER!
POP WHEELIES!**
It's the massive
FHM bike special!

**'GRAVITY, YOU
BASTARD!'**
The man who
crash-landed
twice in one day

PLUS!
Gina Athans, prison
gangs, how to become
a saint, when real men
ruled the earth, test your
girlfriend, and a robot
that brings your beer!

07048
9 771562 489000

Appendix J.5: FHM Cover Page - August 2003

FHM

It's like dating twins!
Double-sided poster

FREE!

IT'S A GUY THING
AUGUST 2003 R26,95 (Incl VAT)

**SUPERMODELS!
LAPDANCERS!
YOUR BEST
MATE'S BABE!**

With FHM's handy
seduction guide any
girl can be yours!

**'DON'T MESS WITH ME,
CHINA - I KNOW JUDO!'**

Our man gets moered
trying out six martial arts!

POO AND LEARN!

365 fascinating facts
to learn on the bog!

SHEEZ! IT'S SA'S SEXIEST!

MEGAN MCKENZIE

Join her inside for shower hour!

PLUS!

Victoria Silvstedt, a guide
to sloth, boereiseis talk
dirty, an attack chopper,
Shane Warne, 54 cool
gadgets, and how to get
rid of a corpse...

**10
WILDEST
PARTIES
EVER!**



Appendix J.6: *FHM* Cover Page - September 2003

FHM

The best-ever Joke Book

FREE!

You'll hose yourself!

IT'S A GUY THING
SEPTEMBER 2003
R26,95 (incl VAT)



50 WEIRD TURN-ONS!
25 TOP MOVIE SCENES!
8 WAYS TO SMUGGLE DRUGS!
1 ENTHUSIASTIC RENT BOY!

THE HONEY SEARCH IS ON!

SPORTSMEN'S BABES ▶

Glorious fold-out cover: the hotties who make sure Fish, McKenzie, Joost and the boys always score at home...

Appendix K: *FHM* Editor's Letters April to September 2003

K.1: *FHM* Editor's Letter – April 2003

I'm sure you're familiar with English glamour model Jordan. Having made an intimate study of the young lady – and not because my tastes run to buxom English girls who can't keep their clothes on, necessarily – I have a couple of thoughts I'd like to share with you. In our efforts to bring you the tastiest Pit Girls for this year's annual *FHM F1 Guide*, of which you are now the proud owner, it was impossible to escape the woman. As a PR babe for the Jordan F1 team, she was to be seen adding to the noise in the pits in about 300 photos (check her out on page 22 of the guide).

Women and cars make fine bedfellows, so to speak, and I'd like to draw your eye to a further comparison.

Looking back at some of the F1 vehicles from the Thirties and Forties, it is difficult to imagine why anyone would want to get into one of those deathtraps and hurtle around the track at 150km/h. Next to Schumi's Ferrari, the cars legends like Fangio drove back in the day look like tin cans on wheels. However, that is nothing compared to the progress Jordan's breasts have made when compared to her earlier, re-fuel injected sisters.

In the early days Jordan was what any man would describe as a finely proportioned young lady with the kind of breasts that had justly made her a world-famous icon.

However, she clearly wasn't satisfied and, year-on-year, slight adjustments and modifications have been made – a nip here, a gallon of silicone there – so that today they barely resemble the breasts they once were.

It's a shame, if you ask me. The nice thing about breasts is that they all used to be different, like the racing cars of old. When cars were unique, they were all the more interesting. Today the only noticeable difference to the uniformed punter is the paint job, and the team that can afford the best technology wins.

So too breasts. These fine mounds used to have their own idiosyncrasies and varying proportions, when the playing fields were level. With the advances of modern surgery, however, the girl with the best surgeon wins.

I'm all for the new FIA rules aimed at cutting down the amount of cash teams are allowed to spend in this year's Formula One season. It should mean that someone other than Schumi might win a few races. Call me old-fashioned, but I think similar rules should be in place for breast enhancement. I can understand that girls want to add a little padding where necessary, but a size limit should be enforced so things don't get out of hand.

While we're discussing enhancements, you'll find this issue of *FHM* has a few changes of its own.

Our "Reviews" section has moved to the back of the book, and up front we have a new section called "Private Relations", aimed at turning you into a love machine.

Gentlemen, start your engines.

K.2: *FHM* Editor's Letter – May 2003

I'd always fancied myself a good driver. My dad was foolish enough to buy me a car when I was 16 and let me drive myself rather than have me hitch around to dodgy nightclubs in strange parts of town, so by the time I turned 18, I had a head start on all my mates. My dad trusted my driving, having put me through rigorous training at the Cresta Centre parking lot, and he trusted my judgment not to get hammered and try to pilot my way home. I'm not sure what he was thinking. Everyone knows that there are few things as untrustworthy as an 18-year old with wheels and few things more lethal than a well-oiled male driver who just got his license.

My Citroen G5 and I had been practising hand-brake turns for a few weeks, and we'd found a great spot just around the corner from my house where a little sand in the road and a nice lazy curve combined to provide the adventurous driver with a perfect skidpan. One night returning home after a few drinks I took my usual route home, came to the skidpan corner...and completely lost it. When your experience with drunken driving is in its infancy you still don't really believe what they say about impaired ability. So it was with some surprise that I felt the back wheels go before I had time to correct. I threw the wheel hastily to the right and massively overcorrected just as I ran out of sand and the wheels gripped again, by which time I was at right angles to the road, facing a brick wall and moving at great speed. The wall posed little obstacle: I was through it in no time before I dropped about a metre to the level of the Van Wyks' yard. I bounced once and slammed into the bedroom wall of the sleeping but soon to be very awake Van Wyks.

It was pretty spectacular. Bricks lay everywhere, one of my headlights miraculously still worked and shone straight at Mrs Van Wyk as she clutched the cover to her and howled like a woman possessed. Thankfully, neither I nor my trusty Citroen suffered much damage.

