

Glossy mags and the sexes: a critical
discourse analysis of *FHM* and *Cosmo*.

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A dissertation submitted to meet the requirements for the
degree of Magister Artium in the Faculty of the Humanities
(Department of English) at the University of the Free State,
Bloemfontein

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Date: May 2009

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Abstract

The following dissertation reports on a research study of the lifestyle magazines *For Him Magazine* and *Cosmopolitan*. Quantitative and qualitative methods were combined in an investigation of linguistic patterns which serve to construct a particular perspective on masculinity and femininity. The quantitative analyses focused on identifying patterns in the distribution and connotation of various words. The qualitative analyses focused on various grammatical and semantic features in specific articles of both magazines. The results suggest that both magazines tend to hone masculinity and femininity to certain subjects and descriptions. *Cosmopolitan*, however, might be characterised by a slightly more flexible discourse.

In addition, this study also contains suggestions on how research of this nature may be incorporated into an academic course for students of Applied Linguistics.

Die volgende navorsingstuk rapporteer die resultate van 'n projek aangaande die diskoerskenmerke van die leefstyl-tydskrifte *Cosmopolitan* en *For Him Magazine*. Die studie kombineer kwantitatiewe en kwalitatiewe metodes, met die oog op die ondersoek van linguistiese patrone wat gebruik word om 'n spesifieke perspektief op manlikheid en vroulikeheid te skep. Die kwantitatiewe metodes het gefokus op die verspreiding en konnotasie van verskeie woorde. Die kwalitatiewe metodes het gefokus op verskeie grammatiese en semantiese patrone in spesifieke artikels van beide tydskrifte. Die resultate stel voor dat beide tydskrifte 'n noue perspektief op manlikheid en vroulikeheid skep, deur te konsentreer op spesifieke belangstellings en beskrywings. Nie te min, blyk dit wel dat *Cosmopolitan* deur 'n meer buigsame diskoers gekenmerk word.

Verder mik hierdie navorsingstuk ook om voorstelle te bied oor maniere hoe navorsing van hierdie aard geïnkorporeer kan word in 'n akademiese kursus vir studente in Toegepaste Linguistiek.

Introduction

“Thus, whatever it is that defines our common humanity with thousands of generations past and future, it is *not* the idea of gender any more than it is the idea of class or hierarchy” (Cucchiari, 1981:31).

Despite the consistency between this claim and contemporary policies for gender equality, biological sex remains one of the most basic grounds on which society is subdivided. This study argues that lifestyle magazines represent a powerful stakeholder in popular culture, and play a significant role in gender socialisation. Moreover, the study argues that gender ideologies can be uncovered through careful linguistic analyses.

Although the research does not aim to prove that men and women are fundamentally alike rather than different, it is assumed that many gender differences can be accounted for by the intricate process of gender socialisation. It is also assumed that this process is achieved through a variety of interrelated social forces, as well as an interaction between these forces and the individual. Attempting to discover exactly how men and women negotiate these forces is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it aims to uncover the linguistic manifestation of gender ideologies in two lifestyle magazines: *Cosmopolitan (Cosmo)* and *For Him Magazine (FHM)*.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed in a critical discourse analytic (CDA) approach.

In addition, this study also contains suggestions on ways in which CDA research can be incorporated into a useful academic course for students of Applied Linguistics. More specifically, a third-year course was designed, in which students would master and apply the analytic tools of this study. The instructional methods of the course sought to combine the principles of Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) and constructivism. As such, the study provides suggestions for a course that allows for: 1) a focus on the communicative functions of language in a specific setting (media discourse), 2) the development of research skills, and 3) the development of skills which learners may use in future occupations.

Chapter 1: Aims of the investigation

The research presented in this study, investigated the linguistic construction of gender ideology in the magazines *Cosmo* and *FHM*.

The quantitative objectives were: 1) to uncover patterns in the connotation and distribution of certain words across a given magazine's texts, and 2) to compare the findings for *Cosmo* with *FHM* in order to uncover similarities and differences between the magazines' ideologies.

The qualitative analyses investigated the validity of these patterns, by analysing grammatical, semantic and lexical patterns in three articles of each magazine. However, in accordance with the principles of qualitative research, the investigation did not focus on any particular variable or linguistic feature until the data had been collected and analysed quantitatively (Seliger and Shohamy, 1989:54; Fossey, Harvey, McDermott and Davidson, 2002:717; Thorne, 2000:68). A narrower demarcation of the qualitative objectives is, therefore, presented at the end of chapter 3.

Furthermore, this study also aims to demonstrate how CDA research on gender ideology may form the basis of an academic course for students of Applied Linguistics. Toward this end, OBE and constructivist principles were used to design a module for third-year students of Applied Linguistics (based on recommendations by Brokensha, 2007). This aim was adopted in response to Wallace (1999:99), who notes that CDA is severely limited when it becomes an "exegesis [by] the lone armchair critic". Consequently, care must be taken to "move [CDA] out of the hands of experts to become an activity in which social groups can profitably engage, with the potential to empower people both in educational settings and in everyday life" (Wallace, 1999:99).

Chapter 2: Literature review

This study approaches gender and lifestyle magazines on the basis of two interrelated assumptions. The first is that gender is a social construct. The second is that the process of gender socialisation is influenced by a variety of ideologically loaded discourses. As a potentially powerful role-player in socialisation, lifestyle magazines represent a source of ideology.

The following sections will review the literature which influenced the study. It progresses systematically from the perspective on gender as a social construct, to its construction in both women and men's lifestyle magazines.

2.1 Gender as a social construct

2.1.1 What does it mean?

Viewing gender as a social construct implies that the affective, cognitive and behavioural patterns commonly associated with either masculinity or femininity are not simply biologically determined. Instead, individuals are socialised - on the basis of biological sex - to perform gender according to a specific society's gender-typed norms and expectations. This begins during childhood, and continues on a level so subtle, constant and comprehensive that it is generally accepted as normal. Therefore, to perform 'normal' gender requires the display of certain characteristics – as informed by the dominant forces of society. These forces include institutions which have the power to proliferate their views on what gender constitutes – in addition to the complex matrix of historical, cultural and socio-economic conditions which influence socialisation.

This complexity is further increased by the notion that 'normal' gender is performed differently in different contexts (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006; Butler, 1989; Epstein, 1988; Ortner and Whitehead, 1981; Bonvillain, 1995; Johnson and Meinhof, 1997; Delamont, 2001).

Thus: gender is a malleable concept, influenced by the present context and life-long socialisation – both of which are embedded in history and the prevailing socio-political climate. The term 'gender ideology' is used to denote the perspectives on gender fashioned by these forces. Specifically, ideology is conceptualised as a “set of beliefs that

are not challenged or subjected to scrutiny by the people who hold them” (Ferrante, 2003:292). Following van Dijk (1995:248), ideologies are also viewed as:

“systems of social cognition that are essentially evaluative: they provide the basis for judgements about what is good or bad, right or wrong, and thus also provide basic guidelines for social perception and interaction”.

2.1.2 What’s the difference?

One of the primary differences between this approach and other perspectives on gender revolves around the importance of biology. For example, biological determinism posits that the sexes are endowed with different physical and mental capacities, which implies that they are better suited to different social roles and occupations (York, 2004; Goldberg 1993).

Epstein (1988) succinctly summarises the position taken in this study: “As humans are ordered by nature, so too do they order it” (Epstein, 1988:71). Without ignoring biological differences, Epstein (1988) argues that they do not have the explanatory power they have been endowed with.

This study questions the position of lifestyle magazines in the above-mentioned debate, by means of linguistic analyses.

2.1.3 Sociological and anthropological support

The following section presents a selection of sociological and anthropological studies. They were included in the literature review because they 1) support the notion that gender is socially constructed, 2) generated expectations for the analysis, 3) contextualised the need for gender studies in Southern Africa, and 4) because discourse analysis of ideology should be approached from an inter-disciplinary approach (Fairclough, 2003).

In the introduction to their collection of articles, Ortner and Whitehead (1981) state that the importance accorded to biology, in determining the social roles/identities of men and women, varies considerably across cultures. This pertains to both the degree to which men and women are believed to be distinct (an issue that would resurface during the analysis, see section 2.3), as well as the actual power of these ideologies in society. These

historical (Cucchiari, 1981; Collier and Rosaldo, 1981; Kimmel, 2001) and cross-cultural (Shore, 1981; Strathern 1981) differences cannot be accounted for by biological determinism. Yet, despite the acceptance of this view, few researchers have attempted a meticulous investigation of how gender-typed norms are constructed and disseminated in societies – at that point (Ortner and Whitehead, 1981).

Since then, however, a variety of language-based studies have investigated the construction of gender ideologies, including its construction in print media (Machin and Thornborrow, 2003; del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006; Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera, 2006; Benwell, 2001, 2004; Fuertes-Olivera, Velasco-Sacristán, Arribas-Baño and Samaniego-Fernández 2001).

Ortner and Whitehead (1981:7-8) also identified a recurrent ideology which proved relevant to the analyses: femininity is frequently constructed as more interested in private/individual affairs than masculinity. Masculinity, in turn, is often constructed as more concerned with the larger social context, based on men's supposed interest in "the welfare of the social whole" (Ortner and Whitehead, 1981:7). Consequently, masculinity is constructed in the public sphere, with an inherent right to participate in important affairs. Femininity is constructed in the private sphere since 'normal' women are not interested in public affairs.

This begs the question as to whether the magazines under study will reject or reflect this ideology. Whatever the case, ideologies which invoke/reinforce this perspective were viewed as conservative - for the purpose of this study.

Delamont (2001) investigated the notion that women have generally been quicker to accept post-industrial views, which oppose the perspective mentioned above, by accepting "ideas such as individualism and self-determination" (Delamont, 2001:4). She concludes that the evidence is tantalising, but inconclusive (Delamont, 2001:55). Nevertheless, her findings indicate that many gender-typed norms still exert a strong influence on various elements of modern life, such as child-rearing and marriage (Delamont, 2001:110-111). Furthermore, she makes the important point that adolescence is a social product of the post-industrialist age. This refers to the creation of a social group with adult - or near-adult – bodies, who still require tertiary training to obtain employable skills (Delamont, 2001:33). This period is characterised by unique pressures

– which might result in the development of a variety of sexist views, especially amongst young men (Delamont, 2001:42-47). Magazines have responded enthusiastically to the creation of this new segment (see section 2.2.2). Therefore, as a result of its characteristic pressures and its developmental importance, it is plausible that adolescents are particularly vulnerable to the mass media's gender ideologies (discussed in greater detail under section 2.2.2).

Other contemporary sociological and anthropological studies highlight the importance of gender studies in a Southern African context (Mapetla and Schlyter, 1998; Cornwall, 2005). Since 1994, South Africa in particular has witnessed a unique and dramatic range of transformations in gender-relations. An investigation into the construction of gender is, therefore, justified by these changes. It should also be noted that even global titles such as *Cosmo*, may advocate slightly different approaches to certain topics (such as dieting) in different countries (Minjeong and Lennon, 2006).

2.2 Gender in Lifestyle magazines

The following sections will discuss the construction of gender in lifestyle magazines. Specific attention is given to their capitalist nature and potential social impact.

Thereafter, the discussion turns to the construction of femininity and masculinity. These discussions aim to contextualise the magazines as a source of ideologically loaded discourse (an essential step in discourse analysis according to Brown and Yule, 1983).

2.2.1 Making a profit

In contemporary societies, the mass media is considered as one of the most powerful and pervasive sources of ideology. In a study of news interviews, for example, Ekström (2001) concludes that the media even exerts an influence over our perception of political events. With regards to gender, Anderson (1988) proposes that the media frequently employs gender stereotypes to promote consumerism. For example, by depicting femininity as stereotypically concerned with dieting, fashion and cosmetics, audiences are encouraged to purchase related items. Similarly, by constructing men as predators in pursuit of romantic/sexual encounters, they are encouraged to purchase items which 'ensure' success.

Lifestyle magazines are part of this capitalist environment. This is manifested in the fact that they are not constructed haphazardly. Instead, they are carefully crafted to do what is necessary to improve profits (Rayner, Wall and Kruger, 2004:184; Ferguson, 1983). For this reason, they sell “not only advice but also a sense of identity and possibly companionship”. In this way consumerism is promoted by providing “a model on which to base their lives [...] and the goods necessary to accommodate it” (Rayner, et al., 2004:154 and 156).

Del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) supports this notion in a lexical analysis of women’s magazines. She concludes that lexical patterns form part of a message designed to attract a specific audience. Reichart (2001:50) concurs by stating that women’s magazines aim to draw an audience between the ages of 17 and 24, because this group is thought to possess more disposable income. Since men’s lifestyle magazines also prescribe a certain lifestyle (discussed later on), it seems plausible that they are following this trend.

This consumerist vogue might be explained by the fact that advertisers are a magazine’s primary source of income (Moeran, 2006:727-728; Rayner, et al., 2004:154-156). Thus, a magazine’s discourse must achieve two, interrelated goals. It must: 1) attract readers, and 2) convince various industries that these readers will be receptive to their advertisements. This poses a unique challenge to lifestyle magazines - which is exacerbated by the economically tumultuous times of a post-September 11th world (McCleneghan, 2003:317-318).

2.2.2 Potential social impact

The potential influence of the media is indicated in a study by Taveras, Rifas-Shiman, Field, Frazier, Colditz and Gillman (2004) which suggests that adolescents will significantly alter their dieting/exercise habits in order to achieve the appearance prescribed by media images.

This study follows the argument of Michel Foucault concerning the relationship between discourse and ideology. Accordingly, perceptions of ‘reality’ are significantly influenced by authoritative/expert discourses. By virtue of their expert status, such discourses can coerce a target to accept their content, while keeping its underlying assumptions beyond question (as discussed in Giddens, 2006: 116-117). Consequently, lifestyle magazines

may limit or broaden their readers' perspectives on gender if they are perceived as authoritative.

However, it is imperative to note that whether or not lifestyle magazines are viewed as authoritative, and whether or not they impact individuals, is still hotly debated. For example, in an analysis of irony in men's magazines, Benwell (2004) indicates that irony allows for the evasion of explicit stances toward masculinity and gender. She concludes that by satirising both conservative and alternative masculine identities, as well as feminism, men's magazines are able to make sexist and offensive views more "palatabl[e]" (Benwell, 2004:3-4). More importantly, since interpretations of this form of irony are highly evasive and complex, each reader may interpret it differently. For this reason, the reader's personal values play an essential role. This, in turn, complicates an easy deduction about the magazine's overarching ideology. Her views are supported by the Uses and Gratifications Theory, as well as the Situated Culture Theory of media consumption (Rayner et al. 2004:138-140). Both theories propose that individuals interact with the mass media on the basis of: 1) their immediate needs, 2) personal values, as well as 3) cultural norms.

Brown (2000), however, states that frequent exposure to deprecating and sexist comments, in whatever tone, may still motivate readers to accept them as normal. Clearly, therefore, deductions about the nature and impact of a magazine's ideology are never simple.

Nevertheless, as stated earlier, adolescents may be particularly vulnerable to these messages owing to the nature of this developmental phase (Delamont, 2001: 42-47, Brannon, 1996 and Richmond-Abbott, 1992). According to Kehily (1999), Massoni (2004), Simić (2006), and Jackson (2005:295) young women, in particular, are likely to view magazines as authoritative sources of information about femininity – although the latter also indicates that they may, at times, be "cynical [and] critical". This is relevant to the current study as 31% of *Cosmo's* readers are between 16 and 24, while the average age of *FHM's* 744000 readers is 28 (see reference list for website).

However, as stated earlier, this study does not aim to rate the actual power of lifestyle magazines. Instead, the focus is on the linguistic realisation of these ideologies (for a

discussion of readers' opinions of men's magazines, see Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 1999, 2001).

In summary, therefore, lifestyle magazines are viewed as a powerful element of popular culture, with the potential to either limit or broaden individuals' perceptions of gender. They may express, but also influence society's views (Fairclough, 1995). This is manifested in the fact that they provide a profitable platform for gendered discourse (Ferguson, 1983, and supported by Thompson, 2000).

2.3 Femininity in lifestyle magazines

According to Ferguson (1983:1) – who worked as a journalist for women's magazines for ten years before studying sociology – women's lifestyle magazines “contribute to the wider cultural processes which define the position of women in a given society at a given point in time”. The following section will review Ferguson (1983) and other studies on the construction of femininity in magazines like *Cosmo*.

Firstly, Ferguson states that the very existence of magazines ‘for men’ and ‘for women’ indicates a binary gender ideology. The underlying assumption – in women's magazines – is that women are ‘different’ and that they must show ‘solidarity’ (Ferguson, 1983:185-186). Thus, femininity is constructed as a distinct, almost exclusive, set of affections, cognitions and behaviours. It is an “art” which every individual born female should learn to enjoy, display, and – most importantly – perfect (Ferguson, 1983:1). Consequently, the magazine is constructed as 1) an expert on femininity as a whole, and 2) as a guiding companion for all women. However, despite this ostensibly ‘general’ approach, previous studies have indicated that magazines like *Cosmo* are purposely honed to a specific audience (del-Teso-Cravaiotto 2006, Reichart, 2001 and Ferguson, 1983).

From a capitalist perspective it makes sense to promote a magazine as a commodity for all women – if only ostensibly (Ferguson, 1983). It is, perhaps, imperative to draw advertisers. But, as a result, women are constructed as a relatively homogenous social category.

However, although they are specifically relevant to magazines like *Cosmo*, it does not apply to all lifestyle magazines. For example, the discourses of *Ms.* and *Working Woman* portray femininity as diverse/heterogeneous, embedded in different societies, and

connected to socio-political climates (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006). In a South African context, one might question the position of magazines like *Fairlady* and *Marie Claire*. Clearly a distinction is required between the various titles under the umbrella term ‘women’s lifestyle magazines’. The following section is dedicated to the construction of femininity in *Cosmo*.

2.3.1 The ideology of Cosmopolitan

Magazines like *Cosmopolitan* construct themselves, not only as experts, but as advisors. Consequently, they are presented as being ‘in the know’ of what women want. Thus, if they frequently print articles about sex, dieting and fashion, they construct femininity as primarily concerned with these subjects (Ferguson, 1983).

Furthermore, since they are presented as a distinctly feminine discourse, these magazines ostensibly select and reformulate their subjects in order to present an authentically female perspective. This process of ‘selection’ and ‘reformulation’ is primarily achieved by the editor who operates, to a large extent, on her intuitions about what sells and what will draw advertisers (Ferguson, 1983:10-11 and 185-188).

With regards to this study, the most important consequence of the above-mentioned information is that femininity is defined as something that must be performed. And to perform femininity successfully, one must perform “womanly things” frequently and perfectly – often for other women or men’s approval (Ferguson, 1983:7). The magazine, of course, is the source of what ‘womanly things’ are. More importantly, she (the magazine) is the reader’s constant advisor, especially since she is the expert on ‘womanly things’. However, this expert is not a clinical advisor, but a friend who understands ‘what it feels like’ to pursue the perfection of femininity. Thus, the magazine is indispensable in this life-long quest (Ferguson, 1983:184-185).

This proclivity is manifested in the variety of ‘how-to’ and ‘step-by-step’ articles in magazines like *Cosmo*. By defining what ‘womanly things’ are, in these articles, socialisation is achieved by upholding representations of what femininity should be. Simultaneously, advertisers are lured by connecting ‘womanly things’ with dieting, cosmetics and fashion. For example, the evasive goal of being ‘sexy enough’ may be

presented as a ‘womanly pursuit’ not because it is authentically feminine, but because it draws advertisers of dieting and fashion products (Ferguson, 1983:184-186).

On the potential influence that this might have on the social construction of femininity, Ferguson notes that “overt change conceals covert durability of the archetypal feminine roles” (1983:109). Thus: although ‘womanly things’ can now be incorporated within a variety of social roles, women are still expected to achieve certain goals, such as the maintenance of romantic relationships (Ferguson, 1983:189-192). Of course, this requires certain rituals of dieting, exercising, and purchasing the right fashion and cosmetic items. Therefore, it seems conceivable that femininity - although ostensibly flexible - is nevertheless constructed around a core of ‘womanly things’ to do and master. This notion is supported in language-based studies by del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) and Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera, (2006) - as well as studies on masculinity by Benwell (2001 and 2004).

In summary, this section has provided information on the construction of femininity in magazines like *Cosmo*. Before proceeding to masculinity, the following section will briefly review the origins of *Cosmo*. It aims to provide information on the perspective of a single woman who was largely responsible for its phenomenal success.

2.3.2 Origins of Cosmopolitan

According to Braithwaite and Barrell (1988), *Cosmo* was not the first magazine to emphasise sex. However, it is interesting to note the following. During the 1960s, when the magazine seemed doomed to failure, it was revitalised by Helen Gurley Brown. This woman viewed herself as “the perennial elder sister [...] who could advise girls on how to improve themselves” (Braithwaite and Barrell, 1988:55). She envisioned a magazine that would teach young women how to “attract men, hold down a good job, make the best of herself, and, not least, improve her sex life” (Braithwaite and Barrell, 1988:55).

Nevertheless, it is important to reiterate, that easy deductions about the ideology of magazines like *Cosmo* are never easy. Despite its exposition on ‘womanly things’, these magazines go to great lengths to instil a sense of worth and confidence in their readers. As such, these magazines retain the potential to empower women (Ferguson, 1983:185). Simultaneously, women must never become so independent that they no longer need the

magazine. For this reason – perhaps - femininity is projected as a ‘work in progress’ or a life long goal (Ferguson, 1983:191).

2.4 Masculinity in lifestyle magazines

This investigation concentrates on the construction of masculinity along one of two dominant models: the “new lad” and the “new man” (from Benwell, 2004:3).

The ‘new man’ refers to a masculine identity that is sensitive to gender debates and feminism. A typical example is *Men’s Health* (Boni, 2002:469). This study concentrates on ‘new lad’, or ‘lad mag’, magazines, with specific emphasis on *FHM*.

The ‘new lad’ has been described as a conservative reaction to feminism - and its product, the ‘new man’. Therefore, it advocates sexism and argues that the ‘new lad’ is a more authentic masculine identity (Benwell, 2004). The ‘new lad’ is authentic because it acknowledges a natural order of “biological essentialism” (Benwell, 2004:6), which views men and women as fundamentally alien (Ortner and Whitehead, 1981; York, 2004; Goldberg 1993).

However, ‘lad mags’ are faced with the challenge of surviving in an era which is hostile to such ideologies. MacInnes (2001:322) summarises the challenge: “What were once male virtues are often now viewed as masculine vices”. This challenge is addressed by: 1) employing irony to avoid an explicit stance on gender identity (Benwell, 2004), and 2) simply avoiding feminism and “gender debates” as too trivial (Benwell, 2004:6).

The following section will discuss the construction of masculinity in ‘lad mags’ such as *FHM*.

2.4.1 Masculinity in ‘lad mags’

FHM’s slogan - “It’s a Guy Thing” - illustrates its construction of masculinity as irreconcilably different from femininity. Indirectly, ‘guys’ are portrayed as incomprehensible to out-groups – which, in turn, justifies a seemingly ambiguous discourse.

What constitutes ‘guy things’? According to Attwood (2005:94) ‘lad mags’ differ significantly from women’s magazines in their construction of sexuality. Most notably, they are characterised by “soft-core” pornography and an emphasis on “hedonism”

(Attwood, 2005:94, and supported by Boni, 2002:469, and Brown, 2000). Attwood's (2005) study identified a common trend in which soft-core pornography is increasingly incorporated in the overwhelming majority of men's magazines - including titles such as *Men's Health*. As a result, constructions of masculinity as something that can be performed in mature, equal and caring relationships are increasingly displaced by those concerned with hedonism, sexism and degrading depictions of sex. With regards to the latter point, women are increasingly depicted as sexual objects – both unattainable celebrities and ordinary women (Attwood, 2005).

Men's magazines rose from obscurity to popularity with amazing speed. However, lifestyle magazines were already entrenched as a distinctly feminine discourse (Brown, 2000). Therefore, men's magazines – including 'lad mags' – needed to define masculinity not only in terms of what it is, but what it is not. The answer was: 1) it is not feminine and 2) it is not homosexual (Benwell, 2004).

2.4.1.1 Not feminine

In 'lad mags' this aim is achieved in the following ways.

Firstly, marriage is described as a restraint on men's freedom. For this reason, sex is frequently situated outside stable/long-term relationships (Attwood, 2005). The success of this formula has persuaded many other titles to copy the explicit depictions of sex, in which these ideologies are frequently manifested. To make this slightly more acceptable, 'lad mags' employ an adolescent/juvenile sense of humour (Attwood, 2005).

Secondly, anything that might be associated with stereotypically feminine activities is strongly avoided or altered. Letters from readers are one example, since they might constitute gossiping (Benwell, 2001). This challenge is addressed by tipping the balance with stereotypically masculine traits, such as arrogance, aggression and competitiveness. Editorial and readers' letters are also distinguished from femininity by the recurrent and even creative use of expletives (Benwell, 2001). Thus a co-construction of ideology between readers and editorial staff is achieved.

Thirdly, images of women serve primarily as symbols of sexual pleasure. Thus, women are constructed as irreconcilably different from men. This strategy applies to both celebrities and ordinary women (Attwood, 2005). The sample selected for this study, for

example, included regular columns such as *Ladies' Confessions* and *They're Dirty Girls* in which ordinary women are invited to share sexual fantasies and experiences.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the discourse on sex seems to present “a rough kind of equality” (Attwood, 2005:87). Both sexes are constructed as sexual agents who desire sex intensely, even desperately. However, this might be related to the distinction adolescent men make between the levels of sexual access different types of women allow them. During this phase, ‘easy’ girls are often described as desiring sex as frequently and intensely as men (Delamont, 2001:42). Perhaps, the magazines are searching for ordinary women who fit this stereotype.

2.4.1.2 Not homosexual

According to Kimmel (2001) homophobia plays a significant role in contemporary manifestations of conservative masculinity. In this ideology “[h]omoerotic desire is cast as feminine desire,” (Kimmel, 2001:276).

Lifestyle magazines sell consumerism. Consequently, recent trends have seen an increase in the sexual objectification of both women and men’s bodies (Thompson, 2000). However, in conservative masculine ideology, depictions of male fashion are often perceived as potentially homoerotic (Attwood, 2005). To cope with this challenge, ‘lad mags’ have incorporated men’s fashion items with a myriad of sexually explicit images of women. Consequently, women’s bodies are used to symbolise “male sexual pleasure” (Attwood, 2005:87). These explicit depictions are frequently accompanied by discourses in which the male body is constructed as unfinished, potentially dysfunctional and sexually inadequate (Attwood, 2005, and supported by Boni, 2002). Male bodies are, therefore, not constructed as objects for display or reverence (Attwood, 2005). Furthermore, “body maintenance” – such as skincare – is thoroughly avoided as a feminine rite (Attwood, 2005:89). Instead, men’s bodies are frequently depicted in risky activities such as “binge drinking, drug-taking, and promiscuity” (Attwood, 2005:89).

In summary, therefore, masculine identities in ‘lad’ magazines are threatened by the consumerist vogue which objectifies men as sexual commodities. This threat is manifested in the potentially feminised and homoerotic displays of masculinity. In response, ‘lad mags’ are using women’s bodies to symbolise male sexual pleasure and

consumption (Attwood, 2005). A cursory overview of the fashion and perfume advertisements in the sample for this study suggests that at least some advertisements address this threat by posing well-dressed men in sexually dominant positions over women. Future analyses may, therefore, investigate the relationship between images and linguistic patterns.

2.4.2 ‘Manly things’?

Based on the above-mentioned review, it seems conceivable that the ideology of magazines like *FHM* is similar to *Cosmo* on at least one level: both present an exposition on the successful performance of ‘womanly’ or ‘manly’ things.

‘Lad mags’ may be less concerned with the life-long perfection of masculinity. However, by advocating conservative masculinity through an autonomous and hedonistic lifestyle - characterised by risky activities and sexist views - they may advocate a list of ‘manly things’. This may be manifested in articles aimed at advising the reader on how to maintain this lifestyle. For example, advice on how to sleep with as many women as possible outside a stable relationship, suggests the construction of hedonism as a ‘manly thing’.

This notion is supported by Brown’s (2000) suggestion that ‘lad mags’ operate on the assumption that “if you don’t mind the absence of scantily dressed babes from your magazine, then you are a soft-lad”.

In summary, this study will investigate the construction of gender ideology in *Cosmo* and *FHM*. A measure of emphasis will be given to the construction and performance of ‘manly’ and ‘womanly’ things.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 The sample

Lifestyle magazines were considered as an appropriate source of ideological discourse because their readers are required to combine “knowledge of the language system [with] knowledge of the world” (Gardner, 1984:104). Therefore, this study’s methodology is built on a constructionist approach, with particular emphasis on critical discourse analysis. Such an approach is concerned with the social forces which influence the way people formulate an understanding of their world (Potter, 1996). Or, as formulated by Brokensha (2007:67), “these researchers [...] acknowledge the social and ideological dimensions of language”. A definition by Wallace (1999:98) draws attention to the fact that CDA concentrates on the “ideological bases of discourses as they circulate both in everyday life and within specific texts” (researcher’s underlining).

One potential limitation of CDA is that it may become an “exegesis [by] the lone armchair critic” (Wallace, 1999:99) – thus reducing the validity of the findings. In an attempt to negotiate this limitation, this study concentrates specifically on finding patterns in the discourse of *FHM* and *Cosmo*, which future studies may confirm or reject. This limitation is also addressed in the pedagogy section of this dissertation.

The texts for analysis were taken from ten issues of both *Cosmo* and *FHM*. The *Cosmo* issues collected for this study were published between May 2007 and 2008 (excluding August 2007 and February 2008). The *FHM* issues were: July 2003, March 2004, January 2005, December 2005, April 2006, April 2007, December 2007, March 2008, June 2008 and November 2008. These issues were selected because the researcher had access to them, and not for any methodological reasons.

Thereafter, four articles were randomly selected from the regular sections of each magazine, resulting in a total of eighty articles. For the purpose of this investigation, the concept ‘article’ refers to: at least three paragraphs of text, all of which are concerned with the same subject, and do not depend on images for their meaning. In addition, ‘articles’ are primarily constructed by the editorial staff, and not by readers – with the exception of interviewees.

Based on this definition, texts from *Cosmo* were randomly selected from the regular sections: ‘Cover Features’, ‘Features’, ‘Regulars’ and ‘Body & Soul’. No texts were

selected from the sections 'Beauty' or 'Fashion'. These two sections are normally dominated by images of fashion and cosmetic items. Each picture is accompanied by a short description, comment, evaluation or advice on how to use the item. As such, the texts derive their meaning from the image. Therefore, although they undoubtedly add to the magazine's construction of what 'womanly things' are, these texts were not considered appropriate for the linguistic analyses. This investigation is, therefore, limited in this regard.

The regular sections in *FHM* were: 'Letters', 'Reporter', 'Sex Confidential', 'FHM features', 'Fashion' (similar to *Cosmo's* section), 'Reviews' (also referred to as 'Essentials') and 'Jokes'. In the 2007 and 2008 issues, these headings are all collected under 'Features' and 'Regulars'. However, only the following sections conformed to the above-mentioned definition: 'Sex Confidential', 'Essentials' and 'Features'. 'Letters' contains the editorial letter and letters from readers. 'Reporter' contains short interviews with models, excerpts on readers' experiences and short texts which depend on images for their meaning. Finally, the section 'Jokes' showcases jokes received from readers. As a result, one article was selected from the subsections under 'Sex-Confidential' and 'Essentials', while two articles were selected from 'Features'.

Finally, it is important to mention that although 'Essentials' contains reviews of popular DVDs, music, movies and television shows, these articles are not dominated by visual components, as are the fashion sections. Furthermore, the texts are long enough to be considered as articles. And finally, the criteria used to rate certain movies etc. do contain lexical manifestations of gender ideology. For example:

- An extremely beautiful, talented woman. Like porn, but you can leave the DVD in when you're done! (Review of a DVD featuring singer Cristina Aguilera)
- [S]eeing her kick those perfect pins [...] is enough to reverse even Nataniël's gayness (Review of a DVD featuring singer Cristina Aguilera)
- Well it's the X-rated environment that makes this game wicked [...] games made for men, not boys (Review of a Play Station game)

3.2 Quantitative methods

3.2.1 WordSmith Tools

The quantitative methods employed in this study were based on those used by del-Teso-Craviotto (2006). These methods rely on a package of computer programmes: WordSmith Tools.

This package includes WordList, KeyWords, and Concord. WordList allows the researcher to compile a list of the most frequent words employed, for example, in all the articles of *Cosmo*. On the basis of this list, the researcher may investigate specific words which are suspected of carrying particular ideological weight.

Although WordList can provide valuable information on lexical patterns in a large corpus, del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) states that ideologies are more apparent in the distribution and connotation of specific words/lemmas across a magazine's texts. For this reason, the KeyWords programme is essential. KeyWords allows the researcher to compare the word-lists of *Cosmo* and *FHM*. A list is then compiled which indicates whether a specific word is used with unusual frequency (positive keyword) or infrequency (negative keyword) in comparison with the reference corpus.

Thus, when combining WordList and KeyWords, the researcher may decide to investigate specific words using the Concord programme (discussed later on). Following the example of del-Teso-Craviotto (2006), this analysis focused on content rather than functional words, like articles and conjunctions etc. This does not imply that functional words do not play important roles in ideology. It is, therefore, one of this study's limitations. Nevertheless, the use of pronouns, for example, was pursued in the qualitative analyses. Furthermore, like del-Teso-Craviotto (2006), only words with a frequency of 0.10% or higher were included in the study. This was done for practical reasons, since an unedited WordList contains thousands of words. In addition, words which differ only in inflection were grouped together. Words which operate as synonyms, such as man, bloke and oke, were also lemmatised. With regards to the KeyWords list, however, every word/lemma was investigated, regardless of its frequency (based on recommendations by del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006).

Concord allows the researcher to trace words/lemmas to their original sentence, paragraph and article – in order to clarify its meaning across various contexts. Concord

can also be used to compile a list of collocates for each word, in order to find underlying patterns. “Although the list of collocates does not provide statistical information, it is a reliable indicator of the semantic associations of the lemmas, and is therefore a useful starting point,” (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006:2013). Collocates were calculated at a range of five words to the left and right of the word/lemma under investigation (which is the programme’s default setting). This method also allows the researcher to uncover more concrete patterns. For example, when analysing the word ‘sex’, a researcher may wish to determine whether the phrase ‘sex life’ was frequent – providing that the collocate ‘life’ was frequent (note that collocates are not lemmatised). Toward this end, the list of collocates indicates how often a single collocate - such as ‘life’ - directly preceded the word ‘sex’. For example, this might reveal that - although the collocate ‘life’ occurred in close proximity to ‘sex’ fifty times - it only directly preceded ‘sex’ ten times. In such a case, the phrase ‘sex life’ is not considered frequent, since only 20% of all instances preceded ‘sex’ directly.

More importantly, however, a list was made of all the articles in which the word/lemma under investigation appeared. These articles were then categorised according to their semantic contexts/subjects. This allows one to see whether a word/lemma is most frequently used in a specific semantic context, such as romantic relationships.

The semantic categories for each magazine are discussed below. Note, however, that the semantic context of a word/lemma does not depend exclusively on the subject of the overall article. *FHM*’s regular section ‘Music reviews’, for example, often contains interviews with the artists whose music has just been reviewed. When used during the interview, references to the word/lemma under investigation were classed as ‘Interviews with men/women’. Similarly, even though “Jenny’s Guide to Rediscovery” was found under ‘Sex Confidential’ it was classed as ‘Sex Technique’ because it encourages the ‘rediscovery’ of certain sexual skills (henceforth categories will be placed in single quotation marks, such as ‘Other’, while the articles’ titles will be quoted with double quotation marks, such as “*FHM* Gunplay”).

3.2.2 Categories for *Cosmo* articles

Happiness: this term is used to designate articles which are concerned with promoting the individual reader's wellbeing, confidence and overall quality of life. They are generally found under the subsections 'Good Advice', 'Psyche' or 'Cosmo Helps' and have a particularly strong interest in providing psychological advice. As such, these articles are frequently presented in 'how to' or 'step-by-step' formats. For example: "15 Confidence Tricks" and "Stuck In A Rut? Answer 3 questions – and break free".

Celebrities: these articles are either concerned with celebrities as a group, or with individual stars.

Relationships: these articles provide advice on issues relating to heterosexual romantic relationships. No mention is made of homosexual relationships. The discourse is particularly focused on couples who are living together, although the word 'marriage' is generally avoided.

Health: *Cosmo's* articles on health-related issues are generally concerned with an integration of physical and mental health. These articles are generally found under the section 'Body & Soul'. Articles on sports and recreation are also included in this category if they are primarily concerned with promoting the reader's physical and/or mental health.

Sex: these articles are concerned with either promoting the reader's personal enjoyment of sex, or with the development of sexual skills which will improve sex for her male partner. Examples include: 'Erotica With A Rocket' and 'Hand It To Him'. Since sex is frequently used to improve sales (McCleneghan 2003), these articles are often found under 'Cover Features'.

Upfront woman: these articles can be found under 'Regulars'. They are written in a manner that suggests an 'insider's perspective' on mundane issues which affect femininity.

Upfront man: these articles are also found under 'Regulars' and represent the male counterpart to 'Upfront woman'. The articles are written by a variety of male journalists on issues which affect heterosexual relationships.

Movers: these articles are part of an annual competition, and include interviews with women who have "shown ingenuity and determination in turning a dream into a

successful venture”. It seems plausible that these articles represent a more feminist part of *Cosmo*’s overall discourse.

Other: articles which do not fit the mould of the above-mentioned categories are referred to as ‘Other’. Examples include “Get In On The Property Market” and “Dangers In The Night”. Articles of this nature may represent a form of discourse that differs from *Cosmo*’s stereotypical interest in sex, relationships and dieting (as noted by del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006). In this sample of *Cosmo* ‘other’ articles tended to discuss women in terms of contemporary social issues such as the economy and crime. Therefore, these articles might represent a more progressive form of discourse as women are connected to their social context (according to del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006).

3.2.3 Categories for *FHM* articles

Sex technique: these articles are concerned with the dissemination of knowledge/skills which the readers, it is assumed, are interested in mastering. Examples include “Oral Exam”.

Sex Confidential: these articles showcase readers’ questions on sex-related issues, in conjunction with answers from the magazine’s “resident sexpert” (female). As such, these articles indicate the magazine’s attitude toward issues such as promiscuity and sex with multiple partners. The mere fact that *FHM* has a regular section on this subject is, in itself, indicative of its construction of male interests.

Interviews with women: in these articles models, starlets and other female celebrities, as well as ordinary women, are interviewed.

Interviews with men: male celebrities or ordinary ‘blokes’ are interviewed about their careers, experiences and recommendations for seducing women.

Lifestyle: these articles contain recommendations (normally written in an ironic style) about the lifestyle of modern men. For example, the article “When Real Men Ruled The Earth” discusses a variety of masculine skills which the readers’ fathers could, apparently, perform with ease. The article then continues to provide easy step-by-step guidelines on how to develop each of these skills. As such, these articles provide an outline of what ‘manly things’ consist of.

Reviews (of music, DVDs, movies, television shows, and computer games): by reviewing and rating various albums, DVDs and computer games for instance, these articles provide an outline of the leisure activities which are consistent with the magazine's perspective on masculinity.

Sensational articles: these articles discuss subjects which are stereotypically associated with masculinity, such as: “*FHM* Gunplay”, “Supercop”, “FBI's Most Wanted” and “MMA Stoppages [wrestling]”. The subjects of these articles may represent the way in which “[m]agazine masculinity [...] tends to represent an exaggerated, unflagging version of such [male] stereotypes” (Benwell, 2001:20).

Other: articles which did not fit into any of these categories were referred to as ‘Other’.

3.2.4 Analysing interviews

On the basis of quantitative results, a selection of articles were analysed qualitatively. However, the qualitative methodologies used for this purpose (section 3.3) were considered inappropriate for the study of interviews – which were abundant in *FHM*. As a result, recourse was taken to a quantitative method that has frequently been used in studies of the mass media (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006:150-152; Rayner et al., 2004:316-318). The following section outlines the rationale and procedures of this choice.

3.2.4.1 Interviews in *FHM*

Interviews have received extensive attention in contemporary research. Ekström (2001), for example, studies the manner in which journalists manipulate the answers gleaned from interviews with politicians in order to construct news stories. Heritage (2002:1427) investigates the use of various questioning strategies, especially “negative interrogatives”. Emmertsen (2007:570) investigates “confrontational” trends in “debate interviews”, while Clayman (2002:1385) studies “neutralistic posture”.

Conversely, interviews in ‘lad mags’ like *FHM* have not yet been analysed. Unlike the interviews in previous studies, *FHM*'s are primarily concerned with providing entertainment and background information on the life and aspirations of the interviewee. As such, they represent a form of profiling (Reusser, 2006; Rains, 2004).

In *FHM*, interviews with women are invariably presented with full-page photographs of the interviewee in sexually explicit poses. These photographs normally occupy several pages. Conversely, interviews with men are accompanied by smaller photographs and occupy only one page. This is consistent with Attwood's (2005) contention that 'lad mags' are steadily incorporating elements of soft-core pornography.

For this reason, the investigation concentrated specifically on interviews with women. The aim was to determine the ideological contribution of linguistic items in the interview. However, owing to the nature of the data, a quantitative approach seemed more appropriate. Consequently, content analysis was selected.

3.2.4.2 Content analysis

Content analysis aims to produce "an accurate representation of a body of messages" by investigating messages in a "systematic, objective, and quantitative" manner (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006:150-151). The following section will discuss the procedures, advantages and limitations of this method.