I was fortunate enough to have the gods who protect the young and foolish on my side, but many have not got off so lightly. Take Alex Zanardi, for example, who emerging from the pits unexpectedly at the Euro Speedway in Germany in 2001, had his car, his legs and his career cut short by Alex Tagliani's passing Reynard-Ford. Or

the hapless Frenchman who was waiting for a tram when the Granville Express stormed into a station in Paris, rammed straight through the barriers, exited the station through a wall and plummeted 10m right onto his head.

For more amusing carnage see “Ooh! That’s Gotta Hurt!” on page 68. If your tastes don’t run to amputation, feast your eyes on our free *Girls of FHM 2003* supplement, full of the world’s hottest honeys.

You’ll be so glad you did. Enjoy the issue!

K.3: FHM Editor's Letter – June 2003

She wouldn't be able to see me tonight, said my friend Julie with a naughty smile playing about her lips. "I'm having a girls' night in." Well, I'd heard of girls' nights *out*, which I generally assumed to mean a bunch of girls getting tipsy over salads in a trendy restaurant, but this was new. The way Julie was smiling made me curious.

I couldn't imagine what a girls' night in would involve. Watching *Sex and the City* while drinking Chardonnay? Discussing home décor tips and swopping recipes? Sitting around talking about vibrators? No matter what images my mind conjured up, none of my own thoughts could have prepared me for the truth.

After an hour of begging Jules to tell me what she was up to, she confessed that she was having a few girlfriends over for a monthly girl-on-girl shagfest.

It would seem that this regular "evening in" featuring four openminded girls (I kid you not, one is Swedish) involves getting together for a slumber party complete with frilly nighties, necking a few e's and then jumping into bed and shagging each other's brains out all night.

If this sounds too good to be true to you, it did to me as well. I knew from personal experience that Julie liked men and their equipment. Why would a straight girl indulge in monthly lesbian sex romps?

While the idea admittedly has a trouser-stretching appeal, it also carries with it certain concerns. If straight girls are turning to their sisters for sex it must mean that we men aren't satisfying them in the sack. Perhaps we're not the studs we all imagine ourselves to be and our girlfriends are getting that little extra from their girlfriends on the side when we think they're out watching romantic comedies together.

After this arousing but disturbing revelation, I started asking all the girls I know whether they'd ever indulged in a little carpet munching. The results of my survey were illuminating. It seems that most modern girls don't mind a little tongue-on-tongue with other girls and many straight girls recommend it as a bit of fun...

If you don't believe me, turn to "They're Dirty, Girls" on page 40 and hear it for yourself straight from the mouths of babes themselves. Of the six girls we interviewed, five of them said they'd had sex with a girl!

I don't want you to panic. It might just be a stage they're going through and they'll grow out of it, but in the meantime, while our girls are open to experimentation and a bit of girl love, may I suggest that you capitalise on this trend. Photographic evidence of threesomes to be sent to *FHM* HQ please. We will reward you with beer and the glory of your name up in lights on our letters page.

K.4: *FHM* Editor's Letter – July 2003

It's a strange and wondrous thing what individual men find sexy. For some it's large babes with big chests and voluptuous lips, while the waif-like Kate Moss look gets others all hot and bothered. For a mate of mine it's pretty much any girl who doesn't tell him to piss off within three seconds of meeting him, and one of our staff admits Kathy Bates does it for him!

I personally go for girls like my fiancée (my fiancée reads this column) – tall, brown-haired, beautifully breasted lovelies with sunny dispositions and their own cash. All of us have our thing that does it for us, and where this comes from, no-one knows. Perhaps, and this is a horrible thought, we like girls who are like our mothers. Perhaps it's our early sexual experiences that form our lasting images of women, although by that argument I'd be in love with someone named Vaseline. Maybe it's some deep, weird psychosis that comes about due to overconsumption of porn. Whatever. The fact is that we all have tastes as individual as our DNA and thankfully that also goes for women. If this wasn't true how would people like Woody Allen, Geo Cronje, Jimmy Abbot or that dude who played Jaws in the Bond movies ever get laid? Even the most slovenly, poor, weird-looking and miserable *FHM* readers out there get lucky sometime.

This month, as you already know, our magazine comes bagged with the jaw-droppingly sexy, awe-inspiringly luscious *FHM* 100 Sexiest Women in the World 2003, brought to you by Alfa Romeo. This annual supplement is setting new heights in magazine publishing and bringing a smile to the faces of men countrywide. "It's a beautiful thing," men have been known to mutter upon paging through the supplement, and we're sure you'll agree. However, believe me, we had to weed out some strange votes from the tens of thousands that came in. We had a few girls who clearly spent weeks voting for themselves as none of us had ever heard of them – nor had the Internet. There were votes by some sicko for "gran", a few for a dog named Hagrid and several for Barry Ronge. Luckily none of them made the final list. As for our top ten, we know some of you will have your own opinions on who the winners and runner-up should have been and that's your right, but I've no doubt that within the pages of this month's lady lucky packet there's something that'll cause each and

every one of you to sit back, sigh and mutter, “Oh my... Oh my, oh my...thank you, *FHM!*”

Don't thank us, really, it was our pleasure!

And lastly: Don't miss next month's sexy-as-hell cover with *FHM*'s Sexiest Woman in South Africa 2003, Megan McKenzie!

K.5: FHM Editor's Letter – August 2003

I've lived in some hovels in my life, but none beats the room I once shared with a Flemish bricklayer above a newsagent in a dodgy suburb in Brussels. The room was about three-by-four metres small, had one dilapidated couch that looked like it belonged to Norm from *Cheers*, a sink and one thankfully large mattress for the Flem and I to sleep on. Luckily I worked nights, so we infrequently met in bed. It wasn't much, but for a year it was home and I became strangely comfortable with the place. The Flem and I did a few home improvements. He constructed an outdoor beer fridge that balanced precariously on our only windowsill, threatening pedestrians below. We decorated the walls with our old Lucky Strike packets and the scrawled telephone numbers of French girls we were trying to shag. I even bought in a discarded wheelchair I found on the street for visitors to recline in. Looking back, I can hardly believe I lived so happily there for so long. Back in the day I was pretty much happy as long as I had a toothbrush, a roll of dirty clothes to lay my head on and enough cash for a sixpack. But things change. When I returned home to South Africa I moved into a commune that had real running water, a fridge and, luxury of luxuries, a dishwasher. I never looked back.