Firstly, content analysis is systematic. The content of media messages are categorised according to a predetermined set of criteria, which allows the researcher to draw conclusions about the overall properties of the body of messages (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006:150-151; Rayner et al., 2004:316). More specifically, conclusions may be drawn about the prevalence of certain phenomena. Secondly, content analysis aims to produce valid results which are not tainted by personal bias. For this reason, the criteria according to which the data are categorised must be clarified so that other researchers may duplicate the investigation. Thirdly, content analysis is quantitative, in the sense that it allows researchers to analyse a large sample of messages, in a way that produces precise findings which can be reported in a succinct manner (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006:150-151).

Content analysis is, however, limited in the following ways. Firstly, "Content analysis alone cannot serve as the basis for making statements about the effects of content on an audience" (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006:153; Rayner et al., 2004:317). In this study, content analysis represents only one method among many. The specific pattern it aims to investigate, for example, was identified by using WordSmith Tools (discussed above),

and is investigated in more detail with qualitative tools. Secondly, the results of content analyses are “limited to the [...] categories and the definitions used in that analysis” (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006:154). In this study, the questions directed to female interviewees were categorised according to a specific set of criteria, which is clarified later on. Although the findings’ validity can only be confirmed by future studies of the same or similar data, this study aimed to triangulate the results by using a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods (see section 3.5).

3.2.4.3 Procedures in this study

This section discusses the way in which content analysis was employed in this dissertation. The sampling procedures are discussed first, followed by the procedures used to categorise the data.

The data for this section of the study were not drawn exclusively from the articles which were included in the WordSmith Tools analysis. Instead, interviews with the cover girl of each *FHM* in the sample were included, whether they had been transcribed for the WordSmith package or not. Thereafter, a second interview was randomly selected from the rest of the magazine. This resulted in a total of 20 interviews and 409 questions.

The questions of each interview were then categorised and examined for their contribution to ideology. The objective was to determine the degree to which the lexical items of the interviews reflect the sexual nature of the photographs that accompany them. This goal was selected for two reasons. Firstly, it allows for the investigation of a pattern that was identified during the quantitative study. Secondly, since the qualitative study focused on other articles in the sample, this method aims to provide a broader perspective on the construction of ideology in *FHM*.

To achieve this objective, questions were categorised as either sexual or non-sexual in nature. To determine whether a question was sexual in nature required attention to implicit references and sexual innuendoes that are typical in *FHM*. For this reason, the content analysis was postponed until the WordSmith investigation had been completed, since this phase of the study served to familiarise the researcher with various idiosyncrasies of *FHM*’s discourse. Thereafter, the interviews were thoroughly reviewed, in order to gain a clear understanding of the interactions’ development. Finally, the

linguistic criteria were specified, and the analysis completed. These criteria are set out in detail under the section that reports the findings (section 4.3). Additional information that may allow future researchers to duplicate the study is also presented.

3.3 Qualitative methods

The qualitative aim of this investigation was to uncover the linguistic construction of gender ideology in the magazines under study. This would be achieved by investigating underlying patterns in the linguistic features of three articles from *Cosmo* and two articles from *FHM* (the investigation of interviews in *FHM* served to balance the study). The articles were selected on the basis of quantitative results.

The research methods were based on Fairclough (2003), as well as Kitis and Milapides (1997), and include: 1) underlying assumptions, 2) social actors, and 3) a selection of specific words.

3.3.1 Underlying assumptions

Fairclough (2003:55) states that ideology, in a text, is constructed both by what is overtly said, and by what is implied. These implications are conveyed on the basis of certain meanings which – it is assumed – are shared by those who understand the message: “no form of communication or interaction is conceivable without some such ‘common ground’” (Fairclough, 2003:55). However, “the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this ‘common ground’, [makes] implicit assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology” (Fairclough, 2003:55). For example, the use of the word ‘sex’ might be accompanied by an implicit assumption that all the magazine’s readers have had sex in heterosexual relationships. Consequently, this ‘common ground’ is created by the magazine through certain grammatical features.

Fairclough (2003:139) also states that: “In representing a social event, one is incorporating it within the context of another social event, recontextualizing it”. The implication for lifestyle magazines is that social events/interests are reinterpreted according to the underlying assumptions which underpin this genre (Fairclough, 2003:139). For these reasons, implicit/underlying assumptions were qualitatively analysed in the selected articles.

Fairclough (2003:55) distinguishes between three types of implicit assumptions. “Existential assumptions” refer to assumptions about the existence of things such as a crisis, threat, or a sense of camaraderie (Fairclough, 2003:55). “Propositional assumptions” refer to assumptions about a past, current or future state of affairs (Fairclough, 2003). Finally, “[v]alue assumptions” refer to assumptions about things, goals or situations which are “desirable” (Fairclough, 2003:55). These assumptions are implicitly manifested through a variety of linguistic features. This investigation aims to 1) uncover these linguistic features, and 2) discuss their contribution to the article’s ideology.

3.3.2 Social actors

According to Fairclough (2003:145-146) the linguistic features of a text may be used to either include or exclude the social actors in the event/situation that is described. Exclusion can be achieved by using “suppression” or “backgrounding” (Fairclough, 2003:145). The former implies that a given social actor has simply been omitted from a text. The latter implies that, although the actor is mentioned in some places, the reader is frequently required to infer his/her presence (Fairclough, 2003:145-146).

For example, *FHM*’s homophobic ideology may be reinforced in articles on sex which ‘background’ men as social actors, while their sexual partners are always marked with the pronouns ‘her’, ‘she’, ‘hers’ or the nouns ‘woman’, ‘babe’, or ‘lady’.

Kitis and Milapides (1997: 570-571) provide an illustration of the ideological contribution of social actors, by using the “transactive model”. According to this model, ideologies can be expressed by constructing an “active [...] agent”, who performs an action upon an “affected participant”. Kitis and Milapides (1997:570-571) used this model to analyse a newspaper editorial entitled *Greece’s defence seems just silly* (published in *Time* magazine, on 12 October 1992). The following sentence illustrates the model: “Greece is reminding the world that it too is a Balkan country” (Kitis and Milapides, 1997:570-571). In this sentence, ‘Greece’ is constructed as an active agent, while ‘the world’ functions as an affected participant. The sentence structure highlights the manner in which Greece “imposes of its own accord a certain action [...] on the

world” (Kitis and Milapides, 1997:572). For ideological purposes, this structure may be used to cast Greece in a pejorative light.

In magazines, the transactive model may be used to construct men/women as a passive party that is affected by active social forces/agents. For example, articles which associate femininity with sexual hedonism, might construct women as active agents, while their male partners are constructed as passive participants.

3.3.3 Specific words

Finally, on the basis of the quantitative analyses, some words were suspected of carrying particular ideological weight. These words were investigated if they appeared in the articles under study.

3.3.4 Qualitative aims

In summary: the qualitative analyses of articles (excluding interviews in *FHM*) aimed to investigate 1) the linguistic manifestation/construction and 2) the ideological contribution of:

- underlying assumptions,
- social actors, and
- the role of certain words, in the articles under study.

3.5 Triangulation

The findings’ validity was analysed by means of methodological triangulation. Consequently, notes were made during the quantitative investigation, with specific emphasis on discovering underlying patterns, which could be verified during the qualitative study.

Furthermore, the qualitative analyses did not concentrate on any specific variable until both the quantitative analyses and a cursory study of the proposed patterns had been conducted. For example, even though pronouns were excluded from the study, a cursory analysis was made and compared with the findings for ‘men’ and ‘women’.

Chapter 4: Quantitative findings

4.1 WordList

Tables 1 and 2 represent the WordList findings for *Cosmo* and *FHM* respectively.

Word	Freq.	%
Be	794	1.74
Say	376	0.82
Can	375	0.82
Has	373	0.82
Make	199	0.44
Get	184	0.4
Not	181	0.4
More	173	0.38
Men	138	0.3
Time	135	0.3
Will	135	0.3
About	127	0.28
One	127	0.28
Don't	125	0.27
Take	119	0.26
People	109	0.24
Feel	102	0.22
Life	100	0.22
May	100	0.22
Go	98	0.21
Think	98	0.21
Work	96	0.21
Know	91	0.2
Even	90	0.2
Thing	87	0.19
Other	86	0.19
Just	82	0.18
Women	82	0.18
Good	81	0.18
Like	80	0.18
Some	80	0.18
Because	79	0.17
Find	79	0.17
Year	78	0.17
Being	77	0.17
Way	76	0.17
Try	73	0.16
Friend	72	0.16
Want	72	0.16
Day	71	0.16

Help	71	0.16
Also	68	0.15
Need	67	0.15
Sex	66	0.14
Too	66	0.14
New	63	0.14
Such	63	0.14
Relationship	62	0.14
Only	59	0.13
Now	57	0.12
Something	57	0.12
Most	56	0.12
Two	56	0.12
Much	55	0.12
Body	54	0.12
Back	51	0.11
Shall	51	0.11
Health	49	0.11
Love	45	0.1
Study	45	0.1

Table 2: List of most frequent words in <i>FHM</i>		
Word	Freq.	%
Be	919	1.9
Has	433	0.89
Get	258	0.53
Can	249	0.51
Women	205	0.42
Like	204	0.42
Will	200	0.41
Men	189	0.39
Make	165	0.34
Not	160	0.33
Go	157	0.32
One	155	0.32
Just	154	0.32
About	147	0.3
Time	139	0.29
Say	119	0.25
Don't	117	0.24
More	115	0.24
Sex	106	0.22
Know	101	0.21
Think	94	0.19
Some	91	0.19
Thing	88	0.18
Take	87	0.18
Back	84	0.17

Any	80	0.17
First	77	0.16
Body	74	0.15
Use	74	0.15
Work	73	0.15
Do	72	0.15
Good	71	0.15
Two	71	0.15
Year	68	0.14
Ever	66	0.14
Find	66	0.14
Try	66	0.14
Only	65	0.13
Even	64	0.13
Want	64	0.13
Well	64	0.13
Life	63	0.13
Way	63	0.13
Feel	62	0.13
People	60	0.12
Most	59	0.12
Ha	58	0.12
May	57	0.12
Best	56	0.12
Other	55	0.11
Still	54	0.11
Because	53	0.11
Really	53	0.11
Around	50	0.1
Bit	50	0.1
Lot	50	0.1
Now	50	0.1
Too	49	0.1
Need	48	0.1
World	48	0.1
Three	46	0.1

These results are consistent with del-Teso-Craviotto's (2006) in the sense that specialised terminology is infrequent. The use of colloquial language allows the magazine to imitate the talk of friends, thus establishing a sense of solidarity. Furthermore, the articles can be read with relative ease, even when distractions are likely (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006:2009; Rayner et al., 2004:155).

However, the results also contradict del-Teso-Craviotto's (2006) with regards to expletives in *FHM*. Expletives are, generally, more frequent in men's magazines. This

not only reflects society's double standards, but also the link between masculinity and the breaking of taboos, proposed by Benwell (2001:26). However, although expletives such as "fuck", "shit", and the Afrikaans word "kak", were present in the sample of *FHM*, they were not used frequently enough to merit inclusion in the WordList or KeyWords analyses. This might be the result of random selection. Alternatively, it is possible that the South African version of *FHM* employs fewer expletives than its American counterpart.

The Concord investigation focused on the following words/lemmas. Since lemmas such as 'be', 'get', and 'not' are commonly used across genres (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006) they were not investigated any further. Instead, the following lemmas were included (based on recommendations by del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006, a preliminary survey of these and other words in the list, as well as electronic correspondence with del-Teso-Craviotto during July 2008): 'work', 'men', 'women', 'feel', 'sex', 'love', 'relationship' and 'body'. Finally, as the word 'says' appeared to be an ideologically relevant collocate to these lemmas, its use will be clarified in the following section.

4.1.1. The word 'says' in *Cosmo*

At first glance, the lemma 'say' appeared to carry no particular ideological weight. However, in addition to appearing in the KeyWords analysis, the word 'says' was also a frequent collocate of several lemmas under investigation. Therefore, its role will be clarified here.

A closer investigation of the lemma indicated that the word 'says' was invariably used in *Cosmo* to reference expert opinions/advice on the article's subject. The importance of this word was also corroborated by the fact that, when separated from 'say', 'saying' and 'said', it was the most frequent word in the word-list for *Cosmo* (295 references compared to 45, 14 and 22, respectively). The discursive function of this word is poignantly illustrated by its most frequent collocates, which consist primarily of the names of various experts and their positions: Breslin, Douglas, Lipman, Cassidy, Kaylan, Boxford, Jones, Majid, Titus, Yuill, psychologists, author, Dr. and Director.

The fact that *Cosmo*'s discourse contains regular references to expert opinions (accompanied by the expert's credentials) might indicate a higher quality of journalism.

Moreover, since *Cosmo* is intent on providing advice (as will be shown in subsequent analyses), this investigation indicates that it attempts to provide credible advice.

Therefore, in subsequent analyses, the presence of the collocate 'says' serves to indicate that the articles - in which the lemma under investigation was frequently found - were considered important enough to warrant the consultation of experts.

In *FHM*, on the other hand, experts are only cited in two articles. One is a 'Lifestyle' article: "When Real Men Ruled The Earth". This article cites a variety of experts on stereotypically masculine skills, such as: "How to avoid showing any emotion", "How to build a braai," and "How to tell a great story". The other is a 'Sensational' article on the process of decomposition in human corpses. As such, it represents an example of the "elements of grotesquery", which are frequent in 'lad mags', according to Attwood (2005:89).

Other references to the word 'says' in *FHM* include more generic uses, such as: "Like Pamela Anderson says" (interview with Monica Hansen), "Who says size counts?" (article on wrestling), "there's a sign that says" (interview with Jennifer Walcott) "when your girl says, 'Put something nice on'" (music reviews) and "but she says she'd feel silly" (Sex Confidential).

With regards to other words in the lemma, 'say' was more prevalent than 'says', 'saying' and 'said' (49 compared with 32, 9 and 29 respectively), but, as stated earlier, these words were not used to cite experts, nor could any other ideologically relevant patterns be discerned.

FHM's lack of expert advice might be accounted for by its persistent avoidance of serious issues, especially those which might necessitate a confrontation with feminism (Attwood, 2005; Benwell, 2001, 2004; Brown, 2000). In fact, the results reported below indicate the possibility that *FHM* attempts to provide a niche where masculinity is under no pressure to change in response to contemporary social developments. If so, this might construct men as apathetic and uninterested in issues outside this niche of 'manly' pursuits.

4.1.2 The lemma 'work' in *Cosmo*

4.1.2.1 The analysis of work

The lemma 'work' was investigated because it may reveal the magazine's perspective on labour-related issues (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006:2011). The Concord analysis was conducted on three levels, as discussed below.

Firstly, in *Cosmo*, the lemma 'work' was used in both the noun and verb form. Both cases were categorised into four semantic relations:

- 1) Careers: "If you're delivering an important presentation for work".
- 2) The "capacity to achieve a goal" (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006:2011): "Small gestures work". This category also includes 'attempts/efforts to achieve a goal', since both represent linguistic realisations of the goals that masculinity/femininity 'must/should' pursue. Examples include: "compile a list of things you'd like to change and work on them daily", "It is no longer good enough to be smart or good-looking. You have to be working at both" and "If your patience and hard work are rewarded, she'll climax".
- 3) The process of making calculations: "Look at your finances realistically and work out how much you can put aside each month".
- 4) Physical exercise, examples of which include: "With a work-out like this, you'll get fit fast and feel like a rock star" and "where dancers work on major muscle groups".
- 5) Although these four meanings dominated the articles under study, there were a few other instances which did not fit into any category. For example: "Now that accusation applies to anyone who isn't working footless tights."

Secondly, del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) notes that women's lifestyle magazines often depict women along one of two lines: 1) as a homogenous/undiversified group – built on the underlying assumption that all women are essentially the same – or 2) as individuals who act alone when faced with social and/or personal challenges. Both depictions are frequently used in discourses which describe femininity as something that requires

patronising guidance and upkeep. According to del-Teso-Craviotto (2006), these depictions may be uncovered by analysing a lemma’s most frequent collocates. For example, her analysis of *Cosmo* indicates that references to women are undiversified (whether they are addressed as individuals or as a stereotypical group). By contrast, feminist magazines, such as *Ms.*, refer to women as members of various social groups: for example “‘black’, ‘American’, ‘battered’ [and] ‘disabled’”. (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006:2013).

The role of the lemma ‘work’ in this regard was analysed as follows. When it occurred in conjunction with references to ‘women’ in general, or to individual persons, the reference was labelled as ‘undiversified’. However, when the lemma was used in reference to a specific category of women, the reference was labelled as ‘classified’ and the specific group was noted.

Thirdly, to gain insight into the context in which the lemma was used, the articles in which it appeared were categorised according to their semantic contexts (see section 3.2.2).

Consequently, the Concord analysis allows one to see: 1) how many times the lemma was used to refer to ‘careers’, ‘capacity’, ‘calculations’ or ‘physical exercise’, 2) how many times the lemma was used to refer to women as a classified or unclassified group, and finally, 3) the contexts in which the lemma occurred most frequently.

Table 3: Distribution of the lemma ‘work’ in <i>Cosmo</i>		
Undiversified vs. Classified group	Context	%
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to careers		
Undiversified group	Happiness	17.9
Undiversified group	Movers	4.2
Undiversified group	Upfront woman	1.1
Undiversified group	Relationships	7.4
Undiversified group	Health	3.2
Undiversified group	Celebrities	2.1
Undiversified group	Other	2.1
Undiversified group	Upfront man	1.1
Classified group	Property Agents [Other article]	2.1
Classified group	Counsellors [Happiness]	1.1
Classified group	Bouncers [Other article]	1.1
Classified group	Waitress [Other article]	1.1
Classified group	Celebrities	2.1

References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to the capacity to achieve a goal		
Undiversified group	Relationships	7.4
Undiversified group	Happiness	15.9
Undiversified group	Sex	3.2
Undiversified group	Health	3.2
Classified group	Celebrities	3.2
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to calculations		
Undiversified group	Other	3.2
Undiversified group	Upfront man	1.1
Undiversified group	Relationships	1.1
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to physical exercise		
Undiversified group	Health	6.3
Undiversified group	Happiness	1.1
Classified group	Dancers [Health article]	1.1
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to other meanings		
Undiversified group	Relationships	2.1
Undiversified group	Other	2.1
Undiversified group	Happiness	1.1
Undiversified group	Health	1.1
Classified group	Celebrities	1.1

Collocates: and, a, the, to, you, your, at, with, of, out, in, it, is, this, you’re

4.1.2.2 The most prevalent meanings of ‘work’

With regards to the first level of analysis, Table 3 indicates that the lemma ‘work’ is predominantly used as a reference to careers (46.6%). This reference is manifested in both nouns and verbs, for example: “When you’ve finished a work project...” and “Working as a Cape Town receptionist”. Therefore, in the discourse of *Cosmopolitan*, careers are constructed as an important element of women’s lives. Although most of these references are concerned with women as an undiversified group, this finding might indicate a positive pattern in *Cosmo*’s ideology: women are encouraged to occupy a career of their choice, and to pursue success in this aspect of their lives.

Furthermore, the findings also indicate that ‘work’ is frequently related to ‘the capacity to achieve a goal’. In these instances, it was frequently used in the verb form. For example: “The problem is the propensity for self-blame when it doesn’t work”. This confirms Ferguson’s (1983) contention that magazines like *Cosmo* are characterised by self-help

articles, as readers are frequently advised on what might, or might not ‘work’ (see also section 4.1.2.4).

4.1.2.3 Classified vs. undiversified groups

With regards to the second level of analysis, references to ‘work’ reinforce the depiction of women as a homogenous category with little in-group variety. References to careers are vague, in the sense that specific occupations are rarely described. The articles do, however, contain references to offices, presentations and bosses.

Six classified groups were identified: 1) property agents, 2) bouncers (security guards at nightclubs), 3) waitresses, 4) celebrities, 5) counsellors and 6) dancers. The first three groups were traced to a series of ‘Other’ articles, which were concerned with advising readers on important decisions when deciding to buy property, as well as the safety of South African nightclubs. When compared to articles on ‘Happiness’, ‘Relationships’, and ‘Health’ these references are infrequent. Nevertheless, their presence might indicate that although *Cosmo* is predominantly concerned with relationships, health, and ‘happiness’, it also contains some articles on contemporary social issues, such as the economy and personal safety.

References to celebrities outnumbered other instances of classified groups. Celebrities are often discussed in *Cosmo*’s sections on gossip and scandals. This interest in celebrity news may reinforce the stereotype that women 1) enjoy gossiping and 2) are willing to follow the latest fashion, diet and cosmetic trends, as set by popular starlets.

When related to ‘careers’, the lemma ‘work’ also referred to counsellors. This indicates a propensity to discuss psychological issues - especially within the context of ‘Happiness’ articles (see also section 4.2.2.).

Finally, references to dancers were traced to a ‘Health’ article. The article encourages readers to try a fitness programme that was originally designed for dancers.

4.1.2.4 The most prevalent semantic contexts

The third level of analysis indicates that the lemma ‘work’ occurs most frequently in the context of personal happiness or romantic relationships. However, despite the rarity of references to other social events and issues, *Cosmo*’s formulation of work as an element

that influences personal happiness might be positive. Not only are women encouraged to occupy a career, they are also encouraged to consider whether or not their current position improves their personal quality of life.

The fact that ‘work’ is also addressed in the context of romantic relationships is consistent with the findings of del-Teso-Craviotto (2006). These findings concluded that the ideology of *Cosmo* constructs femininity as something that is strongly influenced by romantic, heterosexual relationships. For example, women are expected to strike a balance between their careers and personal relationships. This ideology is further reinforced by references to work as the ‘capacity to achieve a goal’ in the context of ‘Happiness’ and relationships. By implication, *Cosmo* is constructed as a source of guidance on strategies that ‘work’ when attempting to achieve 1) personal happiness or 2) success in one’s love life.

4.1.2.5 Collocates

The most frequent collocates of the lemma ‘work’ indicate that the lemma is not frequently described in a specific context, so that *Cosmo* does not prescribe a limited set of careers for women. The above-mentioned findings were also corroborated by the collocates of ‘jobs’ and ‘careers’. They were: a, the, you, to, and, impact, her, the. The phrase “career impact” was most commonly associated with celebrity-news (87.5%).

4.1.3 The lemma ‘work’ in *FHM*

In *FHM* the lemma ‘work’ was investigated on the same levels as in *Cosmo*.

Table 4: Distribution of the lemma ‘work’ in <i>FHM</i>		
Undiversified vs. Classified group	Context	%
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to careers		
Undiversified group	Reviews	5.5
Undiversified group	Interviews with men	23.3
Undiversified group	Interviews with women	8.2
Undiversified group	Sex Confidential	4.1
Undiversified group	Lifestyle	1.4
Undiversified group	Other	1.4
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to the capacity to achieve a goal		
Undiversified group	Interviews with men	9.6
Undiversified group	Lifestyle	6.8
Undiversified group	Sex Confidential	8.2

Undiversified group	Sex technique	13.7
Undiversified group	Reviews	5.5
Undiversified group	Interviews with women	4.1
Classified group	Wrestlers [Sensational article]	1.4
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to calculations		
Undiversified group	Lifestyle	1.4
Undiversified group	Sex Confidential	1.4
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to physical exercise		
Undiversified group	Interviews with women	2.7
References in which the lemma ‘work’ refers to other meanings		
Undiversified group	Reviews	2.7

Collocates: to, the, a, and, I, in, it, you, as, on, with, your, is, of, out, but, that, up, we

In contrast to *Cosmo*, references to the ‘capacity to achieve a goal’ were more prevalent than references to careers in *FHM* (52.1% vs. 43.9%). This indicates that *FHM* is less concerned with career-related issues. It is also interesting to note that references to ‘physical exercise’ were more characteristic of *Cosmo* than *FHM* (8.5% vs. 2.7%). When instances of ‘work’ were related to physical exercise, they were used during interviews with women. Thus, it seems plausible that exercise is constructed as a feminine pursuit in both *FHM* and *Cosmo*.

Furthermore, the majority of references were concerned with individual men (references to men in general were extremely rare). Only one classified group could be identified: wrestlers (in the context of a ‘Sensational’ article). The following sections will first discuss the lemma ‘work’ as related to ‘capacity’, before proceeding to ‘careers’, as these functions were the most frequent.

4.1.3.1 ‘Capacity to achieve a goal’

When the lemma ‘work’ was used in semantic relations with the ability to attain to a goal, it was most frequently used in articles on ‘Sex technique’. When combined with ‘Sex Confidential’, these articles account for 21.9% of the instances of ‘work’. This supports the notion that *FHM* constructs masculinity as heavily concerned with sex. This, in turn, promotes a promiscuous/hedonistic lifestyle as desirable and normal for men (supported by Attwood, 2005). Furthermore, approval of explicitly sexual texts is constructed as a

‘manly thing’ (supported by Brown, 2000). Most importantly, however, by acting as a source of information on sexual performance, the discourse of *FHM* might reinforce a stereotypically male preoccupation with performance-anxiety.

Against this background, it is interesting to note that *FHM* provides no advice on career-related issues. This contrasts sharply with *Cosmo*, whose articles address careers as something that influences personal happiness, as well as romantic relationships. As a result, it seems that *FHM*’s depiction of masculinity is less concerned with guidance/advice, while simultaneously maintaining a significant interest in enhancing their readers’ sexual skills. Thus, sexual performance is constructed as a ‘manly thing’, which men are required to master by paying attention to *FHM*’s advice.

4.1.3.2 Careers

Since magazines like *FHM* (‘lad mags’) are characterised by an evasive/ill-defined representation of masculinity and an avoidance of feminism (Benwell, 2004), the use of ‘work’ should be viewed in this context. It seems plausible that evasion is achieved by referencing ‘work’ (meaning career) in the context of individual men. This is reflected in the dominance of interviews with individual men (23.3%), as well as the collocates of ‘work’.

The collocates of ‘jobs’ and ‘careers’ also corroborate this finding: job, a, the, you, and, I, is, of, proper. The word ‘proper’ was used only once, during an interview with an individual member of the Finkelstiens: “Have you guys ever had proper jobs”.

In summary, all three levels of analysis suggest that *FHM*’s gender ideology is concerned with individual men - when discussing career-related subjects - and with sex when discussing the ‘capacity to achieve a goal’ (the magazine’s approach to sex is analysed in greater detail during the qualitative analyses).

4.1.4 The lemma ‘women’ in *Cosmo*

The analysis of ‘work’ has indicated underlying patterns in *Cosmo*’s description of careers, and its role in women’s lives. In addition, the results for ‘work’ suggest that women are predominantly described as a social category with few in-group variations. This stands in sharp contrast with feminist magazines such as *Ms.* which:

“seems to follow the feminist advice of questioning the relationship between gender and other social categories by qualifying the noun ‘woman’, thus effectively moving beyond the generalist pretension of other women’s magazines: not all women are white [or] middle-class” (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006:2014).

Therefore, the Concord analysis of the lemma ‘women’ is summarised in the same manner as ‘work’ (see also Appendix A).

Table 5: Distribution of the lemma ‘women’ in <i>Cosmo</i>		
Undiversified vs. Classified group	Context	%
Undiversified group	Sex	24.4
Undiversified group	Upfront woman	7.3
Undiversified group	Relationships	12.2
Undiversified group	Movers	2.4
Undiversified group	Health	7.3
Undiversified group	Happiness	13.4
Undiversified group	Upfront man	4.9
Undiversified group	Other	4.9
Undiversified group	Celebrities	1.2
Classified group	Celebrities	22

Collocates: women, the, and, are, to, of, a, in, is, with, but, have, not, **men**

These findings are consistent with del-Teso-Craviotto’s (2006): the ideology of *Cosmo* describes women as people with the same general interests. According to del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) this trend depicts femininity as something that is isolated from the larger social context - thus reinforcing the stereotype that women are more interested in personal relationships, with the possible exception of celebrities. Once again, *Ms.* serves as an interesting point of reference, since this magazines positions its discourse on the stage of global events and current socio-political climates (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006:2016-2017).

Against this background, it is interesting to note the semantic contexts in which the lemma is most frequently used. The results suggest that *Cosmo* is significantly interested in sex. Although *Cosmo* also contains advice on relationships and ways to improve the reader’s quality of life, ‘women’ are primarily discussed in the context of sex. However,

it should be noted that the lemma ‘sex’ is considerably less frequent in *Cosmo* than in *FHM*. For this reason, ‘sex’ was investigated later on.

When women were discussed as members of a distinct social group, they were celebrities. This reinforces the findings for ‘work’.

The collocates for ‘women’ support the notion that men play a significant role in women’s lives (see section 4.1.6).

4.1.5 The lemma ‘women’ in *FHM*

Surprisingly the lemma ‘women’ occurred with far greater frequency in *FHM* (0.42%) than in *Cosmo* (0.18% - see also Appendix A). In fact, it also appeared with greater frequency than ‘men’ (0.39%) in *FHM*. This contradicts del-Teso-Craviotto’s (2006) findings. However, del-Teso-Craviotto’s (2006) analysis included *Men’s Health* and *Men’s Journal* which might be classed as ‘new man’ magazines (Boni, 2002). If so, this provides evidence for the assertion that ‘lad mags’ perpetuate an interest in women. This interest is predominantly sexual, as indicated in Table 6 (supported by Attwood, 2005, and Brown, 2000).

Undiversified vs. Classified group	Context	%
Undiversified group	Sex technique	35.7
Undiversified group	Interviews with women	14
Undiversified group	Lifestyle	1.4
Undiversified group	Interviews with men	17.9
Undiversified group	Reviews	15.5
Undiversified group	Sex Confidential	14.5
Undiversified group	Other	1

Collocates: the, of, and, to, a, it, but, on, their, woman, woman’s, in, I, is, you, like, with, girls, do, are, that, for, **your**

As indicated in the table, women are not frequently described as members of a specific social category, such as working, pregnant, black or disabled.

Furthermore, femininity is mainly constructed in the context of sex. When combined, ‘Sex technique’ and ‘Sex Confidential’ articles account for 50.2% of all the meanings attached to ‘women’. This includes derogatory references, such as ‘babe’.

These findings provide insight into *FHM*'s representation of gender-relations: men and women interact mainly for the purpose of intercourse. Furthermore, it is also interesting to note the way in which women are constructed in sex-related articles. The discourse of both 'Sex technique' and 'Sex Confidential' concentrates on providing men with sexual skills. Therefore, the concern with performance-anxiety, identified during the analysis of 'work', is supported by the analysis of 'women'.

The fact that 'women' are also frequently referred to during interviews with men might serve to reinforce a polarised perspective on gender-relations. The discussion of women is constructed as a 'manly thing', performed when men gather in single-sex groups.

Furthermore, it was found that the collocate 'your' was frequently used to precede 'women' directly (75.6% of all instances). Thus, we may deduce that 'Sex technique' and 'Sex Confidential' articles frequently address male readers on the subject of "your girl", "your lady" or "your woman" and so forth.

4.1.6 The lemma 'men' in *Cosmo*

"[M]en occupy an ambiguous position in [women's] magazines" (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006:2014). This incongruity can be observed in the fact that although men are a topic of lesser importance, the discourse of magazines like *Cosmo* tends to frame women in relation to men. This can be explained, to some extent, by the magazine's focus on heterosexual relationships (as indicated in table 7 – see also Appendix A).

However, the findings of this analysis contradict those of del-Teso-Craviotto's (2006) with regards to the frequency of 'men', as compared to 'women'. The former occurred with far greater frequency than the latter (0.30% vs. 0.18%). This may be the result of some nuisance variable that was not accounted for. Alternatively, it may indicate an idiosyncrasy of the South African version of *Cosmo*. It is possible that the editors of this version believe it will be more profitable to publish more articles which mention the lemma 'men'. Whatever the case, a Concord analysis of 'men' seemed warranted.

Table 7: Distribution of the lemma 'men' in <i>Cosmo</i>		
Undiversified vs. Classified group	Context	%
Undiversified group	Sex	12.6
Undiversified group	Relationships	46
Undiversified group	Upfront woman	10.4

Undiversified group	Upfront man	13.3
Undiversified group	Happiness	10.4
Undiversified group	Other	0.7
Classified group	Celebrities	4.4
Classified group	Bouncers [Other article]	2.2

Collocates: man, **your**, a, the, to, you, and, with, on, far, in, is, man's, be, his, of, men, but, in, **play**, that, with, **women**, I, guys

Not surprisingly, men are most frequently mentioned in the context of relationships. This indicates that the discourse of *Cosmo* is built on underlying assumptions about the normality of heterosexuality. Without overtly stating it, the ideology of *Cosmo* not only assumes that all women are generally alike, but that they are all heterosexual and interested in pursuing or maintaining romantic relationships. To test this finding, the words 'homosexual' and 'gay' were also searched. No instances of the former were found, and only one instance of the latter was detected. It occurred in an 'Upfront woman' article in the remark "I'm gay" – which is apparently used to dissuade a male suitor "you weren't into".

The thematic importance of heterosexual relationships is also reinforced by the list of collocates, which indicates that the lemma 'women' frequently accompanies the lemma 'men'. In addition, the collocate 'your' frequently preceded the word 'man' (70%). Thus, the phrase "your man" might be characteristic of *Cosmo*'s sections on relationships.

The Concord analysis also evinced the following patterns. Men are primarily referenced as a homogenous social category. This might reinforce ideologies which depict men and women as fundamentally different. By referencing 'men' as an undiversified out-group, they are subtly portrayed as something that is fundamentally alien to femininity. When constructed as members of a classified group, the discourse maintains *Cosmo*'s interest in celebrity news.

Furthermore - in stark contrast to *FHM* - 'men' are not semantically related to articles on sex as frequently in *Cosmo* as both 'men' and 'women' in *FHM*. This suggests that although *Cosmo* is interested in the pursuit or maintenance of relationships, sex is constructed as less important. Perhaps, sex is viewed as a component of these relationships, and not a goal in itself. Clearly, however, sex is far more important in the discourse of *FHM* than in *Cosmo*.

Finally, the collocate ‘play’ was traced to an ‘Upfront man’ article, in which men’s supposed love for computer games is explained and rationalised to a female audience. This type of discourse might reinforce the alienation of femininity from masculinity.

4.1.7 The lemma ‘men’ in *FHM*

Table 8: Distribution of the lemma ‘men’ in <i>Cosmo</i>		
Undiversified vs. Classified group	Context	%
Undiversified group	Reviews	12.8
Undiversified group	Lifestyle	5
Undiversified group	Sex technique	17.9
Undiversified group	Sex Confidential	7.8
Undiversified group	Interviews with women	21.2
Undiversified group	Interviews with men	25.7
Classified group	Police and criminals [Sensational article]	2.8
Classified group	Wrestlers [Sensational article]	3.4
Other	Interviews with men	0.6
Other	Other	0.6
Other	Interviews with women	1.7
Other	Reviews	0.6

Collocates: the, to, and, of, in, for, with, a, is, was, he, you, guy, I, it, this, guys, are, **your**

As indicated in Table 8, *FHM* consistently avoids references to either men or women as members of specific social groups. As was the case with the lemma ‘work’, references to classified groups are made in the context of ‘Sensational articles’. These linguistic features might reflect the magazine’s tendency to 1) avoid an explicit stance on masculinity and 2) construct their discourse on the periphery of feminist debates (Benwell, 2004:6).

However, by attempting to avoid explicit comments on feminist debates, *FHM* takes a position which might be described as a negative reaction to feminism (Benwell, 2004). By viewing these debates as trivial, *FHM* indirectly ridicules the ‘new man’ for attempting to reconcile masculinity with feminism.

With regards to its semantic contexts, the lemma ‘men’ is regularly used during interviews with men. In this context, references to ‘men’ are primarily used to build a sense of camaraderie – which is an essential pursuit according to Benwell (2001). During interviews with fellow men, this solidarity is constructed by sharing experiences. These include work-related experiences and personal experiences. Examples of the former

include: “So how would you feel about playing a fat guy?” (interview with Vin Diesel), “You have to be cruel to be kind, and at that stage I’m either Mr. Nice Guy or a doos” (interview with a strip club owner), and “You guys recently played 100 gigs in just 80 days” (interview a member of the Finkelstiens). Examples of the latter include: “Okay, once he punched a guy” (interview with a member of the Finkelstiens), “100 belter models at a party with no other guys present” (interview with WonderBoom), and “You could see these guys’ faces – it was the most terrifying thing” (interview with a psychological-operations officer in Afghanistan).

As a result of the homophobic ideology of ‘lad mags’, interviews with men must avoid describing the interviewee as sexually desirable (Benwell, 2001). In addition, the interviewee’s life must be depicted as too different to allow for a comparison with the readers’ lives. These comparisons are avoided because they may instil a sense of inadequacy in the reader. As a result, interviews with male celebrities are considered safe, as noted by Benwell (2001:23): “gossip about unknown celebrities is sufficiently removed from real experience so as not to constitute a threat”. However, this analysis indicates that even when ‘ordinary’ men are interviewed they are depicted in unique circumstances. Interviewees of this nature include psychological-operations officers, embalmers and ‘local celebrities’, such as the owner of the Teazers strip clubs.

Furthermore, the word ‘man’ is also used as an interjection. For example: “Oh yeah, man. I’m down” (interview with Vin Diesel) and “We were buzzing, man!” (interview a member of the Finkelstiens). The use of ‘man’ as an interjection indicates that *FHM* attempts to emulate the vernacular used by its readers. According to Benwell (2001) this is part of a strategy to promote a sense of camaraderie among the magazine’s readers.

Table 8 also shows that this lemma is frequently used during interviews with women. Interviews with women form an essential part of *FHM*. The magazine is dominated by photographs of models, celebrities and ordinary women in sexually explicit poses. Most of these images are accompanied by an interview. However, it is important to mention that the interview does not derive its meaning from the images and are, therefore, not dependant on them. References to ‘men’ are made when the interviewees are questioned about their experiences with or opinions about men. For example: “How do you let a man know you’re interested?” (interview with Cindy Taylor) and “What do you look for in a

guy?” (interview with Rebecca Romjin). Interviewees also refer to ‘men’ when discussing careers: “We know the business, and a lot of girls don’t want to deal with men who might be sleazy” (interview with Jennifer Walcott) and “I’ve been doing a lot of modelling for various men’s magazines in the States” (Monica Hansen).

Furthermore, Table 8 also indicates that men are frequently mentioned in ‘Sex technique’ articles. These references often aim to share information and advice: “Some of your woman’s sexual milestones took place in the back seat of a guy’s car”, “To men I say: before or after penile penetration use your hands to explore her” and “This will immediately boost her confidence and make her all the friskier when she’s around a man”.

Finally, although the collocate ‘your’ was significantly less frequent in *FHM* than in *Cosmo* (thirty instances vs. five), it also frequently preceded the word ‘man’. These instances were traced to ‘Sex Confidential’ articles in which female readers asked advice about their partners. This indicates that although *FHM* is predominantly aimed at men, it also has a female readership (32% according to the demographics for 2007, see reference list for website). This is not an irregular feature, as *Cosmo*’s male readership accounts for about 32.9% of its overall demographic (see reference list for website).

4.1.8 The lemma ‘feel’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

Cosmopolitan’s ideology is also evident in its use of the lemma ‘feel’ (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006). In comparison with men’s magazines, women’s magazines like *Cosmo* tend to frame women as more concerned with emotions than men (del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006).

This possibility was investigated in the magazines under study by labelling the connotation of ‘feel’ as either related to ‘emotions’ or ‘touch’. Subjective perceptions such as “I feel I don’t give him what he wants” (*FHM*) and “take steps to change it but don’t ever feel inadequate” (*Cosmo*) were also classed under ‘emotions’ if they were clearly related to an emotional state.

Table 9: Connotation of the lemma ‘feel’ in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Semantic relation	%
Emotions (subjective)	89.1

Touch (objective)	9.2
Other	1.7

Collocates: **you**, and, to a, the, if, at, that, how, in, can, **makes**, **more**, **says**, we, your, **good**, is, so, way, **you're**, feelings

Table 10: Connotation of the lemma 'feel' in <i>FHM</i>	
Semantic relation	%
Emotions (subjective)	69.1
Touch (objective)	30.9

Collocates: and, **you**, a, I, to, that, the, about, **your**, **her**, better, how, if, it

The findings summarised in Tables 9 and 10 support del-Teso-Craviotto's (2006) assertion. The distribution of meanings for 'feel' was significantly more balanced in *FHM* than in *Cosmo*. The following sections will discuss the lemma's collocates and semantic contexts.

4.1.8.1 The collocates of 'feel' in *Cosmo*

The results indicate that 'make', 'you', 'you're', 'good', 'more' and 'says' are frequent collocates of the lemma 'feel'.

The prevalence of 'makes' suggests that *Cosmo* pays significant attention to issues which might affect women's emotional state (pursued in more detail in the qualitative study). In fact, 'makes' was invariably used to precede the word 'feel', but not directly. Instead, 'makes' and 'feel' were always separated by one word - possibly 'you'.

The prevalence of the pronouns 'you' and 'you're' suggests that *Cosmo*'s discourse is primarily aimed at the individual reader (supported by the prevalence of 'makes', as opposed to 'make'). Both pronouns were most commonly used to directly precede 'feel' (51.7% and 71.4% respectively).

The collocate 'good' was most commonly used to follow the word 'feel' (80%). This suggests that *Cosmo* is specifically concerned with positive emotions. This observation might be supported by the fact that 'more' was always used to follow 'feel', although more detailed patterns could not be ascertained.