Since then I've been on an accumulation drive. Where I used to be able to survive without electrical appliances, I now cannot face life without my TV, DVD, PlayStation, home theatre system, blender (no really, I blend) and various other gadgets I've acquired over the years. I blame genetics, for it is our manly destiny, and indeed our right, to spend ridiculous amounts of money on sexy little appliances, gadgets and gizmos made by Japanese people. The truth is, and girls just don't get this, most men would rather spend their quality time with some sort of home appliance than with people. Girls seem to prefer actual human contact and the occasional conversation. They cannot understand why we'd rather spend three hours playing *Tekken* than go for a walk on the koppie.

Maybe they just don't have the same urgent need to play games like five-year-olds and show off to their mates that we do. Whatever. The fact is every man should take his home entertainment options very seriously, which is why we went to great lengths this month to bring you the definitive guide on how best to design your very own Man

Cave. Complete with electric guitars, a chicken rotisserie and couch doubling as a toilet, we feel our Man Cave will take some beating. So if your home life is letting you down, turn to page 58 and start personalising your very own pleasure palace. But if, like a girl, you'd prefer humans, the delectable Megan McKenzie will keep you company on page 100.

Enjoy the issue!

K.6: *FHM* Editor's Letter – September 2003

When we were about 11, my mate Roger started doing paper rounds to make some spending money. This meant he was up before daybreak, riding through the quiet 'burbs on his BMX and hurling the morning news into the driveways of sleeping baby boomers, before trundling off to school. It seemed like a good idea, and I joined him – for about a week. Getting up early and earning money through physical labour just didn't seem right to my adolescent self. Not much has changed. I still loathe getting up, and very often it's only the threat of ending up at a church soup kitchen that gets me into my office vaguely on time. My buddy Roger was cut from different cloth. He soon amassed a relative fortune from his paper rounds and began investing. First he bought a load of records and charged our schoolmates for pirated tapes of the latest tunes. The cash he made from that he used to invest in a large stash of pornography which you could get a look at during break in the bike shed for a buck a time. I don't recall what his next scheme was, but suffice to say that today Roger owns several houses, a boat and has a series of very attractive girlfriends.

Some people just seem to have the knack for making money. They take their modest capital, invest it in some or other scheme and the next thing you know they're driving Jaguars and smoking Cohibas in the South of France. The only time I've ever had anything like real money in my bank account was when insurance paid me out after a robbery. I took the 40 grand, went on a week-long bender and woke up to find myself the owner of not one, but two mountain bikes (neither of which I ever used), a large inflatable paddling pool (which, after my housemates insisted I remove it from the lounge, spent its existence in a shed), and an impressive new CD collection. Unfortunately I spent all the money before I got around to putting in an alarm system and weeks later my CDs went the way of their predecessors.

I've just never managed to get to grips with cash. The more I make, the less I seem to have, and despite numerous lectures from family members I still don't really believe that I'll have to pay back all that money I've stacked up on my credit card one day.

Recognising that there are many of us with no clue what to do with the little cash we manage to accumulate – other than generating life-threatening hangovers – *FHM* has

come up with the definitive Moron's Guide to Money (page 63). I have it pasted by my bed and am hoping for an upturn in my financial affairs. My dream, conceived early one morning in the Eighties, is one day to have the cash to get the newspaper delivered to my house!

Have a cracking month.

Appendix L: *FHM* Editor's Letter, Description April to September 2003

L. 1: *FHM* Editor's Letter Description - April 2003

L.1.1. Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

tasty/tasteless, undesirable

past/present/future

unique/common

Lexical Sets

Women

Glamour model

Jordan

Lady

Buxom English girls who can't keep their clothes on

Tastiest Pit Girls

Woman

Babe

Women

Bedfellows

World-famous icon

Girls

Ferrari

Fangio

Tin cans on wheels

Re-fuel injected

Gallon

Racing cars

Unique

Uniformed punter

Paint job

Team

Technology

Races

Engines

Breasts

Breasts

Sisters

Mounds

Nip

Gallon of silicone

Idiosyncrasies

Varying proportions

Surgery

Breast enhancement

Padding

Size limit

Cars and racing

F1 Guide

Cars

Bedfellows

Vehicles

Deathtraps

Hurtle

Track

Schumi

b. Ideologically Contested Words

good breasts

c. Rewording

Women-woman-lady-girls-babe-bedfellows

Breasts-sisters-mounds

Cars-vehicles-deathtraps-Ferrari-tin cans on wheels-punter

d. Overwording

English x2

Lady x2

Breasts x5

Cars x3

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations**Synonymy**

Women-lady

Women-girls

Women-babe

Women-cars

Cars-breasts

f. Dysphemistic expressions

“...a size limit should be enforced so things don’t get out of hand”

g. Formal

intimate

buxom

bedfellows

re-fuel injected

proportioned

modifications

gallon

idiosyncrasies

varying

proportions

breast enhancement

enforced

gentlemen

Informal

tastiest

deathtraps

hurtle

tin cans on wheels

punter

paint job

mounds

cutting down

Schumi

padding

love machine

h. Expressive values**Positive**

English

Glamour model

buxom English girls who can’t keep their clothes on

tastiest Pit Girls

F1 Guide

Proud

PR babe

Women

Negative

escape

deathtraps

tin cans on wheels

progress

shame

uniformed punter

best surgeon

wins

Cars
 Bedfellows
 Breasts
 Proportioned
 World-famous icon
 Unique
 interesting
 idiosyncrasies
 cutting down
 padding
 size limit
 love machine

old-fashioned

i. Metaphors

Women are objects (possessions like cars)

“intimate study of the young lady”

“tastiest Pit Girls”

“Women and cars make fine bedfellows, so to speak, and I’d like to draw your eye to a further comparison”

“the progress Jordan’s breasts have made when compared to her earlier, re-fuel injected sisters”

“a finely proportioned young lady with the kind of breasts that had justly made her a world-famous icon.”

“year-on-year, slight adjustments and modifications have been made – a nip here, a gallon of silicone there”

“The nice thing about breasts is that they all used to be different, like the racing cars of old”

“These fine mounds used to have their own idiosyncrasies and varying proportions, when the playing fields were level. With the advances of modern surgery, however, the girl with the best surgeon wins.”

“Call me old-fashioned, but I think similar rules should be in place for breast enhancement. I can understand that girls want to add a little padding where necessary, but a size limit should be enforced so things don’t get out of hand.”

L.1.2 Grammar

a. Agency

Clear agency as the writer states exactly what he thinks about Jordan, the model, women, breasts and his opinion on the cars used in Formula 1 racing, “I’m sure you’re familiar with English glamour model Jordan. Having made an intimate study of the young lady – and not because my tastes run to buxom English girls who can’t keep their clothes on, necessarily – I have a couple of thoughts I’d like to share with you.”

He does also openly link his thoughts and values to the magazine’s, in that he uses the pronoun “our”, to represent a combination of his own and the magazine’s ideas. For example, “In our efforts to bring you the tastiest Pit Girls for this year’s annual *FHM F1 Guide*”.

b. Nominalisations

“English glamour model Jordan”

c. Active or Passive sentences

Generally passive sentence type, except when the writer explicitly states his position, for example in the following active sentences:

“I’m sure you’re familiar with English glamour model Jordan.”

“I’m all for the new FIA rules aimed at cutting down the amount of cash teams are allowed to spend in this year’s Formula One season.”

“I can understand that girls want to add a little padding where necessary...”

While the use of passive sentence types is not used to hide the agency it does distance the reader from the writer, slightly.

d. Positive or negative sentences

All positive sentences except for three negative sentences.

“...- and *not* because my tastes run to buxom English girls who *can’t* keep their clothes on...”

“However, she clearly *wasn’t* satisfied and...”

“...but a size limit should be enforced so things *don’t* get out of hand.”

e. Modes

All declaratives.

f. Relational Modality

None.

g. Pronouns

Seven instances of “you” is found in the letter, and this shows the importance of connecting with the reader.

“I’m sure you’re familiar with...”

“In our efforts to bring you the tastiest Pit Girls for this year’s annual *FHM F1 Guide*, of which you are now the proud owner...”

“I’d like to draw your eye to a...”

“...if you ask me...”

“...you’ll find this issue of *FHM*...”

“...at turning you into a love machine.”

However, there is no use of “we”, which is interesting in that the writer is not trying to necessarily link his ideas to the readers’ but rather give his opinion and let the reader make their own minds up.

h. Expressive modality

“I’m sure you’re familiar...”

“...she *was* to be seen adding to the noise in the pits in about 300 photos...”

“...it *is* difficult to imagine why anyone would want to get into one of those deathtraps and hurtle around the track at 150km/h”

“However, that *is* nothing compared to the progress Jordan’s breasts have made when compared to her earlier, re-fuel injected sisters.”

“Jordan *was* what any man would describe as a finely proportioned young lady...”

“However, she clearly *wasn't* satisfied and, year-on-year, slight adjustments and modifications have been made...”

“*It's* a shame, if you ask me. The nice thing about breasts *is* that they all used to be different, like the racing cars of old...”

“Today the only noticeable difference to the uniformed punter *is* the paint job, and the team that can afford the best technology wins.”

“It *should* mean that someone other than Schumi *might* win a few races”.

The writer seems to have a high amount of belief in what he is saying and does not attribute any of his statements to other people.

i. Reference to inside and outside the text

A high amount of pronouns and the determiner “the” is used to refer to entities outside of the text, for example “she” to refer to Jordan, “the” to refer to “the young lady” and the Jordan racing team. The determiner “the” is used often as is “she” to refer to Jordan and cars outside of the text. There is a high amount of linking to referents outside of the text.

L. 2: *FHM* Editor's Letter, Description – May 2003

L.2.1. *Vocabulary*

a. Classification Schemes

Good/Bad/Inexperienced

Young/Old

Sober/Drunk/Under-the-influence

Peace/Carnage

Lexical Sets

Cars

Car

Drive

Driving

Parking lot

Pilot

Wheels

Well-oiled male driver

License

Citroen G5

Hand-brake turns

Adventurous driver

Skidpan

Route

Drunken driving

Wheel

Speed

Headlights

Alex Zanardi

Pits

Euro Speedway

Alex Tagliani

Reynard-Ford

Drinking/Alcohol

Nightclubs

Hammered

Well-oiled

Drinks

Drunken driving

Impaired ability

Young and foolish

Women

Mrs Van Wyk

Howled

Woman

Feast

Girls of *FHM* 2003

Hottest honeys

Men

Dad

Mates

18-year old with wheels

Well-oiled male driver who just got his

License

Young and foolish

b. Ideologically Contested Words

Good driver

c. Rewording

bad driver-18-year-old with wheels-well-oiled male driver

drunk-hammered-well-oiled-drunken

d. Overwording

driver/drive/driving x6

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations**Synonymy****f. Euphemistic expressions****expressions**

“well-oiled male driver”

Dysphemistic

“hammered”

g. Formal

Rigorous
 Untrustworthy
 Skidpan
 Experience
 Infancy
 Impaired ability
 Hastily
 Massively
 Overcorrected
 Posed
 Spectacular
 Possessed
 Suffered
 Fortunate
 Emerging
 Hapless
 Exited
 Plummeted
 Carnage
 Amputation