The collocate 'says' indicates that experts were regularly cited on this subject. Therefore, emotions are constructed as an important element in women's lives – a subject that warrants research.

4.1.8.2 The collocates of ‘feel’ in *FHM*

Although the prevalence of ‘you’ and ‘your’ suggests that *FHM* is also mainly concerned with the individual reader, the patterns for both collocates were less consistent than *Cosmo*’s. ‘You’ and ‘you’re’ only directly preceded ‘feel’ 29.4% and 37.5% of the time, respectively.

No specific pattern could be identified for ‘her’. However, the prevalence of this collocate suggests that *FHM* is significantly interested in women’s emotions.

In order to investigate these patterns in greater depth, a list was made of all the semantic contexts of ‘feel’.

4.1.8.3 The most prevalent semantic contexts of ‘feel’

Table 11: Distribution of the lemma ‘feel’ in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Context	%
Emotions (subjective)	
Happiness	37
Other	11.8
Health	9.2
Celebrities	5
Movers	0.8
Relationships	18.5
Upfront woman	3.4
Sex	2.5
Upfront man	2.5
Touch (objective)	
Health	5.9
Sex	1.7
Happiness	0.8
Upfront man	0.8
Other	
Happiness	0.8
Sex	0.8

Table 11 suggests that when ‘feel’ was used to refer to emotions, it was most prevalently used in ‘Happiness’ articles. This reinforces Ferguson’s (1983) observation that emotions – especially their influence on an individual’s quality of life – represent one of *Cosmo*’s main concerns. It is also interesting to note that *FHM* does not include articles in which the influence of emotions on personal happiness is explicitly discussed.

When referring to a sense of physical touch, the lemma was most commonly used in articles on health. Once again, it is interesting to note that *FHM* is not significantly interested in health-related issues.

Context	%
Emotions (subjective)	
Sex Confidential	13.5
Interviews with women	11.9
Sex technique	22.4
Lifestyle	3
Interviews with men	11.9
Reviews	7.5
Touch (objective)	
Sensational	1.5
Sex technique	19.4
Lifestyle	9

In *FHM*, whether the lemma 'feel' referred to emotions or physical touch, it was predominantly used in 'Sex technique' articles. However, as indicated in Tables 10 and 12, most of these references were related to emotions.

In 'Sex technique' articles, references to emotions were mainly concerned with women's emotions (80%). Examples include: "she's feeling sexy and in control" and "you made your girl feel like a goddess". Only 13.3% of these references were aimed at men, while only 6.7% were generic.

This pattern proved consistent for 'Sex Confidential' articles. When used to refer to emotions, 'feel' most commonly referred to women's emotions (66.7%). These results are corroborated by the importance of the collocate 'her' (see section 4.1.8.2).

In summary, the results suggest that when emotions are discussed in *FHM*, they are mainly viewed as a female phenomenon, which might influence sex. *Cosmo*, on the other hand, concentrates on the role that emotions play in an individual's quality of life.

4.1.9 The lemma 'sex' in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

The WordList findings indicate that the lemma 'sex' is more frequent in *FHM* than in *Cosmo* (0.14% vs. 0.22%). Although the difference did not merit inclusion in the

KeyWords analysis, ‘sex’ was investigated on the basis of previous findings which suggest that it plays an essential role in *FHM* (see also Appendix A).

Table 13: Distribution of the word ‘sex’ in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Context	%
Sex stores	9.1
Celebrities	6
Upfront man	7.6
Relationships	21.2
Upfront woman	9.1
Sex technique	47

Collocates: the, and, is, of, a, to, **great, life**, your, in, that, you, but, **says**

Tables 13 and 14 suggest that *Cosmo* and *FHM* share an interest in improving their readers’ enjoyment of sex. In *Cosmo* this is supported by the collocate ‘great’ – although it only directly preceded ‘sex’ 45.5% of the time. The list of collocates also indicates that the phrase “sex life” is frequently used. ‘Life’ followed ‘sex’ directly 80% of the time. This suggests that *Cosmo* approaches sex as an essential component of women’s lives - comparable to the status of careers and happiness (supported by Machin and Thornborrow, 2003). The prevalence of ‘says’ also indicates that experts are frequently consulted on this subject.

Furthermore, *Cosmo*’s use of the lemma ‘sex’ also reinforces its perspective on femininity as significantly concerned with relationships. References include: “Never compare your sex life” and “it may make for passionate make-up sex, but it can also break a relationship”.

Table 14: Distribution of the word ‘sex’ in <i>FHM</i>	
Context	%
Sex Confidential	31
Sex technique	51.9
Interviews with women	5.7
Interviews with men	4.7
Reviews	4.7
Other	1.9

Collocates: sex, the, a, is, to, and, of, be, in, **oral, lesbian**, you, your, have, with, for, her, that, could, get, good, make, not, we, will, all, called, it’s, **life**, time, when, sexual, of, so

As indicated in previous analyses, every single lemma investigated in *FHM* was used in sex-related articles to some extent. Explicit references to ‘sex’, however, are unevenly distributed. They occur mainly in ‘Sex Confidential’ and ‘Sex technique’ articles. Unfortunately, this analysis does not include the variety of euphemisms frequently used for sex, such as ‘the bedroom’.

The fact that *FHM* provides no explicit advice on relationships suggests that sex is approached as something that does not necessarily occur in stable relationships. It also suggests that men indulge in sex for personal enjoyment or as an expression of their ‘manly’ skills (see section 5.4). *Cosmo*, on the other hand - despite the prevalence of its own kind of ‘Sex technique’ articles - also discusses women’s interest in sex as a component of relationships. This observation is supported by an investigation of the lemma ‘relationship’ (see section 4.1.11).

The collocates of ‘sex’ also suggest that *FHM* is interested in certain variations on sex, such as ‘oral sex’ and ‘lesbian sex’. References to the latter were traced to an article entitled: “Make Love Like A Lesbian”. This article aims to improve readers’ sexual performance by providing advice from a lesbian. As such, this represents the only instance in which women were described as members of a special group. However, this article represents only one such instance. Consequently, it was not included as one of the most frequent collocates of ‘women’. Furthermore, the collocate ‘life’ was invariably used to follow sex. This suggests that both *FHM* and *Cosmo* construct sex as an essential element in their readers’ lives.

Finally, it is also interesting to note that despite the frequency of ‘sex’, the lemma ‘condom’ is used only once: “have a condom handy. First-time sex shouldn’t result in an STD or unwanted pregnancy”. This example also includes the only references to STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) and pregnancy. Aids was mentioned only once during an interview with an embalmer, when the interviewee mentioned the dangers of working with an infected corpse. The importance of ‘safe sex’ is also referred to only once, in a ‘Sex Confidential’ article: “Don’t get so caught up in a fantasy that you have unsafe sex, not even ‘just once’”.

This sample of *Cosmo* contains no references to the lemma ‘condom’. The word ‘contraception’ was only used once in an article on health, during a discussion of the

potential causes of a “heavy period”. No references to sexually transmitted diseases were found. Four references to Aids were traced to an ‘Other’ article aimed at suggesting ways in which readers may become involved with charity organisations. Five references to the lemma ‘pregnancy’ were traced to ‘Celebrity’ articles.

Thus, despite both *FHM* and *Cosmo*’s interest in sex, the topics contraception, Aids, and pregnancy are rarely mentioned.

4.1.10 The word ‘love’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

Although the word ‘love’ was not investigated by del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) this analysis indicates that it does play a significant role in constructing ideology. More specifically, since ‘love’ is often used as a euphemism for sex in popular culture, this analysis aimed to uncover whether *Cosmo* and *FHM* reflect this trend. Therefore, the investigation focused on the word, instead of the lemma ‘love’. This was done by drawing a distinction between the noun and verb forms of ‘love’. Thereafter, the meaning of the noun form was investigated, in order to determine whether or not it was used as a euphemism for sex.

Table 15 supports previous conclusions about *Cosmo*’s interest in heterosexual relationships. The word ‘love’ is primarily used as a noun in advisory comments such as: “attacking sensitive issues erodes intimacy and destroys trust and love”, “reinforce your love for your man in small but significant ways” and “If you’re both putting in maximum effort, the love scales will even up”.

As a noun, the lemma is also frequently used in articles on sex. References include advisory comments and euphemisms for sexual aids. Examples of the former include “Intimacy in the bedroom is the difference between having sex and making love” “practitioners [tantric gurus] are famed for being able to make love this way for several hours”. Examples of the latter include: “love lotion” and “love tool”.

Table 15: Distribution of the word ‘love’ in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Context	%
Noun	
Happiness	18.2
Upfront woman	2.3
Sex	20.5
Relationships	27.3
Other	2.3
Health	2.3

Celebrities	4.5
Verb	
Happiness	6.8
Relationships	6.8
Sex	6.8
Movers	2.3

Collocates: and, the, in, to, your, a, you, of, for, is, **says**

Table 16: Distribution of the word 'love' in <i>FHM</i>	
Context	%
Noun	
Sex Confidential	14.3
Sex technique	23.8
Interviews with women	7.1
Reviews	7.1
Interviews with men	2.4
Verb	
Interviews with men	2.4
Interviews with women	11.9
Sex Confidential	4.8
Sex technique	19
Reviews	4.8
Sensation	2.4

Collocates: love, to, and, I, a, her, in, the, for, you, your, of, it

Table 16 supports conclusions about *FHM*'s construction of sex as a dominant interest in men's lives. References to both the noun and verb forms of 'love' are mainly found in 'Sex technique' articles. As a noun it frequently refers to sex-related euphemisms, such as: "love-juice" and "love muscle". Thus, the findings suggest that the noun love is, in fact, used as a euphemism for sex in both magazines.

As a verb it is frequently used in advisory comments, such as: "Men love to squeeze breasts", "Couples stop making out, even when they're having sex, which is a shame because women love it" and "tell her she looks amazing, murmur that you'd love to...".

In summary, therefore, analyses of the word 'love' support previous observations about both magazines' interests in sex.

4.1.11 The lemma 'relationship' in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

The WordList findings also indicate that the lemma 'relationship' is more frequent in *Cosmo* than *FHM* (0.14% vs. less than 0.06%). Table 18 indicates that when relationships

are discussed in *FHM*, they are mainly constructed as sexual relationships (see also Appendix A).

Cosmo, on the other hand, frames it as something that affects one’s career and personal happiness. Furthermore, the fact that ‘says’ was a frequent collocate indicates that experts are frequently cited on this subject. Therefore, although *Cosmo* emphasises the importance of careers – which is a liberal step against the background of pre-1994 South Africa – its discourse might also perpetuate the stereotype that women are more interested in personal relationships than larger social issues.

The collocates ‘your’ and ‘you’ also indicate that these discussions focus on individual women. Although no pattern could be detected for the latter, the former directly preceded ‘relationship’ 75% of the time. This pattern was also consistent for *FHM* (‘your’ directly preceded ‘relationship’ 80% of the time).

Table 17: Distribution of the lemma ‘relationship’ in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Context	%
Relationship advice	40.3
Upfront woman	9.7
Health	1.6
Celebrities	13
Sex	1.6
Other	6.5
Happiness	27.4

Collocates: relationship, the, a, in, **your**, to, **you**, and, of, is, that, with, **says**

Table 18: Distribution of the lemma ‘relationship’ in <i>FHM</i>	
Context	%
Interviews with women	16.7
Sex Confidential	76.7
Sex Technique	6.7

Collocates: the, to, in, **your**, **you**, a, at

4.1.12 The lemma ‘body’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

Based on previous findings which suggest that both *FHM* and *Cosmo* are significantly interested in sex, the lemma ‘body’ was analysed. Tables 1 and 2 indicate that this lemma was only slightly more frequent in *FHM* than in *Cosmo* (0.15% vs. 0.12%).

Table 19 indicates that, in *Cosmo*, the lemma was most prominently used in ‘Health’ articles, with a specific focus on the potential causes of illness. Therefore, the

maintenance of good health is constructed as a ‘womanly thing’. This is reinforced by the prominence of the collocate ‘your’ (81.5% of all instances directly preceded ‘body’).

Context	%
Sex	11.1
Health - exercise	5.6
Health – specific treatments	13
Health - other	7.4
Health – causes of illness	31.5
Health - dieting	5.6
Relationships	5.6
Happiness	11.1
Celebrities	9.3

Collocates: **your**, the, and, to, a, is, of, body’s, it, that, with

Context	%
Other	4.1
Interviews with men	33.8
Interviews with women	5.4
Sensational	21.6
Sex technique	24.3
Lifestyle	6.8
Reviews	4.1

Collocates: the, and, **her**, of, a, to, in, to, your, is, was, as, it’s, not, with

Table 20 indicates that *FHM* does not share *Cosmo*’s concern with health. According to Attwood (2005) this characteristic is used by ‘lad mags’ to draw a line between ‘manly’ and ‘womanly’ pursuits (cf. Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001:44).

In accordance with previous findings, *FHM* maintains an interest in the body as a sexual object. More specifically, the prevalence of the collocate ‘her’ reinforces the observation that discussions of sex are focused on women’s bodies (60% of all instances preceded ‘body’ directly). On this point, Attwood (2005:87) notes that: “a dominant discourse of heterosexual hedonism has relied on the female body to represent male sexual pleasure”. This observation is corroborated by the fact that findings for the collocate ‘your’ were inconclusive (only 33.3% of all instances directly preceded ‘body’).

Table 20 also indicates that the lemma ‘body’ is frequently used during interviews with men. A closer investigation, however, indicated that nearly all these references were

made in connection with corpses during an interview with an embalmer. The function of this article might be explained by Attwood’s (2005:89) observation: “Another form of body presentation [...] apparent in men’s lifestyle publications relies on elements of grotesquery”. The questions posed to the interviewee suggest that the article does not aim to educate readers on the subject. Examples include: “Have you ever put a head in the coffin with a body made up of old socks?” and “What’s the classic joke that’s always played on the new boy?”. However, with regards to the overall construction of gender ideology, this feature clearly represents an idiosyncrasy of the sample under study.

Nevertheless, previous conclusions about the interests of *FHM* are validated by the fact that ‘body’ was also frequently used in articles on sex.

4.2 KeyWords

The KeyWords programme allows the researcher to investigate words which are particularly frequent in one corpus as compared to a reference corpus. Table 21 summarises the findings obtained when using *FHM* as a reference corpus for *Cosmo*, while Table 22 shows the opposite.

N	Lemma	Freq.	% in <i>Cosmo</i>	Freq.	% in <i>FHM</i>
1	Say	376	0.82	119	0.25
2	Health	49	0.11	0	0
3	Anxiety	43	0.09	0	0
4	Property	34	0.07	1	41.4
5	Personality	27	0.06	0	0
6	Negative	31	0.07	1	37.3
7	Can	375	0.82	249	0.51
8	Study	45	0.1	7	0.01
9	Diet	28	0.06	1	33.1
10	Help	71	0.16	21	0.04
11	Author	26	0.06	1	30.4
12	Shade	21	0.05	0	0
14	University	20	0.04	0	0
15	Such	63	0.14	21	0.04
16	Ever	17	0.04	66	0.14
17	Women	82	0.18	205	0.42
18	Like	80	0.18	204	0.42

N	Lemma	Freq.	% in <i>FHM</i>	Freq.	% in <i>Cosmo</i>
1	Ha	58	0.12	0	0
2	FHM	42	0.09	0	0
3	Like	204	0.42	80	0.18
4	Women	205	0.42	82	0.18
5	BTK	26	0.05	0	0
6	Rader	26	0.05	0	0
7	Ever	66	0.14	17	0.04
8	Such	21	0.04	63	0.14
10	Help	21	0.04	71	0.16
11	Study	7	0.01	45	0.1
12	Can	249	0.51	375	0.82
13	Say	119	0.25	376	0.82

Table 21 reflects *Cosmo*'s interest in psychology. Lemmas such as 'anxiety', 'personality', 'negative' and 'health' (as semantically related to physical and mental health) are characteristic of *Cosmo*'s discourse when compared to *FHM*.

Table 22 mirrors the findings in Table 21, with the exception of 'ha', 'FHM', 'BTK' and 'Rader', which are discussed later on. Since the lemma 'women' has already been discussed under sections 4.1.4 and 4.1.5., it is not discussed here. The sections which follow will discuss all the lemmas/words as they are recorded in Table 21, before proceeding to 'ha', 'FHM', 'BTK' and 'Rader'.

4.2.1 The lemma 'health' in *Cosmo*

Since the word 'say' has already been discussed, this section will begin with the lemma 'health'. Table 23 summarises the findings for *Cosmo*.

Context	%
Health	71.4
Happiness	18.4
Upfront woman	4.1
Sex	2
Other	2
Celebrities	2

Collocates: and, to, the, of, **your** (50% of all references were used to precede 'health' directly), a, with, in, you

Not surprisingly, instances of ‘health’ were most frequent in articles which deal explicitly with mental and physical wellbeing. In addition, however, health is also addressed as an issue which affects happiness/quality of life. This suggests that *Cosmo* takes a holistic approach to improving their readers’ wellbeing. The articles’ suggestions are often aimed at the individual reader, as evinced by the use of the collocate ‘your’.

In stark contrast, *FHM* does not share this concern. In fact, the word ‘health’ is never mentioned. The word ‘healthy’ is used only four times: three times during an interview with a model (who discusses her eating habits), and in one ‘Sex Confidential’ article (“I enjoy a healthy sexual relationship with my boyfriend”). As mentioned under section 4.1.12, this pattern might be explained by Attwood’s (2005:88) observation that “body maintenance” is constructed as a stereotypically feminine activity. However, *FHM*’s avoidance of ‘female’ pursuits might be unique to ‘lad mags’, as evinced by the title of a well-known ‘new man’ magazine: *Men’s Health* (Boni, 2002). Whatever the case, this notion might perpetuate stereotypes about men’s ignorance of health-related issues.

4.2.2 The lemma ‘anxiety’ in *Cosmo*

Table 24: Distribution of the lemma ‘anxiety’ in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Context	%
Happiness	83.7
Upfront man	2.3
Celebrities	9.3
Health	2.3
Other	2.3

Collocates: anxiety, the, of, and, you, is, a, to, **fat**, on, **rating**, there, there’s

As stated earlier, the advice provided in *Cosmo* is frequently discussed on a psychological basis. Table 24 shows that the lemma ‘anxiety’ occurs mainly in ‘Happiness’ articles. More specifically, it occurred in articles which advise the reader on how to deal with anxiety in order to live a more fruitful life.

The list of collocates indicates that the word is frequently used with ‘fat’ and ‘rating’. This suggests that *Cosmo* is often concerned with addressing women’s anxiety about their appearance. In addition, it shows that *Cosmo* has attempted to rate the importance of certain anxiety provoking issues in their readers’ lives (an example of such an article was investigated qualitatively).

Moreover, the lemma’s inclusion in the KeyWords analysis suggests that it is not addressed in *FHM*. In fact, the lemma was never used in the sample under study (see Table 21). Thus, even though articles such as ‘Sex Confidential’ and ‘Sex technique’ suggest a significant interest in performance-anxiety, the word is never overtly mentioned. This might be accounted for by *FHM*’s proclivity to avoid serious subjects, especially those which might construct men as inadequate.

Thus, the analysis of ‘anxiety’ confirms the notion that *Cosmo* aims to provide advice, especially on a psychological basis, while *FHM* does not.

4.2.3 The lemma ‘property’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

All *Cosmo*’s references to ‘property’ were traced to the article “Get In On The Property Market” – with the exception of one reference, “Your body is public property”, which is concerned with celebrities. Therefore, despite *Cosmo*’s interest in providing advice on ‘relationships’, ‘happiness’ and ‘sex’ as well as news about ‘celebrities’, articles on other social influences are still present. Although such articles are considerably less frequent than those previously mentioned, its presence in the KeyWords analysis indicates that *FHM* includes no articles of this nature. In this vein, it is interesting to note that ‘says’ was a frequent collocate. Clearly, the subject was considered important enough to warrant the inclusion of expert opinions.

In *FHM* the word ‘property’ was only used once during an interview with a man: “I’m into cars and property, but chicks are the main core of my business” (interview with the owner of Teazers strip clubs).

4.2.4 The lemma ‘personality’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

The inclusion of ‘personality’ in Table 21 indicates that *Cosmo* maintains an interest in psychology that is not reflected in *FHM*.

Table 25: Distribution of the lemma ‘personality’ in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Context	%
Happiness	77.8
Movers	3.7
Relationships	11.1
Other	3.7
Celebrities	3.7

Collocates: that, the, and, of, to

In *FHM* the word ‘personality’ is never used. Its plural form is only used once, as a reference to celebrities: “We’ve had overseas actors, local personalities and some politicians” (interview with the owner of Teazer’s strip clubs).

In *Cosmo* the lemma was most frequently used in ‘Happiness’ articles. Therefore, an interest in psychology – especially as it affects personal happiness/quality of life – is constructed as a ‘womanly’ pursuit. Examples include: “Besides these lifelong personality changes in response to differing circumstances, there is also some scope, says Dweck, for changing ourselves at will” and “we do best when we change to meet our needs, not to fulfil a preconceived ‘personality ideal’”.

Consequently, the use of ‘personality’ and ‘anxiety’ might support Ferguson’s (1983) observation that femininity is constructed as a work in progress. Whatever the case, this tendency is not reflected in *FHM*.

4.2.5 The lemma ‘negative’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

Findings for the lemma ‘negative’ support the conclusions made for ‘anxiety’ and ‘personality’.

Context	%
Happiness	80.6
Health	16.1
Other	3.2

Collocates: to, and, you, the, it, **people**

The fact that ‘negative’ is frequently used with ‘people’ also indicates that negativity is addressed in general (all instances preceded the word ‘negative’ directly). Examples include: “Negative people tend to slouch, sigh, snap and scowl” and “negative people are the ‘little thunderclouds’”. These articles invite the reader to compare themselves with the characteristics of ‘negative people’ in order to determine whether or not they need to heed the article’s advice.

In summary, the findings for ‘anxiety’, ‘personality’ and ‘negative’ suggest that an interest in psychology – especially for the purpose of self-improvement – constitutes a ‘womanly thing’ in the discourse of *Cosmo*.

This conclusion is supported by the rarity of these lemmas in *FHM*. The word ‘negative’, for example, is only used once in a ‘Sex Confidential’ article: “There is a huge range of things that could have a negative impact on his state of mind” (this example is aimed at a female reader).

4.2.6 The word ‘can’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

Analyses of the word ‘can’ proved particularly challenging. Owing to the various generic uses of ‘can’ its inclusion in the KeyWords list came as a surprise (in both magazines the word was exclusively used as a modal verb and not a noun).

This might be the result of a nuisance variable in the present sample. Alternatively, the discourse of *FHM* might not be concerned with describing potential/hypothetical situations. Owing to the nature of its articles - especially those which aim to provide advice/potential solutions, such as ‘Happiness’, ‘Health’ and ‘Relationships’ – this might be one of *Cosmo*’s inclinations. If so, one might expect the word ‘can’ to be prevalent in *FHM*’s ‘Sex Confidential’ articles, which aim to present potential answers to readers’ queries. Although this seemed to be the case (see Table 27), the word was also regularly used during interviews with men.

In ‘Sex Confidential’, the word was mainly used as an auxiliary verb in transitive verb phrases by readers to pose a question, or by the “sexpert” to sketch a potential solution/explanation. For example: “Should I leave this fantasy, or can I talk her into it?” and “Anything more than that can indicate problems”. With regards to interviews with men, no ideologically relevant patterns could be discerned.

Context	%
Sex Confidential	22
Lifestyle	9.1
Interviews with men	23.1
Sex technique	15.1
Interviews with women	16.1
Other	3.8
Reviews	8.6

Sensational	2.2
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In *Cosmo*, the word was predominantly used in ‘Health’ and ‘Happiness’ articles. To clarify its use, the investigation concentrated on its most frequent collocates. As may be expected, pronouns were particularly frequent, especially ‘you’, ‘we’, ‘they’, ‘he’ and ‘she’. More interestingly, however, ‘can cause’ and ‘can help’ were also frequent phrases (81.8% of the former, and 88.9% of the latter followed ‘can’ directly).

This result suggests that *Cosmo* is concerned with warning readers against potential causes of ill health or unhappiness, while *FHM* is not. This finding is corroborated by the examination of ‘body’, which also indicated an interest in potential causes of illness (see section 4.1.12). In *FHM* the pronouns ‘you’, ‘we’, ‘she’, and ‘he’ were also frequent, while ‘cause’ and ‘help’ were not.

Context	%
Other	14.1
Health	25.2
Relationships	16.4
Happiness	25.9
Upfront man	2.6
Sex	5.2
Celebrities	7.5
Upfront woman	3

4.2.7 The lemma ‘study’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

In *Cosmo*, the words ‘study’ and ‘studies’ were used with far greater frequency than ‘studied’ and ‘studying’ (31 and 11 compared 1 and 2 respectively). Therefore, the analysis concentrated on these words.

The results support the conclusions made for ‘says’, since 97.6% of all references were used to mean ‘research study/studies’. This observation is reinforced by the collocates ‘university’, ‘published’ and ‘show’. Table 29 indicates that these references were significantly concentrated in ‘Happiness’ articles. This reinforces previous conclusions about the importance attached to this subject in *Cosmo*.

Context	%
Happiness	61.9

Relationships	2.4
Other	2.4
Health	33.3

Collocates: a, in, of, the, that, **university**, and, **published**, **show**

Table 30: Distribution of the lemma 'study' in <i>FHM</i>	
Context	%
Sex technique	14.3
Interviews with men	14.3
Interviews with women	57.1
Sex Confidential	14.3

Collocates: no collocates were calculated since the word was too infrequent

Tables 21 and 22 indicate that the lemma 'study' is significantly infrequent in *FHM* when compared to *Cosmo*. The word 'studying' is only used four times, while 'study' is only used three times (other words in the lemma were never used in this sample).

Most of these references were used when interviewing models. Examples include: "I'm going to study fashion next year" and "I start studying a law degree at UCT next year".

In 'Sex Confidential' and 'Sex technique' articles, references were not related to research. Instead, they were either advisory in nature, or part of a reader's question: "study her face. If she looks relaxed and content" and "I'm studying abroad for a year and I really miss my girlfriend and our sexual relationship".

4.2.8 The lemma 'diet' in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

In *Cosmo*, the lemma 'diet' is most frequently used in articles on health-related issues. Its inclusion in the KeyWords analysis supports the conclusions made in section 4.1.12 and 4.2.1. Dieting is, therefore, incorporated into *Cosmo*'s treatises on health.

In *FHM*, however, the word is only used once during an interview with a model: "I have a diet of my own healthy food." When combined with the findings of section 4.1.12 and 4.2.1, it seems possible that health is viewed as a feminine pursuit.

4.2.9 The lemma 'help' in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

The results summarised in Table 31 support the notion that *Cosmo* is keenly interested in advising its readers, especially on psychological strategies which can be used to increase their personal quality of life.

Table 31: Distribution of the lemma 'help' in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Context	%
Happiness	45.1
Relationships	15.5
Sex	1.4
Upfront woman	1.4
Other	12.7
Health	18.3
Upfront man	2.8
Celebrities	1.4
Movers	1.4

Collocates: to, and, of, you, a, the, your, can, for, in, on, self, with, **him, you**

An examination of the list of collocates also supports the observation that the magazine's advice is aimed at the individual reader. For example, the collocate 'you' was used to create 'helps you' 70% of the time. The collocate 'him' was also frequently placed after help to form 'help him' (60% of all instances).

Table 32: Distribution of the lemma 'help' in <i>FHM</i>	
Context	%
Sex Confidential	23.8
Interviews with men	14.3
Interviews with women	4.8
Lifestyle	23.8
Sex technique	4.8
Other	14.3
Reviews	4.8
Sensation	9.5

Collocates: the, to, a

Although infrequent when compared to *Cosmo*, it is interesting to note that, in *FHM*, the lemma 'help' occurred most frequently in 'Sex Confidential' and 'Lifestyle' articles.

Examples of the former include: "massage oil for foreplay will help you make the experience so much more memorable" and "you can buy a DVD that would help you give your girl an extended orgasm". The prevalence of 'help' in 'Sex Confidential' supports the possibility that these articles are indirectly concerned with performance-anxiety among men.

Examples of the latter include: "organisms in it [compost heaps], like earthworms, will multiply and help the rotting process" and "So, in the event that you too will help shape

the life of a wide-eyed son”. All these references were traced to the ‘Lifestyle’ article “When Real Men Ruled The Earth”. Consequently, despite the infrequency of articles which construct masculinity as a work in progress, this study suggests that they are, at times, present in the discourse of *FHM*.

4.2.10 The lemma ‘author’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

The results for ‘author’ seem to confirm the conclusions made for ‘says’ and ‘study’. Its distribution in *Cosmo* also validates the findings for ‘anxiety’, ‘personality’, ‘negative’ and ‘help’.

Context	%
Health	23.1
Other	7.7
Relationships	11.5
Happiness	46.2
Sex	11.5

Collocates: of, the, **says**, and, to, **Dr**.

With regards to *FHM*, the word was used only once, in one of only two articles in which expert opinions are cited: “When Real Men Ruled The Earth”. The reference was used to name the “author of Tell A Story”, during a discussion of “How to tell a great story”.

4.2.11 The word ‘shade’ in *Cosmo*

This word was most frequently used in personality tests. For example: “B: What makes you feel secure? Banter with your boyfriend. (Shade 1B)”. As such, it supports the results for ‘anxiety’, ‘personality’, ‘negative’, and ‘help’.

4.2.12 The lemma ‘university’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

In *Cosmo*, results for ‘university’ support the findings of ‘says’ and ‘study’. In addition, it also supports the findings for ‘anxiety’, ‘personality’, ‘negative’, and ‘help’, since ‘psychologist’ was a frequent collocate.

Context	%
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Happiness	70
Health	30

Collocates: the, of, in, a, at, **study, psychologist**, us

In this sample of *FHM*, this lemma was never used as a reference to research studies. The word ‘varsity’ was used four times to question men about their personal background.

4.2.13 The word ‘such’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

Tables 21 and 22 indicate that ‘such’ was a positive keyword in *Cosmo*, and a negative keyword in *FHM*. As was the case with ‘can’, the inclusion of ‘such’ in Tables 21 and 22 came as a surprise. However, the findings support the conclusion that *Cosmo* is greatly concerned with advising its readers on psychological and health-related issues.

Context	%
Happiness	25.4
Health	41.3
Other	12.7
Relationships	12.7
Sex	6.3
Celebrities	1.6

Collocates: such, **as**, and, a, to, of, in, or, that, you, for, the, something

An examination of the list of collocates for ‘such’ shows that the phrase ‘such as’ was particularly frequent. Only 11.1% of all instances of ‘such’ were not followed by ‘as’.

The phrase was most commonly used in articles on health. This suggests that *Cosmo*’s advice on health-related issues is frequently supplemented with examples, which are introduced with the phrase ‘such as’. For example: “Good lifestyle habits – such as regular exercise”, “fewer chronic diseases such as high blood pressure” and “Infectious conditions such as athletes’ foot” [researcher’s underlining]. This corroborates the findings for ‘body’ (section 4.1.12) and ‘health’ (4.2.1), in the sense of ‘health’ is constructed as a ‘womanly’ pursuit.

The notion that *FHM* is not concerned with illustrating its advice with examples might account for the infrequency of both the word ‘such’ and the phrase ‘such as’. Although

the word was most commonly used in ‘Sex Confidential’ articles, no ideologically relevant patterns could be discerned.

Table 36: Distribution of the word ‘such’ in <i>FHM</i>	
Context	%
Interviews with women	23.8
Sex Confidential	38.1
Sex technique	9.5
Lifestyle	9.5
Interviews with men	9.5
Reviews	9.5

Collocates: the, and, to

4.2.14 The word ‘ever’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

Tables 21 and 22 indicate that the word ‘ever’ was frequently used in *FHM*, but not in *Cosmo*.

Table 37: Distribution of the word ‘ever’ in <i>FHM</i>	
Context	%
Any time	
Interviews with women	20.9
Interviews with men	49.3
Sensation	4.5
Review	7.8
Sex Confidential	4.5
Sex technique	1.5
Emphasis	
Interviews with men	4.5
Lifestyle	1.5
Reviews	4.5
Sensation	1.5

Collocates: **you**, the, have, a, to, been, that, did, I, in, of, on, and, was, it, out, thing, your

Benwell (2001:20) notes that the construction of camaraderie, or “interactiveness”, is an important pursuit for ‘lad mags’ - “even if this ‘interaction’ is clearly a mediated and synthetic one”. The examination of ‘ever’ suggests that, during interviews with men, the sharing of experiences may play an important role in this regard. The word ‘ever’ was regularly preceded by the pronoun ‘you’ (71.4% of the time). These references were used in questions aimed at eliciting information about the interviewees’ experiences. Examples

include: “Did you ever get offered sexual favours”, “What’s the craziest thing that’s ever happened at a Teazers club?” and “So did you ever smoke a zol in the bushes”.

Context	%
Health	23.5
Relationships	35.3
Happiness	11.8
Celebrities	17.6
Upfront man	5.9
Sex	5.9

Collocates: in, the, you

Despite the uneven distribution of ‘ever’ across articles in *Cosmo*, this analysis could not uncover any pattern that proved relevant to the construction of gender ideology.

4.2.15 The word ‘like’ in *Cosmo* and *FHM*

The KeyWords analysis indicates that the lemma ‘like’ was regularly used in *FHM*, but not in *Cosmo*.

In *FHM*, the word ‘like’ was considerably more frequent than ‘likes’, ‘liked’ and ‘liking’ (193 compared to 10, 1 and 0 respectively). The prevalence of ‘like’ reflects the prevalence of interviews in *FHM*. When combined, interviews with men and women account for 40.7% of all the instances of ‘like’. Examples include answers about the interviewees’ likes and dislikes, as well as comparisons, and interjections.

The collocate ‘sounds’, although frequent, was not ideologically relevant. It was most frequently used during reviews of new music albums. The phrase “sounds like” was used as a subheading.

Context	%
Interviews with men	20.7
Interviews with women	20
Reviews	17.1
Lifestyle	7.3
Sex Confidential	9.3
Sex technique	17.1
Sensation	5.7
Other	3

Collocates: **sounds**, her, she, girl, she’s

Table 40: Distribution of the word 'like' in <i>Cosmo</i>	
Context	%
Health	15.3
Happiness	15.3
Relationships	23.6
Upfront woman	11.1
Other	8.3
Celebrities	12.5
Upfront man	4.2
Sex	9.7

Collocates: and, a, the, to, you, is, of, that, in, your, if, it, be, but, what, would, do, don't, out, you're, has, him, looks, or

In *Cosmo*, no ideologically relevant patterns could be discerned.

4.2.16 The words 'ha' and 'FHM' in *FHM*

The words discussed in this section were not found in this sample of *Cosmo*, as indicated in Tables 21 and 22.

The interjection 'ha' was only used by interviewees in order to express jokes, except twice in a review of Cricket "It's gonna be one hot summer. Ha, ha! Get it?".

The proper noun 'FHM' was primarily used in the headings and subheadings of interviews, or during reviews in order to denote the opinion of the editorial staff. For example: "Teazers owner tunes FHM about strippers" and "7eventy 5ive delivers a horror movie FHM wouldn't be ashamed to be caught watching".

Table 41: Distribution of the word 'FHM' in <i>FHM</i>	
Context	%
Sex Confidential	2.4
Reviews	31
Interviews with women	31
Interviews with men	26.2
Sex technique	4.8
Sensation	2.4
Lifestyle	2.4

Collocates: FHM, the, in, of, a, and, FHM's, to, you

4.2.17 ‘BTK’ and ‘Rader’ in *FHM*

The names ‘BTK’ and ‘Rader’ belong to an infamous serial killer in the United States of America. The article on this subject was classed as ‘Other’. Its function in *FHM* is unclear.

If the article aims to inform readers about the history and exploits of this killer, it is the only article of its kind in this sample. On the other hand, while ‘lad mags’ are characterised by “elements of grotesquery” (Attwood, 2005:89), this researcher was hesitant to class this article as ‘Sensational’, as it includes descriptions of gratuitous violence and rape. On the other hand - as opposed to the ‘Other’ articles in *Cosmo* - this article is not concerned with information on social influences such as charity, crime and economic issues. The crimes described in the article are far removed from a South African context, and the discourse does not aim to enable readers to avoid it (as opposed to *Cosmo*’s article on crimes in nightclubs).

4.3 Content analysis of interviews with women in *FHM*

4.3.1 Criteria

The quantitative results, reported above, indicated that interviews with men and women form an important part of *FHM*’s discourse. For this reason, a more in-depth investigation into the linguistic features of interviews was undertaken. As mentioned earlier, the investigation concentrated specifically on interviews with women.

However, since interviews constitute a co-construction of discourse between the interviewer and interviewee (Ekström, 2001), this analysis concentrated explicitly on the magazine’s questions. Interviewees’ responses were only examined in order to clarify ambiguous questions (discussed in more detail later on).

There are many aspects of an interviewer’s questions on which an analysis of ideology could focus. For example, one might investigate the manner in which careers are discussed during interviews with women, as opposed to men. In addition, questions such as “But have you ever used your feminine wiles on the odd occasion to get what you want?” might also indicate an ideological stance.

However, one of the main aims of the qualitative analyses was to investigate the manifestation of ideological patterns identified during the quantitative study. For the sake

of consistency, therefore, it was decided to focus the analysis of interviews on one of these patterns – despite the fact that a quantitative methodology was used.

The results reported thus far, have suggested that an interest in sex is characteristic of *FHM*. In addition, interviews with women are invariably accompanied by sexually evocative photographs. Consequently, this investigation aimed to determine the frequency of sex-related questions during interviews with women. An interviewer's question was categorised as 'sexual' in nature if it contained one of the following elements:

Sexual behaviour, habits, fantasies and experiences: "Speaking of ultimate fantasies (which we weren't) what's yours?" and "How much would Brad Pitt have to pay for a night with you?"

Pornography: "Is porn an important part of a relationship?"

Sexual aids: "Pooches aside, is it a good idea to introduce toys into the bedroom?"

Sexually evocative body parts: "You travel a lot. Which country's men have the biggest penises?" and "we're not allowed to show nipples in *FHM* so please describe yours for us".

Sex tips: "Finally, if you had one sex tip for our readers, what would it be?"

Nudity: "Were you really naked?"

It should be noted that many of the questions were not as clearly related to sex as the examples cited above. Implicit references were also frequent. For example, the question "Finally, as our Honey, have you ever used honey on anything other than toast?" does not seem to carry any relevance to sexual behaviour. However, the following response was made: "I have actually – once! I don't think I'd ever do it again though because it was really sticky for me and nauseatingly sweet for him". Other questions are only clear if one understands the vernacular expressions of *FHM*, such as: "Do you prefer to 'go Brazilian' or a little hair". In this example, the word "Brazilian" refers to very private grooming practices.

Thus, although the study aimed to focus mainly on the magazine's questions, the interviewees' responses were also analysed in order to clarify certain questions'

objectives. When the response clearly indicated an implicit reference to sex, the question was categorised accordingly. It should be remembered that these questions were always posed to scantily clad women, in sexually explicit poses. As a result, a context is created in which even seemingly neutral questions may carry a sexual undertone. Whenever this kind of confirmation was lacking, the question was not classed as sexual.

Follow-up questions aimed at eliciting more information about the model's sexual behaviour, preferences and experiences were also classed as sexual. For example, the question "Anywhere else?" was directly preceded by "Where's the oddest place you've had sex?". These questions were included because: 1) they still contain "[i]nterrogative syntax" that represents a "social action [...] that seeks information" (Heritage, 2002:1427), and 2) they clearly invite models to divulge more personal secrets, thus bringing *FHM*'s interest in sex into sharp focus.

4.3.2 Results

As mentioned earlier, a total of 20 interviews and 409 questions were analysed in this manner. The number of questions per interview varied greatly. A minimum of 8 and a maximum of 37 were recorded.

The results indicated that 115 (28.1%) of these questions were sex-related. Every interview contained at least one question that could be categorised as sexual. The highest percentage per single interview was 95% (19 out of 20 questions). The average percentage was 27.7% per interview.

These findings suggest that soft-pornographic images of women are linguistically supplemented by questions of a sexual nature. However, researchers disagree on the extent to which individual readers are influenced by these features (Brown, 2000). Although this study does not aim to resolve the debate, it is interesting to note that pictorial presentations of gender are also reflected in lexical items.

The qualitative findings, reported in the next chapter, continued to investigate the linguistic manifestation of *FHM*'s interest in sex, by analysing examples of 'Sex technique' and 'Sex Confidential' articles.

With regards to *Cosmo*, examples of 'Happiness', 'Relationship' and their own version of 'Sex technique' articles were analysed.

Chapter 5: Qualitative findings

5.1 Qualitative findings for “Feeling Anxious?” in *Cosmopolitan*

5.1.1 “Feeling Anxious?”

The article “Feeling Anxious?” was chosen for qualitative analysis because it represents an example of: 1) *Cosmo*’s propensity for giving advice, 2) especially psychological advice, 3) aimed at improving their readers’ quality of life (‘Happiness’ articles). Moreover, in comparison with other articles in the sample, “Feeling Anxious?” comes very close to expanding *Cosmo*’s discourse to larger social influences. Furthermore, as the analysis will show, this article demonstrates the compromise *Cosmo* is required to strike between the interests of readers and advertisers.

The article was taken from the section ‘Features’ and the subsection ‘Need to Know: Cosmo Helps’. Based on this information, there is no reason to suspect that the article will address gender relations, as is inevitable in articles on relationships.

“Feeling Anxious?” discusses a variety of anxiety provoking issues/events in women’s lives. It also rates the importance of each issue, before providing advice. It is important to mention, that this article contains no references to expert opinions. Thus, by selecting one event/issue and omitting another, and by rating one issue as more significant than another, *Cosmo* presents itself as the expert on what ‘women’ are concerned about and how they are affected by it. In this vein, it is interesting to note that “Relationship Anxiety” occupies an important role. The other sources of anxiety are: “Fashion Anxiety”, “Fat Anxiety (AKA Performance Anxiety)”, “Threat-To-Life Anxiety” and “Chore-Juggling Anxiety”.

5.1.2 Underlying assumptions

The following section will discuss the ideological contribution of existential, propositional and value assumptions in the article under study. A list was made of all the implicit assumptions found in the text. These were then categorised, and are discussed with examples. It should be noted that existential and propositional assumptions were difficult to distinguish from each other. This is because the propositions were often expressed as undeniable facts, rather than suggestions. This is manifested in the use of declaratives with unmodified verbs. Consequently, a statement is charged with “assertoric

force” in what Kitis and Milapides (1997:565) call a “factivity guise”. In addition, some propositional assumptions hinted at the existence of things such as a set of universal criteria according to which women are judged. Thus, a single statement may include implicit references to more than one assumption. Therefore, this analysis will indicate instances where one type serves to support the other.

Furthermore, this study does not assume that the assumptions discussed below are untrue. However, the manner in which they are constructed, as well as the degree to which they are pursued, may play an essential role in constructing ideology.

5.1.2a) Existential assumptions

This analysis has identified three existential assumptions which seem to dominate the article. All three assumptions reinforce the notion that women exist as a homogenous group. They are: 1) assumptions about the way women experience anxiety, 2) assumptions about the existence of social standards which women are required to meet, and 3) other assumptions about the homogeneity of women. The following section will discuss each assumption by referencing examples from the article.

Firstly, “Feeling Anxious?” begins by sketching a situation which, it is assumed, all the readers are familiar with. This introduction provides a backdrop against which anxiety will be discussed. It also contains two instances of the first existential assumption.

Extract 1: “There are different grades of anxiety: the anxiety you feel just before throwing a party is not the same as the anxiety you get when the new boss turns up at work.”

Extract 2: “Since there are now so many situations that press our panic button, it makes sense to rate them according to the impact they have on our lives.”

The definite statement in extract 1 is built on the assumption that all women experience different levels and different sources of anxiety in the same way. This assumption is linguistically manifested in the unmodified verb ‘are’, as well as the absence of modal markers such as ‘most or ‘almost every woman...’. The assumption is then reinforced in extract 2, by using the inclusive pronoun ‘our’. Again, it is implied that different sources

have the same “impact” on different women’s lives. In addition, the first clause contains a propositional assumption which implies that contemporary women are faced with more sources of anxiety than their predecessors. This is manifested in the adverb “now”. Extracts 3 and 4 also reflect assumptions about the way women experience anxiety.

Extract 3: “There is fat anxiety, which strikes any of us who put on a couple of kilos or have to expose more of ourselves than we are used to; and then there is ‘fat anxiety’, which is the blanket term for general feelings of inadequacy and self-loathing.”

Extract 4: “This is the stuff that keeps you awake at night.” (“Chore-Juggling Anxiety”)

Once again, unmodified verbs - such as ‘is’ - and inclusive pronouns - such as ‘us’, ‘ourselves’, and ‘we’ - are used. The pronoun ‘you’, in extract 4, is probably meant to function as a specific reference to the individual reader. Therefore, it expresses the assumption that all women are more likely to lose sleep over “Chore-Juggling” than over “Threat-To-Life Anxiety” issues, such as: “crime [and] global warming”. Whether or not these assumptions are true is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, the underlying message seems to be that all women feel - or should feel - the same amount of anxiety over certain sources. Consequently, the article’s discourse is built on gender-typed assumptions about ‘women’, which are expressed as social facts.

The second existential assumption is related to the observation that all women are being judged on the basis of universal criteria. The following extracts exemplify the linguistic realisation of this assumption.

Extract 5: “The bar has been raised [existential assumption]. It is no longer good enough to be smart or good-looking [propositional assumption]. You have to be working at both [propositional assumption].”

Extract 6: “Also, modern women are expected to stay at the sharp end of fashion.”

Extract 7: “The female population is horribly well informed and keen, which means we are all under pressure.” (“Fashion Anxiety”)

Extract 8: “We are under the impression that being as good as it gets in at least three areas is a minimum requirement.”

Extract 5, for example, refers to a “bar” that has been raised. This idiomatic expression indicates the assumption that all women are now required to meet higher social demands. The reference to women as an undiversified group is also substantiated in “modern women”, the “female population” and “We” (extracts 6 to 8). Thus, according to the article, an increase in anxiety amongst women is caused by higher social standards, imposed on all women by an anonymous entity. The validity of these claims is subject to debate. However, by assuming that all women are subject to these standards, it seems possible that *Cosmo* is co-constructing this assumption with other social forces - such as television and advertising media (Anderson, 1988; Rosewarne, 2005). More importantly, however, women are not encouraged to question the source of these standards. If it is true that all women are now expected to “stay at the sharp end of fashion” or that they are plagued by “fat anxiety” then surely *Cosmopolitan’s* sections on fashion, beauty and celebrities are contributing to it. Clearly, *Cosmo’s* discourse avoids any criticism of its advertisers (also discussed under the section ‘Social actors’). As such, the article is designed to perform two functions. Firstly, by discussing anxiety as something that affects “us”, *Cosmo* is constructed as the readers’ friend. This friend understands the pressures of performing femininity in the 21st century. At the same time, however, the article avoids open criticism of the magazine’s advertisers. As a result, women are not encouraged to 1) question the origin of social pressures, or 2) band together in attempts to address it. Instead, women are required to cope with these pressures individually – as indicated by the “Remed[ies]” at the end of each section. These remedies include: “Buy several pairs of shoes, boots and one serious bag – they make you look as though you know what’s what”, “For the second [kind of fat anxiety, which is performance anxiety], have a drink. Lighten up” and “Stop listening to the news” (discussed in detail under value assumptions).

Thirdly, the use of inclusive pronouns throughout the article underpins the construction of women as a homogenous group (as shown in extract 9). This observation is also supported by the use of “female population” and “modern women”.

Extract 9: “We expect perfect synergy from our relationships – anything less makes us think we are missing out and that makes us fret.” (researcher’s underlining)

5.1.2b) Propositional assumptions

Since “Feeling Anxious?” is primarily concerned with discussing the nature of anxiety, as well as possible solutions, propositional assumptions were abundant. These assumptions have been categorised under two main types: 1) assumptions about the sources of women’s anxiety, and 2) assumptions about the increase in women’s anxiety. Clearly, these two categories are closely associated with those identified in the previous section.

As mentioned earlier, the article defines what ‘women’ are concerned about. This is primarily achieved by dividing the discussion into separate sections on each source. Each section contains statements which serve to centre the readers’ attention on the negative influences of that issue on women’s lives. Extract 10, for example, aims to convince the reader that “Fashion Anxiety” affects all women, and that its influence has increased “these days”.

Extract 10: “Whether you’re the sort of person who’s pressed up against the doors of YDE on the morning of its 50%-off sale [...] clothes are anxiety-making stuff these days.”

Moreover, the “Anxiety Rating” provided at the end of each section, contains implicit assumptions about the level of anxiety each source inflicts. The ideological contribution of these assumptions may be summarised as follows. Anxiety among women is primarily caused by issues relating to fashion, relationships, performance, larger social issues such as “crime” and mundane/everyday chores. The degree of anxiety suffered as a result of relationships depends upon whether you are single or not. Although fashion is a strong source of anxiety (5/10), the greatest source is “Chore-Juggling” (“7/10 all the time”). Issues such as “crime” or socio-economic pressures play only a small role: “A low background hum: 3/10”.

“Feeling Anxious?” also contains propositional assumptions about the underlying causes of the increasing severity of women’s anxiety. Firstly, the assumption that more women

are suffering from severe anxiety is manifested in the fact that each section contains a paragraph “Why Is It Worse Now?” The content of these paragraphs contains information on the supposed causes of anxiety. As such, “Feeling Anxious?” comes very close to a discussion of the wider social influences which pressure women to conform to the media’s standards. However, as mentioned earlier, this would entail a critique of *Cosmo*’s advertisers. Instead the underlying causes are sought in other quarters.

Extract 11: “Never have there been more choices or more affordable clothes, and never have there been fewer rules – with the result that only the totally switched-on feel 100% anxiety free.”

Extract 12: “It’s down to information – there’s so much bombarding us.”

Extract 13: “Also, it’s normal now to exist happily outside a relationship in a way that wasn’t possible 20 years ago.”

Extract 14: “There’s a burgeoning singles culture, and the rules of behaviour have changed and we don’t know all the new ones.”

Extract 15: “The bar has been raised [existential assumption]. It is no longer good enough to be smart or good-looking [propositional assumption]. You have to be working at both [propositional assumption].”

Extract 16: “Also, modern women are expected to stay at the sharp end of fashion.”

Extract 17: “We are under the impression that being as good as it gets in at least three areas is a minimum requirement.”

As illustrated by these extracts, women’s anxiety is caused by 1) increased access to information, 2) changes in men and women’s dating behaviour, which includes the availability of choices, 3) standards, imposed by an anonymous entity, and 4) the high expectations women impose on themselves. These assumptions are also followed by potential solutions, presented in the article’s list of “Remedies”. When combined, it seems plausible that these assumptions and remedies form part of the “higher-level semantic relation” that Fairclough (2003:91) calls the “problem-solution” format. The question mark in the article’s title “Feeling Anxious?” suggests that this problem is

discussed as part of a personal exchange. This may aid the construction of *Cosmo* as the reader's personal adviser and friend.

The following section will discuss the value assumptions implicit in these remedies.

5.1.2c) Value assumptions

The value assumptions implicit in "Feeling Anxious?" are most prominently illustrated in the article's "Remedies". Interestingly, they are not expressed as suggestions, but as imperatives. They are the following:

Extract 18: "Buy several pairs of shoes, boots and one serious bag – they make you look as though you know what's what." – ("Fashion Anxiety")

Extract 19: "For the first type, get a seaweed body-reducing wrap – the effect will last only days but if you need the boost, it's worth it. For the second, have a drink. Lighten up." – ("Fat Anxiety")

Extract 20: "Be grateful for what you've got." – ("Relationship Anxiety")

Extract 21: "Stop listening to the news and stop buying vitamin supplements. They only remind you of your tenuous grip on good health." – ("Threat-To-Life Anxiety")

Extract 22: "Refuse to get into it. Choose one small thing you intend to get right every day and consider that good going." – ("Chore-Juggling Anxiety")

The first remedy indicates that the discourse of *Cosmo* values "look[ing] as though you know what's what". Women are encouraged to cope with, rather than to question the status quo – which is, apparently, increasing women's anxiety. Once again, *Ms.* serves as a useful point of contrast. Extract 19 supports this conclusion. Instead of encouraging women to question, or at the very least ignore, sources of 'fat anxiety' - such as the mass media - women are advised to "Lighten up". In fact, the only solution which appears to support *Cosmo*'s apparently altruistic interest in women's quality of life is the last one.

It seems plausible that the article's author knew that any serious debate on how to deal with the issues under discussion would eventually run the risk of criticising *Cosmo*'s advertisers. Fear of flying in the face of feminism should, it may be assumed, not pose a problem to a women's magazine. Whatever the reason, it appears that although the article

is based on a serious discussion of anxiety, its remedies are not meant to be taken as such. The subtitle states: “If fear of not being successful at work doesn’t keep you awake at night, the possibility of impending fashion failure probably will. Lighten up”. All the remedies are built on this light-hearted tone. As such, it seems conceivable that the article has purposely avoided an in-depth discussion of the underlying causes of anxiety in women’s lives – for whatever reason.

It is important to reiterate that the investigation presented in this study does not aim to antagonise the editorial staff of either *Cosmo* or *FHM*.

In summary: the underlying assumptions - identified in this article - reinforce the ideology identified in the quantitative analyses. It suggests that femininity is constructed as a homogenous category, especially with regards to the way women experience anxiety, as well as the most important sources of their anxiety. The article also assumes that anxiety has become increasingly prevalent amongst women. In addition, the discourse provides a variety of reasons, or causes for this increase. These causes may be summarised as: 1) the high expectations women maintain for their lives, and 2) social developments beyond the control of individual women (including a universal set of criteria). And finally, as illustrated by the list of light-hearted ‘remedies’, *Cosmo* places great value on the ability to fit into society, despite mounting pressures. This requires individual women to respond to, rather than question or even trivialise, the social standards imposed on them.

5.1.3 Social actors

In the article under study, the presence of social actors is almost invariably marked with pronouns. Inclusive pronouns such as “we” and “our” serve to establish a sense of solidarity, or *esprit de corps*, between *Cosmo* and its readers – referred to as the “synthetic sisterhood” (Talbot, 1995:143). The pronoun “you” refers to the individual reader, and is meant to emulate friendly conversation. In this article “you” is the primary social actor, which reinforces the conclusion reached in the previous section.

The noun ‘women’ is only used in “modern women” and implied in “female population” and “girlfriends”. The last reference is used during the introduction to sketch a situation: “It’s Sunday. With any luck, you don’t have a lot to do – and if you do, it’s probably

making lunch for more girlfriends than you'd expected". Although this reference may, logically, also apply to a man – depending on the interpretation of “girlfriends” – the other two clearly designate the article's audience. “[M]odern women” is the most specific reference in the entire article. This label applies to all contemporary women, since it is only distinguished from women in “previous generations” and “mothers” (illustrated in extracts 23 and 24).

Extract 23: “In previous generations, a woman used to be accused of letting herself go if she had egg on her cardigan.”

Extract 24: “Also, it's normal now to exist happily outside a relationship in a way that wasn't possible 20 years ago.”

Other social actors, however, are “suppress[ed]” (Fairclough, 2003:145). The statement “It's down to information – there's so much bombarding us” is a poignant example. The source of anxiety is only traced to a certain extent. Arguably, the mass media – of which *Cosmo* is a part - plays a significant role in this bombardment. This fact, however, is suppressed. This notion can also be observed in “The bar has been raised”.

In this regard, the “transactive model” (Kitis and Milapides, 1997: 570-571) proves useful - especially since it is incomplete. Although ‘women’ are clearly the affected participants or “actors” (Fairclough, 2003:145), the identity of the active agent is suppressed.

5.1.4 Specific words

Based on the quantitative findings, the following words/lemmas were investigated in the article under study: ‘work’, ‘feel’, ‘women’ and ‘you’.

The lemma ‘work’ is referenced four times. Two instances are semantically related to careers. Both occur in the introduction, and there is no section on career-related anxiety. Therefore, although careers are not discussed as a significant source of anxiety in this article, they are nevertheless mentioned as elements which occupy a noteworthy role in women's lives. In this regard, future analyses may investigate the way other women's magazines approach both anxiety and careers.

The other two instances of ‘work’ were classified as ‘other’ and ‘capacity’: 1) “In previous generations [...] egg on her cardigan. Now that accusation applies to anyone who isn’t working footless tights” and 2) “It is no longer good enough to be smart or good-looking. You have to be working at both”. The latter is used under “Fat Anxiety”, and is semantically related to the ability to achieve a certain level of attractiveness.

As may be expected, the lemma ‘feel’ was associated with symptoms of anxiety: “feeling small”, “feelings of self-loathing” and “feelings of inadequacy”.

The analysis of ‘women’ supports the findings reported in section 4.3.1.3.

The analysis of ‘you’ supports the notion that ‘you’ is the primary social actor. In fact, next to ‘the’, ‘you’ is the most frequent word. The article is, therefore, primarily addressed to the individual reader.

5.1.5 Summary

The advice provided in *Cosmo* aims to alert women to a variety of pressures and dangerous expectations. This process is conducted by presenting *Cosmo* as the individual reader’s friend. This ‘friend’ understands, all too clearly, the challenges/obstacles to the successful performance of femininity (a concept which applies to all women).

Consequently, being a woman is constructed as a task that must be achieved with careful attention to a variety of threats. Knowledge about these threats, as well as strategies for negotiating them, can be obtained from *Cosmo*. However, *Cosmo*’s advice is directed at individual women, not at a social interest group who might influence, rather than simply respond to, their society. In fact, criticism of potential advertisers is doggedly avoided – obviously for capitalist considerations. When women are addressed as a group, differences between various segments are downplayed – possibly for capitalist reasons.

5.2 Qualitative findings for “How To Make A Good Man Great” in *Cosmopolitan*

5.2.1 “How To Make A Good Man Great”

This article was selected on the basis of findings which suggest that *Cosmo*’s discourse constructs heterosexual romantic relationships as a major influence in women’s lives.

The article was taken from the ‘Features’ section and the subsection ‘Men’. Unlike the previous article, this example clearly concentrates on gender relationships. Interestingly,

the article was written by a man. As such, it aims to provide a male perspective on strategies which female readers can use to change their partners from “an average Joe” to a “great man”. From the outset, therefore, the construction of men and women as two homogenous, and estranged groups might play an essential role.

The article’s discourse is divided into five sections: “Male Advice #1”, “Male Advice #2” and so forth. Each section addresses a specific area in which women may desire their male partners to be improved: 1) fashion, 2) sex, 3) dancing, 4) arguing, and 5) pornography. In each of these sections, the first paragraph sketches the problem while subsequent paragraphs discuss the male author’s advice.

5.2.2 Underlying assumptions

The following sections are devoted to the assumptions which underpin the article’s ideology, as well as their linguistic manifestation. The discussion will focus primarily on propositional and value assumptions. Two existential assumptions were also found: 1) the existence of men and 2) women as two homogenous social groups. The linguistic manifestation of these assumptions will, however, be discussed under the construction of social actors. This was done because men and women represent the main characters in the article’s construction of social actors.

5.2.2a) Propositional assumptions

Since the article under study is primarily concerned with discussing romantic relationships between men and women, its propositional assumptions are mainly constructed around the supposed differences between the sexes. These differences are posed as the underlying causes of frustrations and problems. Consequently, women are encouraged to face and deal with these differences in a manner that will allow them to improve their partners. It should be noted that, although men are constructed as resistant to change, they are also infused with a subconscious desire to be what their female partners wish to transform them into. This notion is manifested in statements such as: “and most likely he doesn’t want to be one [an average Joe] either” and “Men may write off guys who dance as girlie but (secretly) they would all love to”. Thus, from the outset, women’s supposed desire to improve their male partners is justified.

The propositional assumptions identified in this study were grouped under the following qualitative headings: 1) heterosexual men are un-dynamic/women are dynamic, 2) heterosexual men are rational/women are irrational, and 3) heterosexual men are unintelligent with regards to fashion. A fourth propositional assumption concerns the manner in which the article's advice is couched, and may be paraphrased as (using the vernacular language of the magazine): actually, these differences are easy to deal with. The first propositional assumption was paraphrased as follows: heterosexual men are un-dynamic, or static, while women are dynamic in nature. This assumption was manifested in statements such as the following.

Extract 25: "Any girl who's been in a long-term relationship knows that the average straight guy hates change."

Extract 26: "While women are dynamic and get excited about trying new things [...] men are boring and take comfort in the regular."

Extract 27: "a man likes to stick with what he knows."

Extract 28: "men loathe trying new things".

Extract 29: "This is one of the defining differences between the sexes – one that leads to the eternal argument".

Although the statement in extract 25 is modified by the adjective "average", the portrayal of women as dynamic, and men as the direct opposite, is elevated to a "defining" distinction in extract 29. The assumption is, therefore, elaborated to include the overwhelming majority of heterosexual men. By structuring the statements in this manner, a stereotype is constructed. Women's ability to accept and enjoy "new things" is legitimised/sanctioned, while men's avoidance of change is normalised.

The creation of this stereotype in *Cosmo* poses an interesting hypothesis. If one accepts the conclusion that 'lad mags', like *FHM*, tend to shelter men from social pressures to change, it seems conceivable that *Cosmo* is supporting the existence/normality of this stereotype. At the very least, masculinity's resistance to change is clearly normalised in this article. However, its discourse also aims to advise women on the most effective strategies for addressing this ostensibly certain male characteristic. Thus, in addition to

constructing men as resistant to change, the goal of addressing this feature might be viewed as a ‘womanly’ pursuit. Clearly, more research is required before conclusions of this nature may be drawn and generalised.

Whatever the case, this resistance to change is also constructed as a paradox for men.

Extract 30: “The paradox, for men, comes from the realisation that we *also* don’t want to be boring average Joes”.

Extract 31: “So, bearing in mind that men loathe trying new things, but deep down, we all want to stand out from the crowd, how can you go about improving your guy”.

Extract 31 sets the stage for the article’s discussion. Thus, as mentioned earlier, a woman’s efforts to change her “guy” are justified by the fact that, in truth, men want to change. In order to produce this change, she must address the un-dynamic nature of men. This assumption is also reinforced by the article’s remedy: “Don’t make a big thing about it”, “In fact, if he doesn’t know he’s changing anything, so much the better”, and “So make a game of it”.

The second propositional assumption may be summarised as follows: men are rational, while women are irrational/emotional. This assumption is constructed through the strategies which women are encouraged to employ. Most of these strategies rest on the assumption that logical reasoning will be successful in goading men to improve in the areas addressed by the article.

Extract 32: “Appeal to his masculine sense of logic”.

Extract 33: “The logic is straightforward – by focusing on your pleasure he will ultimately receive more pleasure from you”.

Extract 34: “Appeal to his sense of logic”

Extract 35: “This is very straightforward thinking that any guy will understand”.

Thus, in order to address the un-dynamic nature of men, women are encouraged to employ straightforward logic. Consequently, men are indirectly constructed as beings

who struggle to comprehend the seemingly irrational desires of women (such as the desire to improve their partners' awareness of fashion, ability to dance and sexual skills). A poignant example of the way women are encouraged to employ this kind of reasoning is presented in the section "Male Advice #2". In this section, women are encouraged to provide their partners with incentives for "upgrading his bedroom skills". As is suggested by the extracts below, this strategy rests on the notion that men will be motivated to improve if women provide them with sexual incentives. However, readers are also warned to avoid generating performance-anxiety.

Extract 36: "Every man likes to think of himself as the ultimate lover but deep down he wonders whether he really is one".

Extract 37: "So how do you ask your man to upgrade his bedroom skills without spiking his fragile ego?"

Extract 38: "for every hour he pampers you, he gets a blowjob".

This approach is also reinforced in "Male Advice #3", where women are encouraged to use sexual incentives in order to goad men into dancing.

Extract 39: "Tell him you can judge a man's bedroom ability by his dancing skills – and that you'd be happy to show him a thing or two. There's lots of sexual innuendo there, which is sure to pique his interest!"

In summary, therefore, women are advised to employ "masculine [...] logic" when attempting to improve their partners. This sense of logic frequently involves the use of sexual incentives.

The third propositional assumption is based on the notion that heterosexual men are unintelligent with regards to fashion. As stated earlier, the article's advice is divided into five pieces of "Male Advice". Each section suggests that men are deficient in the subject of that section. For example, "Male Advice #3" states "Men loathe dancing", while "Male Advice #5" states "Guys love porn. They like to look, simple as that". All these sections contain underlying assumptions about the nature of heterosexual men – and their

resistance to change. However, the first section, which is devoted to fashion, was particularly relevant to gender ideology.

Extract 40: “Straight men usually suffer from one of two principle fashion afflictions”.

Extract 41: “Contrary to the popular belief of some people, we men *do* want to look decent – but we generally don’t know where to start”.

Extract 42: “And shopping is such a damn mission!”

Extract 43: “Remember that women can get away with ‘doing fashion’ far more easily than men”.

Indirectly, these statements define the characteristics of “straight” and homosexual men. Without condemning, or criticising the latter, a line is drawn between the two.

The last propositional assumption aims to reassure the reader about the probability of success.

Extract 44: “Very simply, you need a three-point strategy”.

Extract 45: “Once he’s had some decent tailoring, he won’t look back”.

Extract 46: “Next thing you know, you’ll have an expert on your hands”.

Extract 47: “He’ll soon get the picture”.

The purpose of this assumption might be to encourage the reader to implement the article’s advice. The underlying message is that, since the article has divided the process into five easy strategies, the reader is almost sure to succeed.

5.2.2b) Value assumptions

The value assumption which dominated the article under study concerns the value of having a “great man” – as dictated by the standards of the article.

The first linguistic instance of this assumption can be found in the title: “How To Make A Good Man Great”. By dividing the article into five sections, it is assumed that readers share a common problem with regards to improving their male partners, and that their common problem rests on the five areas under discussion. Thus, the criteria

for/characteristics of a “great man” are established. Having a great man means having a man who is: 1) fashionable, 2) sexually adept, and 3) able to dance.

Extract 48: “Male Advice #1: Don’t Be In Fashion... Be In Style”.

Extract 49: “So how do you ask your man to upgrade his bedroom skills”.

Extract 50: “Male Advice #3: Don’t Scorn Dancing... Get On Your Feet Man!”

Extract 51: “How do you get your man to join you on the dance floor”.

These linguistic devices construct men as deficient in the areas under discussion. Consequently, women’s desire to alter men according to predetermined criteria of greatness is constructed as a legitimate feminine pursuit.

It should be noted that the last section, “Don’t Watch Porn... Watch Erotica”, does not require men to change. Instead, women are encouraged to embrace an ostensibly certain male characteristic, by watching pornography with their male partners. However, women are advised to select the material themselves: “Rather some soft-core viewing that you approve of [...] than degrading hard-core stuff he ends up watching on his own”.

This creates a second value assumption which implicitly values the flexibility of women who can adjust to certain features of masculinity.

5.2.3 Social Actors

As may be expected, men and women are the main characters in this article.

The pronoun “you” (3.11%) was the most frequent reference to social actors, but was followed closely by “he”, “him” and “his” (1.8%, 1.74% and 1.32%). These pronouns indicate that the article is addressed to the individual reader who is, presumably, a heterosexual woman with a male partner. Men are constructed as the object of the reader’s efforts, with the pronouns “we” and “us”. Thus, according to Kitis and Milapides’ (1997) transactive model, women constitute the active agent, while men are constructed as the affected participant of the agent’s future actions (as advised by the article).

In addition, as mentioned earlier, men and women are constructed as two fundamentally alien social categories. This construction is linguistically manifested in definite

statements about the nature of heterosexual men and women – as discussed earlier. For example, the noun ‘man’ is never qualified by anything other than “straight”.

Thus, it seems conceivable that *Cosmo*’s advice on romantic relationships is underpinned by this assumption, through a series of linguistic characteristics. If so, the magazine’s discourse might increase the perceived need for advice which will enable men and women to negotiate the fundamental differences which hamper romantic relationships. However, future analyses have yet to verify the validity of this observation.

5.2.4 Specific words

No ideologically relevant references to ‘work’, ‘sex’, ‘feel’, ‘body’ or ‘relationship’ could be found in the article under study. References to ‘male’, ‘advice’, ‘fashion’ and ‘change’ were particularly prevalent. However, the functions of these items have already been discussed in previous sections.

5.2.5 Summary

In summary, the article “How To Make A Good Man Great” draws attention to what is presented as some of the most significant differences between men and women. These differences are then linguistically constructed as some of the root causes of conflict in relationships. Thereafter, women are advised on a series of effective coping mechanisms. These mechanisms, or strategies, involve: 1) a subtle approach, 2) combined with logical reasoning – which is described as a masculine trait – as well as 3) the provision of sexual incentives.

Thus – based on the value assumption that most women would like to improve their male partners – women are told that alterations can be made to stereotypically male behaviour, with relative certainty of success. The desire and onus for addressing these masculine deficiencies is, therefore, a ‘womanly thing’.

5.3 Qualitative findings for “Hand It To Him” in *Cosmopolitan*

5.3.1 “Hand It To Him”

This article was selected on the basis of quantitative findings which suggest that ‘Sex technique’ articles – though significantly less frequent in *Cosmo* than in *FHM* – still play an important role in the ideology of the former.

“Hand It To Him” was taken from the ‘Cover Features’ section, under the subsection ‘Cosmo Helps: Good Advice’. It aims to discuss five strategies which female readers can use to stimulate male genitalia by “using the stimulating capabilities of their hands”.

5.3.2 Underlying assumptions

Only one propositional assumption and one value assumption was identified in this article. An existential assumption about the homogeneity of men was also identified. Linguistically, however, it was manifested in the same manner as the propositional assumption: all men respond in predictable ways during sex.

5.3.2a) Propositional assumptions

The article under study aims to discuss five sexual “touch tips”. The proposed application of these tips suggests that all men will respond in predictable ways. No mention is made of the relationship in which they occur, or the emotions involved. As sexual partners, therefore, women are encouraged to view men as a homogenous group.

Moreover, sex is viewed in a technical light, since it is described in terms of specific techniques and the successful production of orgasms. These observations are based on the following extracts.

Extract 52: “These feel-him-up moves will make sure you have him in the palm of your hand”.

Extract 53: “As you move further down, tingling sensations will shoot straight to his genitals”.

Extract 54: “He won’t expect the alternating movements and his whole body will reverberate from the combined sensations”.

Extract 55: “men love to have their entire package engaged”.

Following the model of Kitis and Milapides (1997:565), these statements are imbued with “assertoric force”, manifested in the modal verb “will”. As will be shown in subsequent analyses, this approach to sex is very similar to the ‘Sex technique’ articles in *FHM*.

5.3.2b) Value assumptions

Research by McCleneghan (2003:319) concluded that articles on sex are often used to promote *Cosmopolitan*. Implicitly, therefore, an interest in sex is viewed as a desirable female trait.

The article “Hand It To Him” constructed a more specific value assumption. Although not overtly manifested in any single linguistic item, the article presupposes the desirability of a woman who is able to “give [her] guy various kinds of pleasure”. Thus, an understanding of the male physique, with the object of providing a male partner with sexual pleasure, is constructed as a ‘womanly’ pursuit.

This observation might be reinforced by the findings for “How To Make A Good Man Great”, in which women are encouraged to use sexual incentives, and the promise of pleasure, as a means to reduce men’s resistance to change/improvement. When combined with the findings for “Feeling Anxious”, one might suggest that the ability to provide pleasure is tantamount to the ability to fit into contemporary society.

In addition, this article also presupposes a heterosexual reader. The introductory sentence appears to address all female readers: “Yes, oral action is high on the list of tantalising tactics, but many women overlook the stimulating capabilities of their hands”. Consequently, the normality of heterosexuality is reinforced.

5.3.3 Social actors

The results suggest that men are the primary social actors in the article. However, as was the case with “How To Make A Good Man Great”, men are addressed indirectly. The pronoun “his” was the most frequent word in the article, followed closely by “your” (4.39% and 3.93%). The latter was primarily used in advisory comments, aimed at

explaining various techniques: “so the pressure of your palm will take him over the edge”, “shorten your strokes” and “cup your fingers”.

With regards to the transactive model (Kitis and Milapides, 1997), men are once again constructed as the affected participant, while the presumably female reader constitutes the active agent. For example: “the pressure of your palm will take him over the edge”. Thus, from a linguistic perspective, men occupy object positions, while women (represented by the possessive pronoun ‘your’) occupy subject positions. Therefore - as social actors who engage in sex - women are constructed as active participants, who should be able to produce orgasms in men. Clearly, in the ideology of *Cosmo*, femininity is constructed as sexually active and adventurous. This is consistent with Machin and Thornborrow’s (2003) findings. Whether or not such a construction is desirable from a moral perspective is not the aim of this study.

5.3.4 Specific words

No ideologically relevant references to ‘work’, ‘sex’, ‘feel’, ‘body’ or ‘relationship’ could be found in the article under study. The words ‘hands’, ‘fingers’, ‘palm’ and ‘pleasure’ were frequently used. As discussed earlier, these words were primarily used during explanations of the techniques described in the article, thus reinforcing a technical approach to sex.

5.4 Qualitative findings for “The FHM Advanced Sex Guide” in *FHM*

5.4.1 “The FHM Advanced Sex Guide”

This article was selected on the basis of quantitative findings which suggest that ‘Sex technique’ articles play a significant role in the discourse of *FHM*.

The article was taken from the ‘Features’ section, and discusses a variety of sex-related techniques, aimed at improving the male reader’s performance. As such, the article is written in a succinct, step-by-step approach. For example, tips are provided on how to touch eleven different body parts – including the brain (meaning the mind). Thereafter, the physical stages of female arousal are discussed in five steps. Five tips are also provided on how to use a massage as a precursor to intercourse. Finally, the article provides strategies for improving a female partner’s satisfaction.

This explicit emphasis on developing skills – aimed at increasing the reader’s ability to satisfy a female partner – is part of *FHM*’s construction of masculinity as deeply concerned with performance-anxiety. As a result, sex becomes a ‘manly thing’ that must be performed correctly. No mention is made of the relationship in which it occurs, or the emotions involved, because the main focus is on technique. This, almost mechanical perspective, frames the supposedly masculine perspective on sex (supported by Attwood, 2005). The last page of the article further reinforces this perspective, by including a certificate on the skills discussed. The certificate can be cut out after taking a test (on the opposite page).

5.4.2 Underlying Assumptions

The investigation of underlying assumptions was hindered by the article’s succinct, almost cryptic style. Nevertheless, each set of steps included comments/observations which, when analysed, revealed implicit assumptions that underpin the article’s ideology. The following sections will discuss the propositional and value assumptions identified in the article. Two existential assumptions were also found: 1) the implied heterosexuality of the reader, and 2) the homogeneity of women. The first is discussed under the section on social actors, while the latter is discussed under the second propositional assumption, identified below. This was done, because 1) the first existential assumption is manifested in references to social actors and 2) the second existential and propositional assumptions were combined in the discourse.

5.4.2a) Propositional assumptions

The propositional assumptions identified in this article were organised into three categories: 1) assumptions about the nature of sexual skills, 2) assumptions about the homogeneity of women and finally, 3) assumptions about the homogeneity of men. In accordance with the homophobic ideology of ‘lad mags’ (Benwell, 2001), the third category is manifested in only one statement, since men are only explicitly referred to once. Every other reference is directed at the presumably male reader with “you”.

The first category of propositional assumptions revealed an interesting perspective on sex, as well as the manner in which men can/should improve their performance. The first

comment on sex-related skills employs a simile (manifested in the word “like”), aimed at reinforcing the notion that men can, and should, master these skills by obtaining the required knowledge and adhering to certain rules.

Extract 56: “Lady-pleasing, like wiring up a stereo, requires reading the instruction book...”

By taking an example which, it is assumed, all men are familiar with (“wiring up a stereo”) this statement implies that the following article constitutes an “instruction book” on the ‘manly’ skills required for successful sex. As such, it reinforces an ideology in which sex becomes an opportunity to express masculinity successfully.

This statement is followed by instructions on how to approach eleven different body parts, in preparation for intercourse. It includes statements which reinforce the notion that all women experience intercourse in the same manner, such as “brushing the skin of the breasts with the tips of your fingers is a surefire winner” (discussed in greater detail later on). No mention is made of emotions, relationships, or of men as active participants (apart from the individual reader, manifested in “you”). It seems possible that instructions of this nature can serve to reinforce the magazine’s hedonistic ideology (Attwood, 2005). However, it is important to state that the presence of a “girlfriend” is implied, since the “certificate is invalid without girlfriend countersignature”.

The underlying assumption, introduced in extract 56, continues in extracts 57 and 58.

Extract 57: “Learn to read the telltale physical give-aways of her body’s arousal.”

Extract 58: “A few minutes of rub and tug [massage] and she’ll be putty in your hands.”

Thus: to successfully demonstrate masculinity requires conquering performance-anxiety and potential failure, by performing sex successfully. This implies obtaining the requisite skills from a source like *FHM*.

The second category of propositional assumptions constructs women as people who experience intercourse in the same manner. Therefore, women are like machines: they will respond in predictable ways if handled correctly. The accuracy of this assumption is

not the main focus of this study. However, its presence in *FHM* indicates an ideology which encourages men to view women as a homogenous group which will respond in more or the less the same way, when certain skills are applied. Clearly, this assumption is also related to the existential assumption about the homogeneity of men, identified in the *Cosmo* article “Hand It To Him”.

This assumption is also manifested in extracts 56 to 58. Other examples include extracts 59 to 61.

Extract 59: “It might sound cheesy, but dimming the lights, playing ambient tunes and lighting a candle or two will get your lady ready for rubbing [massage].”

Extract 60: “Good massage will lead directly to full sex. Guaranteed.”

Extract 61: “It’s willingness over technique here, but it will pay off.”

All three extracts contain definite statements – or declaratives with “assertoric force” (Kitis and Milapides, 1997:565), manifested in the modal verb “will”. All three extracts reinforce an ideology which encourages men to view women as 1) a group to which certain skills may be applied 2) in order to successfully demonstrate masculinity.

The third propositional assumption is also concerned with the issue identified above. It represents the only instance in which men are explicitly referenced (excluding the subtitle): “Unless you possess Sting-like Tantric inner strength, at some point, every oke will shoot his bolt too soon”. Once again, the problem of male sexual performance is foregrounded. This statement is followed by advice on how to deal with this dilemma.

In summary, masculinity – in *FHM* – is something that must be performed successfully. One field in which this must be done is sex. Sex is an opportunity to perform masculinity by 1) obtaining and 2) applying the requisite skills.

5.4.2b) Value assumptions

The value assumptions expressed in the article can be illustrated by reference to the extracts discussed above.

By approaching sex in this manner, it is constructed as a desirable demonstration of masculinity. Moreover, the value placed on a hedonistic lifestyle is also linguistically

realised in the subtitle of the article: “leave the ladies slackjawed”. This indicates the desirable and ‘manly’ pursuit of participating in many sexual relationships. This conclusion is, however, opposed by the implied presence of a “girlfriend” on the certificate.

Whatever the case, the article’s approach to sex makes it conceivable that all the above-mentioned assumptions are interrelated in what Fairclough (2003:91) calls the “Goal-Achievement” higher-level semantic relation. A desirable goal is constructed, in conjunction with strategies for achieving it. This notion is also observable in the title, where a goal is constructed, “Advanced Sex”, coupled with a promise of sexual success, “leave the ladies slackjawed”.

5.4.3 Social Actors

The findings suggest that women are the primary social actors in the article. The word ‘man’ is only used twice. The first occurs in the subtitle as part of the article’s promise to turn the reader into “the type of man who’ll leave the ladies slackjawed”. In the second instance, it serves as a euphemism for male genitalia. The only other reference to men, as mentioned earlier, is found in: “every oke will shoot his bolt too soon”. This is the only reference in which men are constructed as partners in intercourse. The rest of the article is directed at the individual reader: “you”.

Women are subdivided into “weight-conscious women”, “many women” and “most women”. These references represent the highest level of distinction. Moreover, ‘women’ represent the grammatical object in references such as: “...to drive your lady into an excited frenzy”. Here they are constructed as the “[a]ffected” social actors (Fairclough, 2003:145). When applying the transactive model (Kitis and Milapides, 1997:570-571), ‘women’ represent the affected participant, with ‘you’ representing the active agent. In this case, the agent actively “drives” the affected party into a frenzy – by applying the article’s recommended skills. In other references, ‘women’ represent the grammatical subject. For example: “Not every woman can attain the heights of female ejaculation, and others can’t ‘let go’, meaning some wasted effort on your part”. This formulation forms part of the article’s emphasis on providing insight into the ‘mechanisms’ of female sexuality.

These findings, in conjunction with the fact that the pronoun “her” is the most frequent word in the article (4.38%), reinforces an existential assumption about the normality of heterosexuality.

5.4.4 Specific words

Since the analysis reported above has already dealt with instances of ‘men’ and ‘women’, the following specific lemmas were investigated: ‘sex’, ‘work’ and ‘feel’.

‘Sex’ is mainly used in advisory comments, aimed at conveying valuable information, or “secrets”: “For many women, oral sex is the only way they can have an orgasm, so technique is all-important”, “Sex is all in the mind”, and “This results in a so-called ‘sex flush’”. This reinforces the construction of sex as a performance test.

This conclusion is also supported by references to ‘work’ – all of which are semantically connected to the capacity to achieve a goal. Examples include: “The interaction between skin and clothing works wonders” and “If your patience and hard work are rewarded, she’ll climax...”

Furthermore, the lemma ‘feel’ was also mainly related to physical touch (85.7%). For example: “Most women like the feel of silk and lace”.

In summary, the results suggest that ‘Sex technique’ articles contain implicit constructions of ‘manly things’, as they are related to sex. The rest of this chapter aims to contextualise these results, by investigating an example of ‘Sex Confidential’.

5.5 Qualitative findings for an example of ‘Sex Confidential’ in *FHM*

5.5.1 An example of ‘Sex Confidential’

A sample article from the section ‘Sex Confidential’ was selected since the quantitative findings suggest that they play an important role in the discourse of *FHM*. Like other ‘Sex Confidential’ articles, this sample is mainly concerned with answering readers’ questions. Therefore, since the article is written in response to readers’ queries, ‘Sex Confidential’ might be viewed as a co-construction between readers and editorial staff. However, since this study concentrates on the ideology of the magazine itself, the analysis will focus exclusively on the answers/solutions provided to readers’ questions. Readers’ questions will only be mentioned in order to clarify the magazine’s responses.

In addition, 'Sex Confidential' articles also include short subsections on a specific sexual skill. These subsections are similar to 'Sex technique' articles. For example, the article under study included information on "quickies", which were also analysed for their contribution to ideology.

It should be noted that an interesting contradiction was discovered between this sample of 'Sex Confidential' and the 'Sex technique' article analysed earlier. The contradiction concerns the construction of women as a homogenous social group. In response, the following sections also discuss a hypothesis which might account for the apparent contradiction. This explanation will be introduced during the examination of underlying assumptions, before being discussed in detail under the section on social actors.