Informal

hitch
 dodgy
 head start
 hammered
 wheels
 spot
 skidpan
 slammed
 howled
 trusty
 cut short
 tastes don't run
 honeys

h. Expressive values**Positive**

Fancied
 Driver
 Car
 Drive
 Head start
 Trusted

Rigorous training
 Hand-brake turns
 Great spot
 Adventurous driver
 Perfect skidpan
 Sleeping
 Spectacular
 Miraculously

Fortunate	lost it
Gods	drunken driving
Protect	infancy
Amusing	impaired ability
Feats	surprise
Hottest honeys	brick wall
carnage	speed
amputation	bounced
	slammed
Negative	awake
Foolish	damage
Hitch	young
Dodgy	foolish
Hammered	cut short
Pilot	hapless
Untrustworthy	plummeted
18-year old with wheels	head
lethal	Suffered
well-oiled male driver who just got his license	

i. Metaphors

F.2.2 Grammar

a. Agency

Very clear agency, the writer is relating a story that happened to him as a young boy and how this links up to the magazine's topic this month, "I'd always fancied myself a good driver".

b. Active or Passive sentences

All active.

c. Positive or negative sentences

All positive sentences except for 6 negative sentences:

"he trusted my judgment *not* to get hammered..."

"I'm *not* sure what he was thinking..."

"...you still *don't* really believe what they say about impaired ability..."

"Thankfully, *neither* I *nor* my trusty Citroen suffered much damage...."

"...many have *not* got off so lightly..."

"If your tastes *don't* run to amputation,..."

The negative aspect often presupposes that there is the existence of something and this is the case in the last negative sentence – the writer seems to say that some may like amputation.

d. Modes

All declaratives, except for two exclamatives which are used in direct quotes from the topic of the article about amputations – "Ooh! That's Gotta Hurt!"

e. Relational Modality

None

f. Pronouns

4 occurrences of “you”, of which the first one is the writer talking about himself, the other three include the reader, but only occur towards the end of the letter.

“When *your* experience with drunken driving is in its infancy you still don’t really believe what they say about impaired ability.”

“If *your* tastes don’t run to amputation, feast *your* eyes on our free *Girls of FHM 2003* supplement...”

“*You’ll* be so glad you did”

g. Expressive Modality

“My dad *was* foolish enough to buy me a car when I *was* 16...”

“Everyone knows that there *are* few things as untrustworthy as an 18-year old with wheels...”

“When your experience with drunken driving *is* in its infancy...”

“So it *was* with some surprise that I felt the back wheels go...”

“...by which time I *was* at right angles to the road...”

“I *was* through it in no time before...”

“It *was* pretty spectacular”

“I *was* fortunate enough to have the gods...”

“...the hapless Frenchman who *was* waiting for a tram...”

The use of *are/is* shows a high proportion of certainty in what he is saying, and all of these statements come across as statements of belief and truth.

h. Reference to Inside and Outside the text

The use of pronouns or the determiner “the” help reference to outside the text. In this letter, there is a low number of pronouns as can be seen in **f.** above, so low reference to people outside the text. There are quite a few determiners though, 10 uses of “the” which all refer objects, or places outside of the text but which play a role in the story. E.g. “the wall”, “the Cresta Centre parking lot”, “the Euro Speedway”.

L. 3: *FHM* Editor's Letter, Description - June 2003

L.3.1. *Vocabulary*

a. Classification Schemes

Heterosexual/Homosexual

Women/Men

Appealing-Arousing/Disturbing

Lexical Sets

Sex, Sexual acts

Vibrators

Girl-on-girl shagfest

Filly nighties

Necking

Jumping into bed

Shagging

Equipment

Straight girl

Lesbian sex romps

Trouser-stretching appeal

Satisfying sack

Studs

Arousing

Indulged

Carpet-munching

Tongue-on-tongue

Sex

Experimentation

Girl love

Threesomes

b. Ideologically Contested Words

girls' night in

c. Rewording

lesbian/girl-on-girl/openminded/girl love

sex/girls' night in/shagfest/shagging/sex romps/carpet munching/tongue-on-tongue/experimentation

d. Overwording

girl/girls/girlfriends x21

sex x4

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations

Synonymy

Sex-shagfest

Sex-shagging

Sex-sex romps
Sex-personal experience

Antonymy

Men-women

f. Euphemistic expressions

girls' night in
trouser-stretching appeal
equipment

g. Formal

assumed
curious
discussing
conjured up
prepared
featuring
openminded
confessed
equipment
indulge
concerns
satisfying
arousing
disturbing
revelation
illuminating
recommend
interviewed
experimentation
capitalise
photographic

Dysphemistic

carpet-munching

evidence
reward

Informal

Tipsy
Swopping
Begging
Girl-on-girl
Shagfest
Kid you not
Necking
Shagging each other's brains out
Sex romps
Trousers-stretching appeal
In the sack
Studs
Carpet munching
Tongue-on-tongue
Babes
Girl love
Threesomes

h. Expressive values**Positive**

Naughty
 Girls' night in
 Topsy
 Curious
 Truth
 Girl-on-girl shagfest
 Openminded
 Slumber party
 Frilly nighties
 Shagging each other's brains out
 Too good to be true
 Men
 Equipment
 Lesbian sex romps
 Trouser-stretching appeal
 Arousing
 Revelation
 Carpet munching
 Illuminating
 Tongue-on-tongue
 Babes

Stage
 Experimentation
 Girl love
 Capitalise
 Photographic evidence
 Threesomes
 Reward
 Beer
 Name up in lights
 Studs

Negative

Concerns
 We men aren't satisfying them in the sack
 Extra
 Disturbing
 Panic
 Stage
 recipes
 Chardonnay
 décor
 experimentation

i. Metaphors***L.3.2 Grammar*****a. Agency**

Very clear agency on both parts of the writer and Julie. She is open about the activities that happen and he describes his feelings, reactions and thoughts very clearly.

b. Active or Passive sentences

All active sentences, the writer is very direct about his role in the letter and doesn't attempt to obscure agency.

c. Positive or negative sentences

All positive except for 6 negative sentences:

"She *wouldn't* be able to see me tonight..."

"I *couldn't* imagine what a girls' night in would involve..."

"...we men *aren't* satisfying them in the sack. Perhaps we're *not* the studs we all imagine ourselves to be..."

"If you *don't* believe me, turn to "They're Dirty, Girls..."

"I *don't* want you to panic..."

d. Modes

All declaratives except for 4 interrogatives which form the basis of why the letter was written.

“Watching *Sex and the City* while drinking Chardonnay? Discussing home décor tips and swopping recipes? Sitting around talking about vibrators?”

“Why would a straight girl indulge in monthly lesbian sex romps?”

e. Relational Modality

None

f. Pronouns

More use of “you” and “we” than in the previous letters, as this seems to be a men against the women kind of letter. Where the previous letters have been about deciding what kind of men they are, this letter doesn’t worry about the differences but combines to face up to women.

“If this sounds too good to be true to *you*...”

“...it must mean that *we* men...”

“Perhaps *we’re* not the studs *we* all imagine ourselves to be...”

“...when *we* think they’re out watching romantic comedies together...”

“If *you* don’t believe me, turn to “They’re Dirty, Girls” on page 40 and hear it for *yourself* straight from the mouths of babes themselves...”

“I don’t want *you* to panic”

“*We* will reward *you* with beer...” This last use of “we” is different from the others as the “we” stands for the people at FHM, rather than men as a whole.

h. Expressive modality

“...but this *was* new...”

“...to tell me what she *was* up to, she confessed that she *was* having a few girlfriends over for a monthly girl-on-girl shagfest.”

“...one *is* Swedish...”

“...it must mean that we men *aren’t* satisfying them in the sack...”

“Perhaps *we’re* not the studs we all imagine ourselves to be and our girlfriends *are* getting that little extra from their girlfriends on the side when we think *they’re* out watching romantic comedies together.”

“...our girls *are* open to experimentation...”

The expressive modality used here is quite low, as even though he suggests that they aren’t satisfying their women, he combines it with negation which puts doubt into the mind of the reader, almost as though they are saying “surely this can’t be true?”

i. Reference to inside and outside the text

He used the determiner “the” and “this” to link to this idea of “girl-on-girl” sex, and it refers well to this concept – “the truth”, “the idea”, “this arousing but disturbing revelation”, and “The results of my survey” – presupposition here in that, he did not really do a survey. Also intertextuality in the letter through the use of “the studs”. It presupposes that all men are studs normally and that it’s quite difficult to imagine that they couldn’t be anymore.

L. 4: *FHM* Editor's Letter, Description - July 2003

L.4.1. Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

sexy/dull – unattractive
individual/collective

Lexical Sets

Sexiness

Sexy

Big chests

Voluptuous

Lips

Waif-like

Hot and bothered

Thing that does it for us

Sexual experiences

Laid

Get lucky

Jaw-droppingly sexy

Awe-inspiringly luscious

Sexy-as-hell

Women

Babes

Girl

Mothers

Women

Gran

Lady

Lovelies

Men

Men

Mate

Dude

Slovenly

Poor

Weird-looking

Miserable

Readers

b. Ideologically Contested Words

sexy

c. Rewording

sexy/hot and bothered/does it for him/go for/jaw-droppingly sexy/awe-inspiringly
luscious/bringing a smile

d. Overwording

sexy/sexual/sexiest x6
girl(s) x4
wome(a)n x4
men x3

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations**Synonymy**

Women-babes
Women-girls
Woman-lady

Breasts-big chests

Breasts-beautifully breasted

f. Euphemistic expressions

“hot and bothered”

“get lucky”

g. Formal

wondrous
individual
voluptuous
waif-like
fiancée
dispositions
experiences
psychosis
overconsumption
DNA
Slovenly
Annual
Supplement

Informal

sexy
babes
big chests
hot and bothered
piss off
beautifully breasted lovelies
sunny
cash
weird
porn
dude
laid
weird-looking
Get lucky
bagged
jaw-droppingly
awe-inspiringly
luscious
Mutter
Weed out
Sicko
Lady lucky packet

Sexy-as-hell

h. Expressive values

Positive

Strange
 Wonderous
 Individual
 Men
 Sexy
 Large babes
 Big chests
 Voluptuous lips
 Waif-like
 Kate Moss
 Hot and bothered
 Mate
 Girl
 Does it for us
 Early sexual experiences
 Lasting images of women
 Tastes
 DNA
 Women
 Laid
 Get lucky
 Bagged
 Jaw-droppingly sexy
 Awe-inspiringly luscious
 100
 sexiest women in the world
 annual
 supplement
 new heights
 smile
 men
 beautiful
 top ten
 opinions
 lady lucky packet
 sexy-as-hell
 Megan McKenzie

Negative

piss off
 horrible thought
 mothers
 vaseline
 deep
 weird
 psychosis
 overconsumption
 porn
 Woody Allen
 Geo Cronje
 Jimmy Abbot
 dude
 slovenly
 poor
 weird-looking
 miserable
 weed out
 strange votes
 sicko
 gran
 dog
 Hagrid
 Barry Ronge

i. Metaphors

L.4.2 Grammar

a. Agency

The writer does not attempt to hide the agency of the text. He writes his own opinions very clearly and gives the reader space to make their own decisions and have their

own opinions. “I personally go for...”, “All of us have our thing that does it for us...”

b. Active or Passive sentences

All active sentences.

c. Positive or negative sentences

All positive sentences except for four negative sentences.

“...it’s pretty much any girl who *doesn’t* tell him to piss off...”

“If this *wasn’t* true how would people like Woody Allen, Geo Cronje, Jimmy Abbot or that dude who played Jaws in the Bond movies ever get laid?”