5.5.2 Underlying assumptions

Since the advice/solutions provided in 'Sex Confidential' articles serve as responses to individual, real-life questions, broad generalisations were less common. Nevertheless, a close investigation of the norms and perspectives which underlie these responses can provide valuable insights into the magazine's construction of ideology. Furthermore, since the solutions are based on the opinion of the magazine's "sexpert", value assumptions were far more prevalent than propositional assumptions. No existential assumptions could be identified. The following sections will discuss these in greater detail.

5.5.2a) Propositional assumptions

The article under study contained two propositional assumptions which proved particularly interesting with regards to gender ideology. The first assumption concerns the normality of sex with more than one partner, while the second is related to 'women' as a social category.

The first assumption was found under the magazine's response to a male reader's question. The reader's letter describes a sexual fantasy, and asks the magazine's "sexpert" whether or not he should attempt to realise it. The description involves intercourse with the reader's wife and an additional male partner. However, desires of

this nature do not tally with the magazine's homophobic ideology. This notion is clearly illustrated by the magazine's response.

Extract 62: "Dial it down a notch – suggest a MFF [male-female-female] threesome, which will be far less threatening to her before working your way toward something less conventional".

Extract 63: "Threesomes don't always work out as one expects – she may also be worried by the thought that you have latent homosexual tendencies".

Extract 64: "She may also find the notion of taking on two guys at once daunting".

Extract 65: "Some fantasies are best left as such".

Extract 62 presupposes that a "MFF" threesome will be less threatening to the reader's wife. In addition, this kind of arrangement is viewed as "more conventional". As a result, a man's desire for intercourse with more than one woman at the same time is normalised and encouraged. Moreover, it is presupposed that this arrangement is also more appealing to women. The basis on which these assumptions are grounded is never explained in the article. Thus, they are constructed as underlying norms which require no explanation.

The normality of a "MFF" threesome is then reinforced in extract 63. The statement presupposes that men who desire MMF threesomes may have "latent homosexual tendencies". On the other hand, women who engage in MFF threesomes are not suspected of homosexuality. Once again, sexual encounters between women are constructed as normal sexual experiments, which are not only appealing to both sexes, but engaged in by heterosexual women. Extract 64 supports this conclusion. It is implicitly assumed that the reader's wife will not find a lesbian encounter, or the notion of sharing her husband with another woman, intimidating.

Extract 65 clearly establishes the magazine's perspective on the subject. Thus, the article's advice establishes the norm of what might be considered as 'normal' for male - and female - sexuality. Lesbian sexuality is viewed as sexual experiments which heterosexual women should embrace, without fear of "latent homosexual tendencies". Moreover, men's desire for intercourse with multiple female partners is constructed as conventional.

The second propositional assumption makes another general statement about female sexuality. Surprisingly, it appears to contradict the findings for “The FHM Advanced Sex Guide” by depicting women as diverse and unique individuals.

Extract 66: “Girls are different, some can go years without worrying about sex”.

This response was issued to the following question: “I’m studying abroad for a year and I really miss my girlfriend and our sexual relationship. I’ve asked her to send me nude pictures of herself, but she says she’d feel silly [...]. What can I do to get her to send me some nice pictures?”

The propositional assumption implicit in this statement appears to be a direct contradiction to the undiversified ideology detected in section 5.4.2a). This contradiction might be explained by the following hypothesis. Firstly, neither the findings reported thus far, nor the external sources cited in this study, suggest that the ‘lad mag’ ideology condones goading, or explicitly forcing women to participate in sexual acts. The reader’s partner appears to be quite clear about her position. For this reason, *FHM* will not disregard this woman’s position by providing advice on ways to obtain the desired photographs. The aim of this statement might, therefore, not concern the proposed diversity of femininity, but rather respect for a woman’s position. Consequently, however, *FHM*’s advice produces two apparent contradictions. Firstly, the discourse promotes women’s right to abstain from sexual acts. Secondly, the reader is encouraged to respect his relationship as a context that might place restrictions on his sexual desires. The hypothesis which might explain this contradiction is expanded under the section on social actors. This was done because the construction of social actors, as well as the value assumptions reported below, all support the importance of gaining women’s consent to have sex.

5.5.2b) Value assumptions

The magazine’s response to readers’ queries, as well as the short section on “quickies”, contained a variety of value assumptions. These were grouped into three categories: 1) women should not be forced, or pressured, to perform sexual acts, 2) open

communication between partners is desirable, and 3) sex should not be performed without contraception.

The first value assumption represents what Attwood (2005:87) calls “a rough kind of equality” with regards to sex. It is linguistically manifested in the following extracts:

Extract 67: “if she’s not up for it, don’t push her”.

Extract 68: “if she doesn’t want to, it won’t happen *however* you ask”.

Extract 69: “Never ask your partner to do anything that would make her uncomfortable”.

Extract 70: “Put yourself in your partner’s shoes”.

This assumption represents a positive element in the ideology of *FHM*. Readers are strongly advised to respect their female partners’ wishes, especially when requesting sexual acts (extracts 67 and 68). In addition, readers are encouraged to show a degree of consideration before requesting permission for sexual experiments (extracts 69 and 70).

The second value assumption is closely related to extracts 69 and 70, as it revolves around the value of open communication.

Extract 71: “Indulging your fantasies is fun, but its best to discuss them with your partner”.

Extract 72: “Be open and honest with your partner, no matter how difficult the situation”.

These extracts were taken from the article’s guidelines for performing “quickies”. The value of open/honest communication is, therefore, constructed as one of the rules, or guidelines, of sex. Clearly, this approach acknowledges the relationship in which sex can occur. The importance of this relationship is also implied in the following statements: “Keep the intimate details of your relationship [...] private” and “If you’re experiencing a sexual problem, see a doctor before you automatically blame your partner”.

The third value assumption represents one of only two instances in which contraception was discussed in this sample of *FHM*.

Extract 73: “Don’t get so caught up in a fantasy that you have unsafe sex, not even ‘just once’”.

In summary, therefore, the discourse of ‘Sex Confidential’ seems to concentrate on sex as it occurs in, and is influenced by, relationships. This feature contrasts sharply with the ‘Sex technique’ article analysed earlier. However, it should be noted that when readers request advice on their sexual relationships, the existence of that relationship is presupposed. The results suggest that, when discussed in this context, *FHM*’s discourse encourages mutual respect and honest communication, in order to optimise the enjoyment of sex for both partners. This notion is discussed in more detail under the next section.

5.5.3 Social actors

This section discusses the construction of social actors in the article under study. Specific attention is paid to the “sexpert” as a social actor, as well as the hypothesis referred to earlier.

The primary social actors of the article under study are the readers, the partners referred to in their questions, and the “sexpert” (referred to in this article as “Dear Dominika”).

As a social actor, “Dominika” is established as an authority on human sexuality. In this capacity, she establishes a series of social norms. Therefore – in this specific instance of ‘Sex Confidential’ – *FHM* not only mirrors the desires, norms and views of its readers, but attempts to influence them. This effort has potentially positive and negative elements. With regards to the positive element, the article clearly promotes respect for women’s sexual independence. This respect is illustrated in statements such as “if she’s not up for it, don’t push her”. Moreover, the relationship in which sex occurs is acknowledged as a determining factor in the way sexuality should be approached. For example: “Indulging your fantasies is fun, but its best to discuss them with your partner”.

With regards to the negative element, the magazine takes an unambiguous stance toward the possibility of homoerotic desire. Men’s desire for the presence of another male during intercourse is unequivocally depicted as abnormal. Intercourse with more than one woman, however, is normal. This conclusion is supported by a comment made on the contents page: “Dominika counsels an oke who’s interested in the *other* kind of

threesome”. Here it is assumed that the readers of *FHM* will interpret the implicit reference correctly.

Thus, the discourse of *FHM* might represent a niche where certain perspectives are shared. If so, “Dominika” serves to give voice to those views, while simultaneously attempting to promote other elements, such as respect for women’s sexual autonomy. The frequency with which women’s right to freedom is asserted could be interpreted as indicative of the fact that this norm is not shared by all *FHM*’s readers. More likely, however, it represents an attempt by *FHM* to maintain positive public relations. Women’s right to abstain from sex is obviously an extremely sensitive and unavoidable issue in a country where sexual crimes are prevalent. However, such statements were never made in “The *FHM* Advanced Sex Guide”. The difference might be explained by two, interrelated hypotheses.

Firstly, ‘Sex Confidential’ articles are written in response to actual, real-life relationships and problems – at least ostensibly – while ‘Sex technique’ articles are not. As a result, *FHM* is unable to avoid addressing issues which it would normally seek to avoid, such as the prevalence of sexual crimes in South Africa. This possibility is further reinforced by the fact that this example of ‘Sex Confidential’ includes a question by a female reader on vaginismus (a medical condition which causes pain during intercourse). Consequently, the magazine was faced with the challenge of addressing a sexual complication of a medical nature, which had caused problems in a real-life relationship. This question may have obliged “Dominika” to make the statement: “If you’re experiencing a sexual problem, see a doctor before you automatically blame your partner”.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, ‘Sex technique’ articles might employ a more stereotypical discussion of human sexuality – including an avoidance of the complex implications of relationships – in order to increase their entertainment value. Both arguments may account for 1) women’s proposed autonomy, and 2) the degree of respect shown for the relationship in which sex occurs.

Clearly, however, more research is required. In this regard, Fairclough (2003:15) states that: “To assess the causal and ideological effects of texts, one would need to frame textual analysis within, for example, organizational analysis”.

5.5.4 Specific words

In the article under study, references to ‘men’ and ‘women’ are made in the context of individual cases, instead of broad generalisations. The exceptions to this pattern have already been discussed. Therefore, this section will pay specific attention to the lemmas ‘work’, ‘sex’, ‘feel’, and ‘relationship’.

Two references to ‘work’ were made in response to the question on multiple sexual partners. Both references were made in the verb form, during statements which served to establish the magazine’s view on the subject: “Threesomes don’t always work out as one expects” and “Dial it down a notch [...] before working your way toward something less conventional”.

References to ‘sex’ served to support 1) the “rough kind of equality” (Attwood, 2005:87), 2) importance of safe sex, and 3) the diversity of women’s sexuality, mentioned earlier. Examples include: “Sex can be brilliant for both of you” (advice to a female reader who was experiencing sexual difficulties), “pain during sex, is no fun at all – it’s supposed to be a blast for both of you!” (advice to the same female reader), and “Don’t get so caught up [...] that you have unsafe sex” and “some [women] can go years without worrying about sex”. These references support the conclusions made earlier about the potentially positive elements of *FHM*’s approach to female sexuality.

The word ‘feel’ was only used twice. Both references were made in connection with female emotions: “I feel I don’t give him what he wants” and “she says she’d feel silly”. These findings suggest that when emotions are discussed, they are most frequently female emotions. It is possible, therefore, that women’s and not men’s emotions are thought to pose a challenge to sexual relations. This notion is corroborated by the quantitative findings in section 4.1.8.3.

The word ‘relationship’ was used three times. The first concerned a reader’s “sexual relationship” (discussed earlier). The others were part of the magazine’s guidelines for “quickies”: “Keep the intimate details of your relationship [...] private” and “Don’t allow the conflict situations in your relationship to spin out of control”. Both references indicate a degree of respect for romantic relationships that has not been detected before.

Chapter 6: Implications of the findings

6.1 Lifestyle magazines

The research presented in this study suggests that lifestyle magazines confine masculinity and femininity to certain topics and descriptions. They play a significant role in defining the interests/occupations which ‘should’ enjoy a high priority in men and women’s lives – if only by repeatedly exposing readers to underlying assumptions about the nature of gender.

This feature might be supported by a tendency to describe, and even celebrate, life as it is, without indicating larger social arrangements/assumptions which require scrutiny or change. For this specific reason, perhaps, relationships, sex and other subjects are discussed on the basis of contemporary social assumptions - as they are perceived by the editorial staff. Consequently, the origin or social impact of these assumptions is not questioned. Women’s lifestyle magazines, for example, are more oriented toward indicating ways in which the individual can fit into the existing fabric of society.

Although this dissertation cannot speak on behalf of the readers of the respective magazines, it seems possible that they exert a strong influence on current perceptions of ‘the nature of men’ and ‘the nature of women’ - as two fundamentally alien categories.

Whether or not these magazines have a high degree of social power, it seems plausible that they play at least a minor role in gender socialisation.

The analyses also suggest that the magazines under study are sometimes required to alter their overarching ideologies in response to social pressures. For example, *FHM* demonstrates many of the characteristics associated with ‘lad mags’, including a stereotypical approach to sexuality, as evinced in its discourse on sexual techniques. Nevertheless, the advice it provides on personal sexual relationships might be viewed as contradictory. However, it seems conceivable that the magazine’s social context – which unfortunately includes the prevalence of sexual crimes against women – has highlighted the need to place more emphasis on the “rough kind of equality” mentioned by Attwood (2005:87). Consequently, the magazine’s advice emphasises 1) women’s right to abstain from sexual acts/experiments, and 2) respect for the relationship in which sex occurs.

Finally, this study has also illustrated ways in which the gender ideologies of magazines can be uncovered through careful linguistic analyses. The patterns identified in this study have the following implications.

6.2 Cosmopolitan

The findings of this study suggest that *Cosmo* tends to confine descriptions of ‘womanly things’ to: 1) the pursuit of personal happiness, 2) the pursuit and maintenance of heterosexual relationships, 3) health-related issues, 4) personal enjoyment of sex, and 5) celebrity gossip. The following section pays specific attention to *Cosmo*’s approach to ‘Happiness’, relationships and sex, as well as alternative, or ‘Other’ topics.

Firstly, *Cosmo* is significantly focused on advising their readers on how to deal with life and femininity’s challenges. This advice is provided in a ‘problem-solution’ format that concentrates on individual readers. Consequently, ‘women’ are constructed as individuals who are beset by a myriad of social pressures and threats. Femininity is a challenge - and all women are faced with this challenge. To perform it successfully, they must learn to cope. However, despite the proposition that all women share this situation, they are encouraged to do this alone – and in a manner that allows them to fit successfully into the fabric of society. To do this, women should not question the status quo of their society, or band together in an effort to live as they choose (especially when this might entail a criticism of *Cosmo*’s advertisers). Social pressures should be acknowledged and coped with, by adhering to *Cosmo*’s sisterly advice. This depiction might reinforce the stereotype that women are politically inactive and more concerned with the private sphere of their own lives. This avoidance of social criticism might be accounted for by *Cosmo*’s intention to provide entertainment. However, this assertion does not tally with *Cosmo*’s proclivity for providing what seems like altruistic advice from a ‘friend’ who understands and shares the challenges of femininity.

Secondly, *Cosmo*’s ideology is deeply concerned with providing information on the pursuit and maintenance of heterosexual relationships. Relationships are constructed as important enough to influence one’s career and personal happiness. Moreover, these articles construct men and women as so fundamentally different, that women cannot do without some form of advice. Furthermore, the results suggest that women are sometimes

encouraged to use their sexuality in order to alter their male partners, so that he may meet a predetermined standard. This standard is determined by the discourse of *Cosmo*. However, whether or not this specific feature represents a common trend in *Cosmo*'s ideology will have to be established by future analyses.

In addition, *Cosmo* shares *FHM*'s approach to sexual techniques, as indicated in the investigation of "Hand It To Him". These articles encourage women to view sex as a technical affair, in which men are liable to respond in predictable ways. More importantly, however, the importance of mastering these sexual skills is elevated to the status of a 'womanly' pursuit. Femininity is thus associated with an adventurous kind of sexuality. One of the objectives of indulging in this kind of sexuality is the ability to produce orgasms in men. Consequently, an interest in the male physique is advocated for this purpose.

Nevertheless, it should also be noted that, although infrequent, *Cosmopolitan* includes articles which deal with other issues than those described above. It is, therefore, possible that *Cosmo* is slightly more flexible – at least in terms of the scope of its topics - than *FHM*.

It should also be noted that careers play an essential role in determining a woman's quality of life. This is a liberal perspective, and one which may play a significantly positive role in a country where women's career options were once severely limited.

6.3 FHM

The results of this study suggest that *FHM* provides its readers with a niche where men may 'be men'. Being a man implies taking pleasure in sexually explicit images, and other stereotypically male activities and interests. Men are also encouraged to avoid stereotypically feminine interests, such as emotions, health and fitness. Thus: *FHM* provides a discursive platform where 'men' may be sheltered from social pressures such as feminism, the acceptance of homosexuality or stereotypically feminine practices. These characteristics are reflected in underlying semantic, grammatical and lexical patterns.

Like *Cosmo*, *FHM* constructs men and women as two homogenous, yet fundamentally alien categories. This might be explained – in both magazines - by efforts to attract as many readers as possible, by not excluding, or focusing on a specific subgroup.

However, unlike *Cosmo*, *FHM* is less concerned with providing men with the skills required to negotiate masculinity. Instead, *FHM* seems to concentrate on celebrating a particular lifestyle. On the other hand, *FHM* is profoundly concerned with enhancing their readers' sexual performance through instructive articles. This emphasis on divulging secrets and disseminating knowledge may be aimed at equipping readers for a hedonistic lifestyle. As a result, women – and relationships with women – are linguistically constructed as opportunities for the display of men's sexual prowess.

Simultaneously, however, when faced with the reality of sexual relationships, *FHM* emphasises the importance of gaining women's consent before indulging in sexual experiments. Thus, if men wish to view women as opportunities to express their sexual prowess, their partners should be willing participants. In addition, the discourse seems to convey the following message: if a man should choose to maintain a relationship, he should also acknowledge the influence that relationship will have on his sexual desires. This encourages a degree of responsibility and consideration.

Although seemingly contradictory, these findings simply imply that different elements of the magazine's ideology are emphasised at different times. As mentioned earlier, in some articles entertainment value supersedes the practical/real-life implications of sex. Other articles are faced with this reality in a manner that obligates the magazine to address them.

Whatever the case, it is essential to take heed of Fairclough's (2003:14) observation: "we should assume that no analysis of a text can tell us all there is to be said about it". It is, therefore, imperative that future researchers continue to analyse the linguistic manifestations of undoubtedly complex social perspectives on gender. Once again, Fairclough's (2003:14) observations serve as a useful guideline and warning:

“Textual analysis should not be seen as prior to and independent of social analysis and critique”, at the same time however “[t]here is no such thing as an ‘objective’

analysis of a text, if by that we mean an analysis which simply describes what is ‘there’ in the text” (cf. Hardy and Palmer, 1998:4).

Recommendations for future research are presented on the last page of this study. The following chapter discusses the design and implementation of an academic course based on the research reported thus far.

Chapter 7: Implications of the findings for materials design: a module for third-year studies in Applied Linguistics

This chapter provides an outline of the design principles used to compile a module based on the research presented above (the module is included in Appendix B). Information is also presented on the implementation of this module in a third-year course in Applied Linguistics in English, at the University of the Free State. The course was presented by this researcher, during the first semester of 2009.

7.1 Instructional approach

The pedagogic procedures used to design and implement this course were primarily based on 1) the assessment principles of Outcomes-Based Education (OBE), as well as 2) constructivist principles (based on recommendations by Brokensha, 2000 and 2007). By incorporating these two perspectives, the module aims to reflect the contemporary focus on a “more cognitive approach, which no longer treats learners as passive recipients of knowledge” (Brokensha, 2007:65, cf. Collentine, 2000, Conrad and Donaldson, 2004; Kaufman, 2004; Bárcena and Read, 2004).

Furthermore, the constructivist and OBE methods were combined in a critical discourse-analytic approach (CDA). Consequently, the module is based on “Critical Language Awareness”, in the sense that it “draw[s] attention to the ideological bases of discourses as they circulate both in everyday life and within specific texts” (Wallace, 1999:98). The following sections will elaborate on the module’s use of CDA, before discussing the assessment procedures of OBE, as well as the principles of constructivism.

7.2 Discourse analysis

7.2.1 CDA and education

CDA, as mentioned in the researched presented earlier, involves the incorporation of “knowledge of the language system [with] knowledge of the world” (Gardner, 1984:104), as well as the social purposes for which this incorporation may be used (Brokensha, 2007:67). As such, an academic course in CDA allows educators to simultaneously focus on the form and function of linguistic items.

Clark and Ivanić (1999:217) note that CDA allows students to develop the reflective/critical skills required to analyse their own language practices, as well as the practices of others. More specifically, it allows students to develop a critical understanding of the way in which discourses are influenced by the specific context in which they are used/produced (such as the mass media). In this sense, CDA might support the critical outcomes of OBE, which include the development of critical/reflective thinking skills, in autonomous learners (Killen, 2000).

As mentioned earlier, Wallace (1999:99) notes that CDA is severely limited when it becomes an “exegesis [by] the lone armchair critic”. Consequently, care must be taken so that CDA is used - not only as an analytic tool for researchers - but as a means to develop the critical skills that can empower individuals and social groups, “both in educational settings and in everyday life” (Wallace, 1999:99).

In the case of this module, the classroom serves as a community in which this goal may be pursued. Thus - if implemented appropriately - students may be alerted to “the societal influences underlying our behaviours and thoughts” (Thorne, 2000:70).

In summary, the application of CDA in this module aims to alert students to the language practices that are used in media discourses to construct social perceptions of gender. In this manner, critical reflection upon media texts is encouraged. The classroom is viewed as an interpretive community in which this goal may be pursued. Therefore, social interaction is encouraged so that students may express, support and – most importantly - negotiate different views/opinions. Toward this end, constructivism was used (see section 7.4.1.1a).

However, it is essential to note that this kind of thinking does not deliberately set itself against the discourses of institutions like the media (Wallace, 1999:104). Instead, it promotes “a preparedness to question a wide range of orthodoxies embodied in complex and shifting discursive constructs [and] a debate around texts and practices in order to gain some critical distance from our own ideological predispositions” (Wallace, 1999:104).

7.2.2 The application of theory

Furthermore, when using CDA for educational purposes it is imperative to provide students with opportunities for the practical application of theoretical knowledge. Critics of CDA have drawn attention to this point by stating that:

“It [CDA] is part of the substantial move in educational studies to return theory to its station as the identifying narrative of a research community [...] It is, then, in the first instance a formal object of professional analysis rather than a vernacular practice of everyday life” (Macbeth, 2003:247).

In this course, the practical application of theory is manifested in two written assignments with a meta-communicative and communicative focus, respectively. The first encourages students to apply the research tools/analytic concepts to practical/everyday examples of magazine discourse. The latter requires each student to construct his/her own magazine article by applying the linguistic devices/strategies identified earlier (discussed in more detail under section 7.4.1.1b and 7.4.1.1c).

Finally, when encouraging this kind of social interaction and application of theory, it is absolutely imperative to promote “cultural democracy and equity” (Goduka (1998a:49). Practically, this implies a flexible approach that does not simply legitimise those views which conform to the educator’s personal perspectives (cf. Goduka, 1998b).

7.2.3 The research tools

Before turning to the assessment procedures of OBE, it should be mentioned that the research tools - which are explained in the module - are based on the qualitative methodologies employed in the research presented earlier. However, the following alterations were made.

Firstly, existential assumptions were not discussed in the module. As evinced by the results reported earlier, existential assumptions are often manifested in the construction of social actors and propositional assumptions. For this reason, propositional and value assumptions form the main focus of the module. The analysis of social actors was retained. In addition, however, the examination of intertextual rhetoric was added. These

rhetorical devices include the use of irony, rhetorical questions, quotation marks and italics (Kitis & Milapides, 1997:579). “Such devices aid in transforming the discourse into a seductive crypto-argumentation, thus contributing to the overall construction of the text’s ideology” (Kitis & Milapides, 1997:579). In the context of lifestyle magazines, for example, the use of the word *whatever* – cast in italics – may be used to reflect the vernacular used by the magazine’s readers. Thus, a sense of solidarity is reinforced. This level of analysis was added since it alerts students to rhetorical devices which they may be required to use when constructing their own magazine article.

Finally, attention was also drawn to higher-level semantic relations (Fairclough, 2003), as they are manifested in the title and sub-headings of an article. Fairclough (2003:91) states that: “In addition to relatively ‘local’ semantic relations between clauses and sentences, we can identify more ‘global’ or higher-level semantic relations over longer stretches of text”. He goes on to distinguish between “the ‘problem-solution relation [and] the Goal-Achievement relation” (Fairclough, 2003:91). In the module under discussion students were required to: 1) distinguish between a goal-achievement and problem-solution relation, before 2) discussing the contribution of this relation to gender ideology. More specifically, students were encouraged to decide whether an article’s title and sub-headings imply the existence of ‘a problem to be solved’, or ‘a goal to be pursued’. The articles which were analysed in this study served as a point of reference. “Feeling Anxious?” for example, employs a rhetorical question to imply the existence of a problem that must be solved. Thus, the ability to address anxiety – according to the remedies of the article – becomes a ‘womanly’ pursuit. This observation is supported by its subheading: “If fear of not being successful at work doesn’t keep you awake at night, the possibility of impending fashion failure probably will. Lighten up”. Similarly, the “FHM Advanced Sex Guide” implies that masculinity must pursue the goal discussed in the article. The subheading supports this notion by promising to turn the reader into: “the type of man who’ll leave the ladies slackjawed”. Students were alerted to the difference between these two relations, and were required to discuss the way in which ideologies are expressed in them. In the second assignment, students were also required to apply these devices in their own titles and sub-headings.

The next section is dedicated to the assessment procedures of OBE.

7.3 Assessment procedures in OBE

The following section discusses the assessment procedures of OBE as they were applied in this module.

Assessment procedures in OBE “should be directed at achieving definite learning outcomes” (Jacobs, M., 2004:60). Toward this end, the following principles should be borne in mind: 1) all students can succeed – albeit not necessarily with the same strategies - and 2) educational institutions play a crucial role in creating environments which are conducive to effective learning (du Toit and du Toit, 2004:4).

With regards to the second principle, this module was designed to encourage learning through social interaction in a non-threatening environment (discussed in section 7.4.1.1a).

Assessment rubrics and rating scales were also designed to be “valid and reliable”, but also “flexible” (Jacobs, M., 2004:75). Moreover, formal assessment of skills/knowledge was viewed as “integral to learning” (Reddy, 2004:34), which implied the use of continuous assessment. In addition, opportunities for self-assessment were also included. This was done because, according to Marneweck and Rouhani (2000:284-285), it may enhance critical self-reflection, as well as students’ sense of their academic progress and responsibility for continued progress.

Finally, since OBE is also “future-oriented” (van der Horst and McDonald, 1997:13), assessment tasks were aimed at developing skills which students might be required to employ in future occupations (discussed in section 7.4.1.1b).

7.4 Constructivist principles

This section examines the constructivist principles on which the module was based, as well as the way in which they were applied in classroom procedures.

Firstly, as noted by Brokensha (2007:66), “definitions of constructivism in educational contexts vary” (supported by Philips, 1995). Therefore, a narrower conceptualisation of the principles used to compile this module is required. In addition, since constructivist procedures may overtax students (according to Perkins, 1999:8), carefully constructed pedagogic scaffolds are essential (Brokensha, 2007). The following two sections address these issues.

7.4.1 Principles

The constructivist principles used to design this module were based on research by Smith and Ragan (1999), Gulikers, Bastiaens and Martens (2005), Baccardini (2004:1), Bárcena and Read (2004), and Brokensha (2007).

According to the first principle: “Learning is an active process in which meaning is developed on the basis of experience [and] collaborat[ion] with meaning negotiated from multiple perspectives” (Smith and Ragan, 1999:15; cf. Bárcena and Read, 2004).

The second principle states that: “Learning takes place in an authentic learning environment” (Brokensha, 2007:72). Practically, this principle implies that students should be “confronted with learning experiences that stimulate their real life or future professional practice” by creating a context in which they are encouraged to apply knowledge/skills that reflect actual occupations (Gulikers, et al., 2005:510; cf. Bárcena and Read, 2004; and Conttia, 2007:39).

The third principle dictates that: “Knowledge construction takes precedence over knowledge reproduction” (Brokensha, 2007:74). Baccardini (2004) notes that if this principle is neglected learners cannot be expected to develop the skills/knowledge they may be required to use in real life.

In summary, these principles aim to create an environment in which learners are: 1) engaged in a process where meaning is negotiated through social collaboration, 2) encouraged to develop skills which may be used in future occupations, and 3) able to actively construct rather than simply reproduce knowledge.

7.4.1.1 Application of these principles

7.4.1.1a) Principle 1: collaborative interaction

This principle was applied as follows (based on procedures by Brokensha, 2007:71).

During the first stage of instruction (see section 7.5) the learners were systematically introduced to different analytic tools. This goal was pursued in the first fifteen minutes of each fifty-minute session. Thereafter, students were divided into small groups (of between two and four) and encouraged to apply the relevant analytic tool to two articles from the magazine *Cosmopolitan* (“Feeling Anxious?” and “Breaking the Boundaries”). In the remaining time, students were encouraged to discuss their findings with the class.

Thus, learning was facilitated through peer-interactions, which allowed students to function outside the three-turn “initiation [...] reply [...] evaluation” (I-R-E) and “known-information question” sequences (Mehan, 1985:121 and 127).

The aim was to allow for a more flexible classroom discourse by ensuring that instruction was not dominated by ‘known-information questions’ – as advocated by Mehan (1985), White and Lightbown (1984:242), and Candela (1999 and 2005). The potential advantages of these questions are not denied (based on Macbeth, 2003). However, it is suggested that I-R-E sequences should be approached with care, so that students are still encouraged to play an active role in negotiating meaning (Candela, 1999 and 2005). In this regard, collaborative peer-interactions may play a significant role (Maor, 2005, Jacobs, G.M.; 2004, Hellermann, 2005; and Smith, 2006).

Smith (2006) specifically concludes that peer-interactions may optimise learners’ development in the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky’s, 1987, conceptualisation of the difference between unaided learning, and support from a knowledgeable partner). Buzzelli and Johnston (2001:882) also note that students who believe that their contributions are valued can develop “an enhanced sense of their own responsibility to participate effectively”.

7.4.1.1b) Principle 2: authentic learning

This principle was applied by presenting students with authentic samples of magazine discourse. Attention was drawn to the underlying principles which influence media discourse in the specific genre ‘lifestyle magazines’. Thereafter, students were required to apply these principles by compiling a magazine article that conforms to the criteria used in authentic samples.

This reflects an authentic situation in two ways. Firstly, it provides students with the opportunity to apply theoretical knowledge. Secondly, it concentrates on writing skills as they are used by journalists for lifestyle magazines. These skills are viewed as transferable to authentic contexts since many students were completing degrees in Media Studies. In this regard, this course shares three characteristics with the one described in Wallace (1999). Both courses were based on: 1) an “interest in media studies”, 2) an interest in mundane/everyday texts as valid research subjects and 3) the application of

specific research tools, from an Applied Linguistics perspective (Wallace, 1999:99-100). In addition, both courses were influenced by previous designs which focused on analyses of the English media, as a tool for language learning (in the case of this module, see Brokensha, 2000 and 2007).

7.4.1.1c) Principle 3: knowledge construction vs. knowledge reproduction

Maor (2005) notes that, as a pedagogic tool, social interaction is ineffective if it fails to encourage students to actively construct/negotiate meaning. In addition, students should have opportunities to apply their newly constructed/negotiated knowledge. Therefore, it was imperative to design the module in a manner that allows for critical/analytic thinking. For this reason, two of the three formal assessment opportunities were focused on encouraging students to actively construct knowledge.

The first opportunity was provided by the formal semester test. While some of the questions required students to recount theoretical knowledge, learners were also required to analyse a sample of articles. This section of the test required students to find examples of propositional and value assumptions, as well as the manner in which social actors are constructed, before discussing the contribution of these features to gender ideology. A typical example is provided below:

Question 1

- 1.1 Describe five main characteristics of the genre lifestyle magazines. [5]

Question 2

Refer to the excerpt from the article “How To Make A Good Man Great”, and complete the following instructions:

- 2.1 Identify ONE propositional assumption by referring to THREE examples from the text, and then discuss its CONTRIBUTION to gender ideology. [7]

- 2.2 Identify ONE value assumption by referring to TWO examples from the text, and then discuss its CONTRIBUTION to gender ideology. [6]
- 2.3 Discuss the way in which social actors are constructed in the excerpt by referring to TWO examples, before discussing the CONTRIBUTION of this construction to gender ideology. [4]
- 2.4 Identify ONE rhetorical device in the excerpt, and discuss its function in the article. [2]
- 2.5 By referring to the title of the article, a) state whether it is written in a goal-achievement or problem solution formula; then b) motivate your answer and c) discuss its contribution to gender ideology. [3]

The second opportunity was provided by a meta-communicative assignment (based on recommendations by Brokensha, 2007). This assignment required students to apply the analytic/research tools, discussed during the lectures, to a magazine article from a lifestyle magazine of their choice.

Finally, students were also required to apply the knowledge constructed in these two opportunities, in a communicative fashion. The second assignment required students to compile their own magazine article. This combination of meta-communicative and communicative assessment was essential because it allows educators to focus on three areas: 1) the communicative functions of language in a specific genre of media discourse, 2) a set of research tools which can be applied to these media texts, as well as 3) knowledge construction that may be relevant to students' future careers.

7.4.2 Scaffolds

The term 'scaffolding' refers to pedagogic strategies which are used to systematically develop a student's skills. 'Scaffolding' is systematic in the sense that educators assist the development of new skills/competencies, by exposing the student to increasingly

demanding tasks. Thus, one learning activity serves as a stepping stone to the next. More importantly, as the tasks become more demanding, the student's independence increases, until he/she has mastered the knowledge/skills, and can apply them without aid (Wood, Bruner and Ross, 1976 – cited in Love, 2002; cf. McCrown, Driscoll and Roop. 1996:45). This collaborative process is aimed at optimising the student's development in the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1987:86).

Based on the constructivist principles outlined above, the following pedagogic scaffolds were employed in the course for which the module was designed:

- Social interaction: as mentioned earlier, collaborative interaction is encouraged, so that students not only share, but also construct and apply new knowledge.
- Sample answers are provided: based on recommendations by Brokensha (2007), students were provided with a sample answer on each of the research/analytic tools discussed in class (see Appendixes C, D and E).
- Finally, the students were also provided with embedded support devices (ESDs – see Lo and Shu, 2005: 47). ESDs include “glossaries, sample learner responses, questions, illustrations and information about test formats” (Brokensha, 2007:76).

The ESDs employed in this course included:

- 1) performance-enhancing feedback on the test and two written assignments;
- 2) the assessment rubrics and rating scales used to evaluate the assignments;
- 3) suggested researcher steps and critical questions to guide students' thinking;
- 4) self-assessment opportunities (at the end of the first assignment) aimed at encouraging critical self-reflection (see Appendix F),
- 5) careful guidance by facilitators during scheduled consultation hours, as well as
- 6) guidelines for writing magazines articles.

7.5 Schedule

The module was designed to be presented over a fifteen-week period.

Weeks 1 to 7:

During this stage the students would be introduced to: 1) the theoretical grounds on which the module is based, and 2) the application of CDA to lifestyle magazines. Moreover, learners would discuss and apply the relevant research tools in class.

Week 8 to 9:

The eighth week would be devoted to test-preparation and revision. The semester test was scheduled for the ninth week.

Week 10-13:

This stage was set apart for the two written assignments, mentioned earlier. The meta-communicative assignment required students to select an article from a lifestyle magazine of their choice, and to analyse that article by applying the research tools that were dealt with in class (no longer than ten pages). The communicative assignment required students to compile their own magazine article by applying the principles and linguistic strategies that were applied in the previous assignment (no longer than two pages). The facilitators of the course were also available for consultation and guidance on both assignments.

Week 14:

During this week, students received feedback on their assignments, as well as exam preparation.

Week 15:

An aegrotat test was scheduled for this week.

Conclusion

In conclusion: a linguistic analysis – employing both quantitative and qualitative methods – can make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the way lifestyle magazines interpret and reformulate the ‘reality’ of masculinity and femininity. Fairclough states that “language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language” (2003:2).

This study has attempted to illustrate a combination of analytic methods which may be used to investigate the ‘language’ of lifestyle magazines. The results suggest that the gender ideologies of *Cosmo* and *FHM* are linguistically manifested in a pervasive collection of lexical, grammatical and semantic choices. The examination of these choices/patterns might provide a useful framework with which the discourses of other lifestyle magazines can be compared.

Since these choices/patterns are constructed in a specific context, the methods of this study have attempted to follow Fairclough’s (2003:3) recommendation, by acknowledging the influence of the underlying principles of the genre under study. Furthermore, in keeping with the paradigm of qualitative research, the investigation was mainly “hypothesis-generating” in nature (Seliger and Shohamy, 1989: 120). More specifically, hypotheses were made about the prevalence and functions of various patterns.

With regards to the module, this study has attempted to illustrate ways in which research in CDA can be formulated into a useful academic course in Applied Linguistics. The instructional approach has attempted to combine instruction on 1) language as a communicative tool in a specific setting, with 2) the development of research skills, as well as 3) other competencies which students might require in future careers. Toward this end, the study suggests that a combination of OBE and constructivist principles – especially scaffolding – might be particularly effective.

Finally, this study should not be viewed as an outright call to lifestyle magazines to alter their portrayals of gender. There is no certainty that such artificial alternations would achieve their desired aims. Instead, it is the view of this researcher, that analyses of this

nature should encourage a willingness to question media portrayals, and a readiness by the general public to hold the media responsible for these portrayals.

Recommendations for future research

Future studies may investigate the external validity of this study's quantitative and qualitative findings. With regards to the latter, specific attention may be paid to *Cosmo's* approach to relationships, psychology and sex, as well as the differences between 'Sex technique' and 'Sex Confidential' in *FHM*.

Future research may also conduct similar investigations of other lifestyle magazines, such as *Fairlady*, *Marie Claire*, *Cleo*, and *Glamour*. As such, these studies might be able to determine whether the methodology used in this study constitutes an effective model with which the linguistic patterns of different magazines can be compared. More importantly, such studies may indicate areas where the current methodology is in need of improvement.

Researchers may also examine readers' reactions to these representations of gender. In the South African context, specific attention may be paid to the way readers from different cultures and races respond to these ideologies. Such studies may also focus on the manner in which cultures and races are portrayed in titles such as *The Afropolitan*.

Analyses may also focus on the relationship between articles and advertising images. Toward this end, alternative methodologies, which are able to examine the ideological contribution of advertising images, would have to be combined with linguistics analyses.

Finally, future studies may also suggest new ways of designing courses and modules in a way that combines: 1) instruction on language as a communicative tool, 2) the skills required for research in areas like CDA, and 3) the development of skills that students will be required to use in future careers. Alternatively, researchers may investigate the way in which such courses can be designed for first- and second-year students, with the aim of systematically developing the language proficiency and research skills which are required at third-year level and beyond. A simplified course on magazine discourse could, for example, develop students' knowledge of syntax, pragmatics and semantics, in a manner that will prepare them for third-year courses like the one outlined in this study.

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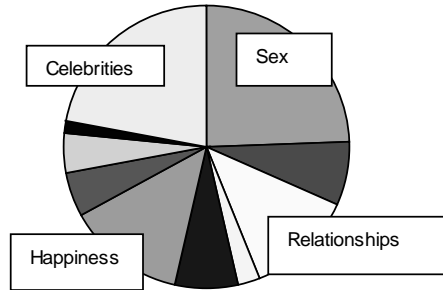
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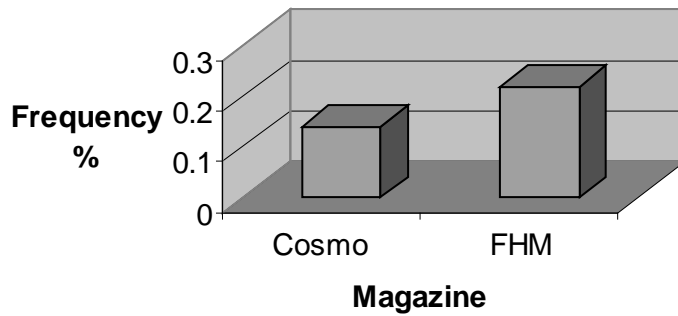
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Appendix A: Bar diagrams and Pie charts

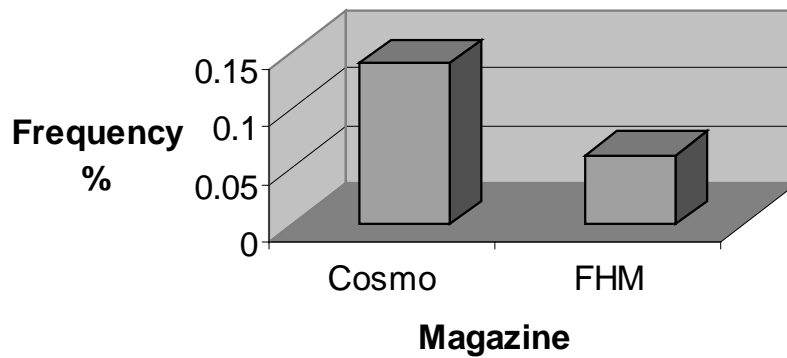
Pie chart 1: Distribution of the lemma 'women' in Cosmo



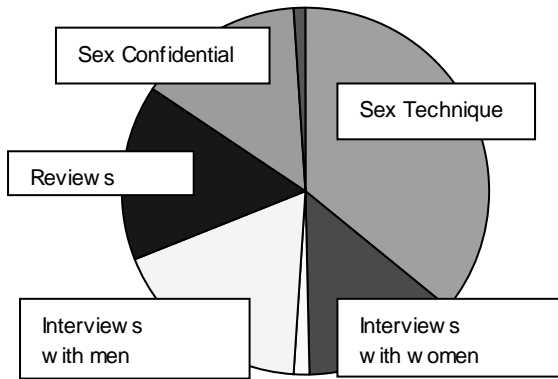
Bar diagram 1: the frequency of the lemma 'sex' in Cosmo and FHM



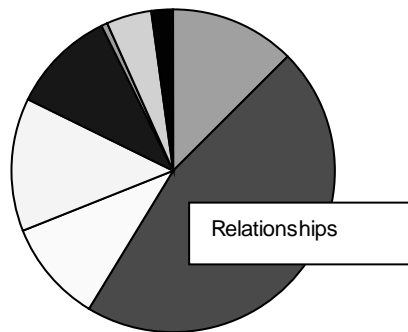
Bar diagram 2: the frequency of the lemma 'relationship' in Cosmo and FHM



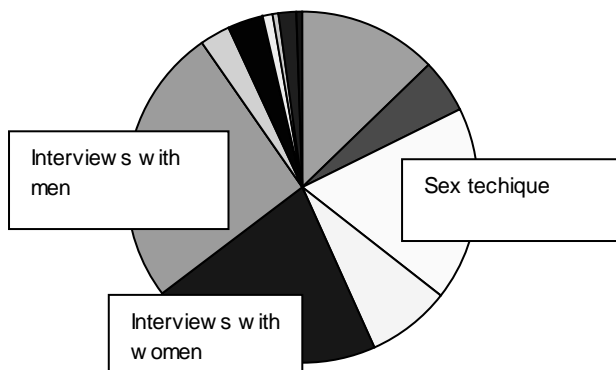
Pie chart 2: Distribution of the lemma 'women' in FHM



Pie chart 3: Distribution of the lemma 'men' in Cosmo



Pie chart 4: Distribution of the lemma 'men' in FHM



FACULTY OF THE HUMANITIES

Department of English and Classical Languages

B.A. (All programmes)

EAL312

2009

NQF level: 7

Credits: 8

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Reg. A19 – Re-admission and checking of a student:

- (a) Except where stipulated otherwise in the faculty calendars, a student is not allowed to register for a module more than twice, except with permission of the dean in consultation with the head of the department concerned.**

EAL312 APPLIED LANGUAGE STUDIES IN ENGLISH: COURSE GUIDE FOR 2009

① Introduction

Greetings, and welcome to EAL312 (an 8-credit module). We trust that you will find the course informative and enjoyable!