“*Don’t* thank us, really, it was our pleasure!”

“And lastly: *Don’t* miss next month’s sexy-as-hell cover...”

d. Modes

All declaratives except for one interrogative, “If this *wasn’t* true [how would people like Woody Allen, Geo Cronje, Jimmy Abbot or that dude who played Jaws in the Bond movies ever get laid?]”

e. Relational Modality

“...on who the winners and runner-up *should* have been...”

f. Pronouns

There are 6 instances of “we” and 6 of “you”. However, where all the “you’s” point to the reader, only two of the “we’s” include the reader with the writer. The other four are used to refer to the FHM team who put the magazine together. So, while the writer is bonding with the readers, he also keeps himself separated from them by aligning himself with the magazine.

g. Expressive modality

“*It’s* a strange and wondrous...”

“For some *it’s* large babes with big chests...”

“For a mate of mine *it’s* pretty much any girl...”

“Perhaps, and this *is* a horrible thought, we like girls who *are* like our mothers.

Perhaps *it’s* our early sexual experiences...”

“Maybe *it’s* some deep, weird psychosis...”

“The fact *is* that we all have tastes as individual as our DNA...”

“If this *wasn’t* true how would people like Woody Allen...”

“This annual supplement *is* setting new heights in magazine publishing...”

““*It’s* a beautiful thing,”...”

“...and *we’re* sure you’ll agree...”

“...and *that’s* your right...”

“...*there’s* something that’ll cause each and every one of you to sit back...”

“...really, *it was* our pleasure!”

The power position of the writer is quite high – he uses “are/is” to state his belief in a fact or what he is saying and this has an impact on how powerful this makes the producer of the text in relation to the reader. His opinion counts a lot. However, there is also a large amount of hedging, in the use of “perhaps”, “for some”, “maybe”, which softens the writer’s statements, and allows for individual opinions.

h. Reference to inside and outside the text

“The” is used to make reference to things outside of the text, and in this letter he uses it to refer a type of body people like, “*the* waif-like Kate Moss look” and then to facts of life – “*The* fact is that”, “who played Jaws in *the* Bond movies”, “*the* most slovenly, poor, weird-looking and miserable *FHM*”. “*the* jaw-droppingly sexy, awe-inspiringly luscious *FHM* 100 Sexiest Women in *the* World”.

L. 5: FHM Editor's Letter Description – August 2003

L.5.1. Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

luxury/deprivation
 accumulation/minimalism
 spend/save
 girls/boys
 personal contact/isolation
 showing off/suppress

Lexical Sets

Deprivation

Hovels
 Dodgy
 Dilapidated
 Discarded
 Toothbrush
 Roll of dirty clothes

Luxury

Running water
 Fridge
 Dishwasher
 Accumulation drive
 Electrical appliances
 TV
 DVD PlayStation
 Home theatre system
 Blender
 Gadgets

Genetics

Ridiculous amounts of money
 Sexy
 Appliances
 Gizmos
 Home appliance
 Man Cave
 Electric guitars
 Chicken rotisserie
 Couch doubling as a toilet
 Pleasure palace

Men

Flemish bricklayer
 Norm
 Flem
 Manly
 Men
 Five-year olds
 Mates

b. Ideologically Contested Words

home

c. Rewording

d. Overwording

home x7

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations

Synonymy

f. Euphemistic expressions

None

g. Formal

dilapidated
 infrequently
 improvements
 constructed
 precariously
 threatening
 pedestrians
 decorated
 discarded
 recline
 commune
 luxury
 luxuries
 accumulation
 appliances
 genetics
 ridiculous
 appliances
 definitive
 personalising
 delectable

h. Expressive values**Positive**

Beats
 Thankfully
 Infrequently
 Home
 Comfortable
 Home improvements
 Outdoor beer fridge
 Decorated
 Old Lucky Strike packets
 Telephone numbers
 French girls
 Shag
 Recline
 Happily
 Toothbrush
 Roll of dirty clothes
 Cash
 Sixpack
 Real running water
 Fridge
 Dishwasher
 Accumulation drive
 TV
 DVD
 PlayStation

Informal

hovels
 beats
 dodgy
 couch
 fridge
 scrawled
 shag
 cash
 sixpack
 TV
 gadgets
 manly

Home theatre system
 Blender
 Gadgets
 Money
 Sexy little appliances
 Gizmos
 Quality time
 Home appliance
 Playing
 Tekken
 Play
 Games
 Five-year olds
 Show off
 Mates
 Home entertainment
 Seriously
 Definitive guide
 Design
 Man Cave
 Electric guitars
 Chicken rotisserie
 Couch doubling as a toilet
 Pleasure palace
 Delectable
 Megan McKenzie

Negative

Hovels
 Dodgy suburb
 Three-by-four metres small
 Dilapidated couch
 Precariously
 Threatening
 Discarded
 Believe

Survive
 Blame
 Genetics
 Spend
 Ridiculous
 Amounts of money
 Girl
 Humans

i. Metaphors***L.5.2 Grammar*****a. Agency**

No agent deletion, the writer is giving his own point of view and story of events as they happened to him, and at no time does he attempt to obscure agency, “I’ve lived in some hovels in my life, but none beats the room I once shared with a Flemish bricklayer above a newsagent in a dodgy suburb in Brussels”.

b. Active or Passive sentences

All active sentences.

c. Positive or negative sentences

All positive sentences except for 5 negative ones,

“It *wasn’t* much,”

“I now *cannot* face life without my TV, DVD...”

“The truth is, and girls just *don’t* get this,”

“They *cannot* understand why we’d rather spend three hours...”

“Maybe they just *don’t* have the same urgent need to play games like five-year-olds...”

d. Modes

All declaratives.

e. Relational Modality

One instance of this;

“The fact is every man *should* take his home entertainment options very seriously,...”

f. Pronouns

6 uses of “we”, 5 of “you”. The use of “we” is used to initially refer to the writer and his Flemish roommate, then to refer to men as a whole and then again to refer to FHM and what it has brought the readers. “You” is used to refer to the reader only. Once again, there is not a big effort to make a connection between the writer and the readers.

g. Expressive modality

“It *wasn’t* much...”

“...but for a year it *was* home”..

“I *was* pretty much happy...”

“I blame genetics, for it *is* our manly destiny...”

“The truth *is*, and...”

“The fact *is* every man should take...”

“...which *is* why we went to great lengths...”

“So if your home life *is* letting you down...”

There is high expressive value here on the part of the writer as he likes to state things, such as “the truth is...”, which gives it a high power distance to the relationship between the writer and the readers.

h. Reference to inside and outside the text

A high amount of the use of “the” to refer to things outside the text is used, it draws the readers in to becoming familiar with places and objects and ideas they have never seen, touched, or thought of before. For example, “the room” in Brussels that only the writer knows is now accessible to the readers.

L.6: FHM Editor's Letter, Description – September 2003

L.6.1. Vocabulary

a. Classification Schemes

wealth/poverty
 working/laziness
 money-wise/big-spender
 spending/investing

Lexical Sets

Money

Spending money
 Earning
 Fortune
 Investing
 Bought
 Charged
 Cash
 Invest
 Buck
 Money
 Capital
 Bank account
 40 grand
 Spent
 Make
 Pay back
 Credit card
 Moron's Guide to Money
 Financial affairs

Wealth

Amassed
 Fortune
 Investing
 Owns
 Houses
 Boat
 Girlfriends
 Knack
 Jaguars
 Cohibas
 South of France

Working

Paper rounds
 Spending money
 Up before daybreak
 Riding through quiet 'burbs
 Hurling morning news into driveways
 Getting up early
 Earning money
 Physical labour
 Office

b. Ideologically Contested Words

real money
 dreams

c. Rewording

money-fortune-cash-buck-capital

d. Overwording

money x7
 cash x4

e. Ideologically significant meaning relations

Synonymy
 Money-cash

Money-fortune
 Money-scheme
 Money-capital
 Money-financial affairs

Antonymy

Wealthy-poor
 Office-church soup kitchen

f. Euphemistic expressions

g. Formal

daybreak
 driveways
 physical
 labour
 adolescent
 vaguely
 amassed
 relative
 fortune
 investing
 charged
 pirated
 pornography
 recall
 scheme
 suffice
 modest
 capital
 bank account
 insurance
 inflatable
 existence
 impressive
 predecessors
 numerous
 lectures
 recognising
 accumulate

h. Expressive values

Positive

Mate
 Spending money
 Good

generating
 life-threatening
 definitive
 upturn
 financial affairs
 conceived

Informal

Mate
 'burbs
 BMX
 Hurling
 Baby boomers
 Trundling
 Loathe
 Load
 Tunes
 Stash
 Buck
 Knack
 Bender
 Get to grips
 Stacked
 Clue
 Hangovers
 Moron's
 Pasted
 Cash

Idea
 Joined
 Earning
 Money
 Amassed
 Relative
 Fortune
 Investing
 Bought

Records
 Tunes
 Cash
 Invest
 Stash of pornography
 Buck
 Houses
 Boat
 Girlfriends
 Knack
 Making money
 Modest capital
 Invest
 Jaguars
 Cohibas
 South of France
 Insurance
 Paid me out
 40 grand
 week-long bender
 impressive
 new CD collection
 alarm system
 make
 definitive
 Moron's Guide to Money
 Upturn financial affairs
 Dream
 Conceived
 Newspaper delivered

Negative
 Up before daybreak
 Quiet
 Hurling
 Driveways of sleeping baby boomers
 Getting up early
 Physical labour
 Adolescent
 Loathe
 Threat
 Church soup kitchen
 Vaguely
 On time
 Robbery
 Two mountain bikes
 Used
 Large inflatable paddling pool
 Existence
 Shed
 Got around to
 Predecessors
 Get to grips
 Less
 Don't believe
 Pay back
 Credit card
 Clue
 Cash
 Life-threatening
 Hangovers

L.6.2 Grammar

a. Agency

Very clear agency about both the writer and his friend, Roger, and their behaviour and thoughts. No attempt at hiding agency, "When we were about 11, my mate Roger started doing paper rounds to make some spending money."

b. Active or Passive sentences

All active sentences, as there is no attempt to obscure agency or causality, the letter is an open anecdote told by the writer for the readers to enjoy and link to the theme of the magazine's theme this month.

c. Positive or negative sentences

All positive except for 4 negative sentences,

"Getting up early and earning money through physical labour just didn't seem right to my adolescent self..."

"I don't recall what his next scheme was..."

“...find myself the owner of not one, but two mountain bikes (neither of which I ever used)...”

“...from family members I still don't really believe...”

d. Modes

All declaratives.

e. Relational Modality

Only one, “...you *could* get a look at during break in the bike shed for a buck a time...”

f. Pronouns

Two instances each of “you” and “we”, where only once does the use of “we” group the reader with the writer, the other one is used to refer to the writer and his friend, Roger.

g. Expressive modality

“This meant he *was* up before daybreak...”

“...very often *it's* only the threat of ending up at a church soup kitchen...”

“My buddy Roger *was* cut from different cloth”

“...the next thing you know *they're* driving Jaguars ad smoking Cohibas in the south of France...”

“...real money in my bank account *was* when insurance paid me out...”

“My dream, conceived early one morning in the Eighties, *is* one day to have the cash to get the newspaper delivered to my house!”

There is low amount of expressive modality in this letter, however when it is used, the writer has a high amount of matter of fact-ness in what he is saying.

h. Reference to inside and outside the text

A high amount of “the's” are used in the text, and they all refer to objects or experiences outside of the text, for example driveways, suburbs, the South of France.

Low use of pronouns.