? Why EAL312?

In EAL312, we investigate the way language is used to construct gender ideologies in women and men's lifestyle magazines (such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Mary Claire*, and *FHM*).

This course consists of two components: 1) **meta-communicative** and 2) **communicative**. The meta-communicative component aims to enhance your awareness of the way linguistic strategies are used to develop social perceptions of masculinity and femininity (gender ideologies). These linguistic strategies include lexical, grammatical and semantic strategies – which are highlighted in the module. To guide you in this endeavour, extracts have been taken from the following sources:

- Attwood, F.** (2005). 'Tits and ass and porn and fighting': Male heterosexuality in magazines for men. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 8(1): 83-100.
- Benwell, B.** (2004). Ironic Discourse: Evasive Masculinity in Men's Lifestyle Magazines. *Men and Masculinities*. 7(1): 3-21.
- Boni, F.** (2002). Framing Media Masculinities: Men's Lifestyle Magazines and the Biopolitics of the Male Body. *European Journal of Communication*. 17(4): 465-478.
- Braithwaite, B. and Barrell, J.** (1988). *The Business of Women's Magazines*. (Second edition). London: Kogan Page.
- Brokensha, S.I.** (2007). Employing constructivist-based principles in an *Applied Language Studies in English* course with a focus on ideology in the media. *Journal for Language Teaching*. 41(1): 65-80.
- Fairclough, N.** (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Ferguson, M.** (1983). *Forever Feminine: Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
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McCleneghan, J.S. (2003). Selling sex to college females: their attitudes about *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour* magazines. *The Social Science Journal*. 40: 317-325.

MacInnes, J. (2001). *The Crises of Masculinity and the Politics of Identity*. In Whitehead, S.M. and Barrett, J.F. (eds.) *The Masculinities Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press. (pp.311-329).

Moeran, B. (2006). More Than Just a Fashion Magazine. *Current Sociology*. 54(5): 725-744.

Rayner, P., Wall, P., and Kruger, S. (2004). *AS Media Studies: The Essential Introduction*. Second edition. London: Routledge.

The communicative component aims to develop your ability to write magazine articles. Therefore, you will be required to write a magazine article by applying the lexical, grammatical and semantic strategies dealt with during the course, in order to create an ideological stance on femininity and/or masculinity.

Embedded support devices have also been built into the module. The following texts provide some useful guidelines when it comes to writing your own magazine article:

- “Writing for Magazines” (Available at: <http://www.dailywritingtips.com/writing-for-magazines/>). Access date: 20-09-2008.
- “Feature Writing” (Available at: <http://records.viu.ca/~soules/media301/feature.htm>). Access date: 20-09-2008.



Learning Outcomes

On completion of this module, you should be able to:

- **conduct a critical discourse-analytic study of the lexical, grammatical and semantic strategies employed to construct gender ideologies in two articles from the women’s lifestyle magazine *Cosmopolitan*; and**
- **to compile your own magazine article, by applying the linguistic strategies outlined in the module, in order to develop an ideological perspective on femininity and/or masculinity.**

Critical Outcomes

EAL312 will help you to:

1. identify and solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking;
2. work effectively with others as members of a group;
3. organise and manage yourself and your activities responsibly and effectively;
4. collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information;
5. communicate effectively using visual and language skills in the written as well as the spoken mode; and
6. demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation.

Notional Hours

Since EAL312 is an 8-credit module, 80 notional hours must be covered. These notional hours are allocated as follows:

Attending and Participating in Lectures:	10 Hours
Writing Tests:	2 Hours
Self-study:	17 Hours
Completing Assignments:	35 Hours
Troubleshooting (during consultation hours):	16 Hours
TOTAL NUMBER OF NOTIONAL HOURS:	<u>80 Hours</u>

Assessment

In order to successfully complete this module, learners are required to submit two written assignments and to write one semester test.

Two assignments – Continuous evaluation (50 Marks)

Assignment 1:

Marks: 30

Prescribed texts/ Materials: All the required texts have been synthesised and included in the module.

Length: No more than 10 pages (typed)

Instructions: Select one article from a lifestyle magazine of your choice (the definition of an article will be discussed in class). Then, by applying the research tools/analytic concepts discussed in this module, identify the linguistic strategies employed in your article (propositional assumptions, value assumptions, social actors and intertextual rhetoric – your

assignment must address at least one example of all these strategies) and discuss their contribution to the article’s ideology by referencing examples. You are required to complete this assignment in groups of no more than two students.

Assignment 2:

Marks: 20

Prescribed texts/ Materials: “Writing for Magazines” (Available at: <http://www.dailywritingtips.com/writing-for-magazines/>) and “Feature Writing” (Available at: <http://records.viu.ca/~soules/media301/feature.htm>)

Length: No more than 2 pages (typed)

Instructions: Select a topic of your choice, and write a magazine article in which you develop a specific ideological stance on femininity and/or masculinity, by employing the linguistic strategies outlined in this module. This is an individual assignment.

Students will be given ample time in which to complete both assignments. **If you have any questions, please contact the lecturers during their consultations times, in the weeks scheduled for you to work on these assignments.**

The following assessment rubrics will be used to evaluate your assignments:

Assignment 1: discourse-analysis of one magazine article [30 Marks]

Criteria	Mark	Your mark	Comments
1. The theoretical framework, discussed in this module, is applied	/ 5		
2. The analyses of the magazine article is accurate in terms of content	/ 20		
3. The magazine article analysed is included	/ 1		
4. The response is accurate in terms of language and spelling	/ 4		
Plagiarism is evident	A mark of 0%		

Rating scales for assignment 1

Rating scale for criterion 1:	<p>0-1: very few elements of the theoretical framework have been applied</p> <p>2-3: some of the elements of the theoretical framework have been applied</p> <p>4: most of the elements of the theoretical framework have been applied</p> <p>5: all the elements of the theoretical framework have been applied</p>
Rating scale for criterion 2:	<p>0-5: inaccurate application of the theoretical framework: student fails to demonstrate an understanding of the analytic concepts that their application</p> <p>7-6: elementary application: student demonstrates a basic understanding of the analytic concepts and their application; some inaccuracies are evident</p> <p>8-9: moderate achievement: student demonstrates a basic understanding of the analytic concepts and their application; few inaccuracies are evident</p> <p>10-12: adequate achievement: student demonstrates a good understanding of the analytic concepts and their application, with few inaccuracies</p> <p>13-14: substantial achievement: student demonstrates a thorough understanding of the analytic concepts and their application, with very few inaccuracies</p> <p>15: meritorious achievement: student's application of the theoretical framework is accurate, insightful and persuasive, with extremely few inaccuracies</p> <p>16-20: outstanding achievement: the student has mastered the analytic concepts and their application in an outstandingly creative, accurate, insightful and persuasive manner, with no inaccuracies</p>
Rating scale for criterion 4:	<p>0-1: language errors render text incoherent and incomprehensible</p> <p>2: very basic syntax; some errors are evident</p> <p>3: coherent and logical, with few language errors</p> <p>4: extremely few language errors; language use is accurate and persuasive</p>

Assignment 2: writing your own magazine article [20 Marks]

Criteria	Mark	Your mark	Comments
1. Content – Propositional assumptions (with ‘factivity guises’), Value assumptions, Social actors and Rhetorical devices are developed to generate an ideological stance on masculinity and/or femininity	/ 15		
2. The response is accurate in terms of language and spelling	/ 5		
Plagiarism is evident	A mark of 0%		

Rating scales for assignment 2

Rating scale for criterion 1.	<p>0-5: very few elements of the theoretical framework have been applied</p> <p>6-7: some of the elements of the theoretical framework have been applied</p> <p>8-9: most of the elements of the theoretical framework have been applied in a creative and persuasive manner</p> <p>10-11: all the elements of the theoretical framework have been applied in a creative and persuasive manner</p> <p>12-15: student’s response is outstanding; elements of the theoretical framework are integrated in holistic manner that develops a creative and persuasive stance on femininity and/or masculinity</p>
Rating scale for criterion 2.	<p>0-1: language errors render text incoherent and incomprehensible</p> <p>2: very basic syntax; some errors are evident</p> <p>3: coherent and logical, with few language errors</p> <p>4-5: extremely few language errors; language use is accurate and persuasive</p>

Semester test – Summative assessment (50 Marks)

As mentioned earlier, after learners have received feedback on their two written assignments, they are also required to write one semester test. This test will concentrate on the theoretical framework dealt with in lectures. Learners should note the **system of promotion does not apply** to this module. Your semester

mark will be determined by the two written assignments and the semester test (in a ratio of 50:50).

☺ **Lecturers Responsible for the EAL312 Course**

Mr Z.M. Msimanga (Qwaqwa Campus; Tel: 058-7185406) and Mr M.S. Conradie (Bloemfontein Campus; FGG218; Tel: 051-4012275) are the presenters/facilitators of EAL312. Please feel free to contact these lecturers if you have any questions.

🗨️ **Dispute Clause**

If you experience any problems with EAL312, please contact Mr Msimanga or Mr Conradie as soon as possible. If you are not satisfied with the assessment procedures used to evaluate your assignments and test, your queries or complaints must be lodged 7 days after the test has been written. Please do not wait until the semester's end to lodge your queries or complaints.

⊘ **Plagiarism**

Remember that plagiarism is **illegal** and is regarded as a **criminal offence** in terms of the Copyright Act 98 of 1978. Plagiarism involves using someone else's idea or part of his/her work and pretending that it is your own. Plagiarised responses will receive a mark of 0%.

📖 **Prescribed Texts**

The module for EAL 312 forms a self-sufficient unit. Therefore, no textbook has been prescribed for this course.

📅 **Schedule***

Week	Date	Work to be Completed
1	02/02 or 03/02	Welcome / Orientation
2	09/02 or 10/02	Lecture 1
3	16/02 or 17/02	Lecture 2

* Qwaqwa students: Please use the schedule set up by Mr. Msimanga as your test dates and submission dates for assignments may be different.

4	23/02 or 24/02	Lecture 3
5	02/03 or 03/03	Lecture 4
6	09/03 or 10/03	Lecture 5
7	16/03 or 17/03	Lecture 6
8	23/03 or 24/03	
RECESS		
9	This week falls in the vacation period	No class
10	20/04 or 21/04	Semester Test
11	27/04 or 28/04	No class – 28 April: Public Holiday (27 April: <i>Freedom Day</i>)
12	04/05 or 05/05	Semester Test Feedback Brainstorming about Assignment # 1
13	11/05 or 12/05	Submit Assignment 1 Brainstorming about Assignment # 2 and Exam Revision
14	18/05 or 19/05	Submit Assignment 2 Assignment #1 Feedback/Exam revision
15	25/05 or 26/05	Aegrotat Test

Content of Module

The texts that follow appear in the order in which they are dealt with in the course.

Lifestyle magazines

The ideology of Cosmopolitan

Origins of Cosmopolitan

Masculinity in lifestyle magazines

'Lad mags'

Summaries

1. Main characteristics of lifestyle magazines

2. Main characteristics of women's lifestyle magazines

3. Main characteristics of 'lad mags'

Research tools

1. Higher-level semantic relations

2. Underlying assumptions

3. Social actors

4. Intertextual Rhetoric

Suggested steps for analysis

References

Appendixes

“Ideology A set of beliefs that are not challenged or subjected to scrutiny by the people who hold them.” (taken from Ferrante, 2003:292)

What social beliefs do people in your society hold about men and women?

Lifestyle magazines

Lifestyle magazines are produced in a capitalist environment. By implication, their main objective is to generate profits. According to Rayner, Wall and Kruger (2004: 154) this is done by selling “not only advice but also a sense of identity and possibly companionship”. This promotes consumerism by providing “a model on which to base their lives [...] and the goods necessary to accommodate it” (Rayner, et al., 2004:156).

A magazine’s main source of income is its advertisers – not its readers. (Moeran, 2006:727-728 and Rayner, et al., 2004:154-156). Therefore, a magazine must achieve two, interrelated goals. It must: 1) attract readers, and 2) convince various industries that these readers will be receptive to their advertisements. This poses a unique challenge to lifestyle magazines - which is only made worse by the economically tumultuous times of a post-September 11th world (McCleneghan, 2003:317-318).

The ideology of Cosmopolitan

‘Glossy’ magazines like *Cosmopolitan* are presented as experts on the interests of women. In other words, these magazines are ‘in the know’ about what women want. So, if they focus on sex, dieting and fashion, femininity is depicted as something that is primarily concerned with these subjects (Ferguson, 1983).

Furthermore, since the magazine is concerned with presenting a truly ‘female’ perspective on life, all its articles aim to approach their subjects from a distinctly female view. This process of ‘selection’ and ‘reformulation’ is primarily achieved by the editor who operates, to a large extent, on her intuitions about what sells and what will draw advertisers (Ferguson, 1983:10-11 and 185-188).

So, what do these ‘reformulations’ say about femininity? Being a woman is something you have to display, by learning to do “womanly things” frequently and perfectly – often for other women or men’s approval (Ferguson, 1983:7). It is an “art” which every individual born female should learn to enjoy, display, and - most importantly - perfect (Ferguson, 1983:1). Of course, the magazine is the source of what ‘womanly things’ are. In addition, the magazine is every woman’s adviser on the best way to do and perfect ‘womanly things’. In fact, the magazine is presented as a friend who knows ‘what it feels like’ to pursue the perfection of femininity. For this reason, you can never do without the magazine’s advice (Ferguson, 1983:184-185). These characteristics are manifested in the variety of ‘how-to’ and ‘step-by-step’ articles in magazines like *Cosmo*.

Remember that the 'womanly things' discussed in the magazines are mainly aimed at drawing advertisers. So, if the magazine contains a variety of articles on the way women should approach dieting, cosmetics and fashion, this is meant to lure advertisers of these products. As a result, the goal of being 'sexy enough' is presented as a 'womanly thing' - because it will draw advertisers (Ferguson, 1983:184-186).

Furthermore, the magazine's advice on 'womanly things' is directed to all women – as though all women are alike. Therefore, women are depicted as a faceless mass, all of whom are more or less the same (middleclass, fashion-aware and sexually adventurous). However, this is not true for all women's magazines. Magazines like *Ms.* and *Working Woman*, for example, go to great lengths to portray femininity as heterogeneous, diverse, and connected to different societies. What approach do you think are used in *Fair Lady* and *Marie Claire*?

It should also be noted that most of these magazines try to instil a sense of worth and confidence in their readers. For this reason, they usually encourage women to occupy careers which will make them happy. As a result, they may actually empower women. At the same time, the editors hope that women will never become so independent that they no longer need the magazine. For this reason, perhaps, femininity is projected as a 'work in progress' or a life long goal (Ferguson, 1983:191).

Origins of Cosmopolitan

It is interesting to note that *Cosmo's* success is mainly due to the innovations of one woman: Helen Gurley Brown. This woman viewed herself as "the perennial elder sister [...] who could advise girls on how to improve themselves" (Braithwaite and Barrell, 1988:55). She envisioned a magazine that would teach young women how to "attract men, hold down a good job, make the best of herself, and, not least, improve her sex life" (Braithwaite and Barrell, 1988:55).

Masculinity in lifestyle magazines

There are two dominant subcategories of men's lifestyle magazines: "new lad" (or simply 'lad mags') and "new man" magazines (Benwell, 2004:3).

The ideological difference between these two subgenres is vital. The 'new man' represents an attempt to reconcile masculinity with feminism. Examples include *Men's Health* (Boni, 2002:469). The 'new lad' represents a negative reaction to social developments such as the rise of feminism. For this reason, 'lad mags' portray masculinity as something that will not, and does not need to change in reaction to feminism. It emphasises the notion that men and women are fundamentally alien. In this ideology, men should not be pressured to be interested in health, emotions and relationships, because they are stereotypically female interests. New man magazines, on the other hand, find it acceptable to publish articles on these subjects.

Furthermore, the ideology of 'lad mags' are frequent attacked by feminists. MacInnes states that: "What were once male virtues are often now viewed as masculine vices" (MacInnes, 2001:322). 'Lad mags' have responded by using humour – or irony – in order to make their views more acceptable. As a result, when sexist views are expressed, they are discussed in non-serious or ironic terms, as though it were all just a joke. In addition, 'lad mags' also avoid topics which might force them to discuss feminism (Benwell, 2004).

'Lad mags'

Attwood (2005:94) notes that - according to 'lad mags' - men are primarily interested in sex. More importantly, these magazines frame sex as something that does not necessarily happen in marriage, or in long-term and equal relationships. 'Lad mags' justify this obsession by stating that men are naturally inclined to it. *FHM's* slogan reflects this attitude: "It's a Guy Thing". The contents of the magazine are, therefore, portrayed as something that defies explanation by out-groups – such as women or homosexual men.

Furthermore, magazines like *FHM* go to great lengths to avoid anything that might be interpreted as homosexual or stereotypically feminine: such as health and emotions. Therefore, although they do not depict masculinity as a 'work in progress', 'lad mags' are focused on 'manly things' which are fundamentally different from 'womanly things' (Attwood, 2005).

Finally, it is essential to note that 'lad mags' approach sex as something that men are required to perfect. For this reason, they contain many articles on the skills required to do this. Indirectly, therefore, men are portrayed as obsessed with performance-anxiety.

Summaries

(Based on Attwood, 2005, Benwell, 2004, Ferguson, 1983, and Rayner, et al., 2004)

1. Main characteristics of lifestyle magazines

1. Lifestyle magazines are designed to generate profits.
2. Lifestyle magazines must strike a balance between the interests of readers and the ability to draw advertisers.
3. Lifestyle magazines are addressed either to 'all men' or 'all women'.
4. Despite this appearance, the descriptions of men and women are narrowed down to certain topics and interests, such as dieting and cosmetics, or sex and sports.
5. Lifestyle magazines employ a conversational style – aimed at mimicking the talk of friends

2. Main characteristics of women's lifestyle magazines

1. Most women's magazines are depicted as experts on femininity.
2. Most women's magazines focus on providing readers with advice.

3. The magazine is presented as a friend who understands what it is like to be a woman.
4. Being a woman means to learn and perfect 'womanly things'.
5. The magazine is indispensable in this quest for perfection.
6. Therefore, femininity is presented as a work in progress.
7. As a result, most women's magazines are characterised by 'how-to' or 'step-by-step' articles.
8. These articles approach women as though all women were alike (homogenous).
9. Men and women are viewed as fundamentally alien to each other.

3. Main characteristics of 'lad mags'

1. They represent a negative reaction to feminism.
2. Men and women are viewed as fundamentally alien to each other.
3. Masculinity is separated from stereotypically feminine or homosexual interests.
4. 'Lad mags' avoid any topic which might force them to discuss feminism.
5. Masculinity is not approached as a work in progress.
6. Masculinity is portrayed as obsessed with performance-anxiety.
7. Men are approached as a homogenous group with little in-group variety.

Research tools

1. Higher-level semantic relations

"In addition to relatively 'local' semantic relations between clauses and sentences, we can identify more 'global' or higher-level semantic relations over longer stretches of text, or even whole texts. One very common example is the 'problem-solution relation [...] Another important relation is the Goal-Achievement relation" (Fairclough, 2003:91).

Read the article's title, as well as the various subtitles. Do they suggest a problem? If so, the article will probably discuss the nature of this problem, as well as potential solutions.

Alternatively, the article might construct a certain goal that men and/or women are encouraged to pursue. If so, the article will probably include methods or strategies for achieving this goal.

Remember that higher-level semantic relations are often constructed or developed by using underlying assumptions, which are discussed below.

2. Underlying assumptions

"All forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given [...] no form of communication or interaction is conceivable without some such 'common ground'. [...] On the other hand, [it is] the capacity to shape to some significant

degree the nature and content of this 'common ground', which makes implicit assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology" (Fairclough, 2003:55).

- ❖ "Propositional assumptions [are] assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case." (Fairclough, 2003:55) They describe a situation/state of affairs often, but not exclusively, with declarative sentences (interrogatives, for example, may also be used if they presuppose a situation/state of affairs).
- ❖ "Value assumptions [are] assumptions about what is good or desirable." (Fairclough, 2003:55)

With regards to ideology in magazines, propositional assumptions are often expressed as undeniable facts, rather than suggestions. This is achieved by using declarative sentences with unmodified verbs like "will", "is" "are", "be" or "have". By using propositions to state an opinion, or value-judgement, as though it were an undeniable fact, the proposition receives a "factivity guise" (Kitis and Milapides, 1997:565). Factivity guises are sometimes achieved by using modality. In other words, by using modal markers such as "seems", "may" and "appears", the article appears to present "an unbiased representation of the facts" (Kitis and Milapides, 1997:577).

When the article has a 'problem-solution' relation, the propositional assumptions will most likely be used to discuss the nature of the problem. For example, if the problem revolves around relationships, the article will probably contain propositional assumptions with factivity guises, aimed at convincing the reader to believe certain 'facts' about relationships. The 'solutions' might also contain propositional assumptions, especially if they are built on certain opinions/value-judgements which are presented as facts. However, the solutions will also include a variety of value assumptions, because certain outcomes are presented as desirable. For example, if the article has ten tips on new fashion items, being fashionable is presented as desirable.

In the case of 'goal-achievement' relations, propositional assumptions will be used to discuss the nature of the goal and the strategies for achieving it, but the value assumptions will, most likely, be used to present the goal as desirable. For example, being 'ready' and 'sexy enough' for summer might be discussed as a desirable goal, followed by strategies for losing weight or buying the right fashion items.

Critical questions

So, when analysing a magazine article, ask yourself:

- Does it include opinions, or value-judgements, which are stated as facts?
- Does it include statements about things, situations or outcomes that are desirable?
- Remember: whether or not these assumptions are true is not as important, as the way in which they are discussed. In other words: are they presented as a reality for all people?

3. Social actors

When analysing social actors in an article, ask yourself:

- Are the actors expressed with nouns or pronouns?
- If they are expressed with nouns (such as 'men' or 'women') are they described in detail, or simply cast as members of a faceless mass? Are these descriptions used to portray men and women as people who are mostly similar or mostly different?
- If they are expressed as pronouns, are they "backgrounded" (Fairclough, 2003:145) or are they used to establish solidarity? For example, if actors are backgrounded, the article will refer to them infrequently, and often with pronouns which establish them as members of an out-group, such as 'they' or 'them'. However, pronouns can also be used to establish a sense of solidarity between the reader and the magazine, by using inclusive pronouns such as 'we' or 'us'.
- Backgrounding: the actor is mentioned in some places, but the reader is often required to infer the actor's presence.
- Are certain actors "suppressed" – i.e. not mentioned at all (Fairclough, 2003:145)?
- What role do the actors play in the "transactive model" (Kitis and Milapides, 1997:572)?

The transactive model must include: 1) an active agent, 2) an affected participant, and 3) an action that is performed on the affected participant. Sometimes this model is incomplete, in order to express ideology. For example, if the writer wants to disguise the person or group who is responsible for a certain event, the active agent will be 'suppressed'. For example, the article might say: 'people are under pressure'. Who is exerting this pressure? The writer might want to disguise the source of this pressure for ideological reason.

Critical questions

So, when analysing a magazine article, ask yourself:

- Are men doing something to women?
- Are women doing something to men?
- Is some other social force or institution doing something to men and/or women (the boss, the government, the world etc.)?
- Are certain actors backgrounded? – Why?
- Are certain actors suppressed? – Why?

4. Intertextual Rhetoric

"Writers may make use of devices of interpersonal rhetoric (such as irony, quotation marks and rhetorical questions) to "[convey] an argument at the level of the 'unsaid', the level of the underlying coherence of the text. Such devices aid in transforming the discourse into a seductive

crypto-argumentation, thus contributing to the overall construction of the text's ideology" (Kitis & Milapides, 1997:579)." (taken from Brokensha, 2007:69).

In magazine articles, rhetorical devices like quotation marks, rhetorical questions, or italicised words or phrases (to add emphasis) are often used to mimic an everyday conversation between friends. In addition, the article might also use culture-specific references by, for example, describing a situation by comparing it to a movie or television show which – it is assumed – all the readers have watched and enjoyed. *Cosmopolitan's* July 2007 issue, for example, includes an article with tips for changing certain parts of your personality. In the introduction it says, "They're [psychologists] not pretending it's quick or simple, nor radical – our inner Christina Yang isn't miraculously replaced by Izzie Stevens." In this case, characters from the television series *Grey's Anatomy* are used to represent certain aspects of your personality.

Critical questions

So, when analysing a magazine article, ask yourself:

- Are certain rhetorical devices, like those outlined above, used to reinforce the article's ideology?
- How do these devices express the article's ideology?

Suggested steps for analysis

1. Analyse the title of the article: does it suggest a problem-solution or goal-achievement format?
2. Analyse the subtitles to each section. Do they suggest a problem-solution or goal-achievement format?
3. Read the article.
4. Read the article again – making a list of all your suspicions.
5. Investigate your suspicions carefully.
6. Categorise your findings – i.e. look for common patterns:
 - * Does anything connect the propositional assumptions, value assumptions, or social actors?
 - * What do the patterns say about social beliefs which are posed as facts (ideology)?

REMEMBER: your analysis of a magazine article might not necessarily reflect all the patterns identified above. Magazines include many different articles, and some texts may completely contradict the magazine's overall ideology.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Guidelines for writing magazine articles

Extract from "Feature Writing" (Available at:

<http://www.records.viu.ca/~soules/media301/feature.htm>)

Features are not meant to deliver the news firsthand. They do contain elements of news, but their main function is to humanize, to add colour, to educate, to entertain, to illuminate. They often recap major news that was reported in a previous news cycle. Features often:

- Profile people who make the news
- Explain events that move or shape the news
- Analyze what is happening in the world, nation or community
- Teach an audience how to do something
- Suggest better ways to live
- Examine trends
- Entertain.

Hard News and Soft News

A news story can be hard, chronicling as concisely as possible the who, what, where, when, why and how of an event. Or it can be soft, standing back to examine the people, places and things that shape the world, nation or community. Hard news events - such as the death of a famous public figure or the plans of city council to raise taxes - affect many people, and the primary job of the media is to report them as they happen. Soft news, such as the widespread popularity of tattooing among athletes or the resurgence of interest in perennial gardening, is also reported by the media. Feature stories are often written on these soft news events.

There is no firm line between a news story and a feature, particularly in contemporary media when many news stories are "featurized." For instance, the results of an Olympic competition may be hard news: "Canadian diver Anne Montmigny claimed her second medal in synchronized diving today." A featurized story might begin: "As a girl jumping off a log into the stream running behind her house, Anne Montmigny never dreamed she would leap into the spotlight of Olympic diving competition." One approach emphasizes the facts of the event, while the feature displaces the facts to accommodate the human interest of the story. Most news broadcasts or publications combine the two to reach a wider audience.

Types of Features

Personality profiles: A personality profile is written to bring an audience closer to a person in or out of the news. Interviews and observations, as well as creative writing, are used to paint a vivid picture of the person. The CBC's recent profile of Pierre Elliot Trudeau is a classic example of the

genre and makes use of archival film footage, interviews, testimonials, and fair degree of editorializing by the voice-over commentary.

Human interest stories: A human interest story is written to show a subject's oddity or its practical, emotional, or entertainment value.

Trend stories: A trend story examines people, things or organizations that are having an impact on society. Trend stories are popular because people are excited to read or hear about the latest fads.

In-depth stories: Through extensive research and interviews, in-depth stories provide a detailed account well beyond a basic news story or feature.

Backgrounders: A backgrounder - also called an analysis piece - adds meaning to current issues in the news by explaining them further. These articles bring an audience up-to-date, explaining how this country, this organization, this person happens to be where it is now.

Writing and Organizing Feature Stories

Feature writers seldom use the inverted-pyramid form. Instead, they may write a chronology that builds to a climax at the end, a narrative, a first-person article about one of their own experiences or a combination of these. Their stories are held together by a thread, and they often end where the lead started, with a single person or event. Here are the steps typically followed in organizing a feature story:

Choose the theme. The theme is similar to the thesis of a scholarly paper and provides unity and coherence to the piece. It should not be too broad or too narrow. Several factors come into play when choosing a theme: Has the story been done before? Is the story of interest to the audience? Does the story have holding power (emotional appeal)? What makes the story worthy of being reported? The theme answers the question, "So what?"

Write a lead that invites an audience into the story. A summary may not be the best lead for a feature. A lead block of one or two paragraphs often begins a feature. Rather than put the news elements of the story in the lead, the feature writer uses the first two or three paragraphs to set a mood, to arouse readers, to invite them inside. Then the **news peg** or the significance of the story is provided in the third or fourth paragraph, the **nut graph**. Because it explains the reason the story is being written, the nut graph - also called the "so what" graph - is a vital paragraph in

every feature. The nut graph should be high in the story. Do not make readers wait until the 10th or 11th paragraph before telling them what the story is about.

The body provides vital information while it educates, entertains, and emotionally ties an audience to the subject. The ending will wrap up the story and come back to the lead, often with a quotation or a surprising climax. Important components of the body of a feature story are background information, the thread of the story, transition, dialogue, and voice.

Provide vital background information. If appropriate, a paragraph or two of background should be placed high in the story to bring the audience up to date.

Write clear, concise sentences. Sprinkle direct quotations, observations and additional background throughout the story. Paragraphs can be written chronologically or in order of importance.

Use a thread. Connect the beginning, body and conclusion of the story. Because a feature generally runs longer than a news story, it is effective to weave a thread throughout the story, which connects the lead to the body and to the conclusion. This thread can be a single person, an event or a thing, and it usually highlights the theme.

Use transition. Connect paragraphs with transitional words, paraphrases, and direct quotations. Transition is particularly important in a long feature examining several people or events because it is the tool writers use to move subtly from one person or topic to the next. Transition keeps readers from being jarred by the writing.

Use dialogue when possible. Feature writers, like fiction writers, often use dialogue to keep a story moving. Of course, feature writers cannot make up dialogue; they listen for it during the reporting process. Good dialogue is like good observation in a story; it gives readers strong mental images and keeps them attached to the writing and to the story's key players.

Establish a voice. Another key element that holds a feature together is voice, the "signature" or personal style of each writer. Voice is the personality of the writer and can be used to inject colour, tone, and subtle emotional commentary into the story. Voice should be used subtly (unless you're able to make a fetish of it like Hunter S. Thompson!). The blatant intrusion of a distinctive voice into news writing has been called **gonzo journalism** - an irresponsible, if entertaining, trend in contemporary writing according to traditionalists.

Conclude with a quotation or another part of the thread. A feature can trail off like a news story or it can be concluded with a climax. Often, a feature ends where the lead started, with a single person or event.

[Summarized from Bruce Itule & Douglas Anderson, *News Writing and Reporting for Today's Media*, 3rd. Edition, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994.]

Extract from “Writing for Magazines” (Available at: <http://www.dailywritingtips.com/writing-for-magazines/>)

There's more to writing for magazines than getting your name into Cosmopolitan. Thousands of new magazines are launched every year and it's a big market for freelance writers. In fact, it's even bigger now that so many magazines have an online presence. So, how do you go about writing a magazine article that will sell?

What Magazine Articles Do

I admit, I didn't know this when I wrote my first magazine article, but most magazine articles do one of four things. They inform, adding to your knowledge about a subject. They help you to solve a problem. They persuade you about a particular viewpoint. They entertain you. Some articles do more than one of those things at the same time.

How To Structure A Magazine Article

When you're ready to write then you need to think about structure. With magazine articles, you can move beyond the inverted pyramid of news. Instead, you can build to an important point or scatter important points throughout the article.

Tell A Story

The key thing to remember is that you're telling a story to your readers. That means you need a beginning, a middle and an end. It also means you need to think about where you're taking your reader and create a logical path to that end point.

Beginning Your Magazine Article

The first thing you need to do is get people to read your article, so you need to find a way to grab them. When I interview people, I often start the resulting article with a quote or an anecdote from their life. However, you can also set the scene or use anything that will get attention.

The Middle

With most magazine articles, you talk to a person or people. People like reading about other people, so if your interviewee says something good, use a quote rather than reported speech. This makes your magazine article more interesting.

Ending Your Magazine Article

Finally, end with a bang. This could be an important point, a revelation, or another anecdote or quote. The idea is to satisfy your reader and to get that reader interested in your other writing.

Extra Credit

When you research an article, you often have information left over that didn't make it into the main piece. Don't get rid of this. Use it to create a sidebar or table (editors will love this), or as the starting point for another article.

Appendix C: A sample learner response for “Feeling Anxious”

Propositional assumptions

The article assumes that all women are anxious about the same topics. By dividing the article into five sections, the text effectively defines the issues that cause anxiety in women’s lives. This reinforces an ideology in which all women are concerned with the same issues. Furthermore, by rating the importance of each source, the article also defines the degree of anxiety that women, supposedly, feel as a result of that source. As a result, the article constructs the assumption that women experience more anxiety about fashion, their relationships status, and “Chore-Juggling” than “Threat-To-Life Anxiety”. This assumption reinforces the stereotype that are not interested in larger social and political issues.

Support with more examples.

Value assumptions

As illustrated in example 1, the article’s remedy for fashion anxiety suggests that a woman should value looking “as though you know what’s what.” This reinforces the stereotype that women are deeply concerned with their appearance.

Example 1: “Buy several pairs of shoes, boots and one serious bag – they make you look as though you know what’s what.”

Social actors

Women are the primary social actors in this article. As a social group women are mainly described with inclusive pronouns such as “we”, “us” and “our”. This technique is used to construct a sense of solidarity between the reader and magazine. As a result, however, women are also constructed as a homogenous group. In other words, inclusive pronouns are used to construct the social belief that all women are more or less the same and fundamentally different from men.

This ideology is further reinforced by nouns. For example, references such as “modern women” and “the female population” only distinguish between a contemporary generation and their “mothers”. Therefore, all “modern women” are depicted as the same.

Appendix D: A guideline for class discussions of “Feeling Anxious?”

The article “Feeling Anxious?” represents an example of: 1) *Cosmo*’s propensity for giving advice, 2) especially psychological advice, 3) aimed at improving their readers’ quality of life (‘Happiness’ articles). Moreover, “Feeling Anxious?” comes very close to expanding *Cosmo*’s discourse to larger social influences. Furthermore, the article demonstrates the compromise *Cosmo* is required to strike between the interests of readers and advertisers.

The article was taken from the section ‘Features’ and the subsection ‘Need to Know: Cosmo Helps’. Based on this information, there is no reason to suspect that the article will address gender relations, as is inevitable in articles on relationships.

“Feeling Anxious?” discusses a variety of anxiety provoking issues/events in women’s lives. It also rates the importance of each issue, before providing advice. It is important to mention, that this article contains no references to expert opinions. Thus, by selecting one event/issue and omitting another, and by rating one issue as more significant than another, *Cosmo* presents itself as the expert on what ‘women’ are concerned about and how they are affected by it. In this vein, it is interesting to note that “Relationship Anxiety” occupies an important role. The other sources of anxiety are: “Fashion Anxiety”, “Fat Anxiety (AKA Performance Anxiety)”, “Threat-To-Life Anxiety” and “Chore-Juggling Anxiety”.

1. Underlying assumptions

1.1 Propositional assumptions

Two propositional assumptions seem to dominate the article:

- 1) assumptions about the sources of women’s anxiety; and
- 2) assumptions about the increase in women’s anxiety.

As mentioned earlier, this article defines what ‘women’ are concerned about. This is primarily achieved by dividing the discussion into separate sections on each source. Each section contains statements which serve to centre the readers’ attention on the negative influences of that issue on women’s lives. Extract 10, for example, aims to convince the reader that “Fashion Anxiety” affects all women, and that its influence has increased “these days”.

Extract 10: “Whether you’re the sort of person who’s pressed up against the doors of YDE on the morning of its 50%-off sale [...] clothes are anxiety-making stuff these days.”

Moreover, the “Anxiety Rating” provided at the end of each section, contains implicit assumptions about the level of anxiety each source inflicts. The ideological contribution of these assumptions may be summarised as follows. Anxiety among women is primarily caused by issues relating to fashion, relationships, performance, larger social issues such as “crime” and mundane/everyday chores. The degree of anxiety suffered as a result of relationships depends upon whether you are single or not. Although fashion is a strong source of anxiety (5/10), the greatest source is “Chore-Juggling” (“7/10 all the time”). Issues such as “crime” or socio-economic pressures play only a small role: “A low background hum: 3/10”.

“Feeling Anxious?” also contains propositional assumptions about the underlying causes of the increasing severity of women’s anxiety. Firstly, the assumption that more women are suffering from severe anxiety is manifested in the fact that each section contains a paragraph “Why Is It Worse Now?” The content of these paragraphs contain information on the supposed causes of anxiety. As such, “Feeling Anxious?” comes very close to a discussion of the wider social influences which pressure women to conform to the media’s standards. However, as mentioned earlier, this would entail a critique of *Cosmo*’s advertisers. Instead the underlying causes are sought in other quarters.

Extract 11: “Never have there been more choices or more affordable clothes, and never have there been fewer rules – with the result that only the totally switched-on feel 100% anxiety free.”

Extract 12: “It’s down to information – there’s so much bombarding us.”

Extract 13: “Also, it’s normal now to exist happily outside a relationship in a way that wasn’t possible 20 years ago.”

Extract 14: “There’s a burgeoning singles culture, and the rules of behaviour have changed and we don’t know all the new ones.”

Extract 15: “The bar has been raised [existential assumption]. It is no longer good enough to be smart or good-looking [propositional assumption]. You have to be working at both [propositional assumption].”

Extract 16: “Also, modern women are expected to stay at the sharp end of fashion.”

Extract 17: “We are under the impression that being as good as it gets in at least three areas is a minimum requirement.”

As illustrated by these extracts, women’s anxiety is caused by 1) increased access to information, 2) changes in men and women’s dating behaviour, which includes the availability of choices, 3) standards, imposed by an anonymous entity, and 4) the high expectations women impose on themselves. These assumptions are also followed by potential solutions, presented in the article’s list of “Remedies”. When combined, it seems plausible that these assumptions and remedies form part of the “higher-level semantic relation” that Fairclough (2003:91) calls the “problem-solution” format. The question mark in the article’s title “Feeling Anxious?” suggests that this problem is discussed as part of a personal exchange. This may aid the construction of *Cosmo* as the reader’s personal adviser and friend.

1.2 Value assumptions

The value assumptions implicit in “Feeling Anxious?” are most prominently illustrated in the article’s “Remedies”. Interestingly, they are not expressed as suggestions, but as imperatives. They are the following:

Extract 18: “Buy several pairs of shoes, boots and one serious bag – they make you look as though you know what’s what.” – (“Fashion Anxiety”)

Extract 19: “For the first type, get a seaweed body-reducing wrap – the effect will last only days but if you need the boost, it’s worth it. For the second, have a drink. Lighten up.” – (“Fat Anxiety”)

Extract 20: “Be grateful for what you’ve got.” – (“Relationship Anxiety”)

Extract 21: “Stop listening to the news and stop buying vitamin supplements. They only remind you of your tenuous grip on good health.” – (“Threat-To-Life Anxiety”)

Extract 22: “Refuse to get into it. Choose one small thing you intend to get right every day and consider that good going.” - (“Chore-Juggling Anxiety”)

The first remedy indicates that the discourse of *Cosmo* values “look[ing] as though you know what’s what.” Women are encouraged to cope with, rather than to question the status quo – which is, apparently, increasing women’s anxiety. Once again, *Ms.* serves as a useful point of contrast. Extract 19 supports this conclusion. Instead of encouraging women to question, or at the very least ignore, sources of ‘fat anxiety’ - such as the mass media - women are advised to “Lighten up”. In fact, the only solution which appears to support *Cosmo*’s apparently altruistic interest in women’s quality of life is the last one.

It seems plausible that the article’s author knew that any serious debate on how to deal with the issues under discussion would eventually run the risk of criticising *Cosmo*’s advertisers. Fear of flying in the face of feminism should, it may be assumed, not pose a problem to a women’s magazine. Whatever the reason, it appears that although the article is based on a serious discussion of anxiety, its remedies are not meant to be taken as such. The subtitle states: “If fear of not being successful at work doesn’t keep you awake at night, the possibility of impending fashion failure probably will. Lighten up”. All the remedies are built on this light-hearted tone. As such, it seems conceivable that the article has purposely avoided an in-depth discussion of the underlying causes of anxiety in women’s lives – for whatever reason.

2. Social actors

In the article under study, the presence of social actors is almost invariably marked with pronouns. Inclusive pronouns such as “we” and “our” serve to establish a sense of solidarity between *Cosmo* and its readers. The pronoun “you” refers to the individual reader, and is meant to emulate friendly conversation. In this article “you” is the primary social actor.

The noun ‘women’ is only used in “modern women” and implied in “female population” and “girlfriends”. The last reference is used during the introduction to sketch a situation: “It’s Sunday. With any luck, you don’t have a lot to do – and if you do, it’s probably making lunch for more girlfriends than you’d expected.” Although this reference may,

logically, also apply to a man – depending on the interpretation of “girlfriends” – the other two clearly designate the article’s audience. “[M]odern women” is the most specific reference in the entire article. This label applies to all contemporary women, since it is only distinguished from women in “previous generations” and “mothers” (illustrated in extracts 23 and 24).

Extract 23: “In previous generations, a woman used to be accused of letting herself go if she had egg on her cardigan.”

Extract 24: “Also, it’s normal now to exist happily outside a relationship in a way that wasn’t possible 20 years ago.”

Other social actors, however, are “suppress[ed]” (Fairclough, 2003:145). The statement “It’s down to information – there’s so much bombarding us” is a poignant example. The source of anxiety is only traced to a certain extent. Arguably, the mass media – of which *Cosmo* is a part - plays a significant role in this bombardment. This fact, however, is suppressed. This notion can also be observed in “The bar has been raised.”

In this regard, the “transactive model” (Kitis and Milapides, 1997: 570-571) proves useful - especially since it is incomplete. Although ‘women’ are clearly the affected participants or “actors” (Fairclough, 2003:145), the identity of the active agent is suppressed.

Appendix E: A guideline for class discussions of “Break the Boundaries”

This article was taken from the regular section “Features” and the subsection “Psyche”. Based on this information, it does not appear to be overtly gendered. The title, subtitles and introduction suggest that it is constructed as a ‘goal-achievement’ format. For example, the introduction contains the following statement: “To create a life worth jumping out of bed for [goal] read the following questions and fill in your answers [strategies for achieving the goal]”.

The rest of the article, however, discusses self-doubt/low self-esteem in a ‘problem-solution’ format, by providing information on the problem, as well as potential solutions.

1. Underlying assumptions

1.1 Propositional assumptions

Five propositional assumptions seem to dominate the text:

- 1) assumptions about the common nature of self-doubt/low self-esteem;
- 2) assumptions about the source of women’s self-doubt;
- 3) assumptions about the notion that self-doubt is, in fact, easy to deal with;
- 4) assumptions about the consequences of self-doubt; and
- 5) assumptions about the nature of social interaction.

1.1.1 The common nature of self-doubt/low self-esteem:

Extract 1: “When faced with stepping outside our comfort zone, most of us morph from superwoman to wallflower,”

Extract 2: “This lack of confidence keeps us from living life to the full.”

Extract 3: “It might seem as though everyone is loved-up except you – but you’re not alone,”

Extract 4: “It’s natural to be scared of doing something new”
(researcher’s underlining)

It is assumed that self-doubt is a natural phenomenon among women. Thus, women are constructed as emotional and – more importantly – prone to negative emotions. In addition, this construction might serve to interest and draw the magazine’s readers,

especially since it promises to enrich the reader's life ("Break the Boundaries"). Thus, the underlying message is: this is a common, but manageable problem.

The discursive construction of women as people who are prone to negative emotions is reinforced by assumptions about the underlying sources women's self-doubt (discussed below).

1.1.2 The sources of women's self-doubt

Extract 5: "But by changing your thinking, you can downsize your self-doubt,"

Extract 6: "What false truths are you telling yourself?"

Extract 7: Which of your experiences with men have made you think this way?"

Extract 8: "Optimism gives you the confidence to achieve your goals,"

Extract 9: "Then honestly answer this question: Why aren't you doing it?"

Extract 10: "All your limiting beliefs will surface here;"

Extract 11: "Even when you're busy with work and social life, you can feel empty. This can develop into resentment, frustration and low self-esteem."

Extract 12: Here's a secret: worrying about change is more stressful than embracing it,"

Extract 13: "It's normal to avoid saying what you want because you anticipate a bad outcome."

Extract 14: "The thing you fear will happen probably won't – but the truth is you can handle any worst-case scenario."

Extract 15: "Ask yourself: what are the changes of such a scenario happening?"

Extract 16: "Next is coping with the what-ifs. When troubles are whirling in your head, your brain doesn't know what's true or false, so it gives you physiological responses such as stomach cramps and sweaty palms,"

Extract 17: "You should explore your problems rationally..."

Extract 18: "knowing that you have an escape route is bound to make you less anxious."

Extract 19: "Your Attitude To Change"

These extracts are built on the underlying assumption that women's lack of confidence is caused by their own self-limiting affections and cognitions. Consequently, introspection is constructed as the best solution (see extracts 6, 7, 9, 15 and 17). These assumptions

reinforce the notion that women are prone to self-limiting affections and cognitions. Alternative causes for women's low self-esteem are not investigated. Note, however, that extract 7 represents an exception. Here, men – and experiences with men – are constructed as a potentially negative influence on women's confidence. This notion is discussed in greater detail under sections 1.1.5.

1.1.3 Actually, self-doubt is easy to deal with

Extract 20: “But by changing your thinking, you can downsize your self-doubt...”

Extract 21: “To create a life worth jumping out of bed for, read the following questions and fill in your answers on the confidence circle below.”

Extract 22: “Seeing them on paper allows you to question them.”

Extract 23: “If you took one baby step towards doing the job you really wanted to do, what's the worst that could happen? Nothing.”

Extract 24: “The thing you fear will happen probably won't – but the truth is you can handle any worst-case scenario.” (researcher's underlining)

Extract 25: “Once you know what you're dealing with, your survival skills kick in,”

As mentioned earlier, the underlying message of the article seems to be: this is a common problem (predominantly caused by women's self-limiting affections and cognitions), but it is manageable.

The extracts listed above all serve to reinforce the notion that self-doubt is – in fact – easy to deal with. This is linguistically manifested in the ‘easy-step-by-step’ format of the article (extract 21), information on strategies (extracts 22 and 23) as well as reassurances about the reader's inner strength/coping skills (extracts 24 and 25).

1.1.4 The consequences of self-doubt

Extract 26: “Without self-esteem, you're more likely to criticise yourself and the people around you.”

Extract 27: “If you're self-critical, people are more likely to treat you badly.”

Extract 28: “Even when you're busy with work and social life, you can feel empty. This can develop into resentment, frustration and low self-esteem.”

In order to convince the reader that she must heed the article's advice, propositional assumptions (with 'factivity guises') are used to discuss the potential consequences of this phenomenon. Most of these consequences are associated with social impediments. Thus, women are constructed as heavily concerned with their social appearance.

1.1.5 Social interaction

Extract 29: "even the shyest women can learn to relax and talk to men."

Extract 30: "Remember his answers so you can use them later."

Extract 31: "To show him you're interested, stay focused on him,"

Extract 32: "You don't have to put up with behaviour you find unacceptable."

As mentioned earlier, men are constructed as a social out-group who might erode women's confidence. This notion is reinforced in the assumptions listed above.

Extract 29 presupposes that social skill and confidence is required in order to talk to men. Interaction with men is, therefore, constructed as a daunting affair. Extracts 30 and 31 reinforces this notion by suggesting that social skills are required to negotiate the task. Finally, extract 32 presupposes that interactions with men might put women at risk.

1.2 Value assumptions

The following three elements are constructed as desirable:

- 1) the pursuit and maintenance of a relationship;
- 2) the development of coping skills (especially communication skills); and
- 3) the pursuit and maintenance of happiness.

The first assumption is manifested in the following extract:

Extract 33: "How To Meet A Man (And Keep Him)"

This extract constructs the pursuit ("How To Meet") and maintenance ("And Keep") of romantic relationships as desirable for women. In addition, this pursuit is also constructed as a daunting task which might adversely affect women's confidence.

The second assumption is manifested in the following extracts:

Extract 34: “Learn To Communicate”

Extract 35: “Fix It Or Move On”

Extract 36: “Tackle New Job Challenges”

Extract 37: ““If you’re going to a work event, find some industry gossip to share.”

Extract 38: “Before you go to a party, read a newspaper so you’re armed with knowledge of current affairs to discuss.”

These extracts encourage women to develop the necessary coping skills, in order to successfully negotiate life and femininity. A degree of emphasis is placed on the development of communication skills. These assumptions reinforce the notion that social interaction can be intimidating. In response, women should develop a series of coping skills by following the article’s advice.

The third assumption is manifested in the following extracts:

Extract 39: “To create a life worth jumping out of bed for”

Extract 40: “Optimism gives you the confidence to achieve your goals,”

Extract 41: ““There is a big difference between living life and just existing,””

Extract 42: “Boredom is a red flag,”

Finally, happiness is constructed as a desirable goal. The article encourages women to improve the quality of their lives by, for example, reminding them that ““There is a big difference between living life and just existing””. This entails the development of “[o]ptimism” and the avoidance of “[b]oredom”.

2. Social actors

Social actors are primarily expressed through pronouns. Inclusive pronouns are used to construct women as an in-group (see extract 1 and 2). Men, on the other hand, are constructed as a social out-group (in the section “How To Meet A Man (And Keep Him)”). The use of pronouns also reveals that the article’s discourse is directed at the individual reader (see extract 3).

Nouns were primarily used to construct men and women as two fundamentally alien groups. For example: “reconsider your view of men by writing down...” and “which of your experiences with men have made you think this way”. In these examples, men are described as a homogenous group. The same can be said of ‘women’ in the following examples: “most of us morph from superwoman to wallflower” and “even the shyest women can learn to relax and talk to men.” The construction of both genders in homogenous terms reinforces a polarised gender ideology.

Finally, the use of D. Breslin and C. Linden’s advice reinforces the article’s ‘factivity guise’. By incorporating direct quotes from these experts, two texts are effectively superimposed on each other: the two experts’ opinions/advice and the journalist’s narrative. This ‘merge’ is linguistically manifested in the fact that the journalist not only reports, but also expresses value-judgments/personal opinions, which are elaborated on by the experts. For example: “You don’t have to put up with behaviour you find unacceptable [journalist’s narrative]. ‘When you value yourself, you won’t let anyone take that away from you,’ says Breslin” and “Put your life in pictures: when you finish reading COSMO, don’t chuck it in the recycling bin – rip it up [journalist’s narrative]! ‘Use the pictures to make a mood board,’ says Breslin.” For more information on the semantic relations between sentences and phrases, the educator is referred to Fairclough (2003:89). In this module, however, students are not required to discuss these relations.

3. Intertextual Rhetoric

The manner in which expert opinions/advice are used may be viewed as a rhetorical device.

In addition, the article uses rhetorical questions. For example, in the section “Your Love Life, rhetorical questions are used to imply that the reader’s responses are predictable: “They’re all boring? No-one asks you out?” By displaying the ability to predict the reader’s responses, the article (and the experts cited in the text) is depicted as knowledgeable and trustworthy.

Other intertextual devices are also used to reinforce the conversational style of the article. The most poignant example is: “‘Here’s a secret:”.

Appendix F: Self-assessment form on the basis of Assignment 1 (Based on Marneweck and Rouhani, 2000:285)

Aim of the assignment

I have accurately applied the analytic framework outlined in this module /10

Style of the assignment

My work is accurate in terms of language (grammar and spelling) /10

My introduction provides a clear outline of the assignment's topic /10

The findings of my study are reported in a clear, logic and coherent way /10

My conclusion summarises the implications of my findings /10

Total: /50

I have given myself this mark because:

When I look at my assignment I like:

When I look at my work, I am proud of:

I think my assignment can be improved if I:

Appendix G: The articles which were analysed qualitatively

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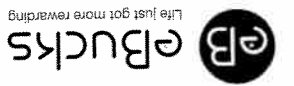
- Get a FNB One Account
- Deposit your monthly salary into this account
- Structure your monthly debit orders
- Leave some money in your account every month

Here's a thought - what if you put your salary directly into your home loan? Surely you'd save a fortune on the interest? And if your home loan was a bank account as well, you'd have the best of both worlds. With a FNB One Account you not only get to pay your home off faster, you also get all the benefits of a cheque account and an overdraft facility. You'd be able to pay less interest on your debt, save a bundle on your bond and pay it off a lot faster. Now that's innovative.

branch near you.

To bank smartly, call us on **0860 FNB ONE** (0860 362 663), go to www.fnb.co.za and use our online calculator to do the math or visit a

*Calculated over the term of the loan on an interest rate of 12% and a monthly net income of R19 000



How can we help you

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FEELING ANXIOUS?

NEED TO KNOW COSMO HELPS

If fear of not being successful at work doesn't keep you awake at night, the possibility of impending fashion failure probably will. Lighten up, says Shane Watson

It's Sunday. With any luck, you don't have a lot to do - and if you do, it's probably making lunch for more girlfriends than you'd expected. So how do you feel at this precise moment? Anywhere from mildly anxious to panicky? Maybe you're conscious of it, or maybe the tension in your jaw and neck, the slight fluttering in your stomach and the dim sense of foreboding are things you are so used to that they no longer register as anything out of the ordinary. Anxiety in 2007 differs from the anxiety of previous decades in one crucial respect: it has become an everyday emotion. Being anxious - to some degree - is the normal waking state for most of us.

There are different grades of anxiety: the anxiety you feel just before throwing a party is not the same as the anxiety you get when the new boss turns up at work. Since there are now so many situations that press our panic button, it makes sense to rate them according to the impact they have on our lives.

FASHION ANXIETY

Whether you're the sort of person who's pressed up against the doors of VDE on the morning of its 50%-off sale or someone who shuts her eyes and prays there's something decent lying at the back of the wardrobe, clothes are



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anxiety-making stuff these days. The female population is horribly well informed and keen, which means we are all under pressure. Don't have the legs for skinny jeans? Bad luck, sweetie. Don't know where to find the right boots? Lo-ser! Never have there been more choices or more affordable clothes, and never have there been fewer rules – with the result that only the totally switched-on feel 100% anxiety-free.

HOW DOES IT MANIFEST ITSELF?

Crazy shopping behaviour, feelings of self-loathing, girl-stalking.

WHY IS IT WORSE NOW?

It's down to information – there's so much bombarding us. Also, modern women are expected to stay at the sharp end of fashion. In previous generations, a woman used to be accused of letting herself go if she had egg on her cardigan. Now that accusation applies to anyone who isn't working footless tights.

ANXIETY RATING

5/10, rising rapidly before parties.

REMEDY

Buy several pairs of shoes, boots and one serious bag – they make you look as though you know what's what.

FAT ANXIETY (AKA PERFORMANCE ANXIETY)

There is fat anxiety, which strikes any of us who put on a couple of kilos or have to expose more of ourselves than we are used to; and then there is 'fat anxiety', which is the blanket term for general feelings of inadequacy and self-loathing. 'Fat anxiety' typically occurs when you a) are around good-looking, stylish, successful or intellectually threatening people, or b) think you are underachieving in any area of your life. So, you might experience 'fat anxiety' before a supertrendy party or, alternatively, because you have no challenging parties on the horizon.

HOW DOES IT MANIFEST ITSELF?

In an acute phase of fat anxiety, you'll find yourself clambering onto a chair to check out your thighs in the mirror three

or four times a day before deciding whether you're fit to go out. When gripped by severe 'fat anxiety', you may refuse to go out at all, on the grounds that you are too boring to be around.

WHY IS IT WORSE NOW?

The bar has been raised. It is no longer good enough to be smart or good-looking. You have to be working at both.

ANXIETY RATING

A permanent 6/10.

REMEDY

For the first type, get a seaweed body-reducing wrap – the effect will last only days but if you need the boost, it's worth it. For the second, have a drink. Lighten up.

RELATIONSHIP ANXIETY

We expect perfect synergy from our relationships – anything less makes us think we are missing out and that makes us fret. Also, it's normal now to exist happily outside a relationship in a way that wasn't possible 20 years ago, and that gives us more choice than our mothers had. (Why not shop around? There could be something better out there....)

HOW DOES IT MANIFEST ITSELF?

Nagging and possibly cheating if you're in a relationship; commitment-phobia if you're not.

WHY IS IT WORSE NOW?

There's a burgeoning singles culture, and the rules of behaviour have changed and we don't know all the new ones. (If he pays the cover charge, should you pay for the drinks?)

ANXIETY RATING

Depends. For Sharon Osbourne it's probably 1/10 and for Brangelina, a constant 9/10.

REMEDY

Be grateful for what you've got.

THREAT-TO-LIFE ANXIETY

Where to begin? We may not be living through a World War but if you want to worry, there are countless life-threatening scenarios to choose from: crime, global warming, tsunamis – and

that's just the catastrophic stuff. Then there are the more mundane, almost inevitable ones: what happens if you have to go into hospital? What happens if your parents have to go into one of those homes? There's a sense that if a tidal wave doesn't get you, then, at the very least, a cellphone-mugger will. Your home is your fortress, and your car your armoured vehicle.

HOW DOES IT MANIFEST ITSELF?

Political apathy, chronic hypochondria and the occasional desire to stock your cupboards with long-life spaghetti.

WHY IS IT WORSE NOW?

These are uncertain times, and the amount of information coming at us doesn't help. On top of this, it seems no-one is sorting any of it out.

ANXIETY RATING

A low background hum: 3/10.

REMEDY

Stop listening to the news and stop buying vitamin supplements. They only remind you of your tenuous grip on good health.

CHORE-JUGGLING ANXIETY

This is the stuff that keeps you awake at night. When must I take my car in for a service? What am I going to wear on Friday evening? That's the layer of practical stuff. Then there are the bigger, life-in-balance issues, which can be roughly summed up as, 'Am I letting myself or everyone down?'

HOW DOES IT MANIFEST ITSELF?

Feeling small in the presence of people who have made life decisions different from yours. Guilt/panic/losing keys/ heavy drinking before the busiest day of your life.

WHY IS IT WORSE NOW?

We are under the impression that being as good as it gets in at least three areas is a minimum requirement.

ANXIETY RATING

7/10, all the time.

REMEDY

Refuse to get into it. Choose one small thing you intend to get right every day and consider that good going. □

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VITAMIN C
VITAMIN E
NATURAL SOY

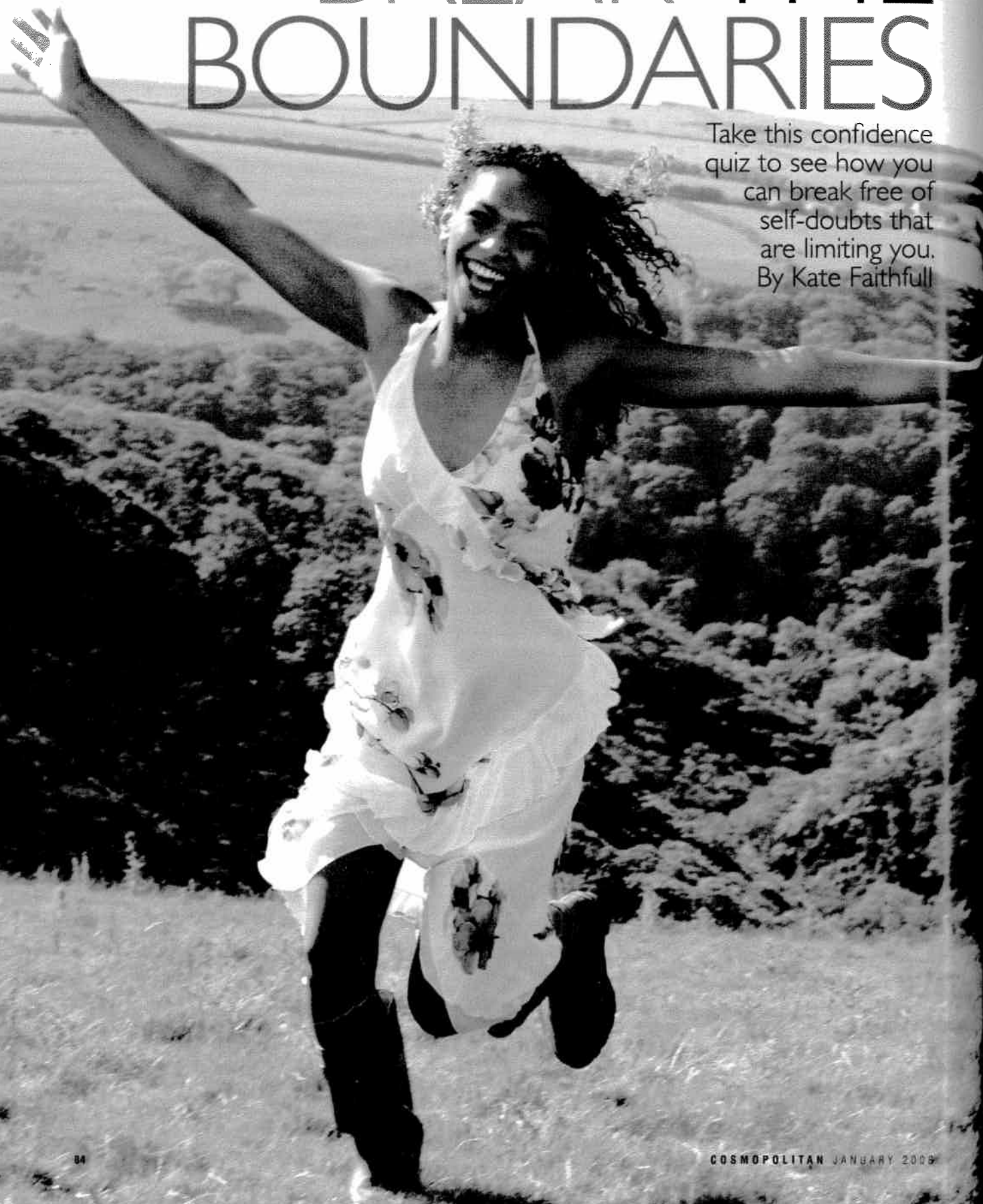
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BREAK THE BOUNDARIES

Take this confidence quiz to see how you can break free of self-doubts that are limiting you. By Kate Faithfull



When faced with stepping outside our comfort zone, most of us morph from

superwoman to wallflower, says UK life coach Dawn Breslin. This lack of confidence keeps us from living life to the full. 'But by changing your thinking, you can downsize your self-doubt,' she says in *Dawn Breslin's Guide To Superconfidence* (Hay House).

To create a life worth jumping out of bed for, read the following questions and fill in your answers on the confidence circle below. Shade in the answers that apply to you – one, two, three or even all four answers – for each question.

A DO YOU FIND IT EASY TO EXPRESS YOURSELF...

- ★ ...in business meetings? (Shade section 2A on the confidence circle below)
- ★ ...in a relationship? (Shade 1A)
- ★ ...with new people? (Shade 4A)
- ★ ...when you have an entire weekend to yourself? (Shade 3A)

B WHAT MAKES YOU FEEL SECURE?

- ★ Banter with your boyfriend. (Shade 1B)
- ★ When you've finished a work project you know your boss will love. (Shade 2B)
- ★ Being at home. (Shade 3B)
- ★ When you're trying something new such as a restaurant or hobby. (Shade 4B)

C WHEN DID YOU LAST LAUGH SO HARD YOUR STOMACH HURT?

- ★ On a spontaneous night out, or on a date with your boyfriend. (Shade 1C)
- ★ When you received an unexpected surprise. (Shade 4C)
- ★ At one of your own jokes. (Shade 3C)

- ★ While telling your workmates about the embarrassing aftermath of a wine-fuelled night out. (Shade 2C)

D WHEN HAS YOUR INTUITION HELPED YOU MAKE A DIFFICULT DECISION?

- ★ You accepted a new job and left one that wasn't right for you. (Shade 2D)
- ★ You did something that may have upset others but was definitely the best thing for you. (Shade 3D)
- ★ You did a completely reckless thing that your friends thought you were mad to try. (Shade 4D)
- ★ You relied on it to work out whether a man was truly right for you. (Shade 1D)

E WHEN YOU MEET NEW PEOPLE, WHAT'S THE FIRST THING YOU REVEAL TO THEM ABOUT YOURSELF?

- ★ Your relationship status. (Shade 1E)
- ★ Something unusual that happened to you that day. (Shade 4E)
- ★ What you do for a living. (Shade 2E)
- ★ Your dreams of going travelling or fulfilling a long-term goal. (Shade 3E)

SECTION 1 YOUR LOVE LIFE

'It might seem as though everyone is loved-up except you – but you're not alone,' Breslin says. 'First, reconsider your view of men by writing down the first thoughts that come into your head about them: They're all boring? No-one asks you out? Ask an honest friend what she thinks. What false truths are you telling yourself? Which of your experiences with men have made you think this way? Without self-esteem, you're more likely to criticise yourself and the people around you. It's time to stop focusing on what might go wrong and imagine what can go right.'

HOW TO MEET A MAN (AND KEEP HIM)

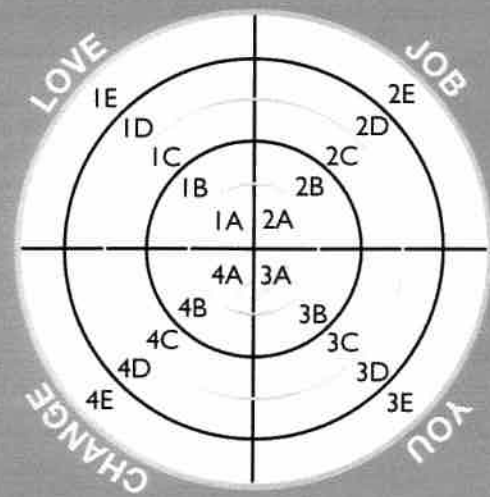
Charles Linden, a UK anxiety expert and the originator of the confidence programme The Linden Method, says even the shyest women can learn to relax and talk to men. 'Ask about his job, where he's from and what he did last weekend,' he says. 'You're likely to share common ground in those fields, however slight. Remember his answers so you can use them later.'

To show him you're interested, stay focused on him, instead of looking around. It'll be easier to keep the conversation flowing and avoid any uncomfortable silences. ▶

YOUR CONFIDENCE CIRCLE

Now, look at the diagram. Which sections have three or more areas that are unshaded?

Read on for advice on these sections, to help you develop confidence in areas where you would most benefit from it.



PSYCHE

LEARN TO COMMUNICATE

You don't have to put up with behaviour you find unacceptable. 'When you value yourself, you won't let anyone take that away from you,' says Breslin. 'If you're self-critical, people are more likely to treat you badly.'

'Sure, love is a partnership but it's empowering for you to do your share,' she says. 'Ask him what relationship changes *he'd* like to make. Listen without interrupting for five minutes, then it's *your* turn. Once you both know what you want and need, you'll minimise vague fears such as, "He's not into commitment". Being clear about where you stand gives you confidence.'

SECTION 2 YOUR CAREER

'If you feel your boss is not letting you tap into your full potential, it can damage your self-esteem and frustrate you,' says Breslin. 'But you can turn this into new possibilities. Optimism gives you the confidence to achieve your goals, so ask yourself what career you'd love. Then honestly answer this question: Why aren't you doing it? All your limiting beliefs will surface here: maybe you don't have the experience, you don't know where to begin, or there aren't any jobs available.'

Breslin suggests writing down these limiting thoughts, because seeing them on paper allows you to question them. 'If you took one baby step towards doing the job you really wanted to do, what's the worst that could happen? Nothing,' she says. 'Take that tiny step – find out about a training course, do work experience, research the industry online. Now take another step – it'll lead to the next, and soon you'll be flying.'

FIX IT OR MOVE ON

Make the effort to fix what's wrong with your job before resigning, or you might just take those issues with you. 'Why did you apply for the job originally?' says Breslin. 'If those reasons don't exist any more – for instance, maybe your job description has changed – discuss it with your boss. If that isn't helpful, jot down a description of your dream job:

the position, the opportunities, your tasks, the industry and so on. If the job you're doing now has less than 50% of these elements, it's time to change.'

TACKLE NEW JOB CHALLENGES

Jitters can in fact help your performance. Being anxious to show how much you want that new job, or to do well on a

'RECHARGING YOUR CREATIVE BATTERIES CAN PROVE TO YOU THAT LIFE IS WORTH LIVING'

project, is far better than looking as though you're so laid-back you're not bothered. 'The trick is not to waste your nerves on unnecessary things,' says Linden. 'Focus on what you can control. If you have a job interview, for example, do a trial run to the office where it'll be held, so you won't worry about getting lost and being late. Prepare your answers to questions such as, "Why do you want this job?" Then you can concentrate on the stressful parts – the tricky questions – without panicking.'

SECTION 3 YOURSELF

'There's a big difference between living life and just existing,' says Breslin. 'Boredom is a red flag, warning you to take action. Even when you're busy with your work and social life, you can feel empty. This can develop into resentment, frustration and low self-esteem. Recharging your creative batteries can prove to you that life is worth living.'

Put your life in pictures: when you finish reading COSMO, don't chuck it in the recycling bin – rip it up! 'Use the pictures to make a mood board,' says Breslin. 'Add shots of women laughing, powerful women getting things done, even pics of bags and shoes you like, then add a few hot guys. It helps you to crystallise your creative thoughts and think about things in a whole new way.'

Need inspiration? Feeling stuck in a rut is confidence-sapping. 'Give yourself

a boost by trying something outside your normal routine,' suggests Breslin. 'Instead of hitting the pub, grab some wine and food for a picnic with friends. It's natural to be scared of doing something new that requires courage, such as rock climbing, because you won't be perfect the first time. But no-one ever mastered anything in a day. In fact, the worse you are, the more opportunity you have to improve.'

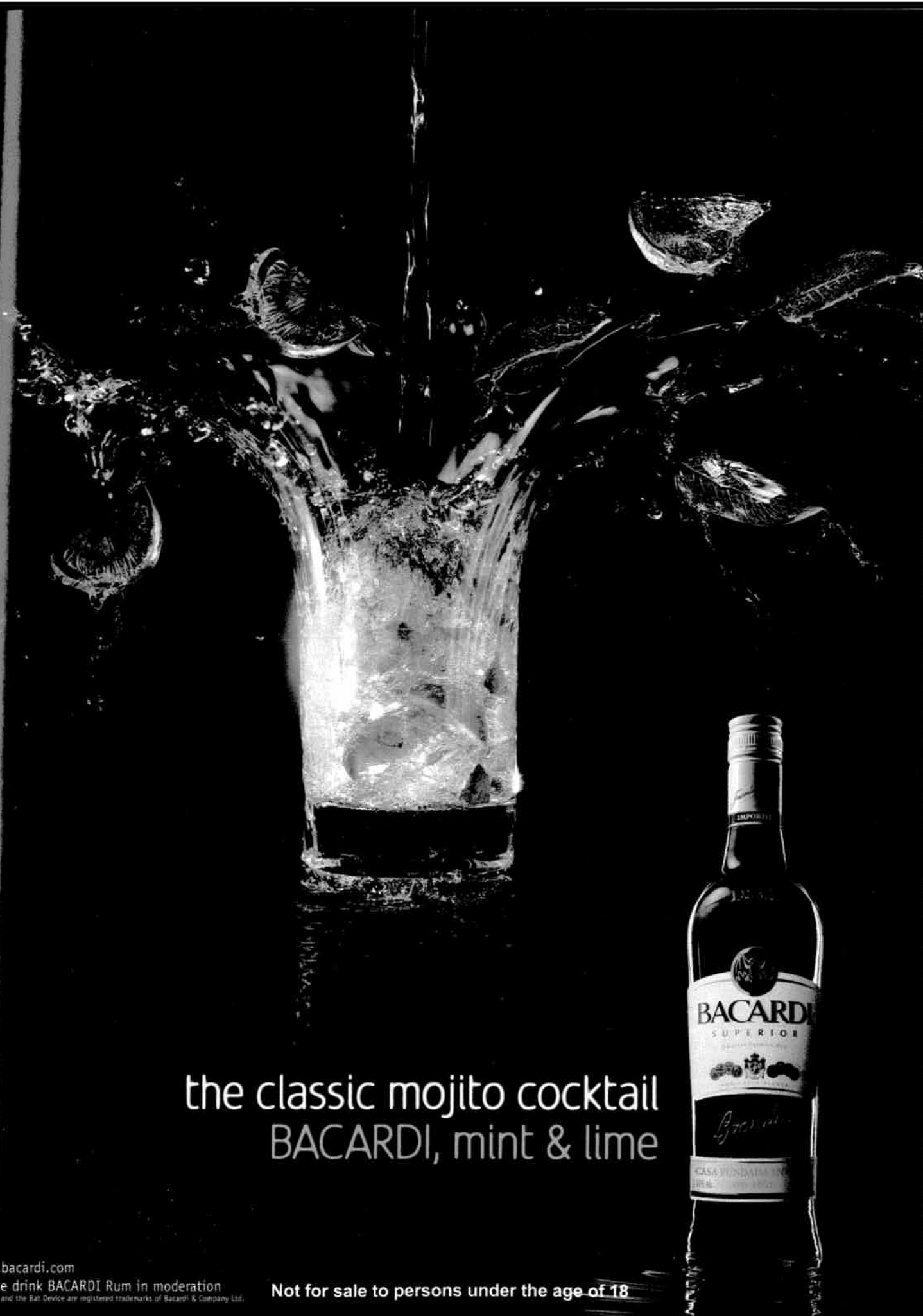
SECTION 4 YOUR ATTITUDE TO CHANGE

'Here's a secret: worrying about change is more stressful than embracing it,' says Breslin. 'It's normal to avoid saying what you want because you anticipate a bad outcome. The thing you fear will happen probably won't – but the truth is you can handle any worst-case scenario. Ask yourself: what are the chances of such a scenario happening?' List one simple thing you can do. Imagine you spoke the truth about a work issue – if you were sacked, you'd be free to get a new job. 'Once you know what you're dealing with, your survival skills kick in,' she says.

Next is coping with the what-ifs. 'When troubles are whirling in your head, your brain doesn't know what's true or false, so it gives you physiological responses such as stomach cramps and sweaty palms,' says Breslin. 'You should explore your problem rationally without feeling physical distress too. Write it down. Once you see it on paper, you should feel more positive and in control.'

What about a new social situation? Linden suggests you reduce the stress of making small talk with people you hardly know by doing some research. 'If you're going to a work event, find some industry gossip to share. Before you go to a party, read a newspaper so you're armed with knowledge of current affairs to discuss. It'll take the focus off you and you'll relax,' he says. 'Speak to people one-on-one; it's easier than addressing a big group. Remember that others might be nervous too. Circulate by offering to get more drinks – knowing that you have an escape route is bound to make you less anxious.' □

PHOTOGRAPHY: GREAT STOCK/COBIS



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HOW TO MAKE A GOOD MAN GREAT

You don't want your man to be an average Joe and, most likely, he doesn't want to be one either. But you can't just send him on a self-help crash course. You have to be subtle – and sometimes you have to change a bit, too. By Rick Crosier

Any girl who's been in a long-term relationship knows that the average straight guy hates change. While women are dynamic and get excited about trying new things – fashion, hairstyles, cellphones – men are boring and take comfort in the regular.

From his friends to his favourite drink and his clothes, a man likes to stick with what he knows. He'll choose his slacker, cheapskate mate who he went to prep school with over a presentable-looking NBF any day. And why drink wine when beer's been doing the trick since he was 15? This is one of the defining differences between the sexes – one that leads to the eternal argument:

Dynamic, fashionable girlfriend: 'I threw away your old underpants and bought you some new Calvin Kleins.'

Simple, loyal boyfriend: 'Noooo! Not my favourite boxers! Why are you always trying to change me?'

An exaggeration? Maybe. But you've probably been there.

The paradox, for men, comes from the realisation that we also don't want to be boring average Joes – which can easily happen if we're not very careful. It's so easy to fall into the clichéd ruts of everyday life. So, bearing in mind that men loathe trying new things but, deep down, we all want to stand out from the crowd, how do you go about improving your guy so he can reach his potential? Very simply, you need a three-point strategy:

- ★ Appeal to his masculine sense of logic.
- ★ Appeal to his sense of humour.
- ★ Don't make a big thing about it.

In fact, if he doesn't know he's changing anything, so much the better.

MALE ADVICE #1: DON'T BE IN FASHION ... BE IN STYLE

Straight men usually suffer from one of two principal fashion afflictions: either they are happy walking around in their old chinos and torn T-shirts, looking like hobos, or they try too hard, buy all the latest designer gear and end up as fashion victims. The challenge for you is to find the middle ground.

Contrary to the belief of some people, we men *do* actually want to look decent – but we generally don't know where to start. And shopping is such a damn mission! So take it in baby steps. Identify one or two items your man needs – no more than that, otherwise he'll think you're giving him a makeover (which he'll think is bad) – and tell him you want to treat him for Christmas or his birthday. Scout around on your own first, then go with him (preferably to one shop only) and get him to try on some things.

Make sure he has some input, because it's important that he genuinely likes what you're getting him. Remember that women can get away with 'doing fashion' far more easily than men, so help him find something classic and enduring. Then head home. Do *not* overdo it! You can add another item or two at a later stage – and after a while he'll start trusting your judgment and appreciating that he looks more stylish.

To get him to take real pride in his appearance, steer him away from the chinos-and-blue-shirt look and get him to invest in a good suit. Appeal to some debonair icons, such as James

Bond, Frank Sinatra and George Clooney. Once he's had some decent tailoring, he won't look back.

MALE ADVICE #2: DON'T BE A PRUDE ... BONE UP ON SEX

Every man likes to think of himself as the ultimate lover but deep down he wonders whether he really is one. Most men (and women) could do with a few more tricks up their sleeves – and down their pants. So how do you ask your man to upgrade his bedroom skills without spiking his fragile ego?

The trick is to get him to realise that his goal should be to please you (just as yours is to please him) and not to please himself or enhance his reputation. The logic is straightforward – by focusing on your pleasure he will ultimately receive more pleasure from you (and an enhanced reputation when you tell all your friends about his skills) – but it's difficult to get that across to him without sounding critical. So make a game of it. Get him to focus on your pleasure by offering him incentives in return. Tell him you want a romantic night of lovemaking. Get him to list his fantasies, on a scale of one to five, and say you will choose one to do with him depending on how many orgasms you have that night. Or, even simpler: for every hour he pampers you, he gets a blow job the next day. He'll soon get the picture. For him to reap the rewards, he has to upgrade his skills. And to do so, he has to start asking you all the necessary questions and investing in sex manuals. Next thing you know, you'll have an expert on your hands.

MALE ADVICE #3: DON'T SCORN DANCING ... GET ON YOUR FEET, MAN!

Men loathe dancing. It's embarrassing and challenging, and you can't hold your drink at the same time. Many of us only dance when we're under the influence, because things are different then: nothing is embarrassing, you can *do anything* and your beer bottle fits nicely between your teeth if necessary. But drunk dancers are as bad as self-conscious sober dancers.

How do you get your man to join you on the dance floor while he still has the motor skills to hold your hands? The solution combines some gentle goading with comforting female reassurance. Tell him you can judge a man's bedroom ability by his dancing skills – and that you'd be happy to show him a thing or two. There's lots of sexual innuendo there, which is sure to pique his interest. And the truth is, men loathe dancing only when they don't know how to do it. If you can teach him a couple of moves, he'll be happy to show them off.

Men may write off guys who dance as girly but (secretly) they would all love to be able to move like Christopher Walken and impress your pants off.

MALE ADVICE #4: DON'T ARGUE ... DEBATE

Do you hate arguing with your man? It's no fun when *you* can't find the words to express exactly how you're feeling and *he's* so stubborn he's not even trying to understand what you're saying, especially if he believes his argument is rational and 100% watertight, while yours is 'silly and emotional'. ▶

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MEN

These days, arguing – whether it's between couples, friends or governments – appears to be no different from quarrelling. Neither party listens, there is no satisfactory resolution and it's infuriating for both sides. To break this cycle, both you and your man need to change your attitudes towards arguing. You must recognise that with most arguments – including yours – there are usually reasonable points on both sides. Rather than argue, the two parties involved need to meet halfway and have a *debate*.

Guys can be hard-headed and less open to compromise than women, and should be made aware of this outside of the heat of conflict. Sit down with your man in a quiet moment and tell him you *both* need to become better debaters. Appeal to his sense of logic by telling him that the way you argue is destructive. Read him this line if necessary: 'Refusing to debate is a sign of limited intellectual capacity and an even more limited personality.' That should get his attention. But try keeping it light-hearted – give each other 'arguing names', for example, such as Israel and Palestine, or John Cleese and Michael Palin (after the famous Monty Python 'argument' sketch). Then, when either of you finds yourself in a situation where the other is not listening, you can simply say, 'You're not listening to me, John Cleese!'

MALE ADVICE #5: DON'T WATCH PORN ... WATCH EROTICA

Guys love porn. They like to look, simple as that. But what they'd really like to do is look with *you*. There's no better ending (or middle) for an X-rated movie than some X-rated action on the couch. Or on the floor. Or against the wall. And this is how to convince him to watch something more up your street. Rather some soft-core viewing that you approve of, followed by hot real-life sex, than degrading hard-core stuff he ends up watching on his own.

If you don't know where to start, try the erotica classics *Two Moon Junction* and *Nine 1/2 Weeks*. Rent one next time you're getting the Saturday-night DVDs, then surprise him after you've finished with the main movie. Alternatively, tell him you want to go together to choose something a bit raunchy. The experience of going out and choosing the movie – even if it turns out to be an ETV special – will be a thrill in itself.

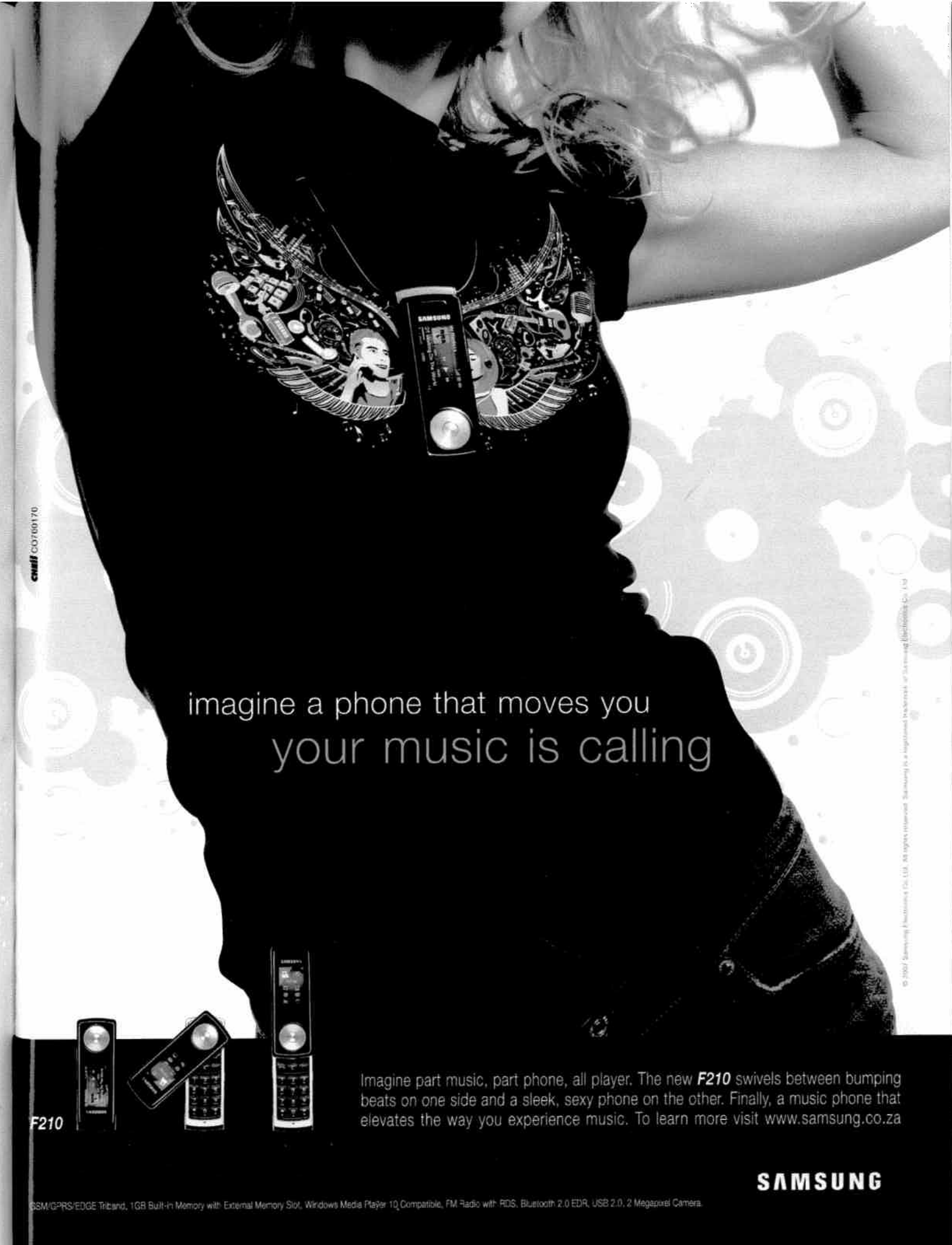
The possibilities from there are golden. Maybe you'll want to try something kinkier next time – something more graphic but directed by a woman, for example (such as a Candida Royalle film). Or the two of you might really get into it and end up having a 'porn night' once a month.

This is very straightforward thinking that any guy will understand and ultimately thank you for. Permission to watch dirty movies and to get lucky – what's not to like? □

SOURCE: Adapted from *Don't Be A Small Man, Be The Big Guy!* by Rick Crosier (R100). For more info, visit www.twodogs.co.za.



PHOTOGRAPHY: GALEO IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

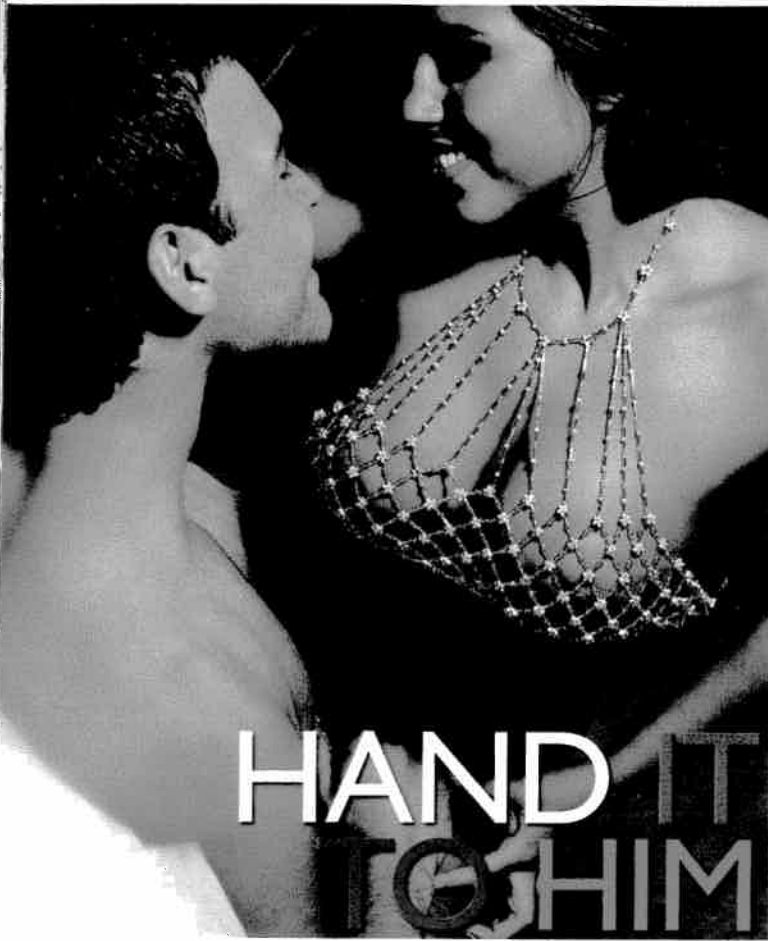


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The power is in your palms with these touch tips to make him tingle

Yes, oral action is high on the list of tantalising tactics but many women overlook the stimulating capabilities of their hands. 'Different parts enable you to give your guy various kinds of pleasure,' says sex therapist Roz van Meter, author of *Put Your Big Girl Panties On And Deal With It* (Sourcebooks). These feel-him-up moves will make sure you have him in the palm of your hand.

TEASE HIM INTO A FRENZY

With your fingers, gently graze his skin from his shoulders to his stomach in a zigzag pattern. As you move further down, a tingling sensation will shoot straight to his genitals. Once you get to his abs, shorten your strokes and move your fingers between his bellybutton and lower pelvis. This increases the blood flow to his abdomen – resulting in a more intense erection.

TWIST FOR HOT FRICTION

Try this easy move during manual stimulation: wrap your fingers around his penis, one hand above the other as though you were holding a hockey stick, and work them up and down in sync. (Lubricant will make for a smoother stroke.) As you're pumping, twist your hands in opposite directions. He won't

expect the alternating movements and his whole body will reverberate from the combined sensations.

ADD PULSING PLEASURE

While most hand action focuses on a sliding motion, you can give him a jolt of pleasure using a grip. As you move one hand up and down the shaft, cup the palm of your other hand over the head of his penis, gliding it clockwise, then counterclockwise. His penis head is full of nerve endings, so the pressure of your palm will take him over the edge.

TOUCH HIM IN TWO PLACES

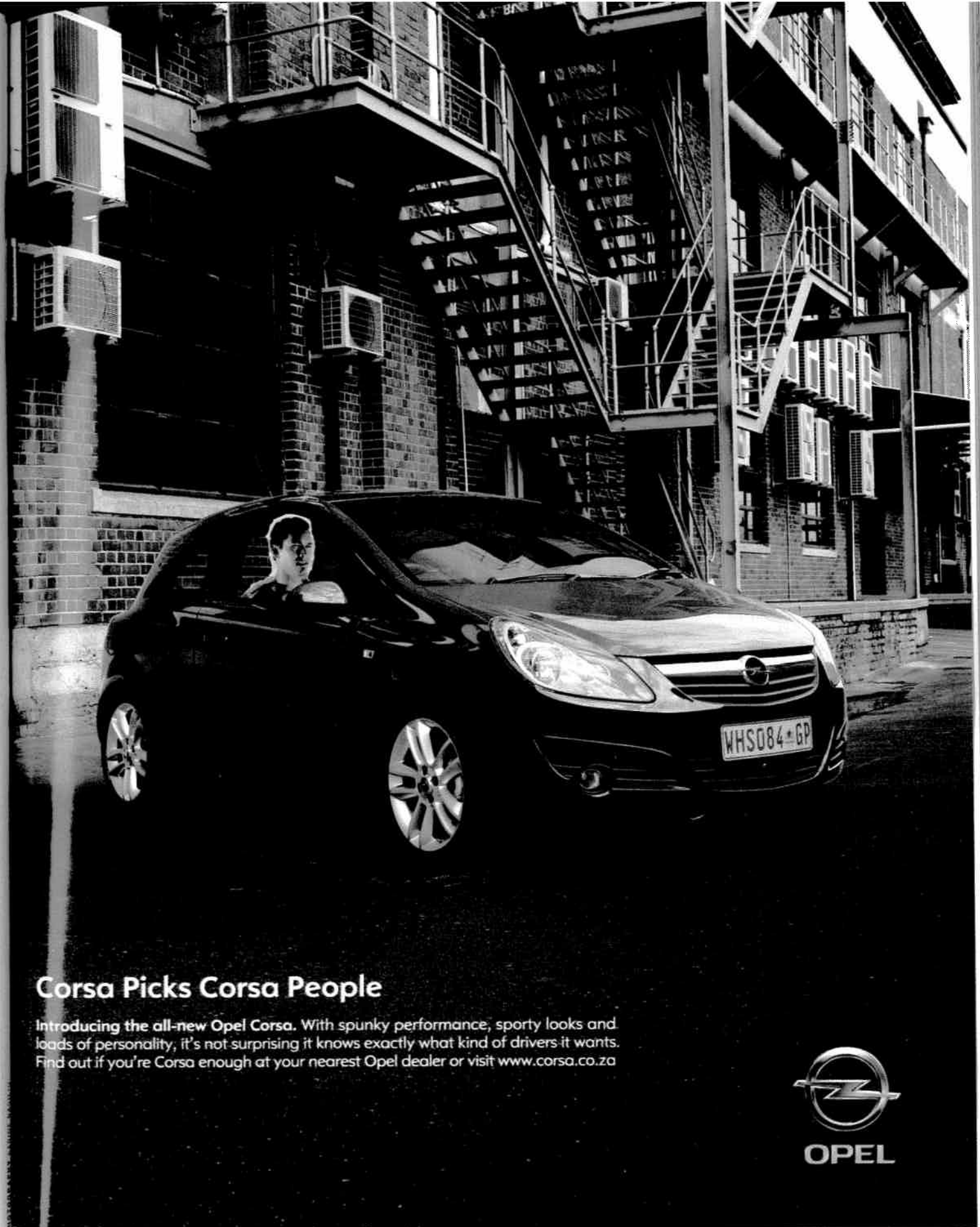
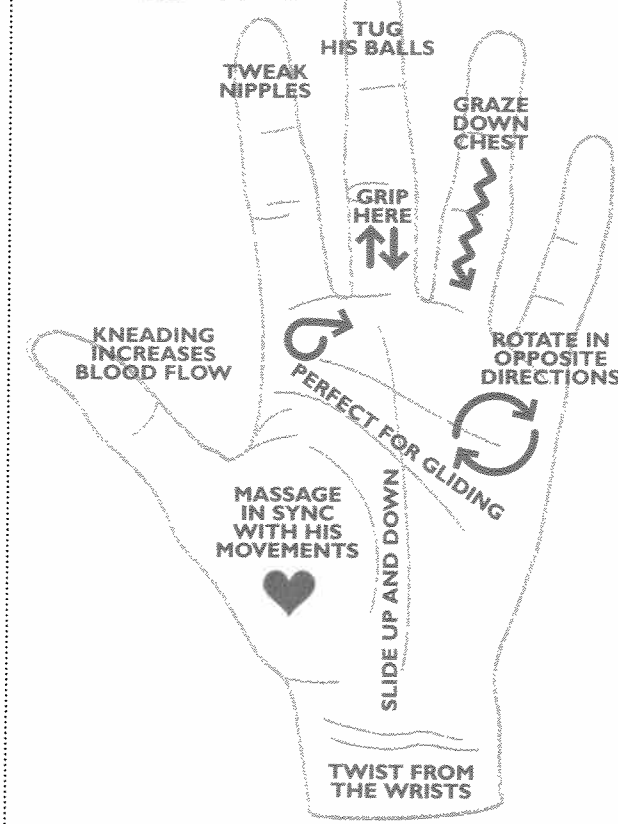
Take your oral skills to the next level by simultaneously using your hands to arouse another sensitive spot – his nipples. While he's in your mouth, reach up and trace all over his chest with your fingertips. Next, place a palm flat against one of his nipples and rub in time with the motions of your mouth.

GENTLY TUG ON HIM

When you're in the reverse-cowgirl position, you're perfectly primed to give his orgasm a boost. His balls are within easy reach, and men love to have their entire package engaged. Just before he's about to orgasm, cup your fingers under his testicles and give them a gentle tug. The rush of pleasure to that spot will make his climax even hotter. □

Sources: Sari Locker, author of *The Complete Idiot's Guide To Amazing Sex (Alpha)*; Roz van Meter.

YOUR HANDY GUIDE



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THE FHM *Advanced* SEX GUIDE

These pages will change your life. No longer will your sexual antics consist of drunken fumbles and fluffed opportunities. Brace yourselves, gents, for you are about to learn the secrets that will transform you into the type of man who'll leave the ladies slackjawed. Read on!

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Mike Metzger

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THE HOT ZONES

Lady-pleasuring, like wiring up a stereo, requires reading the instruction book...

1 BUTTOCKS

Kiss, nibble or even gently slap and squeeze. Stroke your tongue along the perineum (the skin between the genitals and the anus) – an area highly sensitive to arousal.

2 ANUS

Your lady might be into a little gentle probing. You'll need to approach with caution. Try inserting a finger, but if she pulls away, stop.

3 FEET

Massage them (you can be pretty firm), then try sucking her toes. Don't be put off if it makes her giggle. It's all part of the process.

4 VAGINA

It's simple: go gently, slowly and rhythmically. Also, stroking her inner thigh with feathery touches right up to heaven will turn her on.

5 STOMACH AND BACK

Most weight-conscious women worry about revealing their stomach, so kissing and stroking it will show you're mad about her.

For her back, lie her on her front and rub your body along her. Using your tongue or (surely) erect penis, trace the outline of her spine (without leaving a snail trail).

6 BREASTS

Rolling the nipple around a moist mouth while brushing the skin of the breasts with the tips of your fingers is a surefire winner.

7 SHOULDERS

Pull her bra strap away from her shoulders, kiss her, then slip the strap back on. The interaction between skin and clothing works wonders.

8 NECK

This is an area to be kissed, stroked and nibbled. Try taking a little nip, and if that gets a moan rather than a slap, move in for a bite.

9 LIPS

Don't just dive in tongue-first. Nibble both lips separately, dart your tongue into the inside of the upper lip and suck gently on her lower lip.

10 EARS

Lean toward her ear. She may think you're going to whisper what you want to do to her – instead blow into it, lick or softly bite it.

11 BRAIN

Talk dirty to her, romantically and humorously... If her mind's not seduced, her body won't follow. So tease her brain as you would the rest of her body.

THE SIGNS OF ECSTASY

Learn to read the telltale physical give-aways of her body's arousal

STAGE ONE

Within 30 seconds of her becoming stimulated, her tunnel swells as its walls lubricate in readiness for your love muscle. But more obviously, her clitoris peers out from its hood and becomes erect, its nerve endings twitching with anticipation. It may double in size at this stage.

STAGE TWO

As she warms up, the muscle fibres surrounding the nipples contract, causing them to become erect. They also increase in length and diameter as

blood flows into them, while the breasts become more sensitive. Then the areolas – the darker skin around the nipples –

engorge and swell, and her vaginal lips begin to part, like a flower in the sunlight.

STAGE THREE

Her breathing quickens as



her body demands more oxygen to fuel the physiological changes taking place. And, hopefully, to power her as she kneads you into arousal.

STAGE FOUR

Her heartbeat and blood pressure both rise. This results in a so-called "sex flush"; starting with the upper abdomen, a pink glow spreads to the cheeks, neck and chest. Her climax is rapidly approaching...

STAGE FIVE

As her insides stretch, preparing for your man-fat, rhythmic muscular contractions begin in the outer third of the vagina as well as the anus, first at five-second intervals, then becoming longer as she comes. Pulse, blood pressure and breathing rate reach a peak, the flush becomes more obvious, and the screaming and fist-and thigh-clenching begin!

KNOW HER ORGASMS

Clitoral Sparked by direct stimulation of her bean. The most common and the easiest to achieve.

Vaginal The result of friction on the front wall – home to the G-spot. A pillow under her when in missionary mode moves her pelvis into the most receptive angle.

Blended A clitoral-vaginal combo, triggered by penetration plus digital stimulation. That means using your fingers, not sticking on a naughty DVD.

Active When she's on the verge of coming, get her to press down with her vaginal muscles. Your penis "squeezed" in further results in a more satisfying G-spot orgasm.

Sequential More than once in a single session, which means that you'll need to keep going in a variety of ways...

Multiple An orgasmic wave of joy – for her. See p61...

SENSUAL MASSAGE

A few minutes of rub and tug and she'll be putty in your hands...

STEP ONE SET THE MOOD

It might sound cheesy, but dimming the lights, playing ambient tunes and lighting a candle or two will get your lady ready for rubbing. Lay her on her stomach (on a bed or a soft rug on the floor) and straddle her thighs. This leaves you in prime position to work on her back and bum.

STEP TWO LUBE UP

Get ready with a cupped handful of massage oil (if you have none, steal the almond oil from her beauty kit or even use olive oil, but add a few drops of lavender aromatherapy oil to stop the



bedroom smelling like a Spanish taverna). Smooth the oil over her shoulders. Tension tends to build round the neck and shoulders, so work that area firmly but

carefully. Use your palm to knead her flesh and apply pressure to more tender spots, working on areas which are extra stiff or sore.

STEP THREE THE BACK

Travel down her body, avoiding the spine, working in sweeping movements. Technique is irrelevant – just use your imagination and don't pummel too hard. When you get to her bum cheeks, use inward strokes to caress them, then daringly – and tenderly – kiss the base of her back and buttocks.

STEP FOUR THE THIGHS

Now it's time to concentrate on the inner thighs. Spreading her legs wide apart, lightly stroke the skin. Use your thumb to travel dangerously close to her vagina... but never quite reach it. Continue to tease her with your touch until you feel that she's ready, then turn her over onto her back and position yourself either over her or to the side of her body.

STEP FIVE STUDY HER FACE

If she looks relaxed and content, then her body will be feeling the same. So turn the situation up a notch by

fondling her breasts. Spend time on her nipples (you'll probably need more oil here), playing with them and squeezing them very carefully between your thumb and forefinger. Then pass gently over her stomach and focus on her inner thighs once more. Because of skin allergies, rather than using massage oil on her sensitive parts, tantalise her with provocative pressure on her outer lips. It's now time to introduce other methods of stimulation. Your tongue or – if you've been doing this right – your penis should be reacting to step in and lubricate the parts your fingers can't reach.

PROS & CONS

Pros Good massage will lead directly to full sex. Guaranteed. **Cons** You'll need to change the sheets afterwards. **Difficulty** It's willingness over technique here, but it will pay off.

FOR YOU: DON'T COME TOO SOON

Desensitise Forget about conjuring up miserable images to delay spilling your goo. And while potions and aerosols (available from sex shops countrywide) are well and good, they can be too effective, meaning you might not be able to spill your love porridge for hours. The "wank in the loo beforehand" trick is a cunning ruse that yields results, but the longterm answer is to desensitise your penis. This can be done by masturbating with a dry hand until you can last for 15 minutes; then once perfected, try the same with an oily hand. Gradually increase your staying power over time, aiming for a good 20 minutes, before you take yourself round to your babe's place with a bunch of flowers, a bottle of Graca and a smug grin.



The penis squeeze

Another possibility is the penile squeeze. When you're about to shoot, stop, get your girl to grasp your penis and press with her thumb just below the glans, holding until the urge has passed. Then off you go again. This trick can be used time and again, until eventually you'll be able to phase it out completely and keep your pecker locked and loaded until you're ready. **And if it's too late...** Unless you possess Sting-like Tantric inner strength, at some point, every oke will shoot his bolt too soon. So work with it! Tell your girl the truth: that you were just too turned on by her to wait another second. Then use your tongue, fingers, anything to keep her fires stoked while you prepare for a rematch.

MAKE HER GUSH

Make her ejaculate and she'll always beg for more...

STEP ONE USE YOUR HANDS

First, lay a towel on the bed – things could get very wet. You could be there for a while, so get comfy, then moisten her up with sexy foreplay, using waterbased lubricant such as KY jelly, should she start to feel dry.

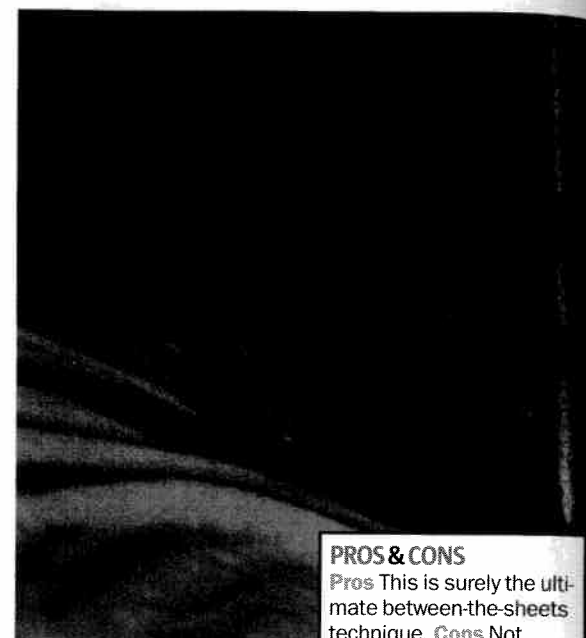
STEP TWO FIND THE G-SPOT

Start with strokes or nuzzles and, as she's turned on, insert two fingers, palm side up, into her vagina. Between two and five centimetres inside her, you'll feel a round,

roughened area on the front wall: it's the G-spot. Firmly stroke this area and it should enlarge and feel "solid" – it's sometimes better with her on all fours. Follow her responses and pace yourself to prolong her arousal. The longer she takes, the more love-juice builds up inside.

STEP 3 THE TRICKY BIT

As she approaches her orgasm, the fluid building up will make it feel as if she needs to have a pee. She must now relax and push with the same muscles



she'd use if she were having a wee. If your patience and hard work are rewarded, however, she'll climax as she pushes the fluid out and will have the most intense orgasmic pleasure ever.

PROS & CONS

Pros This is surely the ultimate between-the-sheets technique. **Cons** Not every woman can attain the heights of female ejaculation, and others can't "let go", meaning some wasted effort on your part. **Difficulty** Master this and there's nothing more we can teach you, son.

MULTIPLE ORGASMS

Not for you, doofus – for her! But get this right and she'll be yours forever...

Their plumbing's a mess, they can't drive, but ladyfolk have one big thing going for them: the ability to climax over and over. Here's how to get her there, in eight easy steps...

STEP 1 SET THE MOOD

Sex is all in the mind. If her brain isn't switched on, all her other bits will simply dry up. It takes women an average of 30 minutes to reach orgasm, so start with your mouth – make her laugh, tell her she looks amazing, murmur that you'd love to...

STEP 2 READ HER BODY LANGUAGE

If she's cooing like a dove

as you stroke her face, then slowly move on to her neck, breasts and stomach. If she's pressing hard against you and scraping your back with her fingernails, then she's almost certainly ready for something more forceful.

STEP 3 PLAY WITH HER PANTIES

Most women love the feel of silk and lace, and particularly like being stroked over their panties. Peeling off a bra with the dexterity of an octopus is also an extremely seductive skill – so practise uncoupling that pesky grip in the dark.

STEP 4 KISS EXPERIMENTALLY

It might be that you kiss her everywhere but her mouth. Or you tease her with your lips, pulling away as her

tongue explores your mouth. You might even smash lips with her in a frenzy of passion. Go play.

STEP 5 HEAD SOUTH

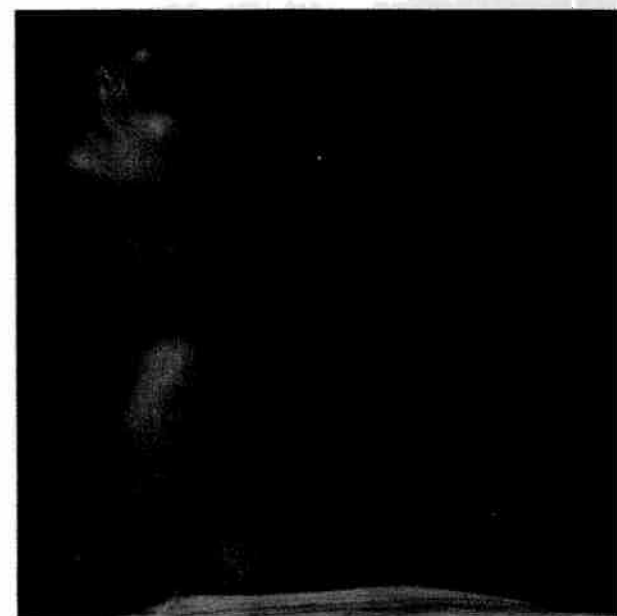
Move your mouth down her body. For many women, oral sex is the only way they can have an orgasm, so technique is all-important. Never bite, be too rough or hurry through it.

STEP 6 KEEP HER MOIST

Use lots of saliva and the flat of your tongue and gradually increase your pace while stroking her legs, breasts or bottom, to drive your lady into an excited frenzy. Perhaps try inserting a finger into the vagina.

STEP 8 AGAIN AND AGAIN

As she climaxes again, gently kiss her lips and face. This intimacy will be greatly appreciated, and, handily, it takes you back to Step 4. If



STEP 7 PENETRATION

Ease into position and slide your penis deep into her. You may be tempted to go hell for leather, but stick to her pace. If you're unsure, ask her. It's better to find out sooner rather than later.

STEP 8 AGAIN AND AGAIN

As she climaxes again, gently kiss her lips and face. This intimacy will be greatly appreciated, and, handily, it takes you back to Step 4. If

you've not yet come, that's exceptional self-restraint. But if, like most of us, you've tipped your cement, use this time to recover your stamina – before starting up all over again... **FHM**

PROS & CONS

Pros In her eyes, you'll be a sex god. **Cons** Well, it's a lot of effort, isn't it? **Difficulty** Patience and stamina are all you need.



The FHM University Of Sex Advanced Level Exam

Read all the notes? Now take the test! Time allowed: 30 minutes

- Answer all questions
- The pass mark for this paper is 12
- Your lady is judge and jury here, she marks your answers
- Show all the steps in any calculation and state the units

1 Which if these lady bits is not an erogenous zone?

- Back
- Buttocks
- Ears
- Knuckles

(1 mark)

2 By what percentage can the clitoris enlarge during arousal?

(1 mark)

3 Name six types of female orgasm.

(6 marks)

4 How long, on average, does it take a woman to achieve orgasm?

(1 mark)

5 Which one of the following should not be used as a stand-in massage oil?

- Olive oil
- Almond oil
- Castrol GTX

(1 mark)

6 You've shot off too early. What's the best thing you can say to your justifiably miffed girlfriend?

(1 mark)

7 For how long should a graduate of FHM's Advanced Sex course expect to be able to delay his orgasm?

(1 mark)

8 You're halfway through a steamy massage session. Which do you tackle first: back or thighs?

(1 mark)

9 Which lady hot zone can you blow into to arouse her?

_____ (1 mark)

10 What two things should happen to the G-spot when stimulated?

_____ (2 marks)

11 Where is a lady's perineum?

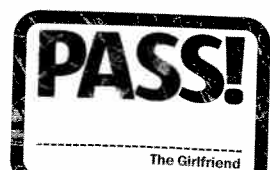
_____ (1 mark)

12 Place these signs of female stimulation in the "correct" order:

- Rising blood pressure
- Erect nipples
- "Sex flush"
- Screaming

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

(1 mark)



THE FHM Advanced SEX GUIDE

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in recognition of his satisfactory graduation from the FHM School of Advanced Sex. The holder is hereby licensed to practise the following on lucky ladies, both in South Africa and abroad:

- Dirty massage • Lady diddling • Orgasm identification • Hot spot stimulation • Experimental kissing*
- Arousal detection • Female ejaculation*

Brendan Cooper, Editor

Your girlfriend

Date

Approved by the South African Bureau of Lady-Pleasers. Member of the United Nations Nookie Advisory Panel. This certificate is invalid without girlfriend countersignature.

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Dear Dominika

Our sexual guru dispenses advice to the lustorn...

Sex is a pain
My husband and I have been together nine years. When he's fully erect there's a limit to the positions in which we can have sex because he hurts me. Is there anything I can do to fix this? I feel I don't give him what he wants and I don't want to disappoint him.

ANON, VIA EMAIL
Dyspareunia, the medical name for pain during sex, is no fun at all - it's supposed to be a blast for both of you! You don't say how big your man's member is, but after foreplay your vagina should be able to accommodate any man - unless he's hung like the proverbial donkey. The odd deep or sudden thrust might be uncomfortable in certain positions - this has happened to most of us - but it shouldn't happen all the time.

First, see your GP or gynaecologist, explain the problem and get checked out. Dyspareunia can be a symptom of diabetes, pelvic inflammatory disease, endometriosis or physical problems with your cervix or ovaries. Or the pain may be caused by vaginismus - involuntary spasms of the vaginal muscles brought on by the (rational or not) fear of being hurt.

Alternatively, your problem might be a lack of foreplay or lubrication. If your vagina isn't

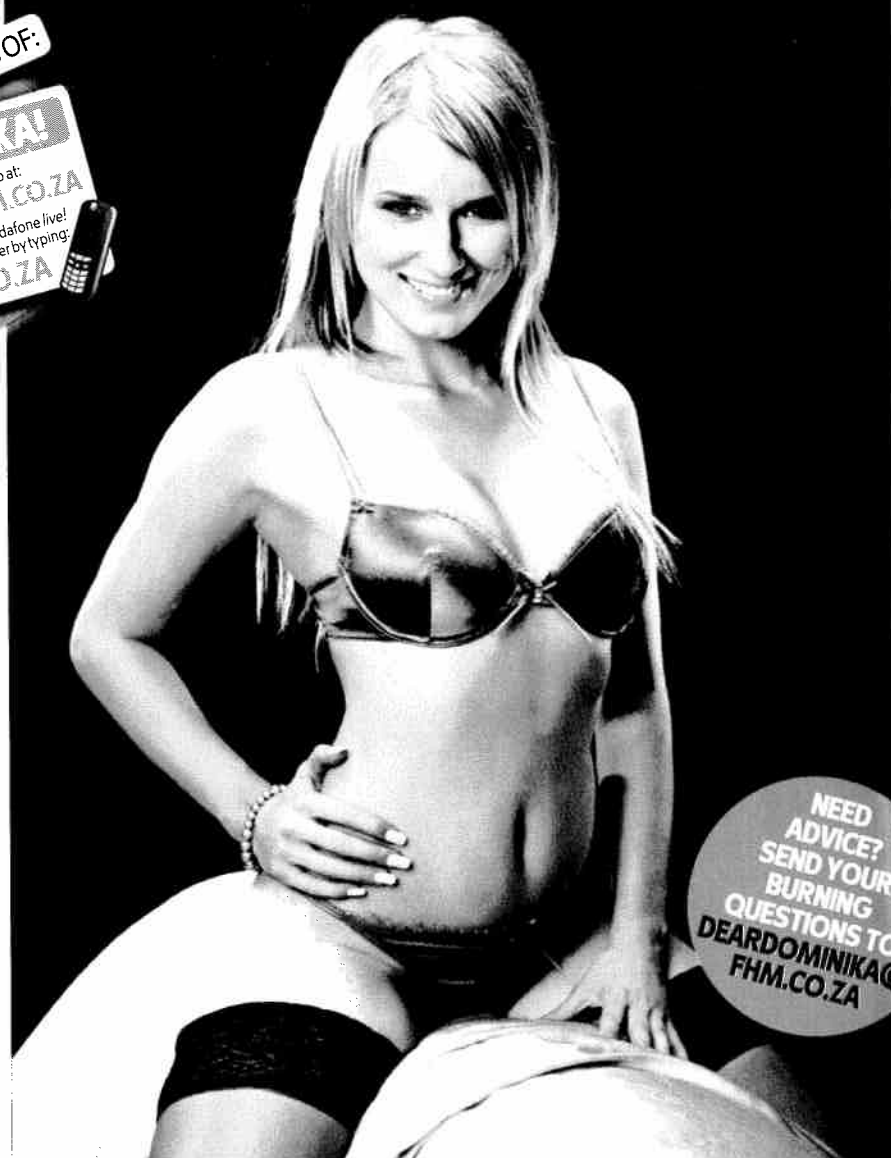
relaxed enough, you'll suffer collision pain. I like *at least* a half-hour warm up (except for careful quickies on the spur of the moment, of course).

If your man is doing his foreplay job properly, experiment to find positions that don't hurt you. Ask him to avoid unexpected, deep thrusts and don't try deep-penetration positions like doggie style or with your knees by your ears.

Use positions in which you can control the depth - try sitting on top of him, where he can see and play with your breasts and you can call the shots. Talk to him about this and I'm sure he'll understand; sex can be brilliant for both of you without him shoving the whole thing in all the time.

If push finally comes to shove, so to speak, you can buy a penis ring that limits penetration. Search www.passionfruit.co.za for the Bungy Bead Ring.

Three's a crowd
My wife and I had a fantasy about a threesome (MMF). We even went as far as looking for another partner. Our idea was to have a man perform foreplay on both of us and then penetrate me while I penetrated her. It seemed like a good idea at the time. Now she doesn't want to go ahead with it.



NEED ADVICE? SEND YOUR BURNING QUESTIONS TO DEARDOMINIKA@FHM.CO.ZA

'Some fantasies are best left as such'

Should I leave this a fantasy, or can I talk her into it?

ANON, VIA EMAIL
Perhaps she was only paying lip service to your idea and finally plucked up the courage to back out? Some fantasies are best left as such - if she's not up for it, don't push it.

Threesomes don't always work out as one expects - she may also be worried by the thought that you have latent homosexual tendencies. Assuming you are a rear-end virgin, have you given any thought to how painful this might be? She may also find the notion of taking on two

guys at once daunting. Dial it back a notch - suggest a MFF threesome, which will be far less threatening to her, before working your way towards something less conventional.

Missing the missus
I'm studying abroad for a year and I really miss my girlfriend and our sexual relationship. I've asked her to send me nude pictures of herself, but she says she'd feel silly and doesn't miss me sexually like that. What can I do to get her to send me some nice pictures?

PETER, VIA EMAIL

Dominika

Quickies! Reducing sexual wisdom to bite-sized, easy-to-remember chunks

- Indulging your fantasies is fun, but it's best to discuss them with your partner before you take steps to make them real.
- Never ask your partner to do anything that would

- make her uncomfortable. Certainly never ask her to do anything you wouldn't be prepared to do for her!
- Don't get so caught up in a fantasy that you have unsafe sex, not even "just once".

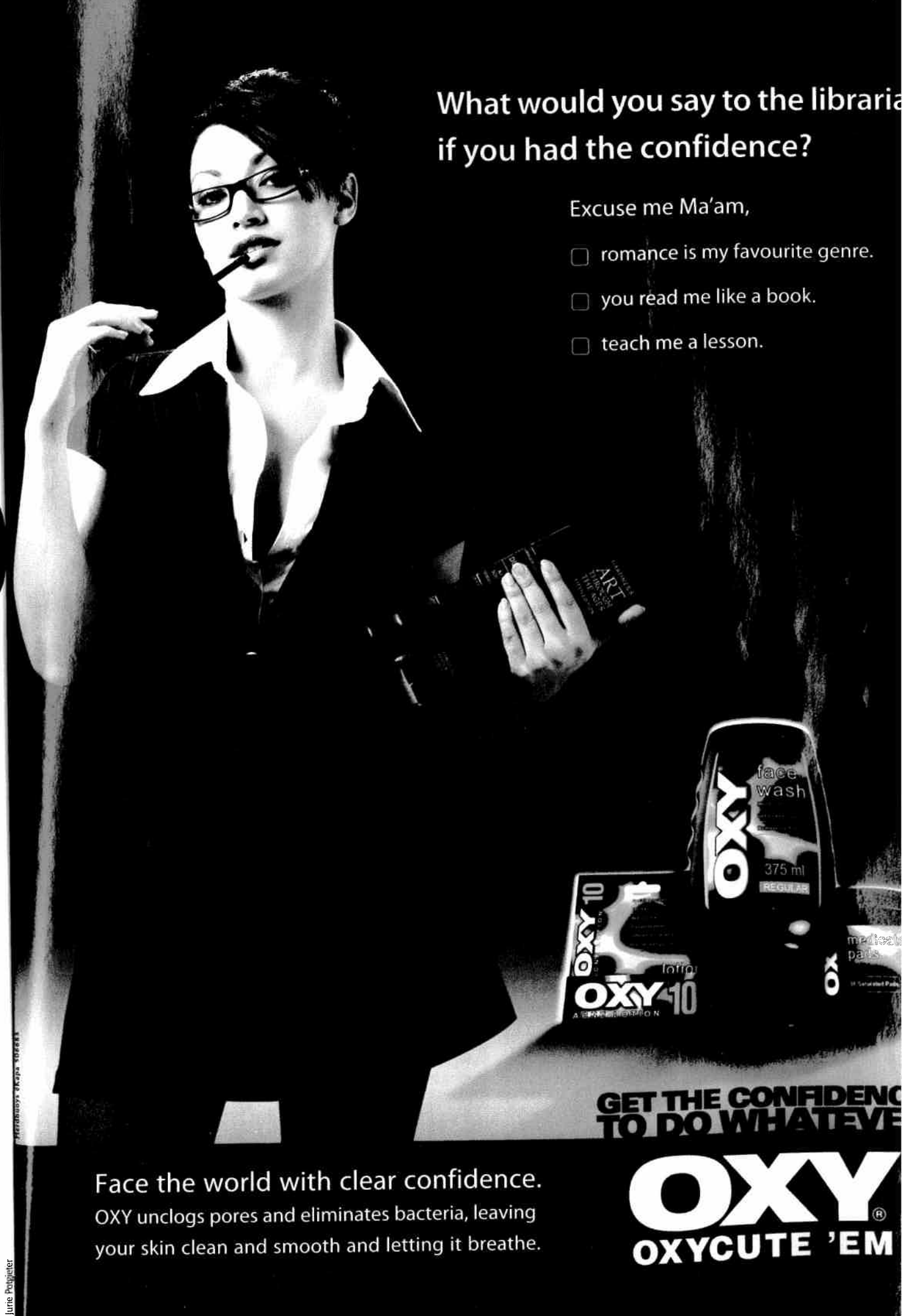
- Be open and honest with your partner, no matter how difficult the situation.
- Keep the intimate details of your relationship and what passes between you and your partner private.

- Put yourself in your partner's shoes to better understand her needs.
- Don't allow the conflict situations in your relationship to spin out of control - resolve issues as they arise.

- Stay positive. A positive attitude can help to solve problems much faster.
- If you're experiencing a sexual problem, see a doctor before you automatically blame your partner.

What would you say to the librarian if you had the confidence?

- Excuse me Ma'am,
- romance is my favourite genre.
 - you read me like a book.
 - teach me a lesson.



GET THE CONFIDENCE TO DO WHATEVER YOU WANT

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